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**20th**  
**PLENARY MEETING**

*Thursday, 4 October 1984,*  
*at 10.40 a.m.*

**NEW YORK**

**President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA**  
**(Zambia).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the Head of State and President of the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso, Captain Thomas Sankara, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. SANKARA (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): I bring the fraternal greetings of a country covering 274,000 square kilometres, where 7 million men, women and children refuse henceforth to die of ignorance, hunger and thirst, even though they are not yet able to have a real life, after a quarter of a century as a sovereign State represented here at the United Nations.

3. I come to this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to speak on behalf of a people which, on the land of its ancestors, has chosen from now on to assert itself and to take responsibility for its own history, in both its positive and negative aspects, without any complexes.

4. I come here, mandated by the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso, to express the views of my people on the problems that have been included on the General Assembly's agenda, which form the tragic background of the events which are sadly undermining the foundations of the world late in this twentieth century. It is a world of chaos, in which the human race is torn apart by struggles between the great and the not-so-great, attacked by armed bands and subjected to violence and plunder. It is a world in which the nations, eluding international jurisdiction, command groups beyond the law, which, with gun in hand, live by preying on others and organizing the most despicable kinds of trafficking.

5. I do not intend to enunciate dogmas here. I am neither a messiah nor a prophet. I possess no truths. My only ambition is a twofold aspiration: first, to be able to speak in simple language, the language of facts and clarity, on behalf of my people, the people of Burkina Faso, and, secondly, to be able to express in my own way the feelings of that mass of people who are disinherited—those who belong to that world maliciously dubbed “the third world”—and to state, even if I cannot make them understood, the reasons that have led us to rise up, all of which explains our interest in the United Nations, the demands of our

rights drawing strength in the clear awareness of our duties.

6. Nobody will be surprised to hear us associate the former Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso, with that despised rag-bag, the third world, which the other worlds invented at the time of our independence in order better to ensure our intellectual, cultural, economic and political alienation. We want to fit in there without at all justifying this great swindle of history, still less accepting that we are a backward world left behind by the West. Rather, we do so to affirm our awareness of belonging to a three-continent whole and to state, as one of the non-aligned countries, our deeply felt conviction that a special solidarity unites the three continents of Asia, Latin America and Africa in the same battle against the same political traffickers and economic exploiters.

7. Thus to recognize our presence in the third world is, to paraphrase José Martí, to affirm that we feel on our cheek every blow struck against every other man in the world. So far, we have turned the other cheek. The slaps in the face have been redoubled and the evil-doers have felt no tenderness in their hearts. They have trampled on the truth of the just. They have betrayed the word of Christ. They have turned His cross into a club, and after putting on His robe they have torn our bodies and souls to shreds. They have obscured His message, making it a Western one, whereas we saw it as a message of universal liberation. Now our eyes have been opened to the class struggle and there will be no more blows dealt against us. It must be proclaimed that there will be no salvation for our peoples unless we turn our backs completely on all the models that all the charlatans of that type have tried to sell us for 20 years. There can be no salvation for us unless we reject those models; there can be no development without that break.

8. Now all the new “master minds” are awakening, roused by the dizzy increase of millions of men in rags and frightened by the threat to their digestion of this multitude hounded by hunger. They are beginning to change their tune and are again anxiously seeking among us miraculous ideas for new forms of development for our countries. In order to understand this it is necessary only to read the proceedings of innumerable colloquys and seminars.

9. I certainly do not wish to ridicule the patient efforts of those honest intellectuals who, because they have eyes to see, have observed the terrible consequences of the ravages caused in the third world by the so-called development specialists.

10. I fear that the results of all the energies seized by the Prosperos of all kinds may be turned into a magic wand to be used to turn us back into a world of slavery, dressed up according to the taste of our times. This fear is justified by the fact that the African petite bourgeoisie with its diplomas, if not

that of the whole third world, is not ready—whether because of intellectual laziness or simply because it has sampled the Western way of life—to give up its privileges. It therefore forgets that all true political struggle requires a rigorous theoretical debate, and it refuses to do the thinking necessary in order to invent the new concepts needed to wage the kind of struggle to the death that is ahead of us. A passive and pathetic consumer group, it overflows with the “in” words of the West, just as it overflows with its whisky and champagne, in salons where there is a dubious kind of harmony. One will search in vain—the concepts of Blackness or the African personality now being a little outdated—for truly new ideas from the brains of our so-called intellectual giants. Words and ideas come to us from elsewhere. Our professors, engineers and economists are content simply to add a little colouring, because they have brought from the European universities of which they are the products only their diplomas and the surface smoothness of adjectives and superlatives. It is urgently necessary that our qualified personnel and those who work with ideas learn that there is no innocent writing. In these tempestuous times, we cannot leave it to our enemies of the past and of the present to think and to imagine and to create. We also must do so.

11. Before it is too late—and it is already late—this élite, these men of Africa, of the third world, must come to their senses; in other words, they must turn to their own societies, they must look at this wretchedness that we have inherited, to understand that the battle for thought that will help the disinherited masses not only is not a vain one but can become credible at the international level. They must provide a faithful picture for their own peoples, a picture that will enable them to carry out profound changes in the social and political situation so that we can free ourselves from the foreign domination and exploitation that can lead our States only to failure.

12. This is something that we understood, we, the people of Burkina Faso, on that night of 4 August 1983, when the stars first began to shine in the heavens of our homeland. We had to take the lead of the peasant uprisings in the countryside, threatened by desertification, exhausted by hunger and thirst, and abandoned. We had to give some sense of meaning to the revolts of the unemployed urban masses, frustrated and tired of seeing the limousines of the alienated élite flash by following the head of State, who offered them only false solutions devised and conceived in the brains of others. We had to give an ideological soul to the just struggles of our masses mobilized against the monstrosity of imperialism. Instead of a minor, short-lived revolt, we had to have revolution, the eternal struggle against all domination. Others have noted this before me and yet others will say after me how broad the gap now is between the rich peoples and those that aspire only to have enough to eat, enough to drink, to survive and to defend their dignity, but nobody could believe how much of the food of our people has gone to feed the rich man's cow.

13. In the case of Upper Volta, the process was even more crystal clear. We demonstrated the essence of all the calamities that have crushed the so-called developing countries.

14. The truth about aid, represented as the panacea for all ills and often praised beyond all rhyme or reason, has been revealed. Very few countries have been so inundated with aid of all kinds as has mine.

Aid is supposed to help development, but one can look in vain in what used to be Upper Volta to see any sign of any kind of development. The people who were in power through either naïvety or class selfishness could not or else did not want to gain control over this inflow from the outside or grasp the scope of it and use it in the interests of our people.

15. Analysing a table that was published in 1983 by the Sahel Club, Jacques Giri, in his book entitled *The Sahel Tomorrow*,<sup>1</sup> concluded quite sensibly that aid to the Sahel, because of its content and because of the machinery in place, was only aid for survival. He emphasized that only 30 per cent of that aid would enable the Sahel simply to remain alive. According to Jacques Giri, this outside aid was designed only for the continued development of the unproductive sectors, imposing intolerable burdens on our small budgets, completely disrupting our countryside, creating deficits in our trade balance and, in fact, speeding up our indebtedness.

16. Here are just a few standard facts to describe what Upper Volta used to be like: 7 million inhabitants, with more than 6 million peasants; infant mortality at 180 per 1,000; life expectancy of 40 years; an illiteracy rate of 98 per cent, if literacy is considered to mean being able to read, write and speak a language; one doctor for 50,000 inhabitants; 16 per cent receiving schooling; and lastly, a gross domestic product of 53,356 CFA francs, that is, just over \$100 per capita.

17. The diagnosis obviously was a very bad one. The source of the evil was political and so the only cure must be a political one.

18. Of course, we encourage aid that can help us to manage without aid, but in general the aid and assistance policies merely led us to become completely disorganized, to enslave ourselves, to shirk our responsibility in our economic, political and cultural areas.

19. We have chosen a different path to achieve better results. We have chosen to establish new techniques. We have chosen to seek forms of organization that are better adapted to our civilization, abruptly and once and for all rejecting all kinds of outside diktats, so that we can create the conditions for a dignity in keeping with our ambitions.

20. We refuse simple survival. We want to ease the pressures, to free our countryside from medieval stagnation or regression. We want to democratize our society, to open up our minds to a universe of collective responsibility, so that we may be bold enough to invent the future. We want to change the administration and reconstruct it with a different kind of civil servant. We want to get our army involved with the people in productive work and remind it constantly that, without patriotic training, a soldier is only a criminal with power. That is our political programme.

21. At the economic level, we are learning to live simply, to accept and to demand of ourselves the austerity that we need in order to carry out our great designs.

