

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**18th
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 3 October 1984,
at 10.25 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. FERNÁNDEZ SAAVEDRA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is an honour to come to this important rostrum to represent a Government born of the people's will. Your personal qualities and experience ensure the success of this Assembly's deliberations and the continuance of outstanding leadership such as was given by the previous President, a Head of State and friend of Bolivia, Mr. Jorge Illueca.

2. My delegation is happy to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations.

3. I wish also to express the special fraternal gratitude of the Bolivian people to the Secretary-General for the interest which the United Nations system has shown in my country and for its co-operation.

4. The people and Government of Bolivia once again reiterate their support for the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those concerning the peaceful solution of disputes and the non-use of force in international relations, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention in internal affairs, and the self-determination of peoples. In the same way, we reject territorial conquest and all forms of military occupation.

5. Bolivia emphatically stresses its attachment to the principles of non-alignment; it rejects the occupation of Lebanon and Cyprus by foreign forces; it deplores the fact that the Secretary-General's efforts concerning the crises in Kampuchea and Afghanistan have not achieved the progress hoped for by the international community; it regrets the continuance of the Iran-Iraq conflict and reiterates the need to make more intensive efforts to resolve it; it supports all actions designed to bring about the reunification of Korea; it deeply regrets the absence of peace in the Middle East and supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

6. Bolivia, for reasons of principle and historical experience, supports the universal doctrine that conquest by the use of force is inadmissible.

7. My country stresses its solidarity with the peoples struggling to throw off the colonial yoke and reaffirms Namibia's right to independence within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

8. Of course, we must emphatically repudiate the doctrine of *apartheid* and would point out that no constitutional change in the Republic of South Africa can be legitimate if it does not include the direct participation of the majority of its population.

9. The distressing conflict in Central America not only affects sister countries but also threatens to have negative consequences for the whole continent. Bolivia has always expressed its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua in their struggle to move ahead with the country's liberating national transformation, designed to bring about the institutionalization of a pluralist democratic system.

10. The work of the countries of the Contadora Group, which enjoys the support of the international community, demonstrates the capacity, imagination and will of the Latin American countries to find their own solutions to their problems without the intervention of outside interests. The advances recorded on 7 September 1984 at the seventh meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group and the Central American countries, held at Panama City [see A/39/495], demonstrate that by means of dialogue and negotiation it has been possible to identify the principal problems and find formulas of conciliation for their solution. My Government reaffirms its support for the work of the Contadora Group and its hope that a final solution to the conflicts in the region may be found.

11. Since the last century, Bolivia has recognized the legitimate rights of the people and Government of Argentina over the Malvinas. We express the hope that the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom will resume negotiations and work to find a just and honourable solution. I should like to mention once again our concern at the deployment of nuclear weapons in the islands.

12. My country views with satisfaction the beginnings of the application of the Torrijos-Carter treaties,¹ which have restored to Panama its sovereignty over the Canal Zone. We hope that the provisions of the treaties will be complied with faithfully within the scheduled timetable.

13. Bolivia is the epicentre of political and social movements that are sweeping the continent. The rugged terrain of its mountains is swept by the winds of geopolitical storms, the drug traffic and the economic crisis. Against this background, the dramatic epic of the building of democracy among the Latin American peoples is being played out.

14. In October 1979, the General Assembly of the Organization of American States [OAS] stated that "it is in the permanent interest of the hemisphere to find an equitable solution whereby Bolivia would acquire sovereign and useful access to the Pacific Ocean". This categorical assertion can be explained only by recognition of the fact that the war of 1879

brought about an artificial breach in Bolivia's sovereign rights on the Pacific Ocean, altered the continental equilibrium and introduced elements of tension and mistrust which threaten peace in the hemisphere.

15. In another statement in the same Assembly, on the occasion of the centenary of the Pacific war, I pointed out that not only was that war unjust but also that it was an historical error, because it severely limited the continental role which properly belongs to my country as a crossroads between the Pacific and the basins of the Amazon and the Plata. The land-locked status forced on Bolivia created an atmosphere of tension which was most dangerously manifested in the arms race unleashed in the zone, which has just in the last decade swallowed up a sum amounting to almost \$25 billion and at the same time placed barriers on the path to harmonious and fruitful economic co-operation between countries which were born to be complementary but which have ended up artificially separated by an historical error which must be corrected.

16. The consequences for the economic and political development of Bolivia have been still more serious. It has drained the natural resources of a territory five times as large as that of Belgium and deprived it of access to the riches of the sea along a coastline of 450 kilometres. It has limited sovereign access by my country to the Pacific ports and its traditional routes for foreign trade and placed it in an unacceptable situation of dependency *vis-à-vis* other Powers. It has increased the cost of Bolivia's external trade with an invisible customs toll which is estimated at approximately 35 per cent of the total of its imports and exports, because of the amount of losses, the delays and the mishandling of goods. In truth, the lack of a coastline is in itself a genuine cause of economic lag, as is shown by the circumstance that countries without their own access to the sea occupy the lowest places on the scale of development in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

17. In the case of Bolivia, this geographical seclusion involves an additional psychological factor, since to this temporary land-locked status must be added the feeling of isolation and mistrust resulting from an unjust war. This circumstance makes a clear difference between the situation of my country and those which for other reasons of international justice are seeking free transit and access to the sea. It is for this reason that the non-aligned countries stress the "inalienable right" of Bolivia to recover sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, since there is a universal doctrine to the effect that conquests brought about by force are not legitimate.

18. It is my hope that this description will help members of the Assembly to have a better understanding of the unswerving determination of my country to return to the sea with the same rights of sovereignty as those which it possessed at the time it gained its independence. There has never been any doubt as to what Bolivia seeks in its demand for access to the sea, although the dynamism of international relations has several times modified the context in which its demand has been made, almost always to the detriment of its national interest.

19. Recently, the constitutional Government of President Hernán Siles Zuazo, based on the popular will, brought forward a process of internal consultation from which emerged a national consensus to put an end to the enclosed position of my country

between the Andes mountains, the high plains and the Amazon jungle.

20. These objectives can be summed up in the statement that Bolivia must recover its own useful and sovereign coasts and ports on the Pacific, linked to the country by a sovereign and useful land route which would guarantee the effective continuation of the territorial status and make it possible to bring together all the geographical attributes which would finally make Bolivia a country linking the great South American basins and not merely the scene of confrontation of conflicting interests.

21. Before thinking of the concept of territorial compensation, which cannot be sustained in the light of juridical precedent and the universal principles of equity, we venture to remind the Assembly that the solution to this problem would liberate resources designed for unproductive and senseless purposes of war and open the door to broad and beneficial integration and economic complementarity between countries which are rightly known as sisters, something that has been lost on a far-distant battlefield.

22. There can be no substitute for the restoration of the sovereign status of a coastal state. All transit facilities and other advantages which depend on the will of outside entities will not be sufficient, because they would be nothing more than palliatives which would obscure the real and fundamental solution of the problem inherent in the fact that Bolivia is a land-locked country.

23. Within the framework of these premises, my country is ready to continue its appeals to the American countries in the OAS to embark upon direct negotiations with the parties concerned within the inter-American system and under the auspices of the President of Colombia, Mr. Belisario Betancur, whose pan-American and noble-minded initiative deserves the sincere gratitude of the Bolivian people.

24. My country believes that, following the long experience of frustration and disappointment, it would be possible in this way to create appropriate conditions to bring about serious and practical negotiations in keeping with the rights, interests and expectations of the countries concerned. It is along that path that we shall find the hoped-for solution for a "stable peace," as called for in the 1979 OAS resolution. It is along that path that we shall find a lasting settlement to the age-old Pacific conflict.

25. As this war and its distressing consequences involve Bolivia, Chile and Peru, it is logical that its solution should include and benefit those nations, within the framework of legal treaties and precedents on the subject, so that we can achieve an agreement that "will take into account the rights and interests of the parties involved", according to a paragraph in the resolution the OAS unanimously adopted in November 1983.

26. There can be no doubt that the road to peace is understanding, based on good faith and the clear political willingness to resolve the difficulties separating our peoples. Bolivia is once again ready to engage in dialogue with a view to having its rights respected, because it has always relied on peaceful methods to solve international disputes.

27. For a long time now, the domino theory in conflicts has been accepted. Perhaps the time has come to restore the domino of peace hypothesis, according to which the solution to one conflict is likely to facilitate ending others. This is the hope of

my country during these crucial years. This may be the contribution that the indomitable will of my people will make to the international community, following up on Panama's earlier admirable example.

28. The control of drug trafficking and the consumption of drugs is today another challenge which jeopardizes the life and health of our peoples and the stability of democratic institutions.

29. Traditionally, the fight against this form of crime has focused on the producing countries. Following that logic, the cheapest and most effective method is to eliminate illegal cultivation and to prevent the processing of drugs by using control programmes and punitive measures in producing countries. Nevertheless, since production in fact responds to demand, the heart of the problem is in the purchasing countries. At least in so far as concerns Bolivia, this conclusion is supported by indisputable cultural and historical evidence. It must be recalled that in the Andean countries the innocent use of the coca leaf is as old as their civilizations themselves, without drugs being a factor of social degradation.

30. Furthermore, it is also clear that most of the earnings generated by this illegal activity remain in the consuming countries and, to a less degree, with the intermediaries, increasing the wealth and scope for action of organized crime. The producers receive a very tiny fraction of those earnings, as is the case with most exports from the developing world.

31. Consequently, the elimination of the real roots of this problem requires some rethinking with regard to concepts and operating methods. It should be said that a genuine solution is the responsibility of the international community, but that the principal contribution must come from the consumer countries, which possess the necessary financial and technical resources to fight this scourge with any hope of success.

32. As is well known, drug trafficking operates through a complex international structure. Production, processing, transport, financing, adulteration, marketing and consumption are all phases of an illegal activity vertically and horizontally integrated. The developing countries that produce drugs and allow them to pass through their territories are once again dependent links in this chain. Other countries determine how they are produced and for what reason.

33. It is clear that isolated national action will not be successful given this intricate network criss-crossing economic regions, various kinds of activity and political and social strata, if there is no co-ordinated, centralized and concerted effort internationally.

