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PLENARY MEETING**

Thursday, 4 October 1984,  
at 3.45 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. BELKZIZ (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Before beginning my statement, Sir, I wish to convey to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco, my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You have been chosen for this post because of your competence and your experience. This fortunate choice also expresses the esteem in which your country, the brother country of Zambia, and the continent of Africa are held. I am happy to assure you that my delegation is ready to give you its whole-hearted support in the fulfilment of your functions.

2. I wish to thank most warmly Mr. Jorge Illueca, your predecessor, and to pay a tribute to him for the outstanding way in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session.

3. It is with great pleasure that I pay a tribute also to the work of the Secretary-General in the service of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

4. It is also a pleasure to welcome to our midst the Sultanate of Brunei Darussalam, which has just been admitted to the United Nations and which, through its efforts and its action, will certainly make its contribution to the work of the Organization.

5. This new session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when the international scene is particularly strewn with risks. Tension is constantly increasing, disputes are becoming aggravated and increasingly acute, the economic crisis is striking without pity at States, the gap between the rich and the poor countries is growing and the arms race, whose threat to international peace and security cannot be overemphasized, is being accelerated despite the good will of those who have sought in vain to slow it down.

6. This session's agenda includes for consideration various questions that are both important and complex, prominent among them being the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine, a question which is of major concern to world public opinion and constitutes a severe threat to world peace, stability and security.

7. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people continues to endure deprivations and a rootless existence

and to be the victim of tyranny, injustice and oppression.

8. For 36 years the indigenous Arab people has been fighting for its freedom and inalienable rights, which have been recognized by the international community. That people expects the United Nations to help them to recover its rights and to resolve this problem, which poses a grave threat to stability and peace in the Middle East and in the world.

9. The constant attitude adopted by Israel *vis-à-vis* the resolutions adopted by the Organization on this question is a blatant example of violation of the Charter and contempt for the role and credibility of the United Nations. In the region, Israel has followed a course of action without precedent in the history of colonization. It has pursued systematically the same policy of uprooting the Palestinian people, seizing its lands and property and doing its utmost to erase all traces of its civilization and to cast a slur upon the sacredness of its holy places. Israel was not content with trying to suppress the Palestinians as a people by Judaizing their land: it has followed the same policy with regard to neighbouring Arab States, occupying and annexing certain of their territories.

10. On this question, the United Nations has adopted a large number of resolutions, all of which have recognized that the Palestinian people has the right to return, the right to self-determination and the right to establish on its territory an independent State, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. These resolutions condemn the Israeli policy of aggression represented by its occupation of territories. They call upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, but Israel has totally disregarded the United Nations resolutions and, indeed, has stubbornly continued to implement its policy of expansion and usurpation.

11. The occupied Palestinian territory has recently experienced a new phase of the repressive policy, practised in order to empty the villages and towns of their Arab populations in order to Judaize them and establish new settlements. The town of Al-Quds al-Sharif is daily the scene of grave events designed to Judaize the Holy City and change its physical character; the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque has been directly threatened by excavations in the subsoil and around that building by the occupation authorities. The Israeli authorities have been pursuing the implementation of their plan in disregard for the feelings of Muslims and Christians and thus continue to disregard Security Council resolutions calling upon it to respect the status of Al-Quds.

12. The Kingdom of Morocco, which had the honour of serving as the host country of the Fourth Islamic Summit Conference, held at Casablanca from

16 to 19 January 1984, and whose King, Hassan II, acted in his capacity as President of that Conference and of the Al-Quds Committee, expresses its condemnation of those practices and appeals to the international community to guarantee respect for the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning Al-Quds al-Sharif, the question of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories.

13. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, reaffirmed the dedication of the Arab nation to peace based on justice. The Arab Heads of State adopted on 9 September 1982 the Arab peace plan,<sup>1</sup> which guarantees the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the peace and security of the States of the region. Through this clear and feasible plan, the Arab sovereigns and heads of State have demonstrated their open-mindedness and sincere desire for peace. They have made their positive contribution to the restoration of peace and stability in the Middle East.

14. We believe that the Middle East problem, which has proved so difficult to solve and which continues to pose a serious threat to international peace and security, can be resolved by an amalgam of the Arab peace plan and the plan proposed by President Reagan of the United States on 1 September 1982.<sup>2</sup> We feel also that a solution to the Middle East problem requires that the Soviet Union be involved in its elaboration, in view of the international responsibilities of that great Power. This is the consistent position of my Sovereign, King Hassan II.

15. The fraternal people of Lebanon is still enduring the drastic consequences of Israel's occupation of its territories. The situation in that country has deteriorated gravely; the peace and security of the whole region are thereby threatened. Morocco, which is united with Lebanon by links of brotherhood, reaffirms its total support for the efforts of the Lebanese Government to bring about national reconciliation and safeguard Lebanon's sovereignty and independence. We give our unreserved support to the Lebanese demand for the withdrawal from its territories of the Israeli occupation forces.

16. For more than four years, an atrocious war has been waged between two neighbouring Islamic countries, Iraq and Iran. The Kingdom of Morocco deeply deplores the continuation of that war, which, with each passing day, further destroys the potential of the two brotherly peoples. We hope that wisdom and common sense will prevail and that after the conclusion of a cease-fire the two countries will arrive at a solution capable of restoring peace and security to the region, in keeping with Security Council resolutions.

17. We wish to express our satisfaction with the positive attitude of Iraq, reflected in its decision to abide by the resolutions of the Security Council and respond favourably to the mediation initiatives undertaken to put an end to the bloodshed. At the same time, the Kingdom of Morocco ardently hopes that Iran will eventually adopt the same stance so as to guarantee the restoration of peace and stability and the safeguarding of Islamic energies and potential.

18. We hope that the Islamic Peace Committee, under the presidency of Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, President of the Republic of the Gambia, together with the other bodies acting to promote peace, will attain successful results and that the region will thus recover its tranquillity and security, enabling the two

neighbours to get on with their work of national construction, in keeping with the aspirations of their peoples for progress and well-being. We hope that mutual goodwill will be shown and that the international community will act vigorously to put an end to this terrible war.

19. Morocco, a country located on the African continent, takes a great interest to African events and problems. For that reason, guided by the awareness of its responsibilities, it has always striven and still strives for the liberation, independence and territorial integrity of the African States and the consolidation of their stability and security.

20. In southern Africa, the Namibian people is struggling for its freedom and independence. Morocco reaffirms its support for the brother people of Namibia, which, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its national organization, must obtain complete independence and the exercise of its rights, in conformity with the resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolution 435 (1978).

21. The people of South Africa continues to endure the consequences of the policy of racial discrimination. My country, which has always condemned racism in all its forms, once again demands that everything possible is done to put an end to the policy of *apartheid*, a policy inimical to human values and incompatible with moral principles.

22. The African continent is suffering the effects of two natural disasters: drought and desertification. The countries of the Sahel are almost permanently affected by drought; desertification also affects those countries and threatens to spread to vast areas of Africa. Large numbers of people have been obliged to leave their areas, as a result of which the economic and social situation of the countries concerned has seriously deteriorated. We believe that these disasters can be tackled effectively only by means of far-reaching international action. Immediate arrangements must be made to help the stricken countries and make it possible to alleviate the consequences of these disasters.

23. These situations undoubtedly constitute real problems for Africa. The countries of the continent are called on to do their utmost, together, to resolve them, instead of being preoccupied with artificial and imaginary problems sustained by selfish considerations.

24. The north-west region of Africa is a setting for one such artificial problem—that of the Sahara. After my country had secured the decolonization of the Saharan provinces—decolonization which Morocco, as in the cases of other provinces formally under French and Spanish rule and under international administration, had carried out in strict conformity with the rules of international law—the problem was artificially revived for the express purpose of impeding my country's progress and exhausting its energy and potential. Although Moroccan rights are clear and beyond dispute, my country has shown great wisdom, good sense and patience and looks forward to the future with optimism and a willingness to continue to overcome difficulties.

25. It is in this context that we must see the historic initiative of King Hassan II, who, at the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held at Nairobi in June 1981, an-

nounced the decision to agree to prove what had already been proved in fact, history and law—as His Majesty himself said.

26. His Majesty proposed the organization of a referendum in the Sahara and, as he made clear in his statement to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, did so

“for the reconciliation of Africa and to teach those who were unaware of things, to demystify the facts for those who were trying to disregard them all and to instill some wisdom into those who still did not want to understand anything” [8th meeting, para. 24].

27. After the Nairobi summit had unanimously adopted the resolution calling for the referendum,<sup>3</sup> the Kingdom of Morocco remained faithful to that resolution and co-operated positively with the Implementation Committee charged by the Nairobi summit with the duty of applying the referendum resolution.

28. The Implementation Committee succeeded in drawing up the arrangements for the organization of the referendum and in defining the conditions pertaining to persons invited to state their views. It decided to instruct the observers of the OAU to monitor the progress of the voting operations side by side with observers appointed by the United Nations. Thus, everything was arranged, set up and spelled out so that the referendum could take place and meet all the conditions necessary for a fair, equitable and sincere consultation.

29. My country granted the Implementation Committee the facilities necessary to enable it to fulfil its mission and declared itself ready to organize the referendum whenever the Committee decided that it would be convenient. To avoid any misunderstanding and in the most authoritative tone possible, through King Hassan II, my country confirmed here its solemn commitment to consider itself bound by the results of the referendum.

30. However, obstacles were set in the path of the implementation of the resolution on the referendum because of fear of the inevitable outcome of the consultation. Indeed, more than once the people of the provinces of Al Aaiún, Smara, Bojador and Oued Ed Dahab have proclaimed their unswerving attachment to their Moroccan character, and the whole world was able to verify that fact through numerous reports by journalists and politicians, who, having visited the region several times, saw for themselves the real state of affairs in our southern provinces, the achievements and the constructive work that had been done there, and the calm and security in which the people live, a people firmly committed to their Moroccan identity.

31. The question is quite clear: Morocco, which took the initiative concerning the organization of the referendum, again declares its willingness to co-operate in facilitating the holding of the referendum. We believe that the referendum provides the effective basis for the solution of this problem. Morocco is always ready to co-operate towards that end with the OAU.

32. The Kingdom of Morocco, which believes in the idea of a united Arab Maghreb and in Arab unity, which has worked towards that end ever since the days in which it was struggling to regain its own independence and which, furthermore, has greatly contributed to the attainment of African unity, has

worked tirelessly and resolutely to consolidate the fraternal bonds between Arab States and African States, and it regards the establishment of the Arab-African Union as the concrete expression of the idea of such a union and its full attainment.

33. On 13 August 1984, at Oujda, a treaty was signed establishing the Arab-African Union between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Moroccan and Libyan peoples unanimously approved that Union, through a popular referendum in Morocco and by the vote of the peoples' congresses in Libya. The two peoples are convinced that the Union thus proclaimed embodies their desire for unity and that it is the first stone to be laid in constructing the Arab Maghreb, along the pathway towards greater Arab-African union.

34. The treaty concluded between the two fraternal countries can be taken as a model. It is a treaty based on logic and drawn up from the teachings of experience. It is marked by objectivity and is based on realism, a spirit of open-mindedness and tolerance. This treaty, built under the aegis of international law, is aimed at the establishment of a just and equitable peace. The Moroccan-Libyan treaty of union is also characterized by its honesty and sincerity. It is a “guileless treaty”, one that is not directed against anyone.

35. There can be no doubt that the Arab-African Union, which is now a concrete reality, will assist in ensuring progress and stability in the Arab world and in the African continent and will serve as a model of its kind for complementarity and co-operation among States.

36. The Kingdom of Morocco has been closely following recent developments in the question of Chad. My country regards the agreement concluded in that connection as the harbinger of a forthcoming resolution of the Chadian crisis that has long been a source of grave concern to the countries of the African continent. In our desire to see stability and security prevail throughout the entire region, the Kingdom of Morocco welcomes the agreement concluded between France and Libya and considers that that agreement opens up broad horizons for all sectors of opinion among the people of Chad to bring about the restoration of peace in that country.

37. My country is also keenly aware of the other political problems that exist in other parts of the world and has been following their evolution with close attention. Morocco has, on diverse occasions, made known its opinions on those problems. Those positions have been unswerving and are based on Morocco's commitment to the basic principles of the United Nations and on its commitment to the resolutions adopted with regard to those problems by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and regional organizations.

38. The arms race continues to be one of the most crucial concerns of the General Assembly. The frenzied arms race poses a severe threat to international peace and security; it drains vast financial and material resources and considerable human and technological energy. It has deplorable repercussions on international relations and on international co-operation in particular. Accordingly, the Kingdom of Morocco deplores the slowness with which the Programme of Action adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978 [resolution

S-10/2, sect. III], has been carried out. It deeply regrets that the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second special session devoted to disarmament, held in July 1982, was unable to reach agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan capable of setting forth concrete measures for moving towards complete and general disarmament under international control.

39. Certain aspects of the current world economic crisis do, of course, have an impact on the countries of the North, but the crisis is of particular gravity for those of the South and is a source of deep concern for the developing countries.

40. There are many reasons for the crisis. The principal reason, however, lies in the fact that economic relations among States are still governed by a certain tendency towards monopolization. We firmly believe that the crisis will worsen if such relations are not viewed in a spirit of North-South co-operation in keeping with the needs of our era and capable of promoting constructive co-operation among the countries concerned.

41. Our increasingly interdependent world makes it essential that we think in terms of establishing an international economy based on complementarity and co-operation between the countries of the South and of the North, the producers of raw materials and the industrialized countries.