22. Thanks to the revolutionary solidarity fund, which is fed by voluntary contributions, we are now beginning to deal with the cruel questions posed by the drought. We support and have applied the principles of the Declaration of Alma-Ata,<sup>2</sup> expanding our primary health care. We endorse as a State

policy the global strategy of GOBI FFF<sup>3</sup> advocated by UNICEF.

23. We believe that through the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office, the United Nations should enable those countries affected by drought to establish a medium- and long-term plan to achieve self-sufficiency in food.

24. To prepare for the twenty-first century, we have begun, by creating a special tombola section, an immense campaign for the education and training of our children in a new school. The programme is called "Let's teach our children". Through committees to defend the revolution, we have established a vast house-building programme—500 units in three months—and we are also building roads, small water collectors, and so forth. Our economic ambition is to work to ensure that the use of the mind and the strength of each inhabitant of Burkina Faso will produce what is necessary to provide two meals a day and drinking-water.

25. We swear that in future in Burkina Faso nothing will be done without the participation of the people of Burkina Faso themselves, nothing that has not been decided by us, that has not been prepared by us. There shall be no more attacks on our honour and dignity.

26. Strengthened by this conviction, we want our words to cover all those who suffer, all those whose dignity has been crushed by a minority or a system.

27. Let me say to those who are listening to me now that I speak not only on behalf of Burkina Faso, my country which I love so much, but also on behalf of all those who suffer, wherever they may be.

28. I speak on behalf of those millions of human beings who are in ghettos because their skin is black, or because they have a different kind of culture, those whose status is hardly higher than that of an animal.

29. I suffer, too, on behalf of those Indians who have been massacred, trampled on and humiliated and who, for centuries, have been confined to reservations, so that they do not have any aspirations to any rights whatsoever, so that their culture cannot become enriched through contact with other cultures, including that of the invader.

30. I speak out on behalf of those who are unemployed because of a structurally unjust system which has now been completely disrupted, the unemployed who have been reduced to seeing their lives as only the reflection of the lives of those who have more than themselves.

31. I speak on behalf of women throughout the entire world who suffer from a system of exploitation imposed on them by men. As far as we are concerned, we are willing to welcome all suggestions from anywhere in the world that will help us to promote the full development and prosperity of the women of Burkina Faso. In return, we will share with all countries the positive experience we are now undertaking with our women, who are now involved at all levels of the State apparatus and social life in Burkina Faso, women who struggle and who say with us that the slave who will not shoulder responsibility to rebel does not deserve pity. That slave will alone be responsible for his own wretchedness if he has any illusions whatsoever about the suspect indulgence shown by a master who pretends to give him freedom. Only struggle helps us to become free, and we call on all our sisters of all races to rise up to regain their rights.

32. I speak on behalf of the mothers of our poor countries who see their children dying of malaria and diarrhoea, unaware that to save them there are simple methods available but which the science of the multinationals does not offer to them, preferring to invest in cosmetics laboratories and engage in cosmetic surgery to satisfy the whims and caprices of a few men and women who feel they have become too fat because of too many calories in the rich food they consume with regularity. That must make even members of this Assembly dizzy—not to mention the peoples of the Sahel. We have decided to adopt and popularize the methods that have been advocated by WHO and UNICEF.

33. I speak on behalf of the child, the child of the poor man, who is hungry and who furtively eyes the wealth piled up in the rich man's shop, a shop that is protected by a thick window, a window which is defended by an impassable grille, the grille guarded by a policeman in a helmet with gloves and a bludgeon, the policeman placed there by the father of another child, who comes there to serve himself or rather to be served because these are the guarantees of capitalistic representativeness and norms of the system.

34. I speak on behalf of the artists—poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, actors and so on—people of good will who see their art being prostituted by the show-business magicians.

35. I cry out on behalf of the journalists who have been reduced to silence or else to lies simply to avoid the hardships of unemployment.

36. I protest on behalf of the athletes of the entire world whose muscles are being exploited by political systems or by those who deal in the modern slavery of the stadium.

37. My country is the essence of all the miseries of peoples, a tragic synthesis of all the suffering of mankind but also, and above all, the synthesis of the hopes of our struggles. That is why I speak out on behalf of the sick who are anxiously looking to see what science can do for them—but that science has been taken over by the gun merchants. My thoughts go to all those who have been affected by the destruction of nature, those 30 million who are dying every year, crushed by that most fearsome weapon, hunger.

38. As a soldier, I cannot forget that obedient soldier who does what he is told, whose finger is on the trigger and who knows that the bullet which is going to leave his gun will bring only a message of death.

39. Lastly, I speak out in indignation as I think of the Palestinians, whom this most inhuman humanity has replaced with another people, a people who only yesterday were themselves being martyred at leisure. I think of the valiant Palestinian people, the families which have been splintered and split up and are wandering throughout the world seeking asylum. Courageous, determined, stoic and tireless, the Palestinians remind us all of the need and moral obligation to respect the rights of a people. Along with their Jewish brothers, they are anti-Zionists.

40. Standing alongside my soldier brothers of Iran and Iraq, who are dying in a fratricidal and suicidal war, I wish also to feel close to my comrades of Nicaragua, whose ports are being mined, whose towns are being bombed and who, despite all, face up with courage and lucidity to their fate. I suffer with

all those in Latin America who are suffering from imperialist domination.

41. I wish to stand side by side with the peoples of Afghanistan and Ireland, the peoples of Grenada and East Timor, each of those peoples seeking happiness in keeping with their dignity and the laws of their own culture.

42. I rise up on behalf of all who seek in vain any forum in the world to make their voices heard and to have themselves taken seriously.

43. Many have already spoken from this rostrum. Many will speak after me. But only a few will take the real decisions, although we are all officially considered equals. I speak on behalf of all those who seek in vain for a forum in the world where they can be heard. Yes, I wish to speak for all those—the forgotten—because I am a man and nothing that is human is alien to me.

44. Our revolution in Burkina Faso takes account of the ills of all peoples. We are also inspired by all the experiences of mankind, from the very first breath of the first human being.

45. We wish to enjoy the inheritance of all the revolutions of the world, all the liberation struggles of the third-world peoples. We are trying to learn from the great upheavals that have transformed the world. We have drawn the lessons of the American revolution, the lessons of its victory against colonial domination, and the consequences of that victory. We endorse the doctrine of non-interference by Europeans in American affairs and non-interference by Americans in European affairs. In 1823, Monroe said "America for the Americans". We would say "Africa for the Africans; Burkina Faso for the Burkinabé". The French revolution of 1789, which disrupted the foundations of absolutism, has taught us the rights of man linked to the rights of peoples to freedom. The great revolution of October 1917 transformed the world and made possible the victory of the proletariat, shook the foundations of capitalism and made possible the dreams of justice of the French Commune.

46. Open to all the wishes of the peoples and their revolutions, learning also from the terrible failures that have led to truly sad infringements of human rights, we want to preserve from each revolution only that essence of purity that prohibits us from becoming servants to the realities of others, even though in our thinking we find that there is a community of interests among us.

47. There must be no more deceit. The new international economic order, for which we are struggling and will continue to struggle, can be achieved only if we manage to do away with the old order, which completely ignores us, only if we insist on the place which is ours in the political organization of the world, only if we realize our importance in the world and obtain the right to decision-making with respect to the machinery governing trade, economic and monetary affairs at the world level.

48. The new international economic order is simply one among all the other rights of peoples—the right to independence, to the free choice of the form and structure of government, the right to development—and like all the rights of peoples it is a right which can be gained only through the struggle of the peoples. It will never be obtained by any act of generosity by any Power whatsoever.

49. I continue to have unshakeable confidence—a confidence I share with the immense community of non-aligned countries—that, despite our peoples' battering-ram cries of distress, our group will preserve its cohesion, strengthen its power of collective negotiation, find allies among all nations, and begin, together with all who can still hear us, to organize a really new system of international economic relations.

50. I agreed to come to speak before the Assembly because, despite the criticism of certain major contributors, the United Nations remains the ideal forum for our demands, the place where the legitimacy of countries which have no voice is recognized. This was expressed very accurately by the Secretary-General, when he wrote [*see A/39/1*]:

"The United Nations reflects in a unique way the aspirations and frustrations of many nations and groups all over the world. One of its great merits is that all nations—including the weak, the oppressed and the victims of injustice"—that is, us—"can get a hearing and have a platform even in the face of the hard realities of power. A just cause, however frustrated or disregarded, can find a voice in the United Nations. This is not always a well-liked attribute of the Organization, but it is an essential one."

The meaning and scope of the Organization could not be better defined.

51. Therefore, it is absolutely essential for the good of each of us that the United Nations be strengthened and provided with the means to take action. That is why we endorse the Secretary-General's proposals to this end, to help the Organization break the many deadlocks which have been carefully preserved by the great Powers in order to discredit it in the eyes of the world.

52. Since I recognize the admittedly limited merits of the Organization, I cannot but rejoice to see new Members join us. That is why the delegation of Burkina Faso welcomes the admission of the 159th Member of the United Nations, the State of Brunei Darussalam.