34. Another aspect of this matter is that we must take into account that any action against drug trafficking should not be restricted to purely punitive measures. Although that is an indispensable element of any overall strategy, it is of fundamental importance to offer development alternatives to the peasants and sectors of the population subsisting on the production and processing of drugs; their backs are against the wall owing to poverty and marginality. We must also replace *sub rosa* and illegal economies being developed within this international drug trafficking network and resulting in grave and profound distortions in the development of producer countries.

35. It will not be in punitive measures but in economic and social development that we shall find

the social and politically valid answer to deal with this problem radically.

36. My country has suffered tragically from the presence of this criminal activity and its social, economic and political consequences. The constitutional Government of President Siles Zuazo has confronted this challenge within the context of a profound economic crisis and the tremendous difficulties caused by the transition from dictatorship to democracy.

37. Indeed, the Bolivian people first overthrew an illegitimate Government born in the very bowels of drug trafficking. A few weeks later, in the exercise of its legitimate attributes, it ordered the armed forces and police to occupy extensive zones of the tropical areas and to destroy the drug-producing centres. Plans for integrated rural development in these areas have been drawn up which will make it possible for the peasants there to rely on an adequate social infrastructure and to consolidate profitable, legitimate and stable economic activities.

38. For Bolivia, the fight against drug trafficking is a moral obligation and a practical imperative. The constitutional Government will be unswerving in its efforts to punish all those involved in those illicit activities. Nevertheless, the Bolivian effort will remain inadequate if the need for concerted international action is not followed up—an appeal which President Siles Zuazo made in November 1982, at the Assembly's thirty-seventh session [84th meeting].

39. In this spirit and on the initiative of my country, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, on 1 October this year, approved the New York Declaration against Drug Trafficking and the Illicit Use of Drugs [A/39/551 and Corr.1 and 2, annex], in which it is resolved to request the United Nations to convene a specialized conference—which we hope will be held in Bolivia—to examine and find a solution for the various aspects of this criminal activity from a global standpoint, which in the Latin American view is an essential pre-condition for success in the task being undertaken today.

40. The concatenation of various factors has caused two, almost continuous, world recessions: the first in the middle of the 1970s and the second at the beginning of the 1980s. For Latin America, this phenomenon was manifested in a gradual reduction in its gross national product, the acceleration of the inflationary process and the loss of its purchasing power on external markets owing to the constant decline in the terms of trade.

41. Latin America today has a per capita gross national product similar to what existed seven years ago, with an increase in consumer prices that in 1983 reached 130 per cent and with a decrease in the terms of trade of 38 per cent from 1977. Consequently, the region has found itself obliged to reduce its imports to a dangerous level, a fact which is even more serious when we consider that since 1983 Latin America has become a net exporter of capital. In fact, whereas in 1981 it had received a net transfer of real resources from abroad, this process was reversed in 1983, when an amount of \$30 billion was transferred abroad.

42. If we add to this the burden of its foreign debt, the servicing of which requires resources that are more limited today than ever, we may conclude that the economic crisis in Latin America needs priority treatment, calling not only for the solutions required

by the existing situation, but also for medium- and long-term measures.

43. The case of Bolivia is characteristic of the crisis affecting the region. Its economy is suffering from an unprecedented contraction, which is seen in a drop in per capita national income of 30 per cent over the past biennium; runaway inflation, which in 1983 rose to an annual figure of about 300 per cent, and a doubling of the level of unemployment over the past few years.

44. The efforts of the Government of Bolivia to cope with this grave situation have met with obstacles caused by the high level of the foreign debt, unfavourable terms of trade, reduction in the volume of exports, and a sharp decline in essential imports needed for the normal functioning of the country's economic system. For example, the terms of trade worsened by 10 per cent in the last quarter, imports fell by 45 per cent in 1983, and the decline in exports, in the period between 1976 and 1983, reached 35 per cent.

45. As regards the social situation, the picture is tragic, showing a drastic deterioration in the living conditions of broad sectors of the population, large elements of which are underfed, while others are virtually starving. Social indicators of malnutrition, infant mortality and life expectancy, among others, are some of the most critical on the continent.

46. In these circumstances, social and political conflicts are becoming ever more acute, and the demands of the population in this regard are becoming intransigent. Consequently, we are witnessing increasing difficulty in carrying out the programme of economic recovery, and the stability of the democratic process itself is at risk.

47. President Siles Zuazo, at the beginning of his term of office, said in his statement to the General Assembly, in November 1982, that the constitutional Government had inherited a country mortgaged to the hilt and suffering from an acute economic crisis, factors that would require tremendous sacrifices from the Bolivian people in order gradually to restructure and improve the country's economy.

48. Through daily sacrifices, the people of Bolivia are contributing to the restructuring of the national economy. Nevertheless, the international community must also contribute its understanding so that together we can overcome this overwhelming crisis. The sacrifices required of most of the population are of such a nature that they cannot go on much longer unless at the same time we witness signs of hope and real economic recovery.

49. Adjustment programmes established by the Government have revealed its sense of responsibility. Nevertheless, the fact that they have not been developed in a consistent way shows that there are disturbing factors of a social and political nature, and indicates also the need for accelerated and prompt support on the part of the international community in order to neutralize these negative factors which make it impossible to carry out the programme without recourse to force or political repression, which would be contrary to the democratic spirit of President Siles Zuazo.

50. We have a long way to go in order to restructure the economy and place it on a sound, dynamic footing in both the public and the private sector. For this we need new resources, appropriate technology and administration.

51. In this context, the problem of servicing the external debt has assumed particular political and social relevance, since it has only given rise to the need for further sacrifices and placed heavier demands on the weak economies of the region.

52. It would appear that it is still not understood that the burden of all this economic adjustment on the Latin American peoples can only lead to a worsening of the crisis, the impoverishment of regional societies, the paralysis of its productivity, and social violence. Nor would this be likely to improve its capacity to repay the external debt.

53. For this reason, President Siles Zuazo has always pointed out the need for Latin America to combine forces to enter into a political dialogue with the creditor countries, since the consequences of the external indebtedness clearly transcend purely financial and technical aspects and call for global definitions with regard to financing and international trade. In this way, the creditor countries and the international banks would assume part of the costs of adjustment proportionate to their share of the responsibility for the creation of the problem of the indebtedness of Latin America and its consequences. Without doubt, this is the true spirit of the Cartagena Consensus [see A/39/331] and the Mar del Plata Communiqué [A/39/554].

54. The extraordinarily difficult circumstances of its present economy led to the Government of Bolivia's decision to postpone temporarily servicing part of its external debt. Although this decision seems isolated within the present international context, it will be quite common in the near future to see other countries at a level of development similar to our own also finding it impossible to comply with their obligations. The solution, however, is not to be found in sanctions, which would be counter-productive, as well as unjust, but in helping them to restore their production, which would also have a favourable effect on creditor countries. Such reactivation requires fresh input in order to promote exports of both traditional and new products. Bolivia has the necessary resources to cover its present obligations and to improve the standard of living of its people, but in the absence of domestic savings it urgently requires external financing in order to transform its goods into exportable resources.

55. These are the facts on which we should focus the co-operation of the international community, including, of course, private banks and multilateral financing organizations. On the basis of this philosophy, it will be possible to find a constructive solution to a problem which, approached in the traditional way, could generate only adverse consequences for the development of the Latin American countries and the stability of the international economic order.

56. The wave of democracy passing over the continent from the Río Grande to Tierra del Fuego is more vigorous than ever. One by one, the American peoples have reaffirmed their right to live in freedom. One by one, authoritarian régimes have given way to representative governments born of the will of the people. This process is so widespread and strong that one may fail to recognize its depths and tend to overlook its consequences and risks. Of course, this is not a neatly simultaneous change from military to civilian Governments, as has so often occurred in the past. What we are witnessing is a profound historical change which has its roots in alterations of the

economic and social structure of South America in the last 50 years.

57. In the 1930s, the great depression overthrew the old oligarchic, feudal and backward republic, opening the way to a civilian and military populism which, although there were differences of nuance, modernized Latin American societies through agrarian reform, industrialization, substitution of imports, direct participation of the State in economic activity, and the mobilization of the broad masses of the people in the towns and countryside.

58. In this way, a new productive and social structure was established in Latin America, both urban and sophisticated, but at the same time with tremendous differences in standards of living and wealth: a throbbing and vital society, but a profoundly unjust one; nations with vast internal imbalances, subject to an oppressive international system; countries with significant human, natural and technological resources which, nevertheless, remained isolated, cut off from one another but dependent on others.

59. Throughout much of that period, we were able to perceive the contradiction that arose between an open and participative social and economic structure and an increasingly authoritarian and paternalist political system. Democracy ceased to be just a word and became a banner. In fact, it fully reflected the real needs of society and thus mobilized millions of people, filling the streets and prisons of America with heroes and martyrs.

60. Finally, as occurred half a century ago, a vast international recession exhausted the possibilities of the neo-liberal economic model and caused the collapse of authoritarian régimes, leaving the way open to the fuller, though still disorderly, democratic process which Latin America is now experiencing. It is a process which clearly is substantially different from the formal and oligarchical democracy of old. It poses new and complicated challenges to the thinking and political organization of the continent. In fact, within the framework of classic democratic values, of respect for human rights, individual freedom and subjection to the law, we must integrate within the machinery of participation and political decision-making new, emerging social strata born of the process of modernization, urbanization and agrarian reform.

61. In the case of Bolivia, this is undoubtedly a difficult task, fraught with tension because of the upsurge of new protagonists that have won their right to participate at the price of their blood, and because of unprecedented forms of regional presence that are contrary to the classic modes of social, economic and political organization.

62. It is therefore indispensable to renovate political doctrine and practice in order to include, in the appropriate institutional forms, new social protagonists and structural levels of active representation of the mass of the peoples in the economic, social and political decisions affecting the life of the community and the State.