42. The obstinate refusal of the developed countries to meet the legitimate demands of the third-world countries could well bring about an economic situation that would be harmful to all the States of the world.

43. Ten years after the adoption of the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation,<sup>4</sup> the developing countries are still waiting for the industrialized countries to live up to the commitments they assumed within the framework of that Plan for the improvement of investment conditions in the developing countries and the guarantee of the stability of raw materials prices in order to protect the legitimate interests of those countries.

44. There can be no doubt that the debt burden weighing upon the third-world countries is quite capable of creating serious upheavals in the world economic system and its monetary and financial institutions. That system must enable developing countries to enjoy their true share of international trade by doing away with protectionist barriers.

45. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna this year, are only two of the many attempts made to find a common ground between the positions of the countries of the North and those of the South.

46. The Kingdom of Morocco urges the developed countries to make their positions more flexible in order to bring about a new international economic order that would take into account the vital interests of the developing countries.

47. The world is passing through grave crises and is being forced to cope with delicate problems. However, we have all placed our hope in the United Nations in order to promote the best solutions that can make possible the attainment of an international community based on tranquillity, security and the

true solidarity of all States. Such an achievement would surely strengthen the confidence the States and peoples of the world have placed in the United Nations and would certainly give concrete expression to the noble objectives of the Charter in relations among nations.

48. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since this is the first time that I have had the honour and privilege of addressing this Assembly on behalf of the Second Republic of Guinea, allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which came as a surprise to no one. We would also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your country, which happily has solid ties of friendship and mutual trust with the Republic of Guinea. Your outstanding qualities, Sir, as a seasoned diplomat and your wide experience in the affairs of State, together with your admirable wisdom, guarantee that the work of this session will proceed in the serious and tranquil way required in view of the present disquieting international situation.

49. It is also a pleasure for our delegation to express its congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca for the brilliant way in which he led the work of the thirty-eighth session.

50. We welcome, too, the new State of Brunei Darussalam on its admission as the 159th Member of the large United Nations family and assure its Government and people of the readiness of the Government and people of Guinea to co-operate with it.

51. We would also like, on behalf of Colonel Lansana Konté, President of the Republic of Guinea, to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General the deep gratitude of the Military Committee of National Recovery and the Government of the Second Republic for the commendable and tireless efforts he has made for the peaceful settlement of the international problems facing the United Nations.

52. As the Assembly is aware, as a result of its categoric and historic "no" in the referendum of 28 September 1958, the courageous people of Guinea achieved full sovereignty on 2 October 1958 in a great outburst of enthusiasm and hope—enthusiasm at having broken the chains of colonialism and hope for a future that held every promise of brilliance.

53. Unfortunately, little by little, as time went on, the Guinean citizen, who had fought like a lion, who had made so many sacrifices and suffered all manner of deprivations to lead our country to independence, saw the noble objectives for which he had fought betrayed. Since then, unfortunately, the people of Guinea, powerless under the burden of a totalitarian and bloody régime, suffered body and soul, shed tears for the thousands of innocent victims, including the finest of its sons, who were assassinated in cold blood, and witnessed the inevitable deterioration of all its values and socio-economic conditions.

54. A people stifled, oppressed and confounded; a people discouraged by the prospect of a future without food; a people lacking hospitals and medicines; a people lacking viable schools, much less decent housing; a people without means of transport and good roads; a people whose needs are immense and whose misfortunes are many—this is the legacy of 26 years of a reign whose cynicism vied with its cruelty; this is the true face of the martyred people of



Guinea following its long and painful desert passage, which, thank God, came to an end on 3 April 1984, when the Guinean armed forces came to power.

55. On 3 April 1984, the Republic of Guinea turned a new page in its history. The armed forces, responding to the appeal of the people, without any bloodshed, assumed their historic responsibilities to save the peace-loving people of Guinea from an imminent civil war into which the former administration would inevitably have led it, inspired by racial and ethnic considerations.

56. The extraordinary outburst of joy, the many expressions of satisfaction throughout the country welcoming the fact that the national army had taken over the destiny of the nation, clearly demonstrated that the tragedy which had been played out for more than a quarter of a century in Guinea had reached tragic dimensions which were no longer bearable.

57. The immense hopes aroused by the events of 3 April 1984 went far beyond our national borders, and the positive reactions registered on the continent and throughout the world make it possible for us, while relying first and foremost on our own strength and our own potential, to appeal for international solidarity which could help us quickly to establish the well-being of the Guinean citizen and, therefore, that of all people, since every individual is part of humanity at large. Full light will be shed on the Guinean tragedy so that the necessary lessons will be learned to ensure that never again will an individual or individuals enslave a people, as was the case in Guinea.

58. Right after taking power, the Military Committee of National Recovery found itself facing a most disastrous economic situation, with the public treasury depleted and the economy at square one. Aware of that burdensome heritage, the result of a quarter century of waste and chaos, the Military Committee of National Recovery and its Government decided to do everything in its power for the rapid development of the immense potential which nature so generously bestowed on our country. Therefore, since 3 April 1984, Guinea has been a vast work-yard, open to all countries that want to co-operate with it in the framework of sincere, open and mutually beneficial co-operation. In this respect, we are pleased to point out that a new investment code which provides sufficient incentives has just been prepared and published.

59. Need we state that what prevails now in Guinea is freedom, the real freedom of which our people dreamt on that fleeting dawn of 28 September. What prevails in Guinea is democracy, genuine democracy and fruitful dialogue, which can give freedom to hearts, minds and initiative. Guinea is now a haven of peace, tranquillity and security, open to the world at large and where human rights and individual freedoms will be zealously defended and completely respected.

60. From this rostrum we reaffirm our complete adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. We extend our unconditional support to all national liberation movements in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

61. We are determined fiercely to combat foreign domination, racism, *apartheid*, zionism and any use of force to resolve international problems. We shall

participate fully in the quest for peaceful solutions to the many conflicts confronting our world.

62. The thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, like the preceding session, has opened in the midst of a highly disturbing international situation. A simple list of the conflicts engulfing our world, and particularly those in the African continent, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, which unceasingly multiply and develop, is enlightening. The constant and tragic worsening of those conflicts in the world is the painful and dangerous consequence of the ideological and military confrontation of the hegemonistic Powers that wish to divide the world into exclusive zones of influence.

63. This dangerous policy of tension is compounded by the serious and trying economic recession which strikes with full force at the developing countries and, above all, at those African countries that are already in the grip of famine, malnutrition, disease and all the effects of drought and other natural disasters.

64. As we consider the situation in these crisis areas, we must observe with concern that it is always the same ones that are responsible for the increasing tension in international relations.

65. Africa, for its part, has enjoyed no respite, given the conflicts and challenges that disturb it and compromise its development. Our continent remains confronted, first and foremost, with the intolerable policy of *apartheid*, established as a system of Government by a Fascist and arrogant minority régime.

66. The intransigence of Pretoria in the search for an immediate solution to the Namibian question stems completely from the support that it receives from its allies, whose anachronistic views underlie the calculated delays which prevent the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

67. Furthermore, armed aggression, political pressure on neighbouring independent African States and the complicity of several Member States from which South Africa benefits have led to a dialogue of the deaf and a deadlock, making it possible for the *apartheid* régime to repress the South African people from within by force of arms.

68. The enemies of African freedom count on others being lulled by the continuation of this dangerous situation so that they may prevent the exercise by the Namibian people of its inalienable right to independence, a right admirably defended by the valiant freedom fighters of SWAPO.

69. Given the tragedy of Namibia, the United Nations cannot afford to be the passive instrument of base individual interests without losing its credibility in the eyes of public opinion. It must demand that all its Members strictly respect its decisions so as to induce racist South Africa to accept the complete implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the only way of leading the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence.

70. In the past, in the present and in the future, the Republic of Guinea opposed, opposes and will continue to oppose with increasing energy, resolve and determination the manoeuvres of those who want to link the freedom of the fraternal people of Namibia to problems relating to the sovereignty of an independent African State, Angola.

71. Our delegation wishes once again to take this opportunity to reaffirm to SWAPO, its valiant leadership and its freedom fighters, the unconditional support of the people of Guinea.

72. Our delegation once again assures the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania of the unconditional support and active solidarity of the Government of the Republic of Guinea in their liberation struggle, as well as the considerable efforts made by the front-line States.

73. The explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa is unfortunately not the sole concern of the delegation of Guinea. Our continent has other hotbeds of tension, the two principal ones being Chad and Western Sahara. There again, the destructive effects of a serious deterioration of international relations and the prevalence of individual selfish interests have fueled the flames of division and paralysed the efforts of our continental organization, the OAU. For the sake of the credibility of that organization, we must strictly respect its resolutions and implement them to the letter. It therefore seems to us essential that conditions be created for the implementation of resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX) on Western Sahara,<sup>5</sup> adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983.

74. With respect to Chad, our delegation is pleased at the new developments in that situation and strongly affirms that it is for the people of Chad and for them alone to find a solution to their problems. Of course, all the efforts of the international community should focus on helping the people of Chad to recover national peace and unity in a sovereign Chad whose internal security and territorial integrity will be definitively guaranteed. In this respect, we welcome the efforts being made to gather together around the same table all the representatives of the sons of that martyred nation.

75. The Republic of Guinea makes an urgent appeal from this rostrum to the international community to give its complete support to the OAU in its delicate search for a peaceful and lasting solution to all the conflicts which confront the continent, seriously imperil the survival of its organic unity and dangerously curb the harmonious and balanced development of each of the African nations.

76. Our delegation sincerely deplors the steady worsening of the situation in the Middle East, as well as the inadmissible fact that it has been impossible to find appropriate ways and means of putting an end to the pointless bloodshed and massive destruction of the property of the peoples of that region.

77. It must be recognized that the main factor of instability in the region is Israel, whose responsibility in prolonging and exacerbating tension is unquestionable. By persisting in its policy of occupying Arab lands, by using force to establish and maintain its domination in the region, by adopting an attitude of superiority bordering on disdain and arrogance, Israel is hardly working towards the establishment of peace, a *sine qua non* for peaceful coexistence and fruitful co-operation between Jews and Arabs.

78. We are firmly convinced that nothing solid, lasting and effective can be accomplished towards solving the problem of the Middle East unless account is taken of the fact of the Palestinian nation

and unless Israel recognizes the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and authentic representative.

79. I repeat that the Government of Guinea has no quarrel with the existence of the Israeli State. We have said that what we cannot accept is the acquisition by force of the territory of another State. History has taught us that what is acquired by force will be lost by force, and that two wrongs do not make a right.

80. With regard to the painful conflict between two brother Muslim countries, Iran and Iraq, the Republic of Guinea believes that this terrible war, in which all means of destruction are being used, thus endangering economies that had good prospects, has lasted too long. It is high time for the leaders of those two fraternal countries to listen to the voices that everywhere clamour for an end to the hostilities, an end to the nightmare that has cost hundreds of thousands of human lives and led to the destruction of a number of towns and very important industrial installations. It is time for genuine negotiations leading to peace and reconciliation. It is high time to stop an escalation that would inevitably result in an extension of the zone of conflict and thus to an internationalization of hostilities whose devastating effects on the region and the rest of the world would be difficult to contain.

81. Our delegation welcomes the agreement reached by the two belligerents under the auspices of the Secretary-General to protect the civilian populations against indiscriminate bombing. In the hope that that small and very fragile step may be respected and strengthened and lead to a genuine cease-fire—an indispensable prelude to any peace negotiations—our delegation reaffirms to the two parties its complete readiness to continue within the Islamic Peace Committee its mission of friendship and reconciliation so that at last peace and solidarity may prevail in the relations of those two fraternal countries, which history, geography and religious faith have determined must live together.

82. Since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the problem of Cyprus has developed considerably in dangerous ways. Today, the country's independence, national unity and territorial integrity seem to be threatened. The Government of the Republic of Guinea encourages and supports all efforts to bring about national reconciliation through direct dialogue between the Turkish and Greek communities of the island, aimed at respect for the unity of the Cypriot people and the maintenance of the country's territorial integrity.

83. In the Korean peninsula, as in many other parts of Asia, peace remains precarious. The Government of Guinea reiterates its appeal to the international community and to all people of goodwill to support the sincere efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to begin a constructive dialogue between the peoples of the north and the south of the Korean nation with a view to creating a confederal republic. The Korean people, whether of the north or of the south, aspire only to peace and the reunification of their homeland. The international community must support its efforts to attain that objective by expressing its support for the final withdrawal of all foreign forces and the transformation of the armistice agreement into a peace agreement.

84. Our delegation is also still concerned about the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. We believe that it is for the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples themselves, and for them alone, freely to decide their political direction in domestic and foreign policy, without foreign pressure or interference.

85. As for the crises shaking Latin America and the Caribbean, we favour respect for the territorial integrity and security of all the States of the region and non-interference in their internal affairs.

86. With this survey, incomplete as it is, of some of the problems relating to world peace and stability, it is only right to observe that the General Assembly is unfortunately again meeting against the background of an alarming deterioration in the international situation, characterized by confrontation, military intervention, foreign occupation, an acceleration of the arms race and economic stagnation.

87. When it is estimated that world military expenditure in one week is equivalent to the yearly financial effort needed for the complete recovery of the economic situation of the least developed countries, we can only conclude that there is a pressing need to put an end to the dangerous paradox of the arms race.

88. We believe that during this Second Disarmament Decade, the international community must ensure the effective implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*] and resolutely prevent any action that might change its objectives and imperil its results.