53. The folly of those who, by a quirk of fate, rule the world makes it imperative for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—which, I hope, the State of Brunei Darussalam will soon join—to consider as one of the permanent goals of its struggle the achievement of disarmament, which is an essential aspect of the principal conditions of our right to development.

54. In our view, there must be serious studies of all the factors which have led to the calamities which have befallen the world. In this connection, President Fidel Castro stated our view admirably at the opening of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, when he said:

"Three hundred billion dollars could build 600,000 schools, with a capacity for 400 million children; or 60 million comfortable homes, for 300 million people; or 30,000 hospitals, with 18 million beds; or 20,000 factories, with jobs for more than 20 million workers; or an irrigation system for 150 million hectares of land—that, with the application of technology, could feed a billion people."<sup>4</sup>

If we multiply those numbers by 10—and I am sure that that is a conservative figure—we can see how

much mankind wastes every year in the military field, that is, against peace.

55. It is easy to see why the indignation of the peoples is easily transformed into rebellion and revolution in the face of the crumbs tossed to them in the ignominious form of some aid, to which utterly humiliating conditions are sometimes attached. It can be understood why, in the fight for development, we consider ourselves to be tireless combatants for peace.

56. We swear to struggle to ease tension, to introduce the principles of civilized life into international relations and to extend these to all parts of the world. That means that we can no longer stand by passively and watch people haggle over concepts.

57. We reiterate our determination to work actively for peace; to take our place in the struggle for disarmament; to take action in the field of international politics as a decisive factor, free of all hindrance by any of the big Powers, whatever may be their designs.

58. But the quest for peace also involves the strict application of the right of countries to independence. On this point, the most pathetic—indeed, the most appalling—example is found in the Middle East, where, with arrogance, insolence and incredible stubbornness, a small country, Israel, has for more than 20 years, with the unspeakable complicity of its powerful protector, the United States, continued to defy the international community.

59. Only yesterday, Jews were consigned to the horrors of the crematorium, but Israel scorns history by inflicting on others the tortures it suffered.

60. In any event, Israel—whose people we love for its courage and sacrifices of the past—should realize that the conditions for its own tranquillity are not to be found in military strength financed from outside. Israel must begin to learn to be a nation like other nations, one among many.

61. For the present, we declare from this rostrum our militant, active solidarity with the fighters, both men and women, of the wonderful people of Palestine, for we know that there is no suffering that has no end.

62. Analysing the economic and political situation in Africa, we cannot fail to stress our serious concern at the dangerous challenges to the rights of peoples hurled by certain nations which, secure in their alliances, openly flout international morality.

63. We are naturally pleased at the decision to withdraw foreign troops from Chad so that the Chadian people themselves, without intermediaries, can find the way to put an end to that fratricidal war and finally be able to dry the tears that have been shed for so many years. But, despite the progress made here and there in the struggle of the African peoples for economic emancipation, our continent continues to reflect the essential reality of the contradictions between the big Powers and to be oppressed by the unbearable scourges of today's world.

64. That is why we cannot accept and must unreservedly condemn the treatment of the people of Western Sahara by the Kingdom of Morocco, which has been using delaying tactics to postpone the day of reckoning that will in any event be forced upon it by the will of the Saharan people. I have visited the regions liberated by the Saharan people, and I have

come to believe more firmly than ever that nothing will stop its progress towards the total liberation of its country under the militant and enlightened leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.<sup>5</sup>

65. I do not wish to dwell too long on the question of Mayotte and the islands of the Malagasy archipelago; since the facts are clear and the principles obvious, there is no need to dwell on them. Mayotte belongs to the Comoros; the islands of the archipelago belong to Madagascar.

66. With regard to Latin America, we welcome the initiative of the Contadora Group as a positive step in the search for a just solution to the explosive situation in the region. Commander Daniel Ortega, speaking here [*16th meeting*] on behalf of the revolutionary people of Nicaragua, made concrete proposals and posed some basic, direct questions. We hope to see peace in his country and throughout Central America on and after 15 October; this is what world public opinion calls for.

67. Just as we condemned the foreign aggression against the island of Grenada, so we condemn all foreign intervention. Thus, we cannot remain silent about the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan.

68. And yet there is one point that is so serious that each of us must give a very open and clear explanation of it. That question, as members can imagine, is that of South Africa. The unbelievable insolence of that country with respect to all nations of the world—even those that support the terrorism which it has erected into a State system designed physically to liquidate the black majority of that country—and the contempt that it has shown for all our resolutions constitute one of the most serious and overwhelming concerns of the world today.

69. But the most tragic factor is not that South Africa has outlawed itself from the international community because of its *apartheid* laws, not even that it continues to occupy Namibia illegally and keep it under its colonialist and racist boot or that it continues with impunity to subject its neighbours to the laws of banditry. No, what is the most abject and the most humiliating for the human conscience is that it has made this tragedy a matter of everyday reality for millions of human beings, who have only their own body and the heroism of their bare hands to defend themselves. Sure of the complicity of the big Powers and the active support of certain among them, as well as of the criminal collaboration of some pathetic African leaders, the white minority simply ignores the feelings of all those people, everywhere in the world, who find the savage methods of that country to be absolutely intolerable.

70. There was a time when international brigades went to defend the honour of nations that suffered aggression. Today, despite the agonizing open wounds that are suffered, all we do is vote for resolutions that do nothing more than call on a nation of pirates, which "destroys a smile as hail kills flowers", to mend its ways.

71. We shall soon be celebrating the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire. My delegation supports the proposal of Antigua and Barbuda [*A/39/241*] for the commemoration of that event, which is of very great importance to African countries and the black world. For us, all that can be said throughout the world during the commemorative ceremonies must empha-

size the terrible cost paid by Africa and the black world in the development of civilization. Nothing was given us in return, which no doubt explains the tragedy on our continent today. It is our blood that nourished the rise of capitalism, that made possible our present condition of dependence and consolidated our underdevelopment. But we cannot hide the truth any more; it cannot be ignored. The figures cannot be simply haggled away. For every black man who came to the plantations, five died or were crippled. And here I do not mention the disorganization of the continent and its consequences.

72. While the entire world, thanks to you, Mr. President, with the help of the Secretary-General, will be commemorating that anniversary and noting this truth, it will understand why we long for peace among nations and why we demand our right to development with absolute equality through the organization and distribution of human resources. It is because we belong to one of the races that has suffered the most that we in Burkina Faso have sworn that we shall never accept any splitting up of our country or any denial of justice. It is the memory of that suffering that causes us to stand side by side with the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] against the armed bands of Israel. It is the memory of that suffering which, on the one hand, causes us to support the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and, on the other, makes absolutely intolerable the presence in South Africa of men who say they are white and feel entitled on that account to set the whole world on fire. It is that memory of suffering that makes us put all our faith in the United Nations, with the common responsibility, the common task and the common hopes of us all.

73. We demand that throughout the world the campaign to free Nelson Mandela be intensified so that his presence here at the next session of the General Assembly will be a victory of collective pride. In memory of our suffering and as a collective pardon, an international humanitarian prize should be given for all those who have contributed to the defence of human rights through their work and research. We call for cutting all budgets for space research by one ten-thousandth and devoting that amount to research in the field of health and to improving the human environment which has been disrupted by those "fireworks" which are harmful to the ecosystem.

74. We also propose that the structures of the United Nations be reviewed and revised so that an end may be put to the scandal of the right of veto. The perverse effects of its abuse have, of course, been offset by the vigilance of some States that possess the veto right. However, nothing can justify that right—neither the size of the country nor its wealth.

75. If the argument used to justify that inequity has been the cost paid during the Second World War, then those nations that have arrogated those rights to themselves should know that each of us has an uncle or a father who—like thousands of other innocent people recruited from the third world to defend the rights that had been flouted by the Hitlerite hordes—also suffered and died from Nazi bullets. Therefore, let those major Powers, which miss no opportunity to question the right of peoples, not be so arrogant. The absence of Africa from the club of those that have the right of veto is an injustice which must be ended.

76. Lastly, my delegation would be failing in its duty if it did not call for the suspension of Israel and the pure and simple exclusion of South Africa from the United Nations. When, in the course of time, those countries have done what they must do to justify their presence in the international community, then we would be only too happy to welcome them here and to guide their first steps.

77. We should like to reconfirm our confidence in the United Nations. We are grateful for the work which its agencies have done in Burkina Faso and for their presence side by side with us in the difficult times in which we are living. We are grateful to the members of the Security Council for having allowed us twice this year to preside over the work of the Council. We only hope the Council will recognize the principle of the struggle against the extermination of 30 million human beings each year through hunger, which today is more devastating than nuclear weapons.

78. Our confidence and faith in the United Nations leads me to thank the Secretary-General for his visit, which we greatly appreciated; he came to see for himself the harsh reality of our life and to get a true picture of the aridity of the Sahel and the tragedy of desertification.