63. From those considerations stem certain aspects of the concept of democracy: economic democracy, through the strengthening of the system of a mixed economy resting on the relative balance of power between the public and private sectors and the explicit recognition of the guiding role of the State in the planning of the national economy; regional democracy, in the sense that it is absolutely indis-

pensable to open up imaginative and valid forms of administrative decentralization and local government that will reflect the new realities and make it possible to take full advantage of the potential human and natural resources, now wasted within our countries; social and cultural democracy, through the rooting out of all forms of racial and economic discrimination and the establishment of methods that will ensure health, education, housing and equal opportunities for all the people; and political democracy, based on respect for the opinions of others and rejection of the old practice of clients and patrons, opening up, finally, a real opportunity for the vast majority of the peoples in the field of political decision-making.

64. These are the challenges that history has placed before the peoples of Latin America, including those of my own country. President Siles Zuazo's Government and the People's Democratic Unity must build a democratic, pluralistic system that respects individual freedom and human rights, in the midst of profound social upheavals and the gravest economic crisis of the century, of the distorting and perverse effects of the drug traffic, and of the apparent indifference of the great Powers to the plight of the peoples of the third world. When one observes this struggle in all its magnitude, it is difficult to resist a deep, ambivalent feeling of fear and hope; for we see between the shade and the light of the struggle the vague, still imprecise, outlines of the new society that this generation is building at a heroic stage of Latin American history.

65. Mr. VÁRKONYI (Hungary): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Aware of your competence and rich experience in international life, I am convinced that you will guide our deliberations with efficiency. I should like to assure you of my delegation's co-operation as you carry out your responsible task.

66. I also extend a welcome to Brunei Darussalam, the newest Member of the United Nations.

67. During the nearly four decades of the existence of the Organization, the world has been faced on several occasions with rising international tensions and with developments contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. The sharpening of international tension, the acceleration of the arms race and the increasing attempts from outside to disrupt the internal social and political order of sovereign States have reached dangerous dimensions in our times, and this is a legitimate source of concern for people not only in a particular country or region but throughout the world.

68. The strategic arms limitation agreements already signed are in jeopardy, and no new agreement has been reached. The start of the deployment in Western Europe of United States medium-range nuclear missiles is one of the gravest developments of the recent past. It increases the feeling of a nuclear threat in Europe and serves not only to stir up more tension in international life but also to augment distrust between countries of the European continent.

69. In this situation, a positive reaction by the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to the reasonable proposals of socialist countries, proposals that take into account the rightful security interests of all parties, would be of

particular importance. The member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization seek no military superiority, but cannot allow the historically established military balance to be upset. Therefore, my Government, while expressing concern at the situation created by the deployment of missiles, considers that the countermeasures taken by the Soviet Union were justified. On the other hand, we think that the goal to be sought should be to maintain military parity at the lowest possible level of armaments and armed forces. Progress towards this goal requires the creation of conditions that will make possible the resumption of arms control talks that were broken off as a result of the deployment of missiles in Western Europe.

70. The Hungarian Government is of the view that the unfavourable processes in international life are not irreversible. In our nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. We hold that in the prevailing situation, fraught as it is with danger, there are objective factors that make it indispensable for the dialogue between the countries of the world to be maintained and even widened. This, however, calls for a tangible manifestation of political will, a serious study of proposals seeking to reduce tension, and a substantive response to such proposals.

71. The paramount significance attached to relations between the two great Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, has been emphasized by many speakers here in the Assembly. The course of Soviet-American relations is seen by Hungary, too, as a determinant factor of the international situation. I believe that all members of the international community would welcome a genuine turn towards a more realistic and more responsible relationship between the two countries. We are convinced that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States can be normalized only on the basis of respect for the principles of equality and equal security.

72. My Government believes that the international conditions of today make it even more imperative that everything possible be done to stop the deterioration of the situation. It is therefore regrettable that some quarters are questioning the realities that emerged since the Second World War, thus further straining the already tense political situation. The peoples do not want to give up the benefits of détente and the beneficial atmosphere generated by that period for all of us. Governments should rely on this enormous moral asset in order to reverse the unfavourable processes that promise nothing but danger for the whole world and could lead to a waste of material and intellectual resources, postpone solutions for pressing global problems, worsen the conditions of life for peoples and cause our entire civilization to sink into decay.

73. In international forums, including the General Assembly, the socialist countries and other States have been exerting considerable efforts towards disarmament. Unfortunately, it has so far not been possible to achieve concrete results and, moreover, the results already achieved are in danger. It is a cause for worry that the international forums destined to elaborate disarmament and arms control accords are doomed to failure by the unwillingness of NATO to reach substantive agreements.

74. The Hungarian Government holds that efforts should be redoubled despite the failures. The political significance of the disarmament forums is in-

creasing rather than diminishing. The deliberations on disarmament and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, even if they do not produce immediate results, point emphatically to the desire for peace of the peoples and numerous countries of the globe and to their pursuit of a peaceful and secure world in which to live and work.

75. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic considers that removing the danger of war, particularly a nuclear war, and curbing the arms race are the most urgent tasks of international politics.

76. As regards the efforts to avert the danger of a nuclear war, we attach particular importance to the proposal that every nuclear Power should renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. Such a commitment would make a significant contribution to the improvement of the international atmosphere and to the strengthening of trust among States. Inclusion by the nuclear Powers of their unilateral commitments in an instrument of international law would considerably enhance the political weight of that step.

77. Strengthening the security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States is an extremely important task. My Government also believes that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Europe and other parts of the world is useful and timely.

78. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic continues to attach great importance to the efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We hope that the forthcoming Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will contribute to the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime. General and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would equally help to curb the arms race.

79. The extension of the arms race to outer space is a dangerous development that gravely threatens world peace. We support the efforts to have talks on its complete demilitarization started as early as possible, as well as the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the question of the exclusively peaceful use of outer space.

80. While laying special emphasis on nuclear disarmament, we deem it necessary to speed up the talks on the prohibition of such instruments of mass destruction as chemical, radiological or other weapons and to complete them successfully as soon as possible. Ending the rivalry in conventional weaponry is a similarly important task.

81. Concerned with the maintenance of peace and the promotion of constructive inter-State relations, the Hungarian Government devotes increased attention to strengthening security and co-operation in Europe and to fostering the spirit of Helsinki. With the approach of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act,² my Government remains convinced that the most effective way of defending détente and deepening co-operation in Europe is the full and balanced implementation of the provisions of that document by all the participating States.

82. The vitality of the process initiated at Helsinki is evidenced by the fact that the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe—even under conditions of tension—concluded its work with the adoption of a substantive and balanced document and thereby opened the way to the convening at Stockholm of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. My Government deems it

important that those talks produce results and contribute to the reduction of tension and military confrontation.

83. A constructive response by the NATO countries to the proposal concerning the elaboration of a treaty on the renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations would have a positive influence on the development of the all-European process. In their appeal published in Budapest last April, the Warsaw Treaty member States proposed that multilateral consultations on this question be started as early as possible. The Hungarian Government has sent the text of the appeal to all parties concerned and is awaiting their substantive replies.

84. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has been doing its utmost to help unfold the Helsinki process and to promote the full implementation of the principles and recommendations contained in the Final Act. The fact that, in conformity with the decision of the Madrid meeting, the European Cultural Forum will take place at Budapest in 1985 is seen by us as international recognition of our activity in this direction. We are preparing for that Forum in the hope that it will be a further contribution to the development of co-operation in Europe, to a better acquaintance with one another, and that thereby it may be an important step towards the strengthening of confidence.

85. Hungary has sought to preserve and develop the results of détente through the channels of its bilateral relations as well. It has endeavoured to contribute to the improvement of the international atmosphere and to the practical implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence by maintaining dialogue as well as by preserving and further developing its relations with States having a social system different from its own. We remain ready to continue a substantive dialogue.

86. The situation in the Middle East and the Israeli aggression against Arab countries continue to pose a grave threat to the entire world. My Government considers that further international efforts are required for the solution of the problems in that region. It believes that the Middle East situation calls for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement that would ensure for the Palestinian people the exercise of its legitimate rights, including the right to establish a State of its own, and would create all the conditions and guarantees that are necessary for all States of the region to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders.

87. Developments in the past year, particularly the aggression against Grenada and the actions threatening the sovereignty of Cuba and Nicaragua, have introduced more tension in the Caribbean region. My Government is increasingly concerned at such developments in that part of the world and lends its support to the efforts to find a peaceful, negotiated solution for the crisis in Central America.

88. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic continues to be in favour of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and of respect for its sovereignty and non-aligned status. It supports the endeavours of the Secretary-General on behalf of a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the question of Cyprus in the spirit of the relevant United Nations resolutions and on the basis of respect for the interests of both ethnic communities.

89. Unfortunately, South-East Asia is still a source of tension in international politics. We are of the view that the controversial issues of the region should be resolved peacefully by the States directly involved, on the basis of respect for their mutual interests and of the existing realities. The constructive proposals of the Indo-Chinese countries provide an appropriate framework for such efforts. Progress would similarly be enhanced by a general international recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and by a move to ensure its legitimate representation in international organizations, including the United Nations.

90. The intervention of international reactionary forces in the internal affairs of Afghanistan—the undeclared war against that country—should be ended as soon as possible. The Hungarian Government follows with great attention the activity of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General and it hopes that the interested States will find a way of reaching a negotiated settlement on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

91. My Government supports the initiatives by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful and democratic reunification of the country without external interference.

92. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic calls for the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system wherever they still exist. We believe that concerted international efforts and more resolute action are needed to achieve that goal. The just struggle of the national liberation movements has our support.

93. My Government attaches great importance to achieving a fuller measure of social justice and a more complete exercise of human rights in the world. Proceeding on the basis of its socialist system of society, Hungary is working to comply fully with the international obligations it has undertaken in this field. We regard the policy of the racist Republic of South Africa as the most striking example of gross and mass violations of human rights. We consider the adoption of the new South African constitution as a manoeuvre designed to perpetuate the system of *apartheid*. Responsibility for the delay in the settlement of the question of Namibia rests with the South African régime and its supporters.

94. The Hungarian People's Republic supports the anti-imperialist endeavours of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and is ready to co-operate with it in the realization of its just demands for the establishment of a more peaceful and more democratic world order and for equitable solutions to the problems besetting the developing countries.