89. The deterioration in the international political situation is, unfortunately, reflected in international economic relations, where the situation does not inspire optimism. The crisis in international economic relations and the ever-widening gap between the developing countries and the industrialized countries threaten the stability and independence of our States.

90. The imbalance designed and maintained by the rich countries tends to continue, to the detriment of our nations, thus creating a basically anachronistic situation in which the rich become richer and the poor become poorer.

91. It is therefore fitting to stress the injustice of the present international economic system, which brutally affects the developing countries, obstructing all their attempts to escape the tragic situation in which they are struggling.

92. Initiatives aimed at getting the rich countries to participate in negotiations on the global development of all the present problems—raw materials, energy and trade, money, finances and industrial and agricultural development—have been met with reluctance by some developed countries. Yet, the many discussions between the North and the South, the various agreements and the adoption of General Assembly resolution 34/138 had given a glimmer of hope to some.

93. For years now, a point has been made in all international forums of the importance of North-South co-operation. It is a theme which has merely caused a great deal of ink to flow.

94. That is why it is desirable that today the international community should make a reality of that co-operation, so that our peoples, which are facing a distressing economic situation, may at last

benefit from the fruits of their labour, thanks to our receiving a just return for our products.

95. A global programme aimed at international co-operation, with the participation of all countries, is urgently needed in the present international economic situation.

96. Furthermore, concrete measures must be taken, measures which reflect a political will to establish a new world system which ensures for all mankind a fair share of the accumulated wealth and the fruits of scientific and technological progress.

97. In May 1974, the General Assembly, meeting in its sixth special session, concluded that the system of international economic relations was incompatible with the historic changes that had taken place and with the economic and social development needs of peoples. It therefore proclaimed the need for us to work together to establish a new international economic order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

98. And what have the developing countries seen happening since then? A deterioration in their terms of trade, an inability to achieve self-sufficiency in food or to increase their participation in world industrial production, enormous difficulties in gaining access to technology, and an alarming increase in their foreign debt.

99. Our delegation is convinced that the only possible way to restore equal opportunities in North-South co-operation is to establish fruitful relations of co-operation based on justice and mutual interests, with the United Nations as a framework for the negotiations.

100. In addition to economic difficulties, in some cases our countries are facing natural disasters; this remains the sorry plight of the third-world countries.

101. In a grim world situation, fraught with crisis, it should be mentioned, among other things, that more than half of the African countries are afflicted by drought. A rapidly increasing population growth contrasts with the vertical drop in food production. In these conditions, it can easily be understood why, on our continent, about 150 million persons are victims of famine, according to FAO estimates.

102. That is why my delegation believes that by giving massive assistance to put into effect the programme to combat desertification in Africa, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/184, the international community can fulfil one of its duties of solidarity, in the framework of international co-operation.

103. The solution to the complex problems facing our world today requires, more than ever before, the consolidation of the role that the United Nations must play in the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security and in the promotion of respect for international law in inter-State relations. The United Nations must become a dynamic and effective forum so that major international problems can be tackled from the global point of view and so that thereby the most complex problems of the world can be settled. If those objectives are to be attained, an assessment of United Nations activities is necessary in order to increase its effectiveness and to adapt its structures to the international community's present-day and future requirements and realities. It is also important that, in its international conduct, every State should respect the norms of law and of ethics.

104. In conclusion, my delegation repeats from this rostrum that the Government of the Republic of Guinea is ready to co-operate closely with all other Governments in the quest for the most appropriate ways to achieve all our objectives, so that, by its results, this session of the Assembly may live up to the important responsibilities of the United Nations in regard to the attainment of the noble and legitimate aspirations of all peoples to peace and progress, in the framework of balanced, sincere and fruitful co-operation.

105. Mr. OSMAN (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, in the name of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, to extend to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are happy to see a distinguished African and a seasoned diplomat presiding over the deliberations of this important forum at a time when international relations are passing through a critical and difficult phase. We are confident that, with your well-known wisdom and tact, you will lead our deliberations in the way best suited to the achievement of our aspirations.

106. Our deepest gratitude and appreciation also go to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the excellent and successful manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session.

107. We also congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its accession to membership of the United Nations. We are convinced that, with its rich historic and cultural heritage, Brunei Darussalam will contribute in a most positive manner to the enhancement of our efforts to ensure peace, prosperity and stability.

108. For a long time following our independence, we continued to be captive to an alien culture and civilization far removed from our heritage and spiritual and cultural values. Then, on 25 May 1969, came the revolution that emancipated the will of the nation and gradually took the country back to its cultural heritage, through the Islamic way of life. The Sudan, by choosing the Islamic way of life, is a proponent of unity and fraternity for all its citizens, Muslims as well as adherents to other religions. The Islamic way of life in our country means conciliation and love, with no violence and no imposition. It means rule by democracy and rationalization. It is rule that interacts with human civilization, openly and in a spirit of compromise.

109. President Nemery, in his address to the nation on 1 January this year, said:

"We shall not allow anybody to lead us to conflict and disunity in the name of religion. Sudan, under the shadow and by virtue of Islam, will be a model of the peaceful coexistence of different cultures, beliefs and religions. God willing, Sudan will be a model for a real Islamic awakening, uplifted by the values of Islam and renewed by its teachings. We shall not be a nucleus for embattlement but will, rather, remain a model admired by all."

110. The Islamic way of life in our country is an expression of the will of the Sudanese people to determine their national goals and ultimately create a just and caring society. It is a way of life that respects human rights in their totality, including the rights of non-Muslims, enabling them to practice their beliefs and cultural activities.

111. All these values were embodied in a wonderful national consensus when the Sudanese people joined in vociferous processions commemorating the first anniversary of the application of Islamic law and the holding of the International Islamic Conference, in which hundreds of Islamic leaders and scholars participated. The Sudanese people have thus confirmed their unswerving commitment to the application of Islamic law. They have provided an adequate reply to all campaigns launched by those who wanted us to remain captive to alien values and cultures. Through those processions, the Sudanese people reaffirmed their determination to stand steadfast against all who intend to threaten our national unity, in contravention of regional and international charters and in defiance of sound international conduct.

112. The Islamic way of life in Sudan rests on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations which stipulate the right of each State to choose its own political, economic and social system. This rebirth in Sudan will be a driving force, encouraging us to meet our national, continental and international commitments. In the League of Arab States, we shall continue to be faithful to the Palestinian cause. In the OAU, we shall spearhead the struggle against colonialism and racism. My country contributes effectively to the work of the Organization of the Islamic Conference towards fulfilment of the hopes of the Islamic peoples. As a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we reaffirm our commitment to its principles and we shall endeavour to steer it away from big-Power axes and struggles.

113. On the regional level, we work to promote political and economic co-operation with our Arab and African neighbours through bilateral and multi-lateral channels. We have therefore established joint ministerial commissions and bodies concerned with co-operation and integration, as called for at the Lagos economic summit, in order to utilize our countries' capabilities in construction and development. One of the main manifestations of that co-operation is the common efforts of the Central African Republic, Sudan, Egypt, Uganda and Zaire towards that end. In addition, I must mention the integration of Sudan and brother Egypt, which provides a successful model for the ideal pattern of co-operation between two neighbouring States.

114. The serious international economic crisis is still at the top of the international agenda. The United Nations system is particularly concerned about that crisis, owing to its negative impact on all aspects of international relations, in particular the widening gap between developing and developed countries and the lack of progress towards the dialogue and co-operation between those countries that is necessary if the structural problems affecting the world economy are to be addressed.

115. The critical economic situation in Africa, by virtue of its depth, severity, scope and duration, poses a direct threat to the lives of millions of Africans throughout the continent. In addition to the impact of the international economic crisis, Africa has had to endure severe natural disasters. Persistent drought and creeping desertification are wiping out agricultural land and livestock. This has exacerbated the situation to such an extent that all projections indicate that Africa will continue to suffer the impact of the current crisis even if there is a marked recovery in the international economy.



116. The impact of the international situation on Africa is reflected in declining export earnings as a result of the continuous decline in commodity prices, steep rises in the cost of imported capital goods, services and agricultural inputs and a drying up of the financial resources so necessary for investment. In addition to all this, the debt-servicing burden has ballooned to surpass export earnings. The combined impact of these factors has resulted, in the short term, in suffering and sacrifices and, in the long term, would undermine and halt our development efforts.

117. Sudan, together with many other African countries, is now facing the impact of the current economic crisis, coupled with the impact of devastating climatic conditions. For three years, Sudan has been hit by a persistent drought, which was most severely felt in the Kurdufan and Darfur regions in the west and in the eastern region. The affected area is approximately equal to half the area of Western Europe. We are particularly alarmed at the drought because the affected areas include important agricultural and livestock production centres. The devastating impact of drought on the economy of the affected areas and on the economy of Sudan as a whole needs no elaboration.

118. Despite these difficulties, Sudan remains a refuge for over a million refugees from neighbouring countries. We are sheltering the increasing numbers of refugees out of respect for and commitment to the relevant international conventions. Our doors are never closed in the faces of these refugees. We continue to share with them the limited resources and services at our disposal. Caring for refugees, however, is a heavy burden for any individual country; it is a common international responsibility. In this context, we welcome the results of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, and hope that the international community, and especially the donor countries, will mobilize the resources necessary for the implementation of the projects prepared by the host countries. Most of those projects, despite good and thorough preparation, await the necessary financing.

119. This is only a small part of what Africa is experiencing as a result of the severe crisis. International attention and additional resources must be focused on support for the efforts of the African countries to face the crisis. The initiative of the Secretary-General earlier this year was a most valuable catalyst in focusing world attention on what is happening in Africa and in urging the international community to step up its assistance to meet both the urgent needs, particularly serious food shortages, and the medium- and long-term needs for the rehabilitation of agriculture, industry and infrastructure, thus making possible the resumption of endeavours towards economic and social development.

120. We fully recognize that dealing with the current crisis is the primary responsibility of the African countries themselves. However, the scope and nature of the crisis make it necessary that the international community, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual interest, assume a basic responsibility in supporting the African efforts.

121. We believe that the World Bank's plan for Africa will be very useful in securing the necessary financial resources to help the African countries meet the crisis. However, we regret that the latest World

Bank meeting did not achieve a clear international commitment to provide the necessary economic resources for Africa, despite statements of support and sympathy from all the donor countries. We hope that the responsible officials of the World Bank will continue their efforts to achieve that end. We also hope that bilateral and multilateral channels, and particularly the United Nations and its programmes, will be used to provide the necessary resources to support the efforts of the African countries.

122. Africa is facing this serious economic crisis while also facing other serious political challenges posed by the deteriorating situation in southern Africa. There, the Pretoria racist régime continues to practise its inhuman *apartheid* policy and to deny the African majority its legitimate rights. It maintains its illegal occupation of Namibia and continues to pose a serious threat to southern African countries and to Africa as a whole.

123. This year, the Pretoria régime came up with yet another plot in a series of plots to entrench its *apartheid* system. This is the so-called constitutional reform, which grants the Coloureds and those of Asian origin separate chambers in the Parliament. These "reforms" appear to enable those minorities to participate in government, but in reality they attempt to precipitate a conflict between those groups and the black majority, which is denied even this sham participation. However, despite these attempts to entrench *apartheid* and perpetuate the suffering of the black majority, the sinister efforts of the white minority régime were frustrated at both the national and the international level. At the national level, the groups that the so-called reforms were designed to appease boycotted the elections and participated in the popular uprising against the "reforms". That uprising reconfirmed the unity of the peoples of South Africa against the tyranny of the white racist minority. Repression and new Sharpeville and Soweto massacres could not stifle the uprising.

124. At the level of the international community, which the white minority attempted to appease by a façade of moderation and gradual reform, the so-called constitutional reforms elicited only rejection and contempt. The international community understood the real objective of those "reforms" and rejected them, as it had earlier rejected the bantustans. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly last Friday [*resolution 39/2*] and the similar Security Council resolution [*resolution 554 (1984)*] reaffirm that international rejection. We hope that this clear international consensus will mean the continuance of international pressure and action to eradicate the abominable *apartheid* system.

125. One hundred years have passed since the foreign domination and occupation of Namibia began. The Namibian people is still struggling to achieve self-determination and independence. However, there is no sign of an imminent solution to this problem. The situation poses a basic challenge to the ability of the United Nations to expedite the achievement of Namibian independence in conformity with the peace plan endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). It is imperative here to denounce and reject South Africa's attempts to use Namibia's independence to serve its own interests and to link it to extraneous issues that are not part of the peace plan. The settlement of the question of Namibia necessitates, therefore, continued and serious international action to achieve independence for

Namibia and continued material and moral support for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

126. Sudan has always paid particular attention to developments in neighbouring Chad. What takes place there directly affects us because of the close links of blood, common history and geography. We continue to call for respect for Chad's security, territorial integrity and unity. We have insisted that the Chadians should be left to solve Chad's problems and achieve national reconciliation without any foreign involvement or interference. Indeed, my country has made tireless efforts towards that objective, but continuous foreign interference and intervention have exacerbated the problem and undermined efforts to facilitate the achievement of a Chadian solution by the Chadians themselves.

127. In the light of the serious situation in Chad, Sudan calls upon the international community to continue efforts in support of the legitimate Government of Chad, under the presidency of Hissène Habré, and in support of its efforts to achieve national reconciliation and safeguard Chad's independence, unity and territorial integrity.

128. We have no doubt whatsoever that a settlement of the question of Chad can be achieved only by the Chadians themselves, free from any foreign pressures or interference. Efforts or arrangements related to the question of Chad must not be at the expense of the independence of Chad, its unity or its territorial integrity.