79. I cannot conclude without paying a tribute to the President of the General Assembly, who, with his great intelligence and perception, will guide the work of this thirty-ninth session.

80. I have travelled many thousands of kilometres to be here. I have come to ask each member to work together to put an end to the contempt of those who are unreasonable, to eliminate the tragic spectacle of children dying of hunger, to do away with ignorance, to ensure the triumph of the legitimate rebellion of peoples and to put an end to the use of weapons so that they can be laid down and fall silent, and to ensure that mankind will survive and that together, with the great poet Novalis we can all sing together:

"Soon the stars will come back to the Earth where they have long been gone; soon the sun will return, the star will shine again among the stars, all the races of the world will gather together again after a long separation, the old orphaned families will find one another again and every day there will be new discoveries, more people will embrace one another; then the inhabitants of the old days will come back to the Earth, the ashes will be relit in each tomb, the flame of life will burn again, the old houses will be rebuilt, the old times will come again and history will be the dream of the present extended to infinity."

81. Down with international reaction! Down with imperialism! Down with neo-colonialism! Down with "puppetism"!

82. Eternal glory to the peoples who are struggling for their freedom! Eternal glory to the peoples who stand shoulder to shoulder to defend their dignity! Eternal victory to the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia in their struggle!

83. Fatherland or death: we shall triumph.

84. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank Mr. Sankara, Head of State and President of the National Council of the Revolution of Burkina Faso, for the statement he has just made.

85. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): We congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, welcoming in your person a prominent representative of a friendly, non-aligned country with which we have been developing broad, constructive and fruitful relations. We wish you as well as the Secretary-General every success in your demanding work. We also appreciate the work of your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Enrique Illueca.

86. We welcome Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations. We extend to that country our sincere congratulations on its accession to independence.

87. This highest forum of the United Nations meets at a time when peoples of the world are getting ready to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism and militarism and the end of the Second World War. The combined will of nations not to allow a recurrence of such a cataclysm gave birth to the Organization. Czechoslovakia, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, has, since the first moments of its existence, been consistently striving for the implementation of the lofty ideals of its Charter in the interest of maintaining and strengthening world peace and developing all-round co-operation among nations. As early as the first session of the General Assembly, we resolutely advocated the very first general control and reduction of armaments and armed forces, the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes and the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of weapons adaptable then or in the future to mass destruction. At that time, in December 1946, the Czechoslovak delegation stated that it supported without reservation or scepticism the entire relevant resolution and expressed its conviction that the state of the world called for disarmament which would promote the necessary co-operation between all countries of the world.<sup>6</sup>

88. Throughout the ensuing four decades, we have been actively supporting the United Nations in its irreplaceable peace-promoting activities and continue to do so.

89. During this year's successful visit of the Secretary-General to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, we expressed at the highest level our commitment to the cause of the United Nations, as well as our readiness to strengthen its activities and confidence in it. We emphasized that in the present volatile international situation, the peoples need the United Nations as a universal institution of a world system of collective security no less than they did at the time of its establishment. We also stressed that the Organization requires the determination of nations to find just solutions to momentous problems because, as history teaches us, there is no other road to peace but peace. Peace itself is the road, and it can be achieved only through patient, collective efforts every day, through gradual, deliberate building of all-round co-operation among States and consistent strengthening of their mutual confidence and security.

90. Seen from this point of view, this year's general debate so far has been a demonstration of justifiable concern about international developments, which are full of adverse tendencies. Within the short period of the last year, the spiral of the arms race has climbed to unprecedented levels. The stockpiles of nuclear

weapons have reached such a tremendous quantity that they are sufficient to bring about multiple general destruction; consequently, there is no reason whatsoever for their further accumulation. The remaining disarmament talks have hardly made any progress. The dialogue has continued to falter. Mistrust among States has increased. There has been open interference in the internal affairs of countries; there have been acts of aggression. The pursuit of the policy of proceeding from a position of force has been intensified. International relations have been further destabilized. Liquidation of so many of the positive achievements from the years of détente has continued.

91. It is the most reactionary circles of imperialism, primarily those in the United States, that we hold directly responsible for such a course of events—those circles which reflect most clearly the interests of the military-industrial complex, those which have been asserting, instead of the much-needed preservation of the military-strategic balance and a gradual reduction in its level, a policy of force, hegemonism, diktat, State terrorism, striving for military superiority, fanning hotbeds of tension, imposing their imperialist demands on other countries and non-compliance with agreements which have been concluded.

92. This truly dangerous situation has been particularly aggravated by the installation of new United States intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. The reason for this was the fact that these were weapons of a new quality, first-strike weapons with strategic effects. Their deployment has created a completely new military-strategic and political situation. The Geneva talks have been blocked. The prospects for limiting and reducing nuclear weapons have been substantially worsened. If I had to say from this rostrum last year, at the thirty-eighth session, that "the Pershing II missiles are to be deployed a mere 180 kilometres from our borders" [*19th meeting, para. 111*], then, unfortunately, I have to state now, much to my regret, that they have already been deployed. I must also add that there was nothing for us and our allies to do but to adopt appropriate defensive countermeasures in deploying systems of operational tactical missiles with increased range—which resulted in the fact, for which we are not to blame, that the European continent has only suffered a loss without making any gain. The balance has been restored at a higher and more dangerous level. The presence of new weapons in Western Europe has not brought any increase at all in security; quite the contrary, it has caused a general decrease in security, prompted the growth of mistrust and tension in relations among States, created further complications on the way to agreement and posed a threat to other regions also within their striking radius and, in the long run, to the whole world.

93. International relations have been considerably aggravated by the continued pursuit of plans aimed at achieving strategic superiority and preparing for a nuclear war in outer space, by the programme to develop and produce means for the militarization of outer space. This space project with "defensive" or "preventive" purposes to be achieved by the envisaged anti-ballistic and anti-satellite systems has in fact shifted the question of war in outer space—in that "sixth ocean", as it might be called today—from the realm of theory to that of practice. However, a war in outer space would not be an alternative to a

war on earth, as some people foolishly believe, but rather a prelude to it.

94. The overall state of affairs, furthermore, has been unfavourably affected by the dangerous statements casting doubt on the post-war settlement in Europe in connection with the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. The authors of these irresponsible utterances, which in essence amount to a refusal to recognize the *status quo* in Europe, have taken an extremely dangerous step, placing in jeopardy the very foundations of European peace. Everybody knows, after all, that any attempt to revise European borders guaranteed by the entire potential of the community of socialist States is in advance condemned by history to failure.

95. Further deterioration in the situation has been caused by the impact of these utterances on those forces that have not reconciled themselves to the defeat of nazism and the post-war arrangements in Europe. In fact, we could see what an encouraging effect they had on West German revanchism: how it has been conspicuously revived; how it has defiantly raised its head; how, deplorably, contrary to the agreements concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic, it has raised demands at rallies in Munich and elsewhere for a revision of the post-war arrangement of Europe and its borders; how, arrogantly, it claimed a "right to a homeland" or the solution of "an outstanding German question"—all this with the patronage of the highest representatives of State and Government and in conditions marked by the presence of new medium-range missiles, by the growing military strength of the Bundeswehr and the lifting of limitations on the production of certain types of weapons, including strategic ones.

96. What is required is wisdom, far-sightedness, composure and the ability to look at matters not from the position of force and ideological illusions but in the light of political realities in order to restrain such confrontational steps, eliminate their impact and place barriers in their way—whether it be the threat of missiles, war in outer space, attempts to question the post-war settlement or the growth of revanchism.

97. Thus, what is needed is not only a change of tone in the rhetoric but a change of approach; not only gestures but actions; not words but deeds. After all, confidence, too, is indivisible. In other words, in the spirit of the best traditions of the anti-Hitler coalition, it is necessary to display an ability to subordinate ideological prejudices and problems in mutual relations which can be solved to the primary objective criterion—the fundamental concern of mankind as a whole and of one's own nation for a return to the policy of détente, lasting peace and constructive co-operation.

98. Czechoslovakia, in co-ordination with the other socialist countries, is always ready to contribute to such a course.

99. Unfortunately, the situation is such that for the time being we do not see any indications that imperialism is ready to give up its current policy of force; nor do we perceive any readiness on the part of the United States to undertake concrete action for the solution of current problems and for the sake of a policy of stable, mutually advantageous co-operation.

100. Together with our allies, we have already expressed our willingness and readiness for such negotiations in a wide-ranging set of important peace initiatives aimed at reaching agreement on the most vital current problems.

101. First of all, there are the proposals contained in the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at Prague on 5 January 1983,<sup>7</sup> the joint statement issued in Moscow on 28 June 1983,<sup>8</sup> and the Declaration by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance at their high-level Economic Conference, held in Moscow from 12 to 14 June 1984 [A/39/323, annex II]. As the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, stated recently "through their initiatives and proposals, the States of the socialist community are striving for constructive solutions of international problems, for a return to the path of détente and the settlement of crisis situations and hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, on the basis of honest and equal negotiations, on the basis of equality and equal security".