95. The unfavourable trends in the international situation have had their impact on the world economy as well. International economic and technological relations are seriously damaged by the growing tendencies to embargo, increasing protectionism, the difficulties in the international currency and monetary systems and the artificially high interest rates, which affect almost all countries and groups of countries but hit the developing nations hardest.

96. In the prevailing situation, further delay is being experienced in dealing with the numerous global problems of the world, the settlement of which is possible only if international co-operation improves. The accomplishment of pressing tasks such as

food supply for the world's population, protection of mothers and children, reasonable use of raw materials and energy, exploration of new sources of energy, and environmental protection is put off even further. All this may have unpredictable consequences for the future of our globe. The specialized agencies and the other organizations within the United Nations system should have a major role to play in the alleviation of these problems.

97. At their conference held at the highest level in Moscow last June, the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance advocated more intense work for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. They proposed that global negotiations on the most important economic issues be started at an early date within the framework of the United Nations, with the participation of all States.

98. Hungary, which earns nearly one half of its national income in foreign trade, is also severely tried by the unfavourable trends in international economic and trading conditions. We seek to develop and expand our external economic relations and we are against discrimination and protectionism. My Government maintains that world trade should be conducted on the basis of most-favoured-nation treatment, non-discrimination and fulfilment in good faith of contractual obligations. We are convinced that in the present tense international situation the establishment of such economic relations can have an important stabilizing role to play, thereby exerting a favourable political effect as well.

99. Last spring we had the opportunity to welcome the Secretary-General in our country and to hold useful talks with him. My Government continues to attach paramount importance to the activities of the United Nations and remains ready to take an active part in the work of the world Organization for the solution of the ever more complex problems facing the globe. It is our conviction that the United Nations must play an effective role in the settlement of international disputes, in the solution of global problems and in the efforts to raise peaceful inter-State relations and manifold international co-operation to a higher level. Compliance by all Member States with the obligations they have undertaken under the Charter of the United Nations and other international documents and joint efforts by them to tackle the existing problems would be of decisive importance. If such were to occur, the Secretary-General would be able a year from now—on the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations—to prepare a report on a world that is considerably more peaceful and more secure than it is now.

100. Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): It gives me pleasure, Mr. President, to associate myself with the warm congratulations offered to you from this rostrum. They are a tribute to your country and to yourself, as well as to a continent which is playing such a prominent role in the United Nations. I hope and trust that, under your leadership and guidance, the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly will be constructive, positive and responsive to the grave problems that face us.

101. It is gratifying to observe the family of nations grow from year to year, reinforced with new partners in our common endeavours. The United Nations will either stand or fall on the principle of universality.

The only attitude we should disavow is the promotion of narrow, selfish interests which run counter to our common international efforts.

102. Every session of the General Assembly must set out in a spirit of hope that, despite the disappointments of the past, we can and should renew our efforts and work for a better world. Forty years ago, the founders of the United Nations looked back on a tragic past and undertook to forge instruments that would ensure a better future for humanity. So do we, in accordance with ancient Jewish tradition, look back year after year upon the disappointments of the past with firm belief in a better future, buoyed by an unflagging hope in the triumph of that human spirit which never deserts us.

103. The fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War will occur in 1985, as has already been noted from this rostrum. This was a landmark in history and even more so in the annals of my people. Israel and the Jewish people, who still carry so many scars of that terrible war, will commemorate the occasion appropriately. The event will undoubtedly be marked by all nations, as was indeed recommended by the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, which invited States Members "to adopt . . . measures declaring punishable by law any dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred . . . including Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist ideologies" [*resolution 38/99*]. The Assembly also appealed to all States to accede to the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity [*resolution 2391 (XXIII), annex*]. There are still a few pockets of neo-nazism that continue to linger, and they should be dealt with firmly, but the true heirs to this inhuman creed are those organizations and Governments that continue to this day to deny the right of existence of another State and strive for its outright destruction. There should be no room in civilized society for such doctrines or for those who promote them.

104. The United Nations concept embraces the whole of mankind. Its *raison d'être* is the welfare, present and future, of humanity, with special attention accorded to the underprivileged, the disabled and the oppressed. Our special attention should be focused on the problems of children and of youth and on their appropriate education and training. This should be our central task in building up our nations and societies.

105. The coming year will be marked by the conclusion of the United Nations Decade for Women, with the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the Decade to be held at Nairobi. Our hope is that that Conference will become a high point in women's struggle for equality and will not be exploited for narrow and barren political interests.

106. Technological progress holds the promise of providing solutions to some of the most pressing problems of developing nations, but nowhere is it more sorely needed than in the field of agriculture and food production. It is now widely recognized that the international development effort has failed to meet its most important challenge, the production of food for the fast-growing population of our world. Agriculture is the key to the present challenge, but its development and that of the rural society that sustains it have been sadly neglected.

107. Great strides have been made world-wide in industry, in the development of infrastructure, transportation, education and health, but food production has remained deficient. It is a terribly sad comment on our society that in this modern age millions go hungry and die of famine; hundreds of millions, mainly children, suffer malnutrition, their future as productive members of their society endangered. Per capita food production in Africa, for instance, has in fact dropped 15 per cent in the last decade. Countries in other continents have required emergency food supplies. Nations that were once self-sufficient have become importers of food and, as a result of their economic difficulties stemming from the increase in the cost of energy, their true independence has become endangered.

108. Catastrophe awaits many nations if we do not find the way to assure adequate food for our world's growing population. World security and stability begin with the assurance of basic human needs. A change of direction is thus urgently needed in the goals of international development. That is the challenge of this decade. This goal can be reached despite the scarcity of arable land and water and despite the meagre resources that are available in various countries. In fact, Israel has emerged in only one generation from severe austerity and food rationing to self-reliance; we have increased our food production twelvefold and have become a net exporter of food.

109. Israel recently marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of its programme for international development co-operation. This programme had its beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s with the emergence of newly independent nations that sought rapid development. Imbued with a pioneering spirit that thrived on successful adaptation and innovation in the development of their own country, the people of Israel considered it a duty to share the knowledge acquired through their own rapid development experience with the peoples of other emerging nations.

110. Israel calls upon all Governments to set aside political differences and narrow economic interests to join forces in the campaign against hunger. Israel will continue to co-operate with other nations in technology and development and stands ready to join other Governments, international agencies and non-governmental organizations in working to meet this great challenge to humanity.

111. Israel is the fulfilment of an age-old dream and prayer for the re-establishment of the Jewish State in the Land of Israel. It is the home of all Jews who wish to make it their home, and it is the defender and protector of all Jews who are oppressed or persecuted because they belong to the Jewish people. These principles are enshrined in Israel's Declaration of Independence, in its laws and in the conscience of its people.

112. We are aghast at the fact that, 40 years after the eradication of nazism, rampant anti-Semitism and racial discrimination still exist in a number of countries. The situation of Soviet Jewry has recently taken a definite turn for the worse. From this rostrum I call upon the Government of the Soviet Union to remove the harsh limitations and restrictions imposed upon Jews who seek repatriation and reunion with their brethren in Israel. The continued harassment of Soviet Jews has become one of the most pressing humanitarian problems of the day, a

violation of the most basic human rights as expressed in the Helsinki accords. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are being systematically denied their rights and many are forced to live as outcasts, deprived of their livelihood, harassed or imprisoned in gaols and labour camps under inhuman conditions.

113. Soviet Jews are deprived of access to Jewish culture. A systematic campaign is waged against those Soviet Jews teaching and studying the Hebrew language. Ill-concealed under the cloak of anti-zionism, officially inspired anti-Semitism is being increasingly manifested in the Soviet media.

114. We call upon the Soviet Government to change its policy, which is unjustifiable. The Soviet Jews are not involved in any anti-Soviet activity, nor are they violating Soviet laws or working against Soviet interests. Their only wish is to study their ancient culture and their national language and to live as Jews in their historic homeland. It should be recalled that in front of this very Assembly official representatives of the Soviet Union have declared that the Jewish people have a right to a State of their own. Soviet Jewry demands nothing more than to exercise this right.

115. In our own part of the world, the Middle East, the Jews of Syria continue to suffer under a harsh régime that holds them hostage and refuses to grant them basic human rights, the most important of which is the right to emigrate and join their brethren. Periodic killings of Jews, either sanctioned or tolerated by the authorities, maintain a climate of terror among the Jews of Syria.

116. In Ethiopia, an ancient Jewish community struggles to maintain its heritage, culture and integrity under dire hardship. We acknowledge the gesture of the Ethiopian Government, which has recently enabled Jews and non-Jews from all over the world to visit that community, and we express our sincere hope that it will take all necessary steps to protect and respect their religious and cultural rights and enable those who so desire to be reunited with their families in their ancient homeland.

117. On 13 September 1984, a Government of national unity, encompassing the overwhelming majority of political parties in Israel, was established. Its creation is a reflection of the wide consensus that unites the people of Israel on the main issues on the Government's agenda in the economic, defence and political domains.

118. In its foreign relations, Israel is dedicated, as always, to the goal of peace and accommodation with all its neighbours. In the north, we stand ready to reach an understanding with Lebanon which will guarantee the security of our common border and thus make possible the withdrawal of all forces from southern Lebanon. Syria remains dogmatically opposed to the idea of peace with Israel. Nevertheless, we are adamant in our conviction that there can be no solution other than peace. In the east, we have repeatedly called on the Government of Jordan to join us in negotiations for peace. In the south, of course, we have peace with Egypt, but we are convinced that peaceful relations should be deepened and strengthened in the face of so much rejectionist pressure against peace.

119. The chances of progress towards further peace and stability between Israel and its neighbours must be appraised, however, in the context of the realities of the region.

120. The Middle East continues to be beset by violence, bitter conflicts and wars. In a few weeks of bloodshed along the Iran-Iraq border, more men and children die than in all the Arab-Israel wars. Thousands die every year in domestic strife and hostilities entirely unconnected with the Arab-Israel conflict. Yet, as everyone in this Hall knows full well, a disproportionate amount of the time of the General Assembly is devoted year after year to a contrived and counter-productive review of the Arab-Israel conflict, the main purpose of which seems to be only to slander Israel.