129. While the development of events in the Middle East and the tragedies encountered by the Palestinian people have continued to endanger peace and security in the region and the world at large, they also represent a real challenge to the credibility of the United Nations and its responsibility to confront the aggressor and restore justice and legitimacy.

130. The situation in the Middle East is rapidly deteriorating as a result of Israel's intransigence, its policy of aggression and expansion, its denial of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, its annexation of Arab land and its establishment of illegal settlements, together with its persistent criminal practices aimed at stifling the voice of right and justice and at eliminating the Palestinian problem, which is recognized by the international community as the core and essence of the Middle East question. The international community has also demonstrated its consensus in various forums, and most recently at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, to the effect that no just and lasting peace can be established in the Middle East without the total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the exercise by the Palestinian people, under its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, of its rights to self-determination, to return to its homeland and to recover its possessions and its right to establish its own independent and sovereign State on its territory. In this connection, the implementation of the recommendations of the Geneva Conference,<sup>6</sup> adopted by the General Assembly last year [resolution 38/58 C], remains an urgent priority if the international community is to fulfil its responsibility for achieving peace and security on the basis of right, justice and international legitimacy.

131. In the absence of a deterrent against the aggressive Israeli practices, Israel will continue to be encouraged to defy the will of the international community and to continue its irresponsible practices unabated. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has demonstrated once more that the situation in that region will continue to be riddled with imminent dangers unless Israel is forced to abandon its policy of aggression and expansion. The whole world has witnessed its genocidal practices in Lebanon, a continuation of its cruel and repressive policies in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law. In strongly condemning the Israeli policies and practices, the international community should force Israel to withdraw totally from Lebanon, in conformity with relevant Security Council resolutions, to enable Lebanon to regain its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

132. As we reconvene in an atmosphere of international instability, hotbeds of tension, foreign intervention in the internal affairs of others, economic crisis and natural calamities, there is no option but to follow the path of peace and stability through the adherence of Member States to the principles of the Charter and the implementation of collective security arrangements provided for in the Charter.

133. There is no doubt that technological advances and the resulting interdependence of States make any set-back in the peace process in any region a threat to the peace and security of others. In this connection, the Sudan has shown heightened concern *vis-à-vis* recent events in the Red Sea which culminated in the deployment of mines in that strategic waterway. This concern is but a continuation of previous efforts and an initiative undertaken by the Sudan leading to the Quadripartite Summit Conference, held at Taiz in 1977, which was aimed at declaring the Red Sea a zone of peace, free from big-Power struggles and hegemony. Recent events have reconfirmed the need for concerted action by the littoral States in order to secure freedom of navigation in the Red Sea. That is why we have again called for a meeting at Khartoum of the Foreign Ministers of the littoral States. We hope that current consultations between the States concerned may lead shortly to the desired goals. This will consolidate the current efforts aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, particularly as the Red Sea is one of its most important natural extensions.

134. The Iraq-Iran war is entering its fifth year. We in the Sudan are closely following developments and feel great sorrow at the continuation of this war between two countries which are linked by bonds of religion and geographical proximity. What really arouses sorrow is Iran's defiance of all appeals and international efforts emanating from the United Nations and from regional bodies with a view to halting this prolonged war, which may extend to all the other countries of the region. From this rostrum, we wish to commend the conciliatory attitude of Iraq and its efforts aimed at putting an end to this war and its aftermath. On the other hand, we call on Iran once again to be reasonable and accept these peace initiatives in order to stop the waste of human and material resources.

135. The Sudan firmly rejects the use of force in solving conflicts and appeals for the settlement of differences through dialogue and negotiation. Guided

by that principle, we call once again for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea so as to enable the two peoples to exercise their right to self-determination freely and without any external intervention or pressures.

136. We also call for a peaceful settlement in Cyprus, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General. It is our hope too that the conflict in Korea will be solved peacefully, in accordance with the aspirations and wishes of the Korean people, in a manner that will enable them to exercise their free will without any foreign intervention and to contribute positively to international efforts to achieve international peace and co-operation.

137. Our world faces many problems and many dangerous conflicts. The greatest of these problems is the arms race and, in particular, its nuclear dimension, now extending to outer space. We express our profound concern that no tangible progress has yet been achieved in disarmament, a situation which may lead to a confrontation between the two super-Powers. This horrible danger which threatens the very existence of mankind makes it imperative that the great Powers overcome all the difficulties preventing total and comprehensive disarmament. The astronomical figure of \$1,000 billion spent on armaments should be channelled towards developmental efforts and international economic co-operation.

138. In conclusion, allow me to express our appreciation of the Secretary-General's continuous efforts, as described in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], outlining the main issues facing the United Nations and the future of international economic co-operation. Now that we are on the threshold of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of this august body, we hope that the report will be the basis for our discussions during this session and in the interim so that we may reassert the achievements of the United Nations and seek ways and means to avoid any shortcomings. By so doing, the United Nations will be able to mobilize the aspirations of the people of the world.

139. May I take this opportunity to reaffirm our unflinching support for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our continuous efforts to bring about the noble goals enshrined therein.

140. Mr. WOLDE (Ethiopia): On behalf of the Ethiopian delegation and on my own behalf, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is not only a recognition of your personal qualities as a seasoned diplomat, but also a fitting tribute to the positive role your country, Zambia, and your distinguished Head of State, President Kenneth Kaunda, play in international affairs. While wishing you every success in the discharge of your weighty responsibilities, I should like to assure you of the full co-operation of the Ethiopian delegation in your endeavours.

141. I should like also to take this opportunity to express Ethiopia's appreciation of the wise and effective leadership provided by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama.

142. We also welcome Brunei Darussalam into this family of nations.

143. The quest for peace, progress and justice has been the most constant factor in human history. Neither the stage of development attained by socie-

ties nor their cultural idiosyncrasies could permanently alter this immutable yearning which springs from the very depths of man's conscience. Indeed, this nobility of spirit still continues to animate the thoughts and actions of the great majority of mankind.

144. Yet history has never been one-dimensional. The pursuit of the lofty objectives of peace, progress and justice by the preponderant majority of the peoples of the world has throughout history been opposed by a minority which single-mindedly pursues the policy of domination, oppression and plunder. This minority considers aggression, intervention and war as legitimate instruments to realize its obnoxious policy. Indeed, the history of the world has been and continues to be, in large measure, a reflection of the struggle between these two opposing forces.

145. The victory over fascism and militarism in 1945 stands as a brilliant landmark in this continuing process of the struggle between good and evil. The founding of the United Nations in the same year symbolizes not only the unity of purpose, which was unmistakably manifested through the joint efforts of mankind against fascism and militarism, but also the universality of the hopes and aspirations of peoples throughout the world for peace, progress and justice.

146. It is this universality of man's cherished values that we have committed ourselves to protect and promote when, in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, "We the peoples of the United Nations" unequivocally expressed our determination to put an end to war, to preserve the dignity of the human person, to maintain justice and to promote social progress. The United Nations has thus become the repository of the nobler instincts of mankind and the sole representative of its collective conscience.

147. In this connection, and on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, therefore, I feel duty-bound to affirm once again Ethiopia's unswerving commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to the goal of further strengthening the United Nations as the only universal forum for the harmonization of the actions of nations in the attainment of the fundamental objectives of peace, progress and justice.

148. In reviewing the current international situation, we find that the world of 1984 for the most part is still confronted by the same problems with which the United Nations has been seized for decades. The arms race, international economic problems, the challenges posed by racism and *apartheid*, the question of Namibia's independence, the problems of the Middle East—to name just a few—are still with us. That these and other international problems have remained unsolved for so long cannot be attributed, as some might claim, to the shortcomings of the United Nations. They are due in large measure to the breakdown in the international legal and political order, as evidenced by the behaviour of some Member States which increasingly violate the rules and norms of international law and frequently disregard the United Nations as the universal forum for the resolution of international problems.

149. The problem in southern Africa, which has its genesis in the baser instincts of a few to dominate the many and which has been gnawing at the conscience of humanity for so long, is a case in point. The racist Pretoria régime, aided and abetted by its imperialist

allies, intransigently persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia, and the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), so far remains a dead letter. To our utter dismay and frustration, the *apartheid* régime and its allies, in particular the United States Government, while intensifying their plunder of the human and material resources of Namibia, continue to raise extraneous issues in order to delay further the exercise by the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. At the same time, they leave no stone unturned in their search for a group of puppets which could ensure the perpetuation of their dominant role in the affairs of post-independence Namibia.

150. There is no doubt that such futile attempts by racists, colonialists and neo-colonialists will be foiled by the heroic people of Namibia, under their sole and legitimate representative, SWAPO.

151. Within the Republic of South Africa itself, the racist régime is doing everything in its power to consolidate the obnoxious system of *apartheid*. While continuing to deny the African masses their fundamental human rights and freedoms, the *apartheid* régime is attempting to entice the Coloured and Asian population with “constitutional” subterfuge and meaningless “political reforms”. Ethiopia is convinced that this age-old imperialist stratagem of “divide and rule”, to which the preponderant majority of the population of South Africa, including the Coloureds and those of Asian origin, are opposed, will, like all the other evil designs of the *apartheid* régime, be totally rejected by the international community.

152. Not content with the repressive measures continuously meted out to the African population of Namibia and South Africa, the Pretoria régime, with the full support of its imperialist allies, has carried out with impunity repeated acts of armed aggression against the front-line States, in particular Angola and Mozambique. Those same States have also been victims of subversion and destabilization by the Pretoria régime, which has infiltrated into their territories mercenaries, fifth-columnists and agents to cause death and destruction.

153. In the warped logic of Pretoria and its friends, the armed aggression against and destabilization of the front-line States are justified as a genuine search for regional peace and stability. The international community is, however, cognizant of the fact that the objective of that policy on the part of the *apartheid* régime and its allies is but to buy time for Pretoria and to gain a respite from the armed struggle so gallantly waged by SWAPO in Namibia and the liberation movements, in particular the ANC, in southern Africa.

154. As the Final Communiqué of the Summit Meeting of the Front-line States, which was held at Arusha on 29 April 1984, so eloquently stated:

“Peace is incompatible with racism and colonialism. . . . Neither military might nor devious political machinations . . . can defeat the idea of freedom and racial equality.”<sup>7</sup>

We in Ethiopia earnestly hope that this self-evident and historic truth will be heeded by those few countries which consider that fortress of *apartheid* as a natural ally and a bastion of Western civilization. It is, however, gratifying to note that the international

community continues to consider *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and to reject the illegal occupation of Namibia and institutionalized racism in South Africa.

155. While pledging to redouble their efforts to render moral and material assistance to both SWAPO and the liberation movements in South Africa and the ANC, the Government and people of Ethiopia appeal to all nations of goodwill to do likewise until the torch of freedom and racial equality is fully ablaze in both Namibia and South Africa. The United Nations also cannot continue indefinitely to be satisfied with condemnatory declarations; it must adopt and enforce mandatory sanctions against the racist régime until the United Nations plan is implemented in Namibia and *apartheid* is dismantled in South Africa. At the same time, the front-line States should be given all-round assistance to reconstruct their economies and better to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

*Mr. Adjoyi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

156. It is also our hope that those countries which recently hosted Mr. Botha in their capitals with a view to helping Pretoria break out of its isolation will realize that no amount of public relations and diplomatic charades can alter the true nature of the pernicious system of *apartheid*.

157. We also hope that the United States Administration will abandon its policy of linking the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from Angola. This policy has been instrumental in delaying the independence of Namibia. It must be realized that, as far as the Namibian people are concerned, independence delayed is independence denied.

158. In addition to the intractable problems in southern Africa, there are other serious challenges, such as the question of Western Sahara and the conflict in Chad, with which Africa is concerned today. Despite the complex and delicate nature of these problems, the search for solutions by the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and other African leaders still continues. However, so far progress has not been achieved towards resolving the question of Western Sahara as a result of the difficulties encountered in implementing in their entirety the provisions of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX),<sup>5</sup> adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983. It is Ethiopia's expectation that the forthcoming session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity will break the impasse and resolve this problem.

159. As regards the situation in Chad, I welcome the agreement recently signed by France and Libya and call upon our Chadian brothers and sisters to take advantage of this opportunity to bring about national reconciliation, peace and prosperity to their country.

160. The difficulties Africa is facing in the political arena are more than matched by the alarming economic and social condition in which it currently finds itself. Africa's present sorry situation is not a sudden phenomenon but, rather, the result of the cumulative impact of a number of adverse factors that have plagued the region. The wounds that



colonialism inflicted on African countries and the ravages of neo-colonialism in its many guises have adversely affected prospects for socio-economic development in Africa.

161. Today, Africa suffers, on the one hand, from serious internal and external structural deficiencies, including, in particular, slow economic growth and global economic rigidities, and, on the other, from the devastating effects of natural disasters such as persistent droughts, recurrent cyclones, earthquakes and floods. The current social and economic crisis of the continent, therefore, encompasses two important dimensions—namely, the emergency situation that constitutes an immediate threat to human survival, and the deep-rooted domestic and international structural problems that have hitherto thwarted and continue to thwart Africa's development efforts.

162. A cursory perusal of international economic and social data reveals that the nations of Africa are suffering the full brunt of the world economic downturn. The recession that has engulfed the international economy during the last few years has had a reverberating effect on African economies. Its attendant evils, such as the collapse of commodity prices, increased protectionism, unfavourable terms of trade, balance-of-payments deficits, decline of official development assistance and mounting external debt, have negatively affected both the present well-being and the prospects for the future development of the peoples of Africa. As a result, the average growth rate of gross national domestic product has declined by almost 300 per cent, from 4.4 per cent in 1980 to 1.1 per cent in 1982, which, I must underline, is far below the population growth rate. Per capita output in 1983 declined by 10 per cent as compared to that of 1980.