102. At the same time, we are ready to consider and accept any idea, any proposal, that leads us away from the nuclear abyss. In the struggle against the danger of war, against the arms race, we are ready to ally ourselves with all peace-loving countries.

103. Our approach is based on the well-founded assumption that the international situation can be restored to health only through a serious and creative dialogue imbued with a spirit of responsibility for the fate of humanity. Precisely that kind of dialogue may lead to the fulfilment of the pressing and most vital task of averting the threat of nuclear war, a task in which today the very existence of mankind is at stake. To that end, all States without exception must unite. The entire capacity of the United Nations, too, must be used for the same purpose. What must be achieved is that relations among nuclear Powers be governed by certain principles. Above all, averting a nuclear war must become the principal objective of their foreign policies, as envisaged in the extremely important proposal submitted by the highest Soviet official, Mr. Konstantin Chernenko, on 2 March 1984, which is rightly referred to as the code of conduct for nuclear Powers. Its adoption would contribute to a considerable reduction in the risk of military confrontation and to the strengthening of security and stability in the relations among States possessing those most horrible weapons ever created by man.

104. Czechoslovakia is emphatically advocating an immediate halt to the nuclear arms race and the adoption of effective measures to reduce the stock-piles of nuclear arms until they are completely liquidated. In this context, we also appreciate the appeal made by the Heads of State or Government of six countries, in their Joint Declaration of 22 May 1984 [see A/39/277], addressed to the nuclear Powers. An exceptionally important step towards reaching those objectives, in our view, would be the freezing of nuclear-weapon arsenals by nuclear Powers possessing such weapons at both quantitative and qualitative levels, as envisaged in the highly topical proposal by the Soviet Union adopted at last year's session of the General Assembly.

105. Also, the adoption by the nuclear Powers which have not yet done so of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would constitute a



very important measure towards reaching a positive political turn in confidence-building throughout the world.

106. A milestone would be set on the road to nuclear disarmament by drafting and adopting a treaty on a complete and universal nuclear-weapon-test ban.

107. We are in favour of strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and of achieving its universality. In this context, Czechoslovakia attaches great importance to the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty, to be convened at Geneva in 1985. We shall work for the success of the Conference, so that it might contribute to the further strengthening of the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

108. We do not regard as irreversible the situation that has been created in Europe following the start of the deployment of first-strike United States weapons; solution is possible. The deployment of those weapons must be immediately discontinued and the situation must be returned to the status that existed in the fall of last year.

109. We support the proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. We are willing and ready to consider any constructive initiatives for their establishment, especially in Europe.

110. Together with nuclear disarmament, an exceptionally timely and truly urgent task, in our view, is to prevent an extension of the arms race to outer space before it is too late and before the space surrounding our planet is filled with new types and systems of first-strike weapons—conventional, nuclear, laser or beam weapons. The use of force in outer space and from outer space against the earth, as well as from the earth against objects in outer space, must be prohibited once and for all. We are convinced that people throughout the world would welcome with relief a speedy start to Soviet-United States talks on these questions, as proposed by the Government of the Soviet Union in its statement last June. We also give our full support to the new and important Soviet initiative taken at this session by Mr. Andrei Gromyko [*see A/39/243*] for the adoption of an historic undertaking by all States to safeguard the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind, which might lead in the future to the establishment of a world organization to that end.

111. At the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, we actively advocate the speedy drafting of a convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. In that respect, a good foundation was provided by the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union in 1982<sup>9</sup> at the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second session devoted to disarmament, and supplemented by further constructive Soviet proposals, including the latest one concerning verification of the destruction of chemical weapons. The achievement of a general ban on chemical weapons may also be significantly facilitated by the proposal made by the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization addressed to the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] for the elimination of chemical weapons from Europe.

112. We believe it is extremely important to give new impetus to efforts for the limitation of the

conventional arms race. The urgency of this task is further increased by the fact that through the fault of the NATO militarists a new generation of conventional weapons is coming into being, whose capabilities are approaching those of the most destructive weapons. For a number of months now, a response has been awaited to one of the important joint initiatives by the Warsaw Treaty countries, namely, to begin talks with the NATO countries on the question of a freeze on military expenditures and the subsequent reduction of such expenditures. It would be useful if States not belonging to either of those two military-political groupings were also to participate in the implementation of the proposed measures.

113. At the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, we are striving in particular to achieve the implementation of proposals relating to important military-political measures. First, there is a draft treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The conclusion of such a treaty would provide a legal and political guarantee of an improvement in the strengthening of confidence and security. It was with this in mind that on 7 May the Warsaw Treaty member States addressed an appeal to the member States of NATO [*A/39/300*] to begin multilateral consultations on that proposal.

114. The deliberations at the Stockholm Conference thus far have clearly shown that an agreement cannot be attained without constructive consideration of the basic important questions of confidence and security and without ensuring consideration on an equal footing of all proposals submitted. We are convinced that the Conference can reach positive results. What is needed, however, is better mutual understanding, a responsible approach and political will on the part of all the participants.

115. At the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, we have endeavoured, together with our allies, to overcome the profound deadlock reached in those talks through the fault of the West. The approach set forth in the proposals submitted by the socialist countries in 1983 provides a simple and mutually acceptable way to implement the mandate of the Vienna talks in its entirety. The appropriate use of that approach would facilitate overcoming the numerical barrier and would speed up the adoption of a mutually acceptable agreement that would make possible a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

116. In the interest of progress in the solution of all disarmament questions, Czechoslovakia will continue its efforts of previous years and will also at this session of the General Assembly further elaborate on the ideas of the Declaration on International Cooperation for Disarmament, which was adopted at our initiative in 1979 [*resolution 34/88*].

117. We believe that the General Assembly should give new encouragement to the efforts aimed at safeguarding the peaceful nature of relations among States and strengthening mutual confidence. Were it not for the policies of States that arrogate to themselves the right openly to destabilize the independent existence of other countries and to subvert their social and political order, the situation in the world would undeniably be more tranquil and less dangerous. It is precisely for this reason that we support the new and most timely proposal by the Soviet Union

[A/39/244] that the United Nations categorically condemn the policy and practice of State terrorism, which is in total contravention of the fundamental norms of international law embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

118. The settlement of persisting conflicts and hotbeds of tension is one of the most pressing tasks of the United Nations. In this regard, I wish to emphasize the timeliness and importance of the Soviet Union's appeal of 29 July of this year [see A/39/368] to resume without delay collective international efforts for a settlement in the Middle East. We view this appeal as a realistic proposal for a comprehensive settlement of the dangerous situation in that region caused by the aggressive expansionist policies of Israel and by imperialist interference. In this connection, we reaffirm our support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people for national self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State.

119. We favour the speediest possible termination of hostilities between Iran and Iraq and the settlement of the conflict by political means in the spirit of the relevant United Nations decisions, in particular Security Council resolutions 540 (1983) and 552 (1984). At the same time, we oppose any external attempts at military interference, whether they are undertaken in the guise of "protection" of oil routes or under any other pretext.

120. We strongly reject interference in the affairs of Cuba and escalation of aggressive militarist actions against Nicaragua, and we condemn once again the aggression against Grenada.

121. We agree with those who see the cause of the explosive situation in Central America and in the Caribbean not in a global East-West confrontation but in the deep political, social and economic crisis created as a result of the interference and gross exploitation practised by imperialism. It is these causes that must be eliminated. We fully support the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about a peaceful and just settlement of the conflict situation in that region.

122. We value and fully support the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for an improvement of relations in the region. We believe that the steps taken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative will also contribute to finding realistic ways of achieving that goal. A prerequisite is the halting of foreign imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

123. Czechoslovakia fully supports the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea in the defence of their freedom and independence and in their efforts to restore peace, stability and co-operative relations among States of the region. We demand that the General Assembly assume a realistic approach to the question of the representation of the Kampuchean people in the United Nations by their true representatives, that is, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which has been consistently pursuing a peaceful foreign policy and striving for the development of co-operation with all States.

124. We support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis, preceded by the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the country.

125. We will continue to extend our full support to an equitable settlement of the question of Cyprus so that Cyprus will remain an independent, sovereign, united, territorially integral and non-aligned State, free from any foreign military presence.

126. We continue to feel full solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, for their freedom. Namibia must be granted independence without any pre-conditions or obstructions. We also support all forms of struggle against the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination carried out by the Pretoria régime.

127. We attach great importance to the activities of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and to its positive role in current international relations. We welcome its stand in favour of the halting of the arms race, the peaceful settlement of conflict situations in the world and the strengthening of peace.