121. In the last two decades, the violence and oppression that characterize so many régimes in the Middle East have erupted on the international scene in waves of terrorism, hijacking and assassination. When in 1972 the Secretary-General proposed that the United Nations promote measures to counter international terrorism, we were among the first to welcome that initiative. Regrettably, it has been thwarted by States that sponsor and support terrorism. Middle Eastern terrorism, sanctioned by these Governments, has been thus allowed, through neglect and indifference, to expand to more and more countries. Today the cancer of terrorism has spread to all continents. The latest form of terrorism and international piracy is the mines that threaten shipping and the freedom of navigation in the Red Sea. Recently, we were again horrified by the murderous bombing of the United States Embassy at Beirut, a calculated and deliberate act of terrorism.

122. Terror is a malignant disease that will spread everywhere if not contained. But at least in one instance concerted international effort has produced results. When terrorism first raised its ugly head in the mid-1960s, its prime target was international civil aviation. Planes were hijacked almost daily, aircraft bombed, passengers terrorized and murdered. The proper functioning of civil aviation today is a result of powerful measures taken jointly by many nations to ensure the safety of passengers and aircraft and to combat the threat of hijackings. But such successful international co-operation remains an exception. Terrorism is still an item on the Assembly's agenda, but it is debated ineffectively, shunted aside by vested interests which offer its representatives support, sustenance and even quasi-recognition. As long as the family of nations continues to evade its responsibilities, to appease rather than punish, to pardon terrorists rather than prosecute or extradite them, to afford terrorists diplomatic immunity, the disease will spread and claim yet more victims in our homes and communities.

123. Whenever a particularly outrageous terrorist attack takes place, as for example the recent bombing of the United States Embassy at Beirut, a wave of outrage sweeps public opinion in all parts of the civilized world. People naturally demand instant retaliation against such despicable acts and a fitting punishment for the criminal perpetrators.

124. While punishment has its necessary place in any system of justice, the overriding problem here is not whom to punish and how punishment should be delivered. Rather, it is how to prevent terrorism and root it out from the international arena. There is only one way to deal with this problem. Those countries which agree that terrorism must be eradicated should join forces and wage a permanent war on the terrorist organizations. This is the only way to expose, preempt, weaken and finally destroy them. This is a war

of self-defence in its true sense, a campaign that the free world should undertake on behalf of its peoples and of the entire human race.

125. For its part, Israel has been waging an unrelenting war on Arab terrorism and has dealt it a number of crippling blows. The so-called PLO, which had established its own mini-terrorist State in Lebanon, from which it carried out and assisted terrorist acts in five continents, was expelled from that country. But Israel cannot be expected to shoulder alone the burden of fighting international terrorism. Since we are all potential victims of terror, we must fight it together. If we do not, terrorism will endanger our basic freedoms and all the standards of civilized behaviour for which the United Nations stands.

126. The attitude underpinning Arab terrorist attacks against Israel is the continued denial by Arab States of Israel's right to exist. Translated into wanton attacks on civilians, the ideology is cruel and inhuman. But it has produced the very opposite result to that intended. Israel has taken the necessary measures to protect its people and enable them to live and prosper alongside their Arab neighbours throughout the Land of Israel. We have to state with regret that any sign of ostensible moderation in the attitude of Arab Governments towards Israel is negated by their sustenance and support of terrorist organizations committed to Israel's destruction and by their continued attempts to expel Israel from United Nations bodies and other international organizations. We will welcome a change in the Arab stance if it is given concrete expression, such as a clear-cut disengagement from the so-called PLO and other terrorist organizations and a straightforward statement of readiness to make peace with Israel.

127. Sadly, such a breakthrough for peace was set back by the General Assembly's rejection of the Camp David accords and the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, for no other reason than that certain Arab States reject the idea of peace with Israel. Camp David has been the only ray of light in an otherwise dismal and dark picture of hostility. It will continue to serve as a beacon of hope until its message is finally accepted by the peoples and Governments of our region.

128. The United Nations can contribute to peace in the Middle East by a change of direction. It should embrace the idea of peace between Israel and its neighbours, condemn the blatant attacks on Israel and reject outright the attempts to expel it from international forums. Recently, an attempt to expel Israel from the UPU was properly rejected by an overwhelming majority. It is now time for the United Nations as a whole to muster the courage to condemn such behaviour. It will mark an important milestone in rehabilitating the image of the United Nations and its standing in the world community.

129. Recently, the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East was resurrected. It was advanced by a State that has no diplomatic relations with Israel and that recommends the participation of representatives of terrorist groups. The Arab-Israel dispute is not in need of another international forum. There have been more than enough such gatherings and proposals, and they have all proved futile. They served as a stage for propaganda and for competition between Arab States in the politics of public confrontation with Israel. A conference such as the one being proposed would strike a

blow at the principle of direct negotiations, which has proved to be the only means of producing agreements between Israel and its neighbours, from the time of the General Armistice Agreements in 1949 through the Camp David accords in 1978.

130. We therefore call on Member States that have the interest of peace at heart to bring their influence to bear on our Arab neighbours to the east and north to adopt the only successful and tested path to peace—direct negotiations with Israel.

131. Such negotiations produced the agreement with Lebanon which was signed on 17 May 1983. That agreement provided for security arrangements against terrorism and an agreed basis for normal relations between our two countries across the recognized international boundaries. It was approved by the legislatures of Israel and Lebanon, but Syria and those that cannot tolerate the idea of peace with Israel destroyed it by the application of sheer, brutal force. The agreement was designed to lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, the restoration of Lebanese independence and the establishment of security measures along the Lebanon-Israel border.

132. Today, some 40,000 Syrian troops occupy 65 per cent of Lebanon and show no sign of any intention to leave. The Lebanese Government is dominated by Syria and is not capable of conducting free negotiations that would resolve its problems with Israel. Obviously, Israel will ensure its legitimate security needs and make the necessary arrangements in southern Lebanon to protect the people of northern Israel against any repetition of the terrorist attacks of recent years. I reiterate our readiness to withdraw all our forces from Lebanon, subject to the above-mentioned arrangements.

133. By now it should be clear to everyone, including the Arab States in our area, that Israel has no interest in maintaining any military presence in Lebanon. But we have to make certain that after the last Israeli soldier leaves Lebanon, the terrorists will not return to attack us.

134. Let me repeat: anyone, any people or State that is interested in the evacuation of the Israel army from Lebanon must see to it that the terrorist organizations expelled from Lebanon by Israel do not return to our borders to renew their attacks. This is an essential condition for peace. Israel is ready to cooperate in any serious effort towards a fair solution to this problem.

135. Since the conclusion of the Camp David accords, Israel has repeatedly called on Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinian Arabs to join in negotiations for an agreement on autonomy. Unfortunately, Egypt has discontinued its participation in the talks, while Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs have refused to join them. Arab rejectionism and extremism continue to have a stranglehold on those who may have been willing to embark on the path of moderation and peace.

136. From this rostrum, I turn yet again to our neighbours with the same call. Let us move forward together on a new path. Let us talk to one another. Let us engage in a common effort to resolve our conflicts, rather than perpetuate the negative attitudes which find frequent expression in this building.

137. Until this call is heeded, Israel will continue to strive for an end to Arab rejectionist attitudes and aspire to mutual acceptance, tolerance, understand-

ing and dialogue, which are consonant with the most basic goals of the United Nations.

138. Israel is aware of the substantial contribution which the peaceful uses of nuclear energy can make to the well-being of the world and of the right of all countries to benefit from such uses. We support those international arrangements that would ensure the status and inviolability of nuclear facilities dedicated to peaceful purposes.

139. Israel has long been concerned by the dangers posed by nuclear armaments and has therefore consistently supported the objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

140. We believe that the most credible barrier to proliferation in such a sensitive area as the Middle East is a freely negotiated nuclear-weapon-free zone. In this belief, we are encouraged by the Latin American experience and the recent progress towards establishing the South Pacific as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

141. In the vital field of disarmament, we are impelled by a permanent moral imperative. Progress in this field is indispensable if we are to remove the nuclear threat. It may be a commonplace to say that time is running out, but it is nevertheless true. A very recent experience demonstrates that weapons, once they exist, are used. During the current terrible Iran-Iraq war, new non-conventional weapons, such as gas, have been used. This latest addition to the arsenal of fighting armies, against established international conventions and basic decency, cannot but arouse the deepest anxiety. It should be opposed vigorously by anyone concerned for the future of our civilization. All of us are aware that a moderation of the armament spiral, both conventional and non-conventional, will free huge resources needed for the welfare of mankind, in particular that of the developing countries.

142. In conclusion, our mission is twofold. Our first task is the improvement of the quality of life in this world, especially for those who are suffering or who lack the means of sustenance; the hungry millions are waiting for us to do our duty. Our second task is to concert our efforts to eradicate from our midst terrorism and all other violations of civilized norms. We must dedicate equal effort to achieving both goals. We cannot accomplish our humanitarian task unless we overcome the dangers that threaten our society. Both objectives can be achieved provided we muster the courage and the will to do so. Our reward will be true peace. There can be no greater goal for the United Nations.

143. The vision of our ancient prophets of universal peace was intended for a distant, Utopian future. But, if we succeed in removing these two formidable obstacles—hunger and terrorism—from our path, the march of humanity towards the fulfilment of that vision will be immeasurably advanced, our stride quickened and our hearts uplifted with the promise of better days.

144. Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The world situation could not be more alarming and dangerous than it is today, precisely one year after the start of the thirty-eighth session, when so many voices were raised in favour of détente in international relations. The imperialists, far from forsaking the path of the arms race and shows of force, have increased their aggressiveness and today threaten peace and security in the world.

The policy of the Reagan Administration, aimed at achieving political, economic and military supremacy, has created new hotbeds of tension and exacerbated those already existing in various regions, turning the use and the threat of force into a State policy and relegating the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes to the status of a subject of verbal gymnastics.