163. Africa's performance in the international trade sector also leaves much to be desired. The collapse of the prices of our principal export commodities has drastically reduced our foreign-exchange earnings. Export values in 1983 declined by 32 per cent below those of 1980. Africa lost over \$2 billion from its export of five primary commodities alone during the period 1979–1981 as a result of the continuous decline in the prices of raw materials. This phenomenon has aggravated the balance-of-payments deficit, which stood at \$2.7 billion in 1982 for Africa as a whole.

164. The sad fact is that this constant deterioration of foreign-exchange earnings, coupled with stagnant flow of official development assistance, has left Africa in a situation where it cannot generate additional income sufficient enough even to cover debt-servicing, let alone undertake new development programmes. Indeed, the outstanding external debt balance of African countries rose from \$143 billion in 1982 to \$150 billion at the end of 1983. This sum represents 180 per cent of the value of goods and services exported by the continent for the same year. External debt servicing also rose to 22.4 per cent of export of goods and services, compared to 10 per cent in 1980.

165. Worse still is the sharp decline of net capital inflow, from \$14.2 billion in 1982 to \$7.8 billion in 1983, forcing African countries to resort to commercial borrowing at high interest rates.

166. As I have intimated earlier, one of the major factors that accounts for the current economic problems of Africa is the legacy of the economic structure

that the continent inherited from colonialism. African countries, after the attainment of political independence, were forced to continue the pre-independence economic development patterns which were based predominantly on production and export of a small range of agricultural and mineral products. This narrow economic base and dependency on foreign markets has left the level of development of the resources and capabilities of infrastructures and other factor inputs at a rudimentary stage in the majority of our countries.

167. Thus, the growing malaise in the economies of African countries is far from being a result of a simple cyclical phenomenon emanating from the current global recession. I submit it is rather a result of the underlying structural maladjustment inherited from colonialism.

168. Any remedy to redress the immediate and pressing problems of the continent, therefore, calls for measures that deal with the underlying causes. Such measures, in our view, should not be limited to the containment of immediate crises through stopgap measures of a reactive character, but should seek to overcome them by creating conditions for robust growth.

169. Over and above the critical economic crises, Africa is at present facing the spectre of drought and desertification. The drought, which in the early 1970s was localized in a few Sudano-Sahelian countries, has now spread to other regions of Africa, afflicting more than half the member States of the OAU. This persistent and widespread drought has led to environmental degradation and progressive desertification. Millions of hectares of productive and fertile land of yester-year today lie waste through desertification.

170. As a result, most African countries which were once self-sufficient are now net importers of food, with 25 per cent of all the concessional aid that flows into the continent being spent on the purchase of food. Should the present trend persist, food-import bills will continue to rise, claiming perhaps as much as 60 to 70 per cent of all concessional aid and loans and leading to further curtailment of development activities. Indeed, the situation has become so critical that most or almost all of our socio-economic development projects have to be shelved for the moment. Indeed, this prolonged drought, besides retarding our development efforts, poses a long-term threat to the very survival of the African peoples and their civilization.

171. As is well known, Ethiopia is one of those that has been hit by the current drought. I need not take much of the precious time of the Assembly in explaining the prevailing grim situation in which more than 5 million of my compatriots are facing the threat of famine and starvation as a result of the prolonged and persistent drought that has afflicted the country since the early 1970s. My Government has all along tried to keep members of the Assembly—and, indeed, the international community at large—fully informed of the plight of the drought victims in Ethiopia. At this point, I should only like to underline the fact that the current situation is so serious and the cumulative effect of past droughts so devastating that the Ethiopian people need urgent and massive international assistance.

172. In this connection, I should also like to express the sincere gratitude of the people and Government

of Ethiopia to all donor Governments, specialized agencies and other United Nations organs, as well as voluntary agencies, for their humanitarian concern and relief assistance.

173. I should like at this juncture to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for his initiatives to focus the attention of the international community on the critical situation in Africa and for his efforts to bring an integrated and coherent approach to the solution of the crisis.

174. Ethiopia is also gratified by the report of the Secretary-General on the critical economic situation in Africa [A/39/594], which gives a vivid and detailed account of the African situation, including a precise assessment of the emergency needs in the most seriously affected countries within an integrated framework of African development. We hope that, in the course of the deliberations of the Assembly at this session, that document will receive the attention it so much deserves and, more important, the necessary response of the entire international community in terms of concrete measures.

175. We in Africa have spared no efforts to respond to the crisis, using all the means and resources at our disposal. This, of course, is as it should be, for we recognize that the primary responsibility for the development of our region rests with us. But because of the magnitude and complexity of the problems, Africa could not realistically be expected to cope with the situation single-handed. In some cases, certain aspects of Africa's crisis lie beyond the capacity and possibilities of the African countries individually or collectively, and many of the basic elements of our crisis are either under the control of nature or in the arena of international economic relations. In both cases, Africa's capacity to influence or change decisively the direction of events is obviously very limited.

176. Nevertheless, we have not failed to try to find solutions. Indeed, not only did the fortieth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 27 February to 5 March 1984, address itself fully to the crisis but, as a follow-up to the resolution adopted at that session [see A/39/207, resolution CM/Res.928 (XL)], the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, at its tenth meeting, held at Addis Ababa from 24 to 28 May 1984, adopted a Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis.<sup>8</sup> That Memorandum was submitted to the Economic and Social Council at its second regular session in 1984 with the conviction that its consideration would lead to concrete action by the international community. In that Memorandum, as well as in the Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness, adopted by the African Ministers of Finance,<sup>9</sup> Africa has stated its well-considered and collective opinion on the crisis, with specific recommendations as to what role it expects the international community to play.

177. Regrettably, however, the debate in the Economic and Social Council, although it showed an understanding of and sympathy for the African crisis, ended without any agreed declaration. It is my fervent hope, therefore, that, at this session, the General Assembly will succeed where the Economic and Social Council has failed and come out with a declaration pledging the full support of the international community in solving Africa's economic crisis

on the basis of the proposals contained in the Special Memorandum of the Economic Commission for Africa. It is also my hope that the international community will demonstrate once and for all its real commitment to complement the efforts of the African countries in facing both the struggle for survival and the challenge for development. The needs of the countries in terms of emergency and development assistance are well known. What is needed is a concrete framework for meeting such needs.

178. However, one cannot fail to ask whether this framework can be evolved in the prevailing unjust international economic system, which itself is gripped in a pervasive and perilous crisis. Indeed, the present international economic system continues to be a cause of profound concern, not only because of its devastating impact on the economic and social life of the peoples of the developing countries, but also because of the tension it generates among nations, thus negatively affecting global peace and security.

179. While the gravity of the crisis demands bold vision and constructive dialogue, as well as innovative and collective efforts, the absence of political will on the part of developed countries has so far impeded the necessary common endeavours to seek solutions to global economic problems. Instead, the developed world seems to have resigned itself to doubts, mistrust and, most damaging of all, inward-looking tendencies.

180. For almost three decades now, the developing countries have made a continuous appeal for common prosperity. They have persistently and earnestly advocated the restructuring of the present lopsided and inequitable international economic order. Nevertheless, all efforts to seek structural adjustment in the system and to adopt measures required to alleviate the conditions of the developing countries have met with stubborn resistance from some developed countries.

181. This failure to act in concert to deal adequately with the alarming global situation has, in turn, further aggravated the international economic climate. In this connection, it must be realized that each time the international community fails to take measures commensurate with the seriousness of the problem, not only the poor but also the rich are bound to be affected.

182. Ethiopia will therefore continue to urge the international community to take bold and concrete measures with a view to establishing the new international economic order. The interdependence of nations makes it imperative that this global challenge be met with a global response. We earnestly hope that the economic power centres concerned will reassess their present situation, bearing in mind that only effective and imaginative measures will create positive opportunities for fruitful co-operation, outweighing the short-term advantage of predominance.

183. While the overwhelming majority of mankind is languishing in untold misery and squalor, billions of dollars and millions of man-hours are recklessly wasted each day on the production, testing and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. Clearly, nothing demonstrates better than this stark fact that the world has lost its moral compass.

184. The united opposition of the vast majority of mankind to the nuclear-arms race notwithstanding, new, more deadly and more accurate nuclear-weapon systems are being produced and stationed in several

parts of the world with the objective of attaining nuclear superiority and, in fact, first-strike superiority, thus further increasing the risks of war.

185. Last year more than in the previous year, this year more than last year, the macabre march towards apocalyptic nuclear confrontation has been gathering momentum. Indeed, the nuclear noose around the neck of humanity is further tightened with each passing day. The quest for peace and disarmament has therefore become the leading item on the agenda of mankind today. But peace cannot be manufactured. It is a product of creative thinking, reasoned discourse and statesmanship which aims at the humanization of man and the preservation of his civilization.

186. On behalf of the people and the Government of Ethiopia, therefore, I appeal once again to the nobler instincts and the common sense of all those concerned to halt, and indeed reverse, this blind rush into nuclear catastrophe and, instead, join the rest of humanity in a common search for a better tomorrow.

187. Over and above this nuclear threat, the further militarization of outer space and of the hitherto peaceful regions of the globe is a source of anxiety to most of us. We in Ethiopia are particularly concerned at the intensification of military activities in the Indian Ocean region. Numerous declarations and resolutions by the United Nations and the non-aligned countries notwithstanding, the Indian Ocean region is far from being a zone of peace. Indeed, it is increasingly becoming a military zone.

188. The presence of military forces, the establishment of imperialist military bases and the acquisition of military facilities, the setting up of new military command posts and structures and the show of military power through so-called military exercises not only pose a threat to the security of the littoral and hinterland States but also aggravate relations among nations both within and outside the region, endangering international peace and security. We believe that this dangerous trend of the militarization of the region must be stopped and reversed. In this connection, Ethiopia is convinced that the convening at Colombo of the long-awaited international Conference on the Indian Ocean can make a positive contribution towards this objective.

189. The paradox that the absence of war does not constitute peace is more obvious today than at any time in the past, a glaring example of which is the situation in the Middle East. The quiet that pervades the Middle East today is more apparent than real, for the fundamental cause of all the conflicts in the region still remains unattended to. It is Ethiopia's long-standing position that no solution can be viable and long-lasting unless and until it addresses itself to the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State in their territory.

190. Ethiopia is compelled, therefore, to reiterate its call for the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination, and to this end expresses its support for the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East in which the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, will participate on an equal footing with all the other parties concerned.

191. As in the Middle East, the quiet in Cyprus, in the Korean peninsula and elsewhere is deceptive. Cyprus is still divided. Since recent developments give no cause for optimism, we again call on all

Cypriots to work towards a united Cyprus, with that country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status fully respected. In this connection, we note with appreciation the efforts of the Secretary-General, which we support and encourage.

192. Unlike in Cyprus, recent developments in Lebanon have been encouraging. We welcome the establishment of a Government of national reconciliation in Lebanon and wish the people of that friendly country unity, peace and prosperity.

193. As regards the situation in the Korean peninsula, Ethiopia reaffirms its support for the peaceful reunification of the Korean people without any foreign interference. In this connection, we find the proposed tripartite talks most useful and the need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the area most urgent.

194. No less urgent is the need to put an end to the Iran-Iraq war, in which the world has witnessed the atrocities and cruelties of war for the last four years. Both parties must put a halt to all hostilities and seek a peaceful solution to their differences.

195. As regards the serious situation obtaining in Central America, the South Atlantic and South-West and South-East Asia, my Government's position is well known. However, I cannot but express Ethiopia's utmost concern and indignation at the situation in Central America, where the sister State of Nicaragua is being subjected to aggression from without and subversion from within, with the open assistance of the Government of the United States.

196. In expressing Ethiopia's support for and solidarity with the fraternal and gallant people of Nicaragua and its Government, I once again call upon the United States Administration to abandon its hostility towards the Sandinist revolution and instead join the peace process initiated and pursued with so much wisdom and perseverance by the Contadora Group.

197. Before I conclude my statement, please permit me briefly to apprise the Assembly of recent developments in my own country. As all members will recall, it is now 10 years since the Ethiopian revolution ushered in fundamental changes in the political, economic and social system of the nation. Most of these eventful years, however, were not years of tranquillity in which we were able to devote all our energies solely to the realization of our cherished goals of economic and social development. Those were years which, parallel to the restructuring of our society, were spent, to a large degree, in the defence of the gains of our revolution and the territorial integrity of our motherland. These preoccupations notwithstanding, appreciable advances have, however, been made to strengthen the social infrastructures of the country and to ameliorate the well-being of the masses.

198. The achievements of the last 10 years in eradicating from Ethiopia the age-old enemies of mankind—namely, ignorance, disease and poverty—are a source of particular satisfaction to the Ethiopian people. Today, the scourge of illiteracy is fast disappearing from the face of our nation. The drive to expand formal education and primary health care is gaining momentum. Agricultural and industrial development is accorded high priority in order to provide our people not only with the basic necessities of life but also a higher level of material and spiritual

well-being to realize fully their human potential. Indeed, this is the corner-stone of the 10-year development plan, which was adopted only a month ago by the Founding Congress of the Workers Party of Ethiopia.

199. In today's Ethiopia, the basic human rights of every citizen are fully guaranteed. These rights are not only safeguarded by political and legal instruments but are also solidly reinforced by structural set-ups in which our people are organized and mobilized for effective participation in the national life of the country. Grass-roots democracy, unknown in the past, is now the moving force of our social, economic and political activities, enabling the masses to guide their own destiny in a manner that fulfils their needs and responds to their aspirations. As both a culmination and crowning achievement of this process of national organization, our people have now established the Workers Party of Ethiopia to guide the revolution and the destiny of the nation.