128. We fully support the demands of the developing countries and their efforts aimed at restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. We condemn the aggravation of neo-colonialist exploitation of the developing countries and the practice of the imperialist States of shifting onto the shoulders of the developing countries the burden of the consequences of the economic crisis by means of both political and economic pressure.

129. In the Declaration adopted at the Economic Conference of the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow last June, the participants advocated the adoption of effective measures designed to do away with any kind of exploitation. We confirmed our steadfast commitment to the development of fruitful economic, commercial, scientific and technological contacts with all States so motivated.

130. It is in this spirit that we continue to develop our relations with the Western countries through all existing channels, while consistently applying the well-tested principles of peaceful coexistence. Under conditions of orderly relations, we continue to conduct with most of them a dialogue which produces undisputed constructive results. We regard this as a positive feature of the overall international climate. At the same time, however, we say quite frankly that the deployment of the new first-strike weapons in certain countries of Western Europe could not leave our relations with them unaffected.

131. The present day demands of us urgently that we rededicate ourselves to all the positive aspects of the activities of the United Nations, that we develop them and defend and strengthen, consistently and tirelessly, the foundations of world peace and security as a prerequisite and condition for the solution of the other pressing issues and problems faced by mankind.

For our part, we are ready now as we were before to continue along that road.

132. Mr. HALEFOĞLU (Turkey): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your well-known qualities as an eminent statesman of Africa and your dedication as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia to its independence and the eradication of the abhorrent practice of *apartheid* will contribute to the success of our work. I also wish to express our thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama.

133. It gives me particular pleasure to reiterate on behalf of my Government our full confidence in the Secretary-General. His exceptional leadership, impartiality, foresight and dedication are a source of admiration and respect all over the world.

134. I also wish to extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam, as the newest Member of the United Nations.

135. The agenda of this session contains important items which reflect not only the concerns but also the expectations of the international community. My Government pledges its full support for every effort aimed at improving the international climate and promoting the search for the peaceful settlement of existing problems.

136. The principles of Turkish foreign policy are strongly opposed to oppression, colonialism and racial discrimination. Consequently, we remain deeply concerned about the intolerable and dangerous situation in southern Africa.

137. In Namibia, we are still confronted with one of the last, but most important, vestiges of colonialism, illegal occupation and repression. The process of independence for Namibia is at present passing through a critical stage. Further delay in implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will aggravate the political situation and the troubles in and around Namibia. In this regard, we commend the valuable and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General to make possible the full implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Turkey resolutely supports the legitimate and just struggle of the people of Namibia for their independence, under the leadership of SWAPO.

138. Turkey also strongly condemns the policy of *apartheid* pursued in South Africa, a policy which constitutes the most abominable form of racial discrimination, and it appeals to all Member States to unify their efforts against this inhuman practice.

139. I should also like to mention a positive development in Africa. My Government welcomes the recent agreement on military disengagement in Chad and hopes for its early implementation.

140. The situation in the Middle East continues to cause grave concern. Tension and conflict persist, and unfortunately there is still not much room for optimism about a negotiated settlement. The plight of the Arab Palestinian people continues unabated, while Lebanon is still searching for the opportunity to reassert its sovereignty over its territory and is trying further to pursue the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

141. Turkey is naturally concerned about the tense situation in the region. We see Turkey's role as one of stability, peaceful change and progress. Its historical and cultural heritage, its geographic location and the Western values it has adopted put it in a unique position to play this role.

142. The question of Palestine occupies centre stage in the Middle East political arena and is today, as it has been for more than three decades, among the high-priority items on the agenda of the United Nations. The Organization, through numerous resolutions, has firmly supported the right of self-determination of Arab Palestinians and the creation of an independent Palestinian State, without which no settlement can be just and enduring. It is therefore

important that Israel should withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. Israel should comply with its obligations under the relevant international conventions as the occupying Power and respect the human rights of the people in the occupied territories. Israel must not be allowed further to modify the demographic character and institutional structure of these territories. To put it simply, unless their homeland remains intact, Arab Palestinians will not have the territory upon which to establish their State.

143. The Government of Turkey is of the view that the opportunities created by the Fez plan contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted on 9 September 1982,<sup>10</sup> and by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, should now be judiciously pursued. In this connection, we support the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, as endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58 C. There is considerable support for such a conference. We hope that the Secretary-General can make progress in assisting its preparation through appropriate initiatives. Needless to say, the PLO must participate in the conference on an equal footing with the other parties.

144. In the context of the grave problems of the Middle East region, we wish to underline once again our deep concern over the precarious situation in Lebanon. Israel has repeatedly been called upon to put an end to its violations of the human rights of the population in southern Lebanon. Israel must promptly withdraw from Lebanon as a first and essential step in the process of Lebanese reconciliation and rehabilitation. We are encouraged by the recent moves for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The Lebanese people have already endured untold suffering and losses. They should be left alone, free from foreign interference. A united, sovereign and territorially integral Lebanon is indispensable for the overall stability of the region. We are all under an obligation to help the Lebanese people achieve that goal.

145. The war between Iran and Iraq is yet another major source of tension and danger in the region. Turkey, a neighbour of the two countries, with equally close ties with both, is very much distressed by the loss of human lives and material devastation inflicted by the war. The potential in the conflict for unpredictable developments remains high, and there is always the danger of escalation. We again call on both sides to end the war. Turkey is prepared to assist and to contribute to a settlement under conditions mutually acceptable to Iraq and Iran. We also support other initiatives that enjoy the confidence of the two parties, and, in particular, express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts.

146. We continue to be deeply concerned about the situation in Afghanistan. The determination of the Afghan people to live in freedom is praiseworthy. We applaud the efforts of the Secretary-General to obtain a negotiated political settlement. The Afghan people must be able to exercise its right to self-determination, and the Afghan refugees must be allowed to return to their country in safety. Such a settlement should restore Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status by ensuring the withdrawal of foreign military forces. We also express our appreciation to the Government of Pakistan, which, despite its

limited means, provides shelter and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees, and our satisfaction over its positive and co-operative approach to a peaceful settlement.

147. The situation in Kampuchea is another matter which deserves the constant attention of the international community. An early political settlement, involving the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country, the cessation of all foreign influence in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the restoration of independence based on the right of self-determination, is imperative. Turkey highly appreciates the efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations towards a peaceful solution of this important problem, which endangers peace and stability in the region.

148. I should also like to touch upon the situation in the Korean peninsula, which remains unchanged. We are convinced of the need for a speedy resumption of the dialogue between the parties concerned in order to settle the Korean question by peaceful means. In this context, we greatly value the initiatives of the Government of the Republic of Korea designed to bring about a dialogue. There is also an important role to be played by the United Nations, which has long been directly involved in the issue. In this connection, we are convinced that a better atmosphere of peace, reconciliation and understanding would be fostered by admitting the parties directly concerned to this universal body.

149. In spite of the most welcome signs of the development of the democratic process in Latin America, the present situation in Central America remains tense. The aggravation of the political atmosphere and the acute economic and social difficulties in the region have a negative impact on international relations. In this respect, we fully support the efforts of the Contadora Group in the search for a peaceful, negotiated solution to the conflicts in the region.

150. We believe that law and order must be established and that the aspirations of these nations to live and develop under democratic pluralistic régimes respectful of basic human rights must be fulfilled.

151. We should like to commend the Secretary-General for his recent efforts concerning Cyprus. My Government is pleased with the reactivation of the search for a negotiated settlement. We consider the high-level proximity talks which began on 10 September within the framework defined at Vienna to be a constructive step forward. We sincerely hope that the current initiative of the Secretary-General will lead to the resumption of the direct negotiating process between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sides on the existing, mutually agreed basis. We are encouraged by the information from the Secretary-General that in their first round the proximity talks have been thorough, serious, business-like and conducted in a constructive spirit. I take this opportunity to reiterate our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring and skilful efforts to bring about a lasting solution to the Cyprus question.

152. Today there is an absolute need for careful but imaginative action to exploit the opportunity that has been created for a compromise in Cyprus with the introduction by the Secretary-General, at Vienna, of the "working points". Whatever reasons may still divide the two communities, there is no excuse for delaying the resumption of the direct negotiating process. Both sides stand to gain much more from

negotiations than from rhetorical exchanges and propaganda activities. The time has come for the two Cypriot sides to make renewed efforts in their challenging task of reshaping their relations as equal partners in a bicomunal, bizonal, federal framework. We welcome the fact that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, for its part, has declared its readiness to make every effort to this end. Its positive approach to the Secretary-General's initiative, both in procedure and in substance, has been a step in the right direction. However, this constructive attitude of the Turkish Cypriot side has yet to be reciprocated. This, in our view, is the key to progress.

153. My Government will continue to encourage the negotiating process and lend its support to the Secretary-General's mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council in paragraph 6 of its resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975.