145. Cuba attaches particular importance to the situation in Central America, where the danger of a generalization of the conflict is increasing. Notwithstanding the sincere and reiterated readiness of the Salvadorian revolutionaries to enter into a dialogue without pre-conditions in the search for a negotiated political settlement to the problem of El Salvador and notwithstanding the readiness of the Sandinist Front of Nicaragua to discuss and work for a negotiated solution to the conflict, the situation deteriorates daily.

146. Nicaragua's decision to accept immediately and without amendment the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562], presented on 7 September last by the Contadora Group, is irrefutable evidence of its readiness to seek through negotiation a solution to the conflict besetting the Central American peoples.

147. The Contadora Act contains various recommendations designed to open the way to peace. Outstanding among these are those aimed at halting or reducing the dangerous increase in military action in States of the region, such as: prior notification of national or joint military manoeuvres; prohibition of international military manoeuvres on their respective territories; ending the arms race in all its forms; cessation of the acquisition of arms; refusal to authorize the installation on their respective territories of foreign military bases or training establishments; elimination of existing foreign military bases or training establishments; establishment of a timetable for the gradual withdrawal and eventual removal of foreign military advisers; elimination within and outside the region of traffic in arms with persons, organizations and irregular forces or armed bands trying to destabilize the Governments of the States parties; refraining from granting political, military, financial or any other kind of support to individuals, groupings, irregular forces or armed bands attempting to overthrow or destabilize other Governments and the use of their territory for such purposes; refraining from organizing, ordering, or participating in acts of terrorism, subversion or sabotage in another State.

148. Nicaragua has asserted that an agreement between the five Central American States to guarantee peace and security in the region can be meaningful only if the Government of the United States formally commits itself to abide fully by such an agreement. Nicaragua deems it indispensable for the United States to subscribe to and ratify the Additional Protocol to the Contadora Act [*ibid.*] and consequently end forthwith its military aggression and all aggressive acts against Nicaragua.

149. Cuba, as President Fidel Castro pointed out over a year ago, desires an honourable solution, one based on mutual commitments, to the Central American conflict. That is the only real solution. Cuba reaffirms that it will support the negotiations entered into and the agreements reached by Nicaragua.

150. Cuba also reaffirms its support for the position of the Salvadorian revolutionaries, who have reaffirmed their readiness to negotiate a political settlement of the situation in El Salvador. It is quite clear that the United States must participate in such negotiations, since the real problem both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador results from United States interference and since no real, lasting solution of the situation in Central America will be possible without the establishment of mutual commitments, with the participation of the United States.

151. The history of the imperialist blockade and the constant acts of aggression against Nicaragua is well known. The country's harbours have been mined and its territory has been surrounded by military bases from which air, land and sea operations are launched.

152. Swept up in the feelings of triumph triggered by the shameful invasion of the little island of Grenada, which was condemned by the overwhelming majority of Member States at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the United States Government is now planning new blows against the free peoples of America and the national liberation movement. The Honduran Army has received aeroplanes, helicopters and sophisticated weaponry from the United States Administration in order to harrass Nicaragua. Thousands of United States officers and soldiers are stationed in Honduran territory, where they have built military airports and roads, modernized harbours, set up arsenals and barracks and developed a powerful infrastructure for war. Meanwhile, the Government of El Salvador is maintained through the substantial aid which the United States is providing to cover the military expenses of that régime, with which it is attempting to overcome the armed insurrection of the people. A steady succession of joint military manoeuvres by the United States and the armies of the region is being conducted, thus creating a permanent state of war against Nicaragua and the Salvadorian revolutionaries.

153. The scene seems to have been set for a new interventionist adventure. From a military point of view, all the conditions have been prepared, including the necessary infrastructure and logistical support, and the military command simply awaits the political decision to launch the intervention.

154. But history, like reality, follows an inexorable course and laws, and no force is capable of changing that course or those laws. Set-backs may and do occur in the spiralling development of society. Peoples which had made long strides in the process towards final emancipation have been subjected again to the yoke of oppression and neo-colonial exploitation because of exceptional circumstances and the "opportune" action of imperialism. But such exceptional conditions as were present in, for example, Grenada are not to be found in connection with the Salvadorian revolutionary movement, in Nicaragua or in Cuba.

155. Anyone who decides to send United States troops to invade Central America must be ready to face being militarily bogged down in the region, progressively weakened in an unbridled and massive war, until final victory is won by the peoples of the region. Equally, anyone who would send troops against Cuba must be ready to face an all-out war—everywhere, all the time; a multifaceted war of the people which would turn every inch of land under the

invader's foot into a veritable inferno, a war in which there would be no surrender or truce but a fight until final victory, regardless of the time and the sacrifices required.

156. But Cuba longs for peace in the region and in the world at large, a peace with equal dignity for all, everywhere, guaranteeing that climate of security, stability, respect and co-operation so urgently needed by our peoples to build their future. Thus, we reiterate today our deep appreciation and recognition of and respect for the endeavours of the Contadora Group, which deserves the continued support of the international community.

157. In southern Africa, the use of force and the threats and pressures exerted by United States imperialism maintain a climate of tension in that region, where the racist Pretoria régime, its strategic ally, continues to carry out a policy of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other independent States and persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is precisely the overt support of the United States for the *apartheid* régime which has thwarted a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia and which is the main reason for the climate of tension and aggression prevailing in the southern part of the African continent.

158. In his statement of 26 July this year, at Cienfuegos, President Fidel Castro asserted that

"any effort which may alleviate tension in our area, as well as international tensions, deserves our most serious consideration; any effort which tends to diminish the dangers of the folly of war. We are ready even to co-operate in the search for a political solution to the problem of the independence of Namibia—a problem which is important for southern Africa—on the basis of resolution 435 (1978) of the United Nations Security Council. We are conscious of our responsibility to our people and to all mankind; that is our duty as socialists and as revolutionaries."

159. As far as Cuba and its expressed readiness to co-operate in the political solution of these problems are concerned, there are three essential aspects to that solution: the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); the cessation of all outside assistance to the armed organizations fighting against the recognized Government of Angola; and the cessation of all acts of aggression or threats of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, including the withdrawal of the South African troops that even today remain in that country's territory. Those three basic requirements were affirmed in the joint declaration of the Governments of Angola and Cuba on 19 March 1984.

160. As is well known, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola came about and is determined by the request of the Angolan Government and the decision, based on solidarity, of the people and Government of Cuba to defend the sovereignty and security of Angola from the foreign aggression of which they were, and still are, the victims. There is no other reason, and there never has been any other reason, for the presence of our troops in Angola.

161. The strict implementation of resolution 435 (1978), which involves the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the exercise by the Namibian people of its full sovereignty over all its territory, the cessation of foreign assistance to the counter-revolutionary organizations operating in An-

gola and the establishment of international guarantees for the respect of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and security will make possible the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

162. In their attempts to delay, boycott and impede the independence of Namibia, the imperialists and their ally, the racist Pretoria régime, resort to lies, diversionary tactics, coercion, pressure and blackmail. Whom do they expect to deceive? All of us know who is who and who does what for peace, social justice and the independence of peoples. We all know, furthermore, who does what for the true independence of Namibia, and we shall not be fooled by false expressions of concern.

163. For example, in September 1978, precisely six years ago, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 435 (1978), which should have opened the way for the independence of Namibia. Among its sponsors were the United States and other Western Powers. Nevertheless, it is significant that the United States has never voted in favour of any of the resolutions on Namibia adopted by the General Assembly since that time.

164. During the current session, several other resolutions on Namibia will be considered by the Assembly. We invite the representatives of the countries represented here to note the results of the voting. I can assure them that there will be no surprises: the enemies of Namibian independence have names known to all of us.

165. Furthermore, the exploitation, the scorn and the discrimination to which the black people of South Africa are subjected have no parallel in history and cannot but arouse the world's solidarity with their struggle and their longing for equality and for their rights and their aspiration to create a just society based on majority rule to be respected, as well as active and militant solidarity with the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], the legitimate representative and symbol of the South African people's struggle against the opprobrious *apartheid* régime.

166. The racists' response to the demands and aspirations of South African blacks has been to repress, terrorize, incarcerate, torture and execute their best children and patriots.

167. But it is not only in Central America and southern Africa that we see the imperialists arrogantly trying to maintain their interests under neo-colonial domination. Other focal points of tension exist in various parts of the world which must also be diffused in time if we are to avoid the progressive deterioration of the international situation and the risk of war. Effective action must be undertaken towards this end. The duty of the United Nations to preserve peace cannot be delegated; nor can the duty to demand that all States respect the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations be ignored, especially when the State in violation is a permanent member of the Security Council.

168. Never before has the policy of blackmail and of exerting pressure in international relations been so blatant, brutal or wide-ranging. It is now also used to place conditions on the financing of international organizations, especially those in which the United States has an overwhelming say. Pressures are exerted on the drafting of the budgets of international organizations in an attempt to stem the progress of multilateralism and international co-operation, to

block the flow of resources for the development of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, and to encourage a marked preference for bilateralism, which enables all sorts of political strings to be attached to the granting of assistance resources.

169. There can be no doubt that such policies are aimed at reversing the democratization process which has been taking place in international organizations since the end of the Second World War and which is rooted in the changes that have occurred in the world following the accession to independence of many peoples previously under colonial domination.

170. The results of the imperialist policy of aggression, blackmail and pressure are evident in the way in which the United States is isolated in international organizations—a situation which in turn feeds its irrational hatred of the United Nations system and its arrogant stand against the practice of multilateralism.

171. During the last session of the General Assembly, the United States Government voted against 90 of the 150 resolutions adopted by the Assembly—a fact which reveals the anti-people, reactionary and hegemonistic character of the current Administration and its break with the prevailing world trends shared even by some of its principal allies.

172. Hence the Assembly's thirty-ninth session is beginning in an atmosphere rife with tension and grim expectations. The long list of important and sensitive issues before us requires an objective and sincere approach. Long hours of work await us if we are to improve the rarefied atmosphere prevailing in international relations and if we are to struggle once again to attain peace, development and a more just world order.

173. We are pleased that, in the present delicate circumstances, Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, is presiding over this important session of the Assembly. His contribution to the defence of the interests of underdeveloped countries, his indefatigable efforts as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, his well-known organizational skills and personal capability assure him the respect, admiration and trust of the international community in the discharge of his serious responsibilities. Cuba pays tribute to Mr. Lusaka's unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and offers him the full support of its delegation as a modest contribution to his noble efforts for the success of this session.