200. We are convinced that the establishment of this Party and the adoption of its programme reinforce, more than ever before, Ethiopia's commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity and to the policies and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We will continue to be guided by the basic principles of sovereign equality of States, respect for the unity and territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of State frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and peaceful settlement of international disputes.

201. The failure of some States to observe these basic rules of international relations and their policy of irredentism and expansionism, subversion and terrorism, exploitation of natural disasters for self-serving and short-sighted political ends, malicious propaganda and aggressive wars have been the primary causes for conflict and tension in our part of the world.

202. For peace, stability and co-operation among States to thrive in our region, it is imperative that irrational hostility must give way to reason. Intransigence must be replaced by compliance with regional consensus. The Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity and international treaties must be fully respected.

203. With our revolution 10 years old, we in Ethiopia face the future with increased confidence and optimism. We look forward to working with even more determination to attain our cherished foreign policy objectives. Our glorious history of struggle against colonialism and imperialism will be reinforced by our determined quest for peace, co-operation and understanding both within our region and beyond.

204. All those who entertain vain territorial ambition, and those who see their own strength only in a weakened Ethiopia, will never find us wanting in our determination to pay any price in the defence of our historic unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. But all those who want to reciprocate our policy of peaceful co-operation and good-neighbourliness will always find us willing partners.

205. The struggle continues.

206. Mr. OWINY (Uganda): It is a source of pride and pleasure for my delegation that a distinguished son of Zambia, a fraternal African country, presides over the work of the Organization. We warmly

congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His personal qualities, vast experience in public life and skills as a diplomat make him eminently qualified to guide our deliberations. Zambia, and Mr. Lusaka personally, have been at the forefront of Africa's struggle for freedom, independence and human dignity. We wish him great success in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities.

207. We take this opportunity also to pay a well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for his dynamic and wise leadership during the course of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

208. We would also like to express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the service of the United Nations. In the past year he once again played an active role in the search for solutions to numerous world problems.

209. My delegation also takes great pleasure in welcoming the new State of Brunei Darussalam into the community of free and independent nations. Its presence in the General Assembly signifies once again the continued realization of one of the prime objectives for which the United Nations was created, namely, the elimination of colonialism. It also brings the United Nations closer to the goal of universality.

210. Namibia, for a century, has had and still continues to endure colonial domination, first by imperial Germany and now by *apartheid* South Africa. The situation prevailing in Namibia is well known to us all. It is a situation arising from South Africa's colonialism and illegal occupation. It is painful to the Namibian people who endure it and are fighting for their independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. It is also painful to the front-line States which, because of their support for the liberation struggle, are victims of South Africa's aggression and destabilization.

211. The Security Council, by its resolution 435 (1978), endorsed the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. It was hoped then that Namibia would be independent within a year. For the last six years, the fulfilment of that hope has eluded us. Since the adoption of the plan, the hopes of the international community have been raised time and again, only to be dashed by the premeditated obstruction of Pretoria and its allies.

212. The latest example of that obstruction is the injection of the extraneous issue of linkage between Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in the negotiations by South Africa, supported by the United States. We cannot accept that the future of Namibians should be sacrificed on account of East-West confrontation. The trading of a people's freedom and national independence is not only reprehensible, but immoral. I wish to reiterate Uganda's position of total rejection of that linkage.

213. The racist régime has embarked on a fresh diplomatic offensive whose immediate aim is to disarm SWAPO and to deny it external support. Ultimately, they think they can make it impossible for the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, to win power. That manoeuvre is also directed at winning international legitimacy and recognition for Pretoria's stooges—the so-called Multi-Party Conference in Namibia.



214. Another clear objective of that design is to delay Namibian independence by imposing so-called regional or internal solutions to what are otherwise the concerns of the international community. There are now efforts aimed at distancing the United Nations as far as possible from the negotiation process. In furtherance of that strategy, South Africa is trying every trick to wriggle out of the decisions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Organization has an obligation to ensure that this does not happen.

215. Meanwhile, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, the Namibian people are waging an heroic struggle to rid themselves of the colonial yoke. History is on their side. I wish to take this opportunity to reaffirm my country's unequivocal support for Namibia's struggle for freedom and national independence.

216. The situation in South Africa remains very explosive. Each passing day brings the sad news of fresh acts of repression, imprisonment of trade union leaders, brutal torture or death in detention, and death sentences imposed on the patriots opposing *apartheid*. The policy of "bantustanization" is being vigorously and mercilessly implemented.

217. Recently, one racist South African minister was reported as having advocated measures to reduce the black population in South Africa. The call was made by the racist Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries, Mr. Sarel Hayward, on 22 May of this year, when he stated that "If we do not achieve a reduction in the population growth of blacks in this country, we are heading for catastrophe. The statistics show that we must drastically cut the population growth—otherwise we are all going to die of thirst."

218. The people of South Africa, faced with this type of barbaric policy, have been waging a relentless struggle to dismantle the *apartheid* system. The progress they have registered in mobilizing their people to support the struggle and the dent they have made in the South African war machine has sent shock waves and fear among the oppressors. Unable to cow them and to force them to submit to injustice, the Pretoria régime has unleashed a campaign to undermine the network of solidarity and support which the liberation movements enjoy beyond the frontiers of South Africa. The front-line States became victims of constant acts of aggression, destabilization and interference in their internal affairs at the hands of the racist régime.

219. There have been attempts to portray the recent fraudulent constitutional changes implemented last July as positive developments that give cause for optimism. Those so-called changes should be exposed for what they are. They are clearly designed to divide the ranks of the oppressed communities and to get them to join the racists in their criminal enterprise of perpetuating the *apartheid* power structure. Rather than addressing the central issue of enfranchising the vast majority of the people, the so-called changes have compounded their problem by entrenching provisions which deny them citizenship in their own country.

220. With the clear purpose of extricating South Africa from international isolation, the racist Prime Minister earlier this year visited several Western countries during which he posed as a statesman and peace-broker. It is a matter of deep regret that the visit was allowed to take place, in spite of protests by

African and other peace-loving countries. No amount of sophistry on the part of anyone can disguise the true nature and intent of the racist régime. We categorically reject any efforts aimed at rehabilitating it.

221. Neither the destabilization of neighbouring States nor the introduction of fraudulent constitutional schemes will save South Africa from the time of reckoning, which is fast approaching. The only way to prevent that otherwise inevitable eventuality is to dismantle the *apartheid* structures.

222. The liberation struggle is being waged and led by the people of South Africa themselves and in their own country. It is incumbent upon Africa and the international community to continue to render them both moral and material support until victory. In this connection, we express our appreciation to the front-line States, which, despite enormous odds, have made supreme sacrifices for the cause of the liberation of southern Africa.

223. Uganda is concerned that the international situation continues to deteriorate, giving rise to pessimism and despair. The old hotbeds of tension remain, while new crisis points emerge.

224. In the Middle East, Israel has intensified its aggressive policies against its neighbours, the indigenous inhabitants of the occupied Arab lands and the Palestinians everywhere. The question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East problem. The crisis in the Middle East stems from Israel's persistent and flagrant denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. There can be no lasting settlement unless the Palestinians can exercise their legitimate rights. These include the right to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination in a State of their own, under the leadership of the PLO. We support the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East in which the Soviet Union, the United States and all the parties concerned, including the PLO, would participate, as called for by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last year. We appeal to all concerned to co-operate and assist the Secretary-General in his efforts in this regard.

225. We are concerned at the tensions, instability and acts of destabilization in Central America. We believe that the people of the region should be left to solve their problems and determine their own destinies freely, without any outside interference. In this regard, Uganda supports the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a peaceful solution to the problems of Central America. We especially welcome the conclusion of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, of 7 September 1984 [A/39/562, annex], as a positive avenue for peace.

226. The Korean peninsula is another focal point of tension. Uganda will continue to support the aspirations of the Korean people to the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. We welcome the positive efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to this end. We believe that the withdrawal of foreign troops from the area would create a positive atmosphere for negotiations.

227. With regard to Cyprus, I reaffirm Uganda's support for its territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned character, as expressed in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.<sup>10</sup> The fate of the two

communities is linked. They should, therefore, through the medium of international talks, be assisted to find a solution within the framework of a united Cyprus.

228. We continue to be gravely concerned about the war between Iran and Iraq. Once again, we appeal to the two non-aligned countries to bring to an end this tragic and wasteful war.

229. I take this opportunity to reaffirm Uganda's support for the struggle of the Saharan people for self-determination, in accordance with the framework formulated by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983.

230. The current crisis in international relations derives to a large extent from the prevailing state of relations between the two super-Powers. Disarmament talks have been paralysed and the arms race has been stepped up. There is an urgent need today, more than ever, for a constructive dialogue between the two super-Powers.

231. The international arms race involves a colossal misappropriation of human and material resources for destructive purposes, thus consuming enormous resources badly needed to meet the economic and social challenges of our time—in particular, the urgent need to narrow the gap between developed and developing countries.

232. The vast stockpiles and tremendous buildup of arms and armed forces and the competition for the qualitative refinement of weapons of all kinds, to which scientific resources and technological advances are diverted, pose an incalculable threat to peace. Disarmament is an imperative and most urgent task facing the international community. We cannot but be disheartened by the total absence of concrete negotiated results in that direction. My delegation therefore calls for the resumption of the intermediate-range and strategic weapons talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, a total ban on the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons, the urgent conclusion of a treaty prohibiting an arms race in outer space and speedy progress towards general and complete disarmament.

233. The continuing deterioration of the world economic situation remains a matter of grave concern to my delegation. Since the beginning of the decade, the world economy has been afflicted by acute recession and unsteady monetary and financial conditions. International trade and economic growth, particularly in the developing world, continue to experience sharp declines. Primary-commodity prices have declined, and the terms of trade for developing countries, like my own, have deteriorated drastically. High interest rates, soaring inflation and unemployment, compounded by heavy debt-service obligations, have mounted. This has precipitated acute difficulties in our countries.

234. We remain convinced that the only viable solution that can deliver the impoverished nations from this economic situation lies in the qualitative restructuring of the unequal economic relations between the developed and developing countries.

235. Uganda remains committed to the legitimate demand of the Group of 77 for a new international economic order based on equality and justice. Global negotiations that envisage just, equitable economic

relations based on mutual respect among nations must be launched without any further delay. It is our earnest hope that, given the political will and the realization that there is no cordiality between affluence and poverty, the next year will bring nations to the negotiating table in order to find durable solutions.

236. The alarming and significant deterioration in the economic and social conditions of most African countries has produced a crisis of development in Africa. The immediate causes of the crisis are widespread, severe and persistent drought and the rapidly deteriorating global economic environment. These have combined to generate a crisis of unprecedented dimensions whose solution is beyond the capability of many African countries.

237. The current drought, which has now spread to 34 countries, is the most severe in this century. Prolonged drought has created serious food shortages, which in turn have triggered famine, malnutrition and related diseases and loss of human lives and livestock. The food situation in Africa has deteriorated so drastically that most African countries are today in the tragic position of being unable to feed their peoples. Africa is today relying on food imports and food aid to feed a large percentage of its population. The present crisis is further undermining the weak economies of African countries and poses a serious threat to the well-being of the people of Africa.

238. Africa recognizes that the primary responsibility for the development of African economies rests with the Governments and peoples of African States. We have taken the necessary measures to grapple with the crisis. It is for this reason that African Ministers responsible for economic development and planning made an urgent appeal for massive assistance from the international community, in a Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,<sup>8</sup> addressed to the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council in 1984, to complement and supplement the individual and collective efforts of African States.

239. The initiative and interest which the Secretary-General took in this matter early this year were very timely and deeply appreciated by the Governments and people of Africa. The response of the international community, particularly the developed countries, has, however, been very disappointing. The failure of the Economic and Social Council to reach a consensus on measures to assist Africa to avert the impending catastrophe is a source of deep concern to my delegation. It is our earnest hope that at this session the General Assembly will adopt the necessary measures to assist Africa in its current economic difficulties.

240. Within its lifespan, the United Nations has achieved much. Notwithstanding this, many problems remain. Colonialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination still persist in southern Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere. Poverty and attendant injustice are still prevalent in the world. In its constant search for solutions to the problems of world peace and the well-being of peoples, the United Nations must have the support of all its Member States.

241. In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of the Government and people of Uganda, to reaffirm our faith in and commitment to the United Nations.

242. Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation is pleased to join preceding speakers in congratulating Mr. Paul Lusaka on his very well deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We welcome this election on more than one count: first, because of the personal relations of friendship that we always had when he was still in his country, carrying out ministerial duties; secondly, because of the blood relations that exist between Zaire and Zambia; thirdly, because he represents Africa, our continent; and, finally, because he has always served the United Nations with great competence and dedication. Is there anyone who is not aware of the stubborn determination with which he has presided over the United Nations Council for Namibia? Is there anyone who is not aware of the outstanding way in which he served as representative of Zambia to the United Nations for many years? Thus, his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is a felicitous recognition of his qualities of heart and mind. It cannot but be a guarantee of the success of our work.

243. We congratulate also the other officers of the Assembly. The outstanding talents of each of them will be of valuable assistance to the President in the successful conduct of our deliberations.

244. We take this opportunity also to thank the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge E. Illueca, of Panama. His deep knowledge of the ins and outs of the Organization made it possible for the work of the thirty-eighth session to reach a happy conclusion. Indeed, all the Members of the United Nations remember the gloomy and unhealthy circumstances surrounding the opening and development of the work of the thirty-eighth session.