154. International terrorism threatens mankind and the normal conduct of international relations. Its well-established links with international arms and drug smuggling indicate the extent of this threat. Therefore, it is not enough to take appropriate measures individually at the national level, which Turkey has successfully done, to eliminate this problem. It is also necessary for States to assume international obligations to prevent the use of their territory for acts of terrorism against other States. The perpetrators of such crimes should not be allowed to find shelter in other countries. In this regard, Turkey strongly believes that terrorism in all its forms can only be eliminated through close and effective international co-operation.

155. Consequently, as an important aspect of this global problem, we find the item in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly entitled "Consideration of effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives" most appropriate for the affirmation of this commitment.

156. Turkey notes with satisfaction the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives, who have increasingly been subjected to terrorist attacks, and the decision taken to alert world opinion to the Organization's important role and activities in this area. We look forward to the implementation and further elaboration of these resolutions and decisions.

157. The reversal of the recessionary trend in the world economy since the end of 1982, the resumption of growth in the industrial countries, the further slowing of inflation in the developed market economies and a notable reduction in the current account deficit of the non-oil-producing developing countries compared with the preceding several years have been favourable developments for the recovery of the world economy in 1984.

158. Despite these significant positive signs, difficult economic problems faced by the developing countries remain unsolved. Developing countries, and especially the least developed one, are unable to resume their growth process, which has been severely affected by the prolonged global recession. Already weakened by serious structural problems, such as rapid population growth, unemployment, high rates of inflation, declining per capita income and low levels of production and exports, developing countries are faced with decreasing demand in the devel-

oped world, weak terms of trade for their primary commodities, restricted access to world markets, and a heavy burden of external debts and high interest rates. This trend has forced many developing countries to adopt restrictive policies and austerity programmes, reducing budget deficits, slowing the growth of the money supply, restraining wage increases and scaling back subsidies to combat inflation. But the continued decrease of their net total savings and of their imports hampers their growth. Sustained growth of the world economy is the only viable long-term solution for most of the current problems.

159. It is difficult for any country, whether rich or poor, large or small, to isolate itself from the rest of the world. It is against this background that intensified co-operative efforts among nations and institutions, both public and private, are needed to overcome our common problems. We must seek short- and long-term measures to reduce protectionist barriers and expand international trade, support and strengthen the multilateral mechanisms for the transfer of financial and technical assistance to developing countries and give due consideration to enhancing the quality and level of their human and natural resources.

160. In this connection, we highly appreciate the London Economic Declaration, issued at the London Economic Summit, held from 7 to 9 June 1984 [see A/39/304], and the intention of the seven major industrialized countries to spread the benefits of the world recovery widely to developing countries, especially to the least developed ones, which stand to gain more from a sustained growth of world economy.

161. Turkey, on the basis of mutual benefit, participates actively in enhancing economic relations with developing countries. We are convinced that tangible and realistic results of the economic co-operation among the developing countries, in particular on a regional level, can establish reliable bases for a genuine and comprehensive dialogue on a much larger scale. Likewise, Turkey supports all constructive and practical proposals initiated by developing countries for adjusting similar structural difficulties with a view to providing effective solutions.

162. Finally, a certain convergence of views between the North and the South has emerged in a number of international forums. What is needed now is the political will to translate ideas into action. Such political will is especially needed to resolve the debt problems of the developing countries, which constitute a tangible major threat to the stability of international economic relations.

163. Many speakers here have urged global initiatives rather than interim measures to avert a collapse of the international financial system and to buy time for the developing countries.

164. Turkey believes that the principal responsibility for development lies first with the developing countries themselves. They must realize that sound economic policies are a *sine qua non* for their steady and healthy progress in this field. Turkey is one country which has had experience in successfully adjusting its economy during the global recession and in servicing its debt payments. It has expanded its exports, benefiting also from the possibilities of South-South trade, and it has adopted policies aimed at restoring the balance of the main economic

aggregates. Turkey's success in implementing these policies can well be taken as a good example.

165. Turkey's efforts, like those of other developing countries, to continue its expansion of exports are hampered by the protectionist trends in the developed countries. These trends, we believe, could be reversed not only through the early resumption of new comprehensive, multilateral trade negotiations—which should cover all items, such as agricultural commodities, manufactured goods and services—but also through the implementation of the already existing commitments.

166. We believe that adopting an objective approach in all economic fields would pave the way for a comprehensive and constructive exchange of views on world economic issues. We hope, in this context, that a realistic consensus will emerge for the launching of global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations.

167. One of the overriding concerns of mankind is arms control and disarmament efforts. The arms race drains the scarce resources of nations and brings about instability and insecurity in international relations. The developing countries especially are in need of these resources for their economic and social development, which can only be accomplished in a safer and more stable international environment.

168. Turkey's objective is and remains to have an adequate defence capability, as well as balanced and verifiable arms control and arms reduction steps, in conjunction with a policy of dialogue and confidence-building.

169. We are of the opinion that a commitment to rebuilding confidence among States is the most important prerequisite for the success of disarmament initiatives. The successful conclusion of the Madrid follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the convening at Stockholm of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe have yet to bring about the desired results.

170. We welcome the recent proposals made by President Reagan in his speech from this rostrum [4th meeting] and also the recent contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union as a sign of hope for the future. The super-Powers bear a special responsibility in the field of arms control. They should resume, as early as possible, negotiations on nuclear armaments with a view to paving the way to progress in all other related areas. It is our earnest wish that this session of the General Assembly will mark the beginning of a turning-point in East-West relations, as well as of a better understanding between North and South.

171. Mrs. DE AMORIN (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*): The established practice in the United Nations of setting aside three weeks of the General Assembly session for the general debate is not in itself an objectionable method. The way in which it is used makes the practice less and less praiseworthy, not to say less and less credible.

172. The compilation of all the addresses given before the Assembly gives us an idea of the depth of the abyss which exists between the fundamental principles, the generous ideas and the constructive recommendations which are formally proclaimed and the increasingly powerful brakes used to prevent their full implementation.

173. Where do we stand today in our repeated commitment to work for the building of a just, equitable and harmonious world in which every people may live in freedom, dignity and security?

174. The rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, are flagrantly violated by certain Member States.

175. The unswerving support given by the international community to the determination of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to turn Namibia into an independent nation does not prevent South Africa from continuing illegally to occupy that Territory.

176. The régime of *apartheid*—considered a crime against humanity, the shame of the twentieth century—strengthened by its alliances, defies the international community through the brutality of its repressive methods, its disdain for the black population, its travesty of democracy steeped in the most primitive racism and its plan to destabilize the countries of the region.

*Mr. Díaz-Durán (Guatemala), Vice President, took the Chair.*

177. Despite the relevant resolutions, the heroic peoples of Western Sahara, Palestine and East Timor continue to wage a war of liberation against Moroccan, Israeli and Indonesian forces.

178. The principles and rules governing relations among States—in particular, those of equal rights, the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes, the right to choose one's own path to development, non-interference in internal affairs—are sometimes disregarded by those who wish to become the masters of the universe or who harbour dreams of expansion and domination. The vast majority of the conflicts that rage in the various parts of the world have their origin in the non-observance of those cardinal principles.

179. Moreover, we are far from achieving a new international economic order. It is as though the wealthy countries extract from the poverty and misery of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries the life-blood they need to feed their affluence and strengthen their selfishness.

180. Although it is true that we all belong to the great family of the United Nations, we behave in our relations like members of a broken family, where might is right. The arms race is proof of this.

181. What credibility, then, can we attach to these three weeks of general debate and what is its real contribution to the solution of world problems? The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe thinks that it would be more constructive to use this period in the scheduled meetings to analyse the most important items on the agenda. That would have the advantage of making our meetings more lively and of giving Foreign Ministers the time they need to express their views in an atmosphere of dynamic and constructive dialogue.

182. One of the major tasks facing all Member States is that of strengthening the role of the Organization. We welcome the delegation of Brunei Darussalam and are convinced that its participation in that collective effort will be appreciated.

183. The observance in 1985 of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations will provide a suitable opportunity for thorough consideration of the role of the Organization and ways and means of strengthening its effectiveness and credibility in the quest for solutions to the disquieting issues of today's world.

184. In this connection, the excellent report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/39/I] constitutes an important contribution.

185. I know how difficult it is to change the rituals of the Organization, but, bearing in mind the purposes of the United Nations and the enormous hope it holds out for the safeguarding of peace and for the freedom and progress of nations and peoples, there is still time to try.

186. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): I have the honour to convey to the President of the General Assembly and to all representatives the warm greetings and good wishes of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, for the success of this session of the General Assembly.

187. Allow me also to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Paul Lusaka on his election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election is not only a recognition of his outstanding qualities as a diplomat and statesman, but also a tribute to his great country, which has been in the forefront of progressive causes in Africa and in the world at large.

188. To his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, I should like to convey our admiration of the great skill and distinction with which he guided the last session of the General Assembly.