174. We could not fail to express as well our sincere appreciation to Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, who, with characteristic intelligence and tenacity, led the Assembly brilliantly through a period equally fraught with dangers and tension.

175. In its irrational quest for world strategic supremacy, the United States did not hesitate, only a year ago, to impose the deployment of 572 medium-range nuclear missiles, weapons with first-strike capability, in Western Europe in order to create an imbalance of forces in that region which could not but elicit the adoption of countermeasures by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thus increasing the danger of nuclear confrontation and turning several European States into virtual hostages or targets of a nuclear counter-attack.

176. The United States is frantically attempting to develop new weapons systems to be used in outer space and to militarize that environment, while dreaming of possible "star wars". The earth has become too small for the imperialists, who now wish to take the arms race into outer space.

177. In contrast to such an adventurist and war-like policy is the serious, responsible and constructive attitude of the Soviet Union, whose initiatives in the field of disarmament, including the freezing of production and deployment of nuclear weapons and the prevention of the militarization of outer space, constitute a most valuable contribution to international peace and security, which Cuba hails and supports fully.

178. Cuba also supports the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union [A/39/244] to include in the agenda of the current session as an important and urgent matter an item aimed at preventing certain States committed to military superiority from pursuing their policy of State terrorism in international affairs and, more frequently, attempting to undermine the socio-political régime of other States by force of arms.

179. Notwithstanding the opposition of the international community, including many of its allies, the United States Government is manoeuvring to prevent the beginning of real negotiations on an agreement prohibiting the militarization of outer space, and it continues the insane arms race. While bringing the world ever closer to a nuclear holocaust, the United States thus wastes enormous human and material resources which could be put to better use for the development and well-being of the world population.

180. Such senseless waste takes place in the midst of the most serious world economic crisis of the past 50 years. Originating in the developed capitalist countries, the crisis affects all countries, but the so-called developing countries are the hardest hit, subjected as they are to unfair international economic relations based on inequitable terms of trade and economic dependence.

181. At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution [resolution 34/138] expressing the desire of the overwhelming majority of its members for global negotiations aimed at restructuring international economic relations and establishing a more just and equitable international order. Unfortunately, we have not been able to advance a single step in that direction. It must be said that the process has stagnated mainly because of the intransigent and inflexible attitude of the United States Government.

182. Thus, the initiatives of the developing countries have met with no response. This is true of the well-known immediate economic measures endorsed by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and further elaborated and presented in the form of a proposal by the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983.

183. The so-called Buenos Aires Platform³ gave some hope for the success of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983. Perhaps never before has such a large group of countries worked so hard and so seriously on a

package of important economic proposals. The failure of that session, the lack of practical results caused by the refusal of the United States representatives to undertake serious negotiations—a position which they also imposed on the group of developed capitalist countries—left a bitter feeling of frustration among all those who had placed some hope in the sixth session.

184. Furthermore, high interest rates, in addition to contributing to the increase of the foreign debt of the developing countries to unbearable levels—these now amount to over \$100 billion, and it is virtually impossible for many countries to service and repay them—have caused a flow of capital to the United States and a depletion of the capital of the rest of the world in favour of that country, thus helping to finance the huge deficit generated by the arms race. Hence, paradoxically, some developing countries which are also affected by the economic crisis and which demand that the resources wasted on the arms race be diverted to development, contribute to the promotion of that race.

185. Obsessed with their quest for strategic military supremacy and their desire to strengthen the predominance of their transnational corporations, the imperialists are indifferent to the misery and pain inflicted upon the vast majority of the world's population.

186. The United States Government refuses to agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and is deluded by the dream of a limited nuclear war by means of a deadly "first strike", based on the fallacious belief that peace can be attained through the use of force.

187. It should therefore be the immediate, priority objectives of the General Assembly gradually to lessen the economic burden borne by mankind and ensure peace. It must find ways and means of turning words into deeds. To that end, Cuba, as a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will make every effort to ensure that the high ideals of the Movement—the eradication of war and exploitation, of the inequities in international relations and of all forms of colonial and imperialist oppression—may prevail.

188. We reaffirm today our unswerving support and encouragement for the peoples that, having attained political power, now wage a tireless struggle for peace and development and close their ranks in the face of imperialist threats. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with those peoples that by sacrifice and determination are opening the way to freedom and independence. We reaffirm our solidarity with the workers and peasants, students and professionals, artists, intellectuals and scientists who, in the midst of hostile societies, daily plant the seeds of brotherhood with their own hands, their toil, their ideas, their art or their science.

189. We pay a tribute to the Sandinist combatants struggling heroically to build a new Nicaragua on the moral ruins of Somoza's régime and of colonial and neo-colonial domination. We express our firm conviction that, in spite of the present acts of aggression and threats, Nicaragua will for ever be free through the noble sacrifice of its finest children.

190. We extend our greetings and assurances of solidarity to the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and to all the Salvadorian people, whose combative stature has grown in the struggle against the com-

bined forces of imperialism and El Salvador's puppet army.

191. We reiterate our demand that the invading troops in Grenada, led by the United States, cease their occupation of that country. The people of Grenada has the legitimate right to decide its own destiny in an independent and sovereign manner.

192. The Cuban delegation reaffirms its support for the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico, that unredeemed portion of our America, in their unswerving aspiration to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, free from colonial ties.

193. We wish to express once again our support for the desire of the Panamanian people and Government that the provisions of the Panama Canal treaties¹ be strictly observed and respected; for Bolivia's just demand to recover its access to the sea; for Belize's non-aligned status, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty.

194. We stand for a peaceful settlement of the differences between Guyana and Venezuela over the Essequibo region. We stand also for the recovery of the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands by the Argentine Republic through negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. We urge the United Kingdom Government to undertake such negotiations immediately.

195. We pay homage to the Chilean people, who, defying the arrogance, terror and repression of the Fascist Junta, have raised with dignity and in open struggle the banner of their ideals of social justice and independence, free from corrupt national oligarchy and imperialism. Sooner or later, the people of Chile will win. We salute the struggle of other South American peoples who suffer the repression of the vassals of imperialism, in particular the Uruguayan people, who, having taken to the streets in protest, have secured the freedom of patriots who truly represent their ideals and aspirations and are still struggling to secure it for all other political prisoners and to achieve a truly democratic system. We salute them for having forced the Government to recognize the existence of previously banned political parties. They, too, will regain their freedom and will hold the reins of their destiny in their own hands.

196. We hail the efforts to create a climate of peace and stability in South-East Asia; we urge all concerned to continue such actions, steps and measures as may enable them to attain that important goal, and we reaffirm our solidarity with the countries of Indo-China, which still endure hostility and foreign aggression.

197. We believe that in South-West Asia efforts to promote a stable climate of peace and security based on mutual respect among the parties to the conflict must prevail.

198. We support the just aspirations and efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of their country, and we call for the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and for the withdrawal of United States interventionist forces from the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

199. We support the aspiration of the Comoros to recover sovereignty over Mayotte and of Madagascar

to regain its rights over the Malagasy islands, the Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India; and we support the just demand of Mauritius to recover the island of Diego García.

200. We support the people of Cyprus in its just and respected efforts to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of its country within the framework of a united, non-aligned Republic, and we reject the proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus", as well as any attempt to partition the island.

201. Once more, we urge the Governments of Iran and Iraq to put an end to the war, waged for over four years now, with uninterrupted bloodshed and a drainage of resources which deeply affects the living standards and development expectations of both peoples, and threatens international peace and security.

202. We extend our solidarity also to the brave Saharan combatants and to the long-suffering, heroic and fraternal Palestinian people and its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, in its tenacious struggle to exercise its inalienable rights, including the establishment of its own State in Palestine; we support, too, the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all the interested parties.

203. We offer encouragement to the Namibian patriots in their valiant struggle against the repression of the Pretoria régime, a struggle waged under the guidance of the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, as well as to the brave South African patriots in the ANC, who maintain an active struggle in the very heart of the disgraceful *apartheid* régime. We pay a tribute to the front-line States for resisting the attacks of South Africa and its allies; to the Arab countries, which face the joint actions of zionism and imperialism; to all those who, no matter where, defend, with their lives, their right to freedom and dignity as human beings.

204. Mr. KANU (Sierra Leone): On behalf of the Government and people of Sierra Leone, I congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your country's philosophy of humanism and your considerable personal skills as a diplomat assure us that under your leadership the General Assembly will further the cause of peace and justice in the world.

205. Allow me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, now President of the Republic of Panama, who served as President of the thirty-eighth session with distinction and exemplary skill.

206. Let me also congratulate and welcome into our midst Brunei Darussalam, whose accession brings us closer to the ideal of universal membership.

207. Ten years ago, the General Assembly convened in a special session to examine the economic relations between developed and developing countries. After weeks of long and exhaustive debate, the Assembly adopted a resolution recommending the establishment of a new international economic order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*]. That historic recommendation reverberated around the world and ignited the hopes of many poor, developing countries. A new optimism was born, as many countries were led to

believe that the United Nations was on the march towards the indispensable goals of economic justice and fair play.

208. The flurry of activities which followed on the heels of this new optimism led many commentators to call the 1970s "the decade of negotiations". Although those negotiations must now seem like the beginning of a false dawn, the Assembly's sixth special session itself did provide a set of bold recommendations in its Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*], which, fully implemented, might have saved the world from the present disastrous recession. To the dismay and bitter disappointment of the developing world, the Programme of Action has been rendered ineffectual by the refusal of certain Members of the Organization to allow any worthwhile action to be taken towards its implementation. The failure of the international community to rise to the challenges and the opportunities of the time seem to us to have led to the present dire economic consequences that undermine social order in rich countries and threaten the very survival of much of the third world.

209. Today, the stark economic reality of the African condition is that millions of people are afflicted by hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy and abject poverty. Over the last few years, the economies of African countries have suffered severe declines in growth and output of goods and services. This trend, already apparent in the 1970s, has worsened over the last three years, leading to depressing growth rates or total stagnation. The result is a dangerous fall in already precarious living standards, mass starvation and widespread decay of the small, but vital, infrastructure and even the environment.