245. Before going into the substance of its statement, my delegation wishes to express its wholehearted appreciation to the Secretary-General. We could not, in fact, fail to mention all his qualities—not least, his discretion, his courage, his dedication and his readiness to serve the United Nations. Every time an important problem has faced the world and the Organization, the Secretary-General has tackled it with the clear-mindedness, the competence, the thoroughness and the skill so necessary for his lofty and delicate task. We assure him of our support as he serves the Organization.

246. And, speaking of the Organization, we think it is time for us to dwell on some aspects of its functioning and its methods, and in particular its role and its effectiveness.

247. Apart from the work done by its specialized agencies, which have been entrusted with tasks that are more sectoral and operational, the only function in which the United Nations can still take pride is that of being, as it were, the conscience of the world. But even in that respect, the claim to universality is dented when one considers the omnipotent role of the veto exercised by the great Powers in the Security Council.

248. Be that as it may, the essential function of preventing hostilities and maintaining peace is carried out only in the rare cases when the great Powers, or simply the rich, are not involved. In a word, the Organization, especially at the level of the Security Council, is floundering. Consequently, the Security Council has obviously lost its prestige and the

General Assembly has become a machine turning out resolutions, often automatically.

249. On another level, the Organization must abandon this unfortunate trend of establishing more and more committees and subsidiary bodies—*ad infinitum*—without prior co-ordination with the Secretary-General. Such bodies raise issues of competence *vis-à-vis* the Secretary-General, to whom the Charter of the United Nations entrusts the task of administering all the staff of the Organization. And I am not even speaking of the fact that the establishment of these committees raises budgetary problems, since the expenses involved in their activities are not foreseen at the time when the budget is drawn up.

250. It is therefore imperative for the General Assembly, and not committees of experts, to study carefully the new directions that should be given to our methods. The Organization will commemorate its fortieth anniversary next year. That will be a very good opportunity for us to establish these new directions and methods to make United Nations actions more credible.

251. Similarly, in regard to the recruitment and promotion of personnel, the principle of balance seems to be becoming a dead letter. It is not fair for a single nation to hoard as many as six posts of Under-Secretary-General and Assistant-Secretary-General. That cannot be called universality.

252. Despite the continued existence of hotbeds of tension in many parts of the world, this session of the General Assembly is opening in more auspicious circumstances than its predecessor. Let us not be pessimists or prophets of gloom. Let us rejoice at this trend and express the hope that, far from being weakened, it will be confirmed.

253. It is true that, contrary to common sense, the Iraq-Iran war continues, causing ruin and destruction. But that war was already raging in 1983. Indeed, for the very reason that the belligerents are stubborn and deaf to the pleas of the world, this war, despite the ferociousness with which it is waged, would have been forgotten by now if it did not pose such grave threats to the oil routes and sources of supply.

254. It is true, too, that there has been not the slightest progress in settling the thorny Middle East question, which is almost as old as the United Nations itself. But that failure to find a solution is not the result of any lack of imagination, perseverance or interest on the part of the international community. It seems to us that everything has been said about this human and political tragedy, as heart-rending as it is complex. But frameworks and plans for settlement do exist. They are not perfect, but they constitute the least of the evils when compared with the extremist solutions some have proposed.

255. If the entire problem is still with us, it is because of incomprehension and intransigence—we would even be tempted to say the political blindness and arrogance of one side or another. However that may be, this problem is still a very burning one and it has all the elements of a quagmire. That is undoubtedly very unfortunate because of the high stakes.

256. With regard to the Lebanese tragedy, it could be said that in some way there has been positive development. The Government of National Unity is taking increasing control, even if it is doing so slowly. And it seems to be confirmed that certain foreign occupation troops could be withdrawn; if that were to

happen, the risks of a major confrontation would also be reduced.

257. Nor can it be said that Central America, the object of so much covetousness and so many threats of intervention, has become a haven of peace. There are still confrontations, and they are not engaged in with kid gloves. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that during these months of September and October there has been any dramatic development one way or the other.

258. These cases suffice to indicate that tensions and conflicts still exist. The demons of suspicion and confrontation are not dead—far from it. But, compared to 1983, at the same time of the year, the climate seems to us to be less fraught with fear. We hope that this is not merely the calm before the storm, but it does seem that the confusion, the shock and the fear raised in 1983 by the destruction of the South Korean aircraft and the assassination at Rangoon of some members of the South Korean Government are now only bad memories, even if we must recognize that the consequences of those acts cannot be erased so quickly.

259. Whatever the case, we must look towards a better future and calmer skies.

*Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.*

260. We note, first, that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, who was not in New York in 1983, was indeed here in 1984. Even better—whereas there was no Soviet-United States dialogue for several years, attempts should not be made to conceal the approaches currently being made. No, the Soviet Union and the United States are not the only two countries in the world. But things being what they are, everyone will agree that détente between the two super-Powers would greatly help matters. Whether their current approaches are dictated by internal considerations or not, the fact remains that dialogue is the only hope. For our part—and this seems to be the desire of the peace-loving nations—we express the wish that these contacts will lead to an understanding and a relaxation in international relations and not to a conspiracy based on dividing up the planet.

261. In Chad, which was considered the very prototype of the strategy of tension, the recent Franco-Libyan agreement for withdrawal of their respective troops seems to confirm the impression of reduced tension.

262. Whatever scepticism may be shown by certain observers with respect to the viability of such an agreement, Zaire applauded the announcement of a withdrawal. There is no reason to believe indefinitely in the falseness or the fickleness of a head of State who solemnly commits his country before the world. Nor can we believe that the foreign troops that are in Chad for various reasons intended to stay there for long. Once we have preserved and guaranteed the identity, independence and territorial integrity of Chad, we must make the Chadians face up to their own responsibilities. Only they are in charge of their destiny. Our role is to help them. Even if, as has been said, victory comes from the mouth of a gun, it is still a matter of common sense that in this case the ideal solution can be found in national consensus and a legitimate government.

263. As regards the Zairian troops in Chad, Zaire, which was not involved in the Franco-Libyan agreement, will settle this question independently with

N'Djamena. Its troops are in Chad at the request of N'Djamena, and a minimum of courtesy requires at least some prior consultation. We do not intend to stay in Chad for ever, especially since new factors are involved. We are for peace, dialogue and concord.

264. In the same vein, we hope that henceforth the Western Sahara conflict, which has long divided the OAU, will meet with a peaceful solution as a result of the recent developments shaping up in northern Africa. For our part, we have always regarded the Frente POLISARIO<sup>11</sup> as a liberation movement and not a government. Those who wished, under the cover of principle, to use the Western Sahara issue to settle personal or national questions must now come out into the open and defend their rights, if they have any. That is more worthy and more courageous.

265. If the impression of quiet and relaxation of tension is right, tensions would have to come down a notch. And if tensions come down, there will be less suspicion and thus there should be a slow-down in the arms race and increased co-operation and solidarity.

266. I shall first speak about the problem of the arms race and then about solidarity and international mutual assistance.

267. The problem of over-armament is crucial because it raises questions that involve the very survival of mankind. Whether we consider the question in its deadly and devastating aspects or in the way in which it diverts major resources from the development of less wealthy peoples, the conclusion is the same. The Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, has studied this problem in great depth. The Secretary-General and others aware of the problem have often drawn the attention of those responsible for over-armament to the dangers they are placing before mankind. But anyway, those responsible are in a better position than anyone to know about that. Our planet is already saturated with weapons, but their production continues and their devastating power is refined. It would appear that our world was prey to collective indifference and folly. If those weapons could strike only their inventors we could perhaps shrug our shoulders and sleep in peace, thinking that after all they will get only what they deserve. But no, we are all concerned by the holocaust. Disarmament or arms reduction must concern all the protagonists. It is meaningless to claim or demand unilateral disarmament. That would smack of naïvety and manipulation and would mean the reign of blackmail.

268. In the final analysis, it would be better to tolerate a certain balance of terror if we know and proclaim our rejection of any kind of world condominium.

269. The Charter of the United Nations expressly prohibits interference in the internal affairs of other States. World despotism would lead to a huge empire in which we would be swallowed up and where we would lose our own personality and identity.

270. Each State must be able to organize itself as it wishes without a would-be godfather or protector.

271. Therefore, as regards the problem of Korea, for example, we have always affirmed that we should aid the North and the South to achieve their great design, following their respective wishes, in negotiation and in dialogue. It is not for other States to tell the Koreans what they should do. Nor does this concern only the North or only the South. The real



wishes of the Koreans themselves must be brought into the foreground. This is not a taboo subject. If one of the two Koreas submitted its candidacy for admission to the United Nations, Zaire would not oppose it. Perhaps, in the final analysis, this would contribute to reducing tension in the area. After all, the two Germanies are Members of the United Nations today. That does not mean they are abandoning their unity.

272. To conclude our consideration of the problem of the arms race, it is obvious that an effort in this field would open the way to increased exchanges and would free resources for development and for the fight against ignorance and disease.

273. The distinction and the dichotomy between rich and poor nations is an undeniable fact. We do not intend to determine how and why some are rich and others poor. Let us merely state the fact and try to organize ourselves in a spirit of justice and equity, all the more so because rich and poor are interdependent. I could not better describe that interdependence than with reference to the author of *Le Défi mondial*, who quotes a report drawn up in the Federal Republic of Germany. I shall spare representatives the text, but, to sum up, this report, which was commissioned by Chancellor Schmidt,

“calculates at several million the number of jobs that would be lost in the steel industry, the automobile industry and the aeronautical and shipping industry if the supply of just five minerals that Germany imports from southern Africa was suddenly to be cut off.

“These are: chrome, irreplaceable in the production of special steels; molybdenum, for the production of refractory alloys used in the building of jet engines; vanadium, essential for the sheathing of nuclear fuel rods; asbestos, for insulation in space vessels and also for brake shoes, battery covers and oil pipelines; and manganese, used in metallurgy for all aluminium alloys.”

The same report estimates that

“a 30 per cent reduction in chrome imports for just one year would bring to a standstill the activities that depend on it and result in a 25 per cent fall in the gross national product.”

It also states that:

“If just one of the five producer countries cut off its supply of manganese—Gabon, South Africa, Australia, India and Brazil—this would create ‘major troubles for the Western economy’, according to another report commissioned by the British Government at the request of the Industry Minister.”

The same author continues:

“The industrial world is discovering that its survival depends on the third world just as much as that of the third world depends on it. It is the third world that has supplied it with the material means for its unprecedented expansion in the third quarter of the century, the fruits of which it could not share. While its living standard has doubled and its average per capita income went up by 100 per cent, that of the third world went up by three dollars a year per capita.”<sup>12</sup>

274. However, despite this interdependence, in present circumstances the poor countries are too weak to hope to bring lasting and effective pressure to bear on the rich countries. The case of the oil-

exporting countries exposes their weakness and precariousness. But is this a reason to go on crushing the weak? However rich one is and perhaps because one is rich, one should not be exonerated of his duties of solidarity and assistance. In this connection, President Mitterrand's statement here at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [9th meeting] can from certain points of view be considered as a hymn to solidarity with and assistance to the least favoured countries.

275. Apart from several examples of structured multilateral co-operation—such is the case with the European Economic Community—and apart from some cases of bilateral co-operation varying as bilateral interests vary, assistance for co-operation is generally lagging. In most cases, it barely amounts to 0.7 per cent of gross national product, far short of the 1 per cent target which was considered a worthy objective.

276. These figures deserve to be brought out. In this concern for solidarity, special mention should be made of the Scandinavian countries, such as Norway, Sweden and Finland. My country, while not among the fortunate beneficiaries of the generosity of those three countries, must still recognize their gesture and their efforts.

277. While the prices of raw material are arbitrarily fixed by the rich consumer countries in a precarious manner, the financial market offered to us is equally precarious, for our countries are obliged to borrow in order to acquire the goods needed for their small industries and their development. The conditions offered us, which we have to accept no matter what we wish to do, are such that the non-oil-exporting developing countries are often in no position to pay. Yet they must pay, in justice and equity.

278. Zaire, for its part, has undertaken a rigorous policy of honouring its commitments to its creditors, which have shown confidence in it. My country is thus rigorously adhering to the programme established by the IMF. We will continue with that rigorous policy because it is a sound one and we are reaping its fruits. It would be wrong to decide unilaterally that we would no longer pay our debts. The world knows that this is not a sinecure.

279. The creditors must understand the difficulties of the debtor countries, for goodwill alone does not always suffice. Clearly what would be ideal would be to pay on time; but even after scheduling and rescheduling, these countries will not be able to continue to meet their commitments unless they are given a minimum of flexibility, allowing them breathing space so as to begin minimal recovery. Otherwise those countries will be bled dry and ruined, and they will not be able to pay back their debts, which of course will benefit neither the debtors nor the creditors. There is a popular saying in my country to the effect that if a hernia kills a person it should not feel any satisfaction, for it will accompany that person to the grave. This, we think, shows the situation of the creditor countries and the debtor countries and how they are in the final analysis linked.

280. No sound and genuine co-operation or solidarity is possible in relationships of subjection. Such co-operation can be conceived of only if the partners involved are free. When they are not, even when there is some kind of understanding on the part of the master, it is not solidarity but mere condescension.

281. Since the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], no nation on earth should be deprived of its freedom and sovereignty any longer. Indeed, the colonial phenomenon, in principle at least, has disappeared from the world, except, of course, in Africa, which is still marked by poverty, disease, misery and underdevelopment. Must it, in addition to all this, continue to be humiliated by an inhuman régime whose philosophy of power has been declared by world conscience to be a crime against humanity?