189. My delegation attaches considerable importance to the universal character of the United Nations. In keeping with this view, we are happy to extend a hearty welcome to the Organization's new Member, Brunei Darussalam.

190. One of the primary purposes for the founding of the United Nations was to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. To that end, all the speakers who have taken part in the general debate during the past two weeks have drawn our attention to the urgent need to strengthen international peace and security. Sadly, however, in spite of such universal calls for peace year after year, much of the world still remains torn by conflicts. New upheavals take place while old wars drag on. After 39 years of the existence of the United Nations, the world has certainly not become a safer place to live in.

191. In fact, the international situation has reached its most critical point since the Second World War. The seriousness of the situation was recently underscored by the appeal for peace and disarmament made by the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania in their Joint Declaration of 22 May 1984 [see A/39/277].

192. It seems that proxy wars will continue, with developing countries invariably the victims. Whether in Asia or in Africa, in the Middle East or in Central America, the scenario is the same. Why, in the face of the oft-repeated desire for peace of all countries, have these situations been allowed to continue, and in fact to worsen?

193. In our view, conflicts and tension will continue as long as efforts are made to divide the world

into spheres of influence and military blocs. The world is being gradually forced back to the era of the cold war as a result of such great-Power rivalry. Furthermore, tension is heightened by the worsening economic situation in the developing countries. People of all nations are beginning to lose confidence in their future. This situation was aptly summed up last year by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization,<sup>11</sup> when he said:

“The belief in a common future has been, to a large extent, lost in the anxieties of a divided present. Short-term national interests, old resentments and fears, and ideological differences have obscured the vision of the Charter.”

That bleak and dismal picture remains unchanged in 1984.

194. We see in the Middle East the ongoing senseless and tragic confrontation between Iran and Iraq. The fate of Lebanon is another source of concern to all of us. The international community must do all it can to redress these situations.

195. The resolutions of the Security Council and those of the General Assembly which provide that Israel must withdraw totally and unconditionally from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 remain unimplemented. We must state that not even Israel's legitimate security interests can condone the continuing occupation of southern Lebanon and other Arab territories.

196. Furthermore, the rights of the Palestinians must be fully restored, including the right to self-determination in their homeland. Only then can there be any real chance of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, a peace founded on the rights of all States in the region to exist within internationally recognized boundaries.

197. In southern Africa, we deplore the blatant evil of *apartheid* and call for its swift and complete eradication. *Apartheid* hurts black and white alike; its inhumanity causes suffering to the oppressed and corrupts the oppressor. We also reiterate our support for the just struggle of the Namibian people for independence under the leadership of SWAPO.

198. Until the super-Powers and their allies learn to refrain from pursuing a policy of intervention and interference and learn to live together in peaceful coexistence, there will be no peace on this planet. Policies aimed at promoting ideologies and extending spheres of influence are a self-defeating process from which neither East nor West will gain in the long run.

199. We all live today under the shadow of a nuclear holocaust brought about by the nuclear arms race. The danger this represents cannot be highlighted strongly enough, though discussions about it are often couched in coldly academic terms amounting to euphemism or a ghastly numbers game. Let us be honest: there can be no such thing as a “limited nuclear war”, nor the chance for life, as we know it, after a nuclear holocaust. There can be no talk of the “rationality” of such a situation, nor can we realistically speak of massive nuclear arms buildups as a deterrent to war. History affords us few examples of weapons invented but not used. The choice before us is whether we are to have a future at all.

200. The trend evinced by each side to harden positions and to refuse to come to terms, whether on arms limitation talks or the non-use of space for nuclear weapons, must be reversed. Outer space must definitely be kept free of “star war” scenarios.

201. The cementing of an agreement on a comprehensive nuclear-weapon-test ban is one practical first step. This move would impede, if not halt, the sophistication of existing nuclear weapons and put a stop to the creation of totally new nuclear arms. Furthermore, production of chemical weapons must be banned and existing stocks destroyed.

202. Achievement of superiority by either side is a pathetic illusion, and the headlong rush to try to attain such dominance produces ever greater insecurity and instability. Each megaton of potential destructive force brings us closer to the probability of an accident or a breakdown in restraint. Let us apply the same ingenuity wasted on these gigantic follies to find constructive solutions to the problem of collective security, and thereby end the perceived need for instruments of mass annihilation.

203. The Secretary-General, in his report last year, posed the pertinent question:

“Who can possibly believe that a world dominated by the nuclear balance, where \$800 billion a year is spent on armaments and where a large proportion of the population lives in destitution and with little real hope, is on the right track?”

Indeed, with fully two thirds of the world's population living below the poverty line, the question deserves consideration.

204. The North-South dialogue was a promising beginning to finding ways of overcoming dilemmas confronting the world economy and fostering a spirit of co-operation. Resolutions were debated and agreed upon, but no action has been taken so far. The negative attitude demonstrated by a few Member countries is tantamount to rejection of international co-operation for development. The issues originally addressed by the dialogue remain as vital as ever. The negotiations, in our view, must be resuscitated in the interests of a better future for all humanity.

205. We live in an interdependent world. What happens in one country or region has repercussions in the next and often affects the whole world. Economic interdependence is a concept with which we are all familiar, and yet we must constantly bear it in mind when seeking remedies to the problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and underdevelopment.

206. The state of the world economy in general continues to be plagued by structural deficiencies and imbalance. As a result, there has been a serious erosion of living standards in developing countries. The situation is most desperate in the least developed countries. Regrettably, the results of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September 1981, are yet to materialize. We believe that the international community must assist in eradicating hunger and malnutrition. There is an urgent need to go beyond expressions of concern to positive action. While we recognize that developing countries themselves have the main responsibility for development, we should at the same time remember that external resources do have a vital role to play in complementing national efforts.

207. The past year saw many distressing events, but there have been some encouraging signs as well. One such positive note was sounded by the Nordic Foreign Ministers meeting at Reykjavik just a month ago. In their official communiqué—an extraordinarily enlightened document by any standard—the ministers affirmed their strong support for the Charter of

the United Nations, called for disarmament and resumption of détente between the major Powers, urged a comprehensive test-ban treaty, reiterated their full support for efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, condemned the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, and stated the necessity of adopting concrete measures to strengthen the development of developing countries through bilateral and multilateral aid. The international community would do well to listen to the concerted voice of reason, moderation and good sense emanating from Reykjavik. Indeed, in the tension-ridden situation prevailing in the world at present, the Nordic Group, with its pragmatic, constructive and enlightened thinking, could well serve as a bridge between West and East and between North and South.

208. Another positive aspect of the past year has been the continued efforts of the Contadora Group to help maintain peace in Central America. Their task is formidable, but the very existence of the Group is a sign of hope.

209. In our own part of the world, in the Kingdom of Bhutan, the people are moving forward under the wise, dynamic and dedicated leadership of our King, Jigme Singye Wangchuck. After two and a half decades of development planning, we have been able to create the basic infrastructure and to enthuse the people to participate in shaping their own present and future well-being. In doing so, we strive to meet the most basic needs of our people—access to education, health care, decent housing and productive employment. We do not wish development for development's sake. Through innovative measures, we are seeking to achieve a pattern of development best suited to our natural environment and the genius of our people and in conformity with our rich spiritual and cultural traditions.

210. In our region of South Asia, we have taken a significant step forward to further regional co-operation. The Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka had their second meeting in Maldives last July. The meetings were held in a friendly and co-operative atmosphere. We are now hopeful that the next meeting, which will be held in Bhutan some time in the spring of 1985, will make adequate preparations for the summit to be held in Bangladesh later in the

year. All this augurs well for the people of our region. Many problems lie before us, but we know that it is only through regional action that we can hope to meet these challenges. The seven member countries are aware that orderly development and progress can take place in South Asia only in an atmosphere of peace, harmony and mutually beneficial co-operation.

211. Human history is not merely a list of tragedies, but is rich in inspiring stories of the glorious achievements of individuals and groups in the fields of politics, economics, the arts, philosophy and other areas of human endeavour. Let us look on our shared present problems as challenges and opportunities. We have on record many fine resolutions—let us implement them. Let this thirty-ninth session be a landmark for world peace and prosperity.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Jacques Giri, *Le Sahel demain: catastrophe ou renaissance?* (Paris, Karthala, 1985).

<sup>2</sup>See World Health Organization, *Health Care: Report of the International Conference on Primary Health Care, Alma-Ata, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 6–12 September 1978*, Geneva, 1978.

<sup>3</sup>Growth monitoring, oral rehydration therapy, breast feeding and immunization, along with food supplementation, female education and family spacing.

<sup>4</sup>See A/34/542, annex III.

<sup>5</sup>Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>6</sup>See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Part of the First Session, First Committee*, 34th meeting.

<sup>7</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1983, document S/15862, annex.

<sup>9</sup>A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.

<sup>10</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

<sup>11</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/38/1)*.