210. The reasons for this decline are many and varied. Foremost among them are the recent severe world recession, which has had such a damaging effect on the economies and productive capacity of many African countries, and the stubborn refusal of our trading partners to pay fair and remunerative prices for our commodities and raw materials.

211. Moreover, in an international trading system that requires developing countries to negotiate the prices they receive for their major raw materials and commodities, while they must pay the ever-increasing prices that are set by the manufacturers of those same raw materials and commodities, it is inevitable that the weakest members of the system should be driven into bankruptcy.

212. For Africa, these various factors have been further aggravated by the most severe drought the continent has suffered in this century, resulting in a catastrophic fall in food production and the consequent loss of human lives through famine and starvation.

213. The acute debt burden of third-world countries, particularly those in Latin America, has preoccupied the international community over the last two years. The harsh conditions attaching to those debts are today hampering economic recovery and development in many of the afflicted countries.

214. Given the magnitude and severity of the problems that I have just been describing, it is clear that the African people cannot on their own prevent the imminent economic collapse that threatens many of their impoverished nations. While we recognize that African Governments must continue to bear

responsibility for the well-being of their people, we expect the international community, in a spirit of solidarity and a reaffirmation of our mutual interdependence, to help to avert the catastrophe that now threatens Africa.

215. What is required, therefore, is a bold, imaginative and generous response to this crisis so that together we can find lasting solutions to the continent's perennial problems.

216. Specifically, the international community would have to come to grips with the continuing adverse terms of trade which now plague the economies of much of the third world in general. In this connection, reform of existing financial institutions, a reduction in the present crippling rates of interest and liberalization of world trade must be considered imperative.

217. Furthermore, it is the view of the Sierra Leone delegation that, in seeking solutions to the manifold problems now facing the African continent, intensification of economic co-operation within the multilateral and specialized institutions, especially the World Bank, FAO and UNDP, cannot be overemphasized. These institutions must be given increased financial support and provided with the necessary resources to enable them to perform their tasks more effectively.

218. It was, therefore, a matter of deep regret to my Government that, given the gravity of the African economic situation, the Economic and Social Council was not able to take decisive action when this matter was considered at its second regular session, last July. We hope that when the General Assembly considers this matter it will see the necessity of recommending appropriate remedial measures.

219. The critical shortage of foreign exchange has halted industrial development, and existing capacity is either idle or only partially engaged. All these factors have combined to create instability in some of our countries. It is imperative, therefore, that the international community and the African Governments make joint efforts to reverse this dangerous trend.

220. While on the theme of international co-operation, I would like to make some brief remarks on two international conferences which have recently been concluded. I refer to the second International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City last August, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna, also in August. In doing so, may I once again express the gratitude of the Sierra Leone Government to Mexico and Austria for hosting these two important meetings.

221. Population issues are, today, assuming ever-greater importance. Almost every Government has become increasingly aware that its greatest resource is human.

222. For us in Africa, developmental problems have been identified as those of disturbingly low levels of literacy, low levels of technical skills, poor performance of middle-level manpower, little or no attention to research and development, weak infrastructure and a chronic shortage of capital.

223. It is evident, therefore, that if we are going to solve these problems urgent measures will have to be taken to improve and develop our human resources.

224. For its part, the Government of Sierra Leone continues to hold the view that the issue of population development cannot be divorced from that of general socio-economic development. My Government firmly believes that all economic activities should be geared towards the improvement of the individual so as to enable him to contribute meaningfully to national development. We therefore trust that the results of the Mexico City Conference will generate the necessary impetus and political will for accelerated and fruitful international co-operation in this all-important domain.

225. For this reason, I would like to say how highly my Government appreciates the role which UNDP and UNFPA are playing in assisting developing countries in implementing their policies and programmes. My delegation renews its appeal for greater resources to be made available to these agencies to enable them to achieve their objectives.

226. Industrialization, like population, is central to the economic and social development of every country. My delegation has taken note of the report of the Executive Director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization but regrets that the question of promoting industrialization in developing countries has continued to be clouded by political judgement on the part of the advanced countries. Thus, in spite of its modesty, the target of \$50 million for the United Nations Industrial Development Fund has remained unattainable.

227. Furthermore, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization was unable to agree on a common declaration because of resistance on the part of certain delegations. We trust, however, that what little progress was achieved at Vienna will be built upon through our common endeavours in order to achieve the targets set in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation.⁴

228. My delegation notes with satisfaction the stress laid by a cross-section of delegations at the Vienna Conference on the subject of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa. It is clear that, since Africa has the greatest number of least developed countries, the international community must make special efforts towards the industrial development of Africa in order to lift that continent from the state of poverty in which it is currently trapped.

229. I now wish to reflect on the political state of our world.

230. Over the past few years, the United Nations has been confronted by a number of complex and menacing challenges, many of which threaten the very survival of mankind. The most dangerous of these challenges is the accumulation and accretion of nuclear weapons with the attendant danger of nuclear annihilation. Today we watch with growing concern as the arms race enters the sphere of outer space.

231. It is the considered view of the Sierra Leone delegation, guided by historical evidence, that an unbridled and perennial arms buildup, the perfecting of weapons of mass destruction and the acquisition of nuclear capability by many nations inexorably lead to war, either by design or through accident or miscalculation.

232. Like other members of the General Assembly, my country has a vested interest in the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. This, more than anything else,

explains our demand for a cessation of the present unprecedented and menacing arms buildup. We also renew our appeal, particularly to the Soviet Union and the United States, and to all those other nations which have accumulated nuclear weapons, to resume negotiations in an endeavour to contain and reduce the escalating tensions resulting from the arms buildup. We also urge them to resume negotiations to remove the threat of annihilation which the militarization of outer space entails. Therefore, we welcome the resumption of contacts between the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States and we hope those contacts will produce positive results.

233. The persistence of many regional but potentially dangerous conflicts in some parts of the world also threatens international peace and stability. This situation is continually aggravated by the use of armed force to solve international disputes, contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

234. One such conflict which has continued to cause great concern to the Government of Sierra Leone is the ongoing fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. This war, which has now gone on for too long, has taken a severe toll in human lives and constitutes a serious drain on the economic and human resources of those countries. Its continuation is a threat to international peace and stability. The Sierra Leone Government, therefore, renews its appeal to both Iran and Iraq to heed the call of the international community to bring that conflict to a speedy end and resume constructive dialogue, so that mutual trust and confidence can be revived.

235. The occasional but persistent sound of fire in the Middle East is a brutal reminder that the whole area is liable to erupt into widespread violence. Our collective responsibility is to ensure that another eruption does not occur in that area. Our joint endeavours must seek to reconcile the understandable rage of the Palestinians who continue to be denied their just demand for a homeland and the need by Israel to live within secure and internationally recognized borders. The Sierra Leone delegation, therefore, supports the call for an international conference on the Middle East with the full and equal participation of all the parties to the dispute.

236. The problem of Cyprus, a nation divided against the will of its people, has continued to engage the attention of my Government. The United Nations, as the custodian of the security and integrity of all nations, particularly small nations, cannot remain silent and allow the present division of Cyprus to become permanent.

237. My country, therefore, renews its call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cyprus and for the two communities to get together and find suitable solutions to their problems without violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent and non-aligned Cyprus. We note and welcome the initiative of the Secretary-General in using his good offices to bring together all the parties involved in the dispute.

Mr. M. A. Sallam (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

238. While on the question of divided nations, it is a matter of regret and concern that the continuing division of the Korean peninsula has prevented its dynamic people from assuming their proper role in the international community. We are aware of the

proposals which have been made for negotiations by both parties but regret the introduction of pre-conditions which serve only to pre-empt a solution to the problem. The Sierra Leone Government has the firm belief that the Korean problem, like those of other divided nations, should be peacefully resolved by the Korean peoples themselves through dialogue and negotiations.

239. While we seek a peaceful solution to the numerous challenges facing the United Nations today, it is a matter of grave concern and deep anxiety to my Government that the racist Pretoria régime, in total disregard of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and of world opinion, has continued to kill, maim and brutalize its own people and menace the peace and security of the whole of southern Africa. That is state terrorism, which the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, is committed to opposing and uprooting wherever it may occur.

240. Some six years ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) as a basis for Namibia's attainment of independence and statehood. Regrettably, the injection of extraneous issues and pre-conditions has held up the independence of Namibia. As a result, the negotiating process over the past six years has been protracted and inconclusive.

241. Let me say that those who champion the cause of freedom at home but deny its extension to the Namibian people will not succeed, for freedom is indivisible. Therefore, the world is not wholly free if any of its parts is subjugated through the connivance or the indifference of some Member States. Nor is the defence of freedom a national task only. It is a global enterprise to which the United Nations is irrevocably and solemnly committed.

242. My delegation, therefore, calls upon all Governments and all men of goodwill vigorously to condemn the Government of South Africa for its oppressive policy and urges the Security Council to take all measures within the Charter of the United Nations to bring about the abandonment of the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, for it is only in this way that we can reduce the endemic and pervasive tensions that so seriously endanger international peace and security in southern Africa.

243. A small country like Sierra Leone is particularly aware of the value of international co-operation. During the current economic crisis, my country has enjoyed the benefits of co-operation with the European Economic Community, the World Bank and UNDP, among others. Among the many friendly countries that have reacted to our current economic difficulties, the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of China have responded to our needs with more than accustomed generosity. We thank these friendly nations most sincerely.

244. Let me, in conclusion, express my Government's profound gratitude to the Secretary-General for exhorting the entire membership of the United Nations to rededicate itself to the principles of the Charter and for alerting the international community to the social and economic catastrophe which now threatens the African continent. We have also noted with a great deal of satisfaction the eloquent pleas of other Members of the Organization from this rostrum. We hope that those pleas will be translated into concrete measures.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹Panama Canal Treaty and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed in Washington on 7 September 1977. (*The Department of State Bulletin*,

vol. LXXVII, No. 1999, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1977).

²Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

³See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

A/10112, chap. IV.