282. To maintain itself in power, South Africa has adopted, towards its neighbours, a policy of terror and aggression. When there was talk of glimpses of peace in southern Africa, we were sceptical. Nevertheless, Zaire has not condemned Pretoria's approaches a priori because it felt that everything should be tried, even at the price of an alliance with the devil, to speed the liberation of the African majority and of Namibia. After all, lions and tigers, fierce as they are, can sometimes be tamed, but we must always remember that they remain lions and tigers.

283. Thus, on condition that these initiatives and these peace pacts do not harm the rights of the black majority, we have taken note of them.

284. The present developments in South Africa and Namibia confirm our fears, however, because in the final analysis no neighbour of South Africa has ever committed aggression against the Pretoria régime, lacking the means to do so. Therefore, it should suffice for South Africa to make a unilateral declaration that it would no longer commit aggression against the neighbouring countries, which are, after all, defenceless.

285. In fact, what South Africa has always tried to obtain through these agreements is a blank cheque to enable it to carry on its policy of oppression and humiliation of blacks in South Africa itself and in Namibia.

286. Let us hear nothing about interference on the part of neighbouring countries in the internal affairs of South Africa. Helping the black majority to achieve liberation is not interference. Fighting crime is not interference, for *apartheid* is an international crime. This is legitimate self-defence. As far as Namibia is concerned, everyone knows that South Africa is remaining there illegally.

287. There is a category of citizens whose situation is sometimes as terrible and precarious as that of dependent peoples—namely, refugees. Whatever the causes of these mass exoduses—war, political or religious intolerance, natural catastrophes, over-population and so on—this phenomenon must not be encouraged.

288. Fortunately, the international community is sensitive to the situation and is dealing with it by taking the necessary measures, as it has just proved through the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva in July of this year. However, the best remedy remains to ensure that there are as few refugees as possible and, in fact, that there are no more refugees. It is always best to be in one's own home.

289. Zaire, true to its traditions and its policy of solidarity, has on its territory more than half a million refugees, with whom it shares without discrimination the few resources it has available—hos-

pitals, schools, food and so forth. One can easily measure the sacrifices that this entails. As much as possible, when the refugees agree to do so, we encourage them to return to their home countries.

290. In dealing with disarmament, international co-operation, decolonization or the refugee question, we cannot forget that, whether we are white, yellow, black or red, rich or poor, we are on the same earth for the same purpose, namely, to live together harmoniously and in happiness. As a great British thinker has said: "Only those who act together can act successfully; only those who have trust in one another can work together in harmony; those who are not bound by common affection and common interests cannot act successfully." I note with pleasure that we all have common interests. To be successful, let us work together and with trust in one another, for the good of all mankind.

291. Mr. INCE (Trinidad and Tobago): The delegation of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago extends its heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your unanimous election to preside over the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. The historical and cultural ties which have for so long existed between the Caribbean region and the great continent of Africa make your election to that high office a source of particular pride, delight and satisfaction to the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago. Your presidency over this world body is yet another manifestation of the contribution that small States and developing countries can and do make to the direction of the work of the United Nations. We are confident that your boundless diplomatic skill, wisdom and experience will contribute immensely to the success of the work that lies before this session of the Assembly.

292. My delegation pays tribute to the previous President of the General Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for his capable leadership throughout the thirty-eighth session, which has been successfully concluded.

293. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago takes pleasure in congratulating Brunei Darussalam upon its admission as the 159th member of the United Nations. It is very gratifying to welcome to this family of nations yet another sovereign country, which marks an important step towards the universality of this body. We are confident that Brunei Darussalam, a sister island developing country, will make a significant contribution towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Organization.

294. It is already 22 years since the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago was welcomed into the United Nations. As a small and fledgling State emerging into an international environment of such complexity and beset by many conflicts, Trinidad and Tobago drew then, even as it draws now, great comfort from the system of collective security that is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Collective security was one of the main considerations which impelled us to seek entry into the Organization immediately upon our attainment of independence.

295. Trinidad and Tobago is guided by the conviction that resort to massive military expenditure, even where the financial and other means permit, is no guarantee of national security. By logical extension, such activity cannot promote international security. Security, national and international, in our view

must derive from active co-operation by members of this world body. It must also be sustained by respect for the sovereignty of its individual Members, freedom and opportunity for members of the world community to pursue their socio-economic and political paths without external interference, and full respect by all States for the fundamental rights of their citizenry. It follows, therefore, that each State, large or small, has a role to play in the overall question of security, from which these stated principles derive.

296. The Charter of the United Nations explicitly and implicitly asserts these principles and promotes these objectives. For us, these objectives resolve into three essential elements: first, the maintenance of international peace and security; secondly, the achievement of international co-operation; and, thirdly, the resolution of international economic and social problems.

297. The attainment of these objectives constitutes for us fundamental imperatives and can be realized only by the full involvement and meaningful participation of all States as they bring to bear the particularities of their individual systems on the general thrust towards world stability. The role of small States in pursuit of this goal is particularly crucial. For too long, the rights and interests of small States have occupied a secondary position in the determination of international problems which at times involve their very existence. Small States must be heard; small States must be encouraged to make themselves heard; and small States must be allowed full opportunity to contribute to the resolution of all questions that affect their vital interests and to the achievement of the objectives of the United Nations.

298. In the field of international peace and security, the United Nations has avoided global conflagration, but has not achieved world peace; we have limited the spread of nuclear weaponry, but have not eliminated it. Through our continued efforts, we have sensitized the international community to the lethal consequences of more sophisticated armaments and mobilized world consciousness against their use. Developing countries, dwarfed in the power struggle of sophisticated weaponry, have raised their voices against the development of destructive arms, including chemical weapons, and condemned their use because of the dangers they pose to mankind. The voices of developing countries and small States have sustained a moral force against the use and proliferation of nuclear and other armaments. Without the co-operation and commitment of developed countries, however, we cannot succeed.

299. The achievements of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security in other areas appear more encouraging. The process of decolonization is almost complete, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV); the rights of the people of Palestine have been recognized; the choice of a means for settlement of the outstanding border question between Guyana and Venezuela has been referred to the Secretary-General in recognition of the central role of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations; *apartheid* has been unequivocally condemned and must now be eradicated and excised from human memory; Namibia's right to independence and sovereignty has been recognized in spite of the ill-founded refusal of South Africa to abandon its illegal occupation of that Territory. The adoption in

1982 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea<sup>13</sup> has been described as the most significant achievement in treaty-making by the United Nations since its inception. The Convention provides for peace and order in the management of the "Ocean Commons".

300. The origins of many of these achievements can be attributed to the initiatives by developing countries and small States. In the case of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, a single small State evoked the awareness of the international community concerning the need for order, collective security and co-operation in the global commons of the ocean. The recent history of the United Nations reveals that small States and developing countries have contributed importantly in shaping the perspectives of the Organization in the continuous process of its dynamic evolution.

301. However, a more careful scrutiny of the international scene reveals that peace and security as global objectives continue to elude us.

302. Trinidad and Tobago has witnessed with grave concern the developments which have taken place in southern Africa over the last year, for they represent a new stage in Pretoria's entrenchment of *apartheid* within its borders and the extension of its sinister influence beyond them. We emphatically reject Pretoria's attempt to hoodwink the international community into believing that the tricameral constitution introduced last month represents a reform and relaxation of *apartheid*. The new constitution is clearly an attempt to divide the dispossessed non-white majority and refine and entrench the *apartheid* system. My delegation reiterates that *apartheid* cannot be reformed; it must be entirely dismantled.

303. The situation in occupied and exploited Namibia remains another source of deep concern. The Territory's formerly abundant natural resources are being rapidly dissipated, in contravention of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,<sup>14</sup> enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974; and the United Nations plan for Namibian independence, endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978), remains unimplemented. Indeed, my delegation has taken note of Pretoria's latest moves to bypass the plan and impose its own independence plan on Namibia by means of its protégé, the Multi-Party Conference.

304. It is time for the Organization to put an end to the ceaseless machinations and prevarications of that repugnant régime and determine to deal with it in an effective and unequivocal manner in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

305. The international scene continues to be strewn with obstacles, and certain enigmatic events challenge the very fabric of established and accepted Charter principles. Profligate expenditure by some States on armaments continues. The Middle East is in turmoil, and a potentially explosive war persists in Central America in spite of the worthy efforts of the Contadora Group; the situation in Afghanistan is still not resolved; the efforts of several groups to achieve a political settlement in Kampuchea have yet to bear success; and the problem of Cyprus remains unsettled. My Government is of the view that a just and lasting settlement of this question can come only through meaningful talks between the representatives

of the two Cypriot communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. More recently, the sanctity of sovereignty has again been violated.

306. The Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago continues to reject unequivocally the threat or use of force as a means of settling disputes among States. The right to security, which, in our understanding subsumes the logical implication of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inalienable rights of States to self-determination, has always and indeed remains the corner-stone of our foreign policy.

307. The refusal of some Member States to renounce and denounce recourse to war as the "ultimate arbitration", the related infringement of the territorial integrity and independence of States in defiance of Charter principles, and the all too frequent disregard for mechanisms aimed at the pacific settlement of disputes continue to give rise to an increasing number of events of crisis proportions. Moreover, the limited progress made in disarmament and the seemingly applied proposition that negotiation can proceed only from a position of strength is a zero-sum approach which guarantees only instability and increased political tension.

308. It is essential that a means be found to strengthen international peace and security and reduce international tension and great-Power rivalry so as to create a climate conducive to the birth of new international trust and confidence. Trinidad and Tobago calls on all States of this international community to assist in creating such a climate.

309. Concomitant with the political obstacles to the achievement of international peace are the systematic dysfunctional economic forces which pervade the international environment and frustrate the objective of international co-operation. We identify these forces as follows: the stagnation in the global negotiations; the inconclusive outcome of the North-South dialogue; the increasing protectionist measures adopted by States; the debt burden of the developing countries; the constraints encountered by small States and developing countries to participate more fully in the determination of necessary monetary and international economic reforms; and the adverse effects of these constraints on the efforts by developing countries towards economic and technical co-operation.

310. The age of high technology has brought new threats to the sovereignty of nations, not solely by means of weapons of war, but through technology that can be diverted from peaceful uses. The development of space technology is undoubtedly a manifestation of the genius of mankind. However, while there are clear benefits for the development of nations in so far as natural resources are concerned, the technological gap between developed nations, as well as between developed and developing nations, can not only lead to dissatisfaction and conflict but can also undermine the sovereignty and security of developing nations. This is an area in which the international community must remain vigilant.

311. It is not that the world's resources are not adequate to support the needs of its peoples, but rather that these are unjustly distributed. It is not that independent developing countries themselves are not endowed with considerable natural resources and potential wealth, but rather that their utilization

of these resources is manipulated by external influences over which they have no control.

312. There is dire need for the international community to eschew the new arrogance and indifference that has emerged and to seize the opportunity to rededicate itself to the principles and objectives which gave rise to the noble experiments in international co-operation that followed the tragedy of the Second World War. International co-operation in our view is a *sine qua non* for the resolution of national and international economic and social problems. International peace cannot be achieved or sustained without socio-economic development. No Member State can deny, therefore, that any measure or combination of measures which erodes the well-being of citizens of the international community presents a threat to the achievement and maintenance of peace, inherently diminishes the role of co-operation and stultifies efforts at economic and social development.

313. The world economy, which has been in the grip of recession for the last few years, has shown some signs of recovery in some of the major Western industrialized countries. However, the recovery has not yet effected a wide-ranging influence on the world economy, and especially in the developing countries taken as a group. While some regions have been able to sustain growth, others, in particular Latin America and Africa, have found that conflicting influences at work within the system retard their attempts to achieve meaningful growth and development. In essence, the recovery has not succeeded in eliminating for developing countries the legacy of difficulties which has its genesis in the recession and in the outmoded structure of the international financial and trading systems.

314. The international economic history of the last decade has seen the emergence of a heightened appreciation of the relationship of interdependence which characterizes all inter-State behaviour. Whether or not we continue to argue about the precise dynamics of this relationship, the fact is that the world economy constitutes a single entity. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago therefore challenges and rejects the new mercantilism of increased protectionism and urges all States to abandon any search for economic national security that leads exclusively in that direction. We hold the view that the resolution of the economic difficulties with which international society is at present confronted requires—nay, demands—a resort to co-operative and complementary measures and mechanisms.

315. During the last decade, the General Assembly called for the establishment of a new international economic order. That decision by the Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] emanated from the limited successes of policies based on trade versus aid, import substitution, the establishment of regional integration movements and development decades—all designed to resolve the development problems facing the international community. The call for a new international economic order is even more urgent today.

316. Among the central proposals for the creation of this new international economic order is the need to reformulate both the activities and the management structure of IMF and the World Bank. The fact is that the relative order and predictability that characterize the operation of an international system based on fixed exchange rates have fallen prey to the



dynamics of the system itself. In addition, balance-of-payments disequilibria no longer typify only the temporary or deviant cases but have assumed a more permanent and entrenched aspect of today's economy. In a word, the structural dynamics of the international financial system have changed. We believe, therefore, that it is essential that the responses of those institutions which are the effective managers of that system accord with current realities. It is in this context that appeals for a new international economic order become more readily understood; and it is in this context also that the need for new management techniques and criteria should be developed and implemented.

317. My delegation would like at this time to present three observations with respect to IMF and its operations. We refer first of all to the apparent retreat by that body from the position of lender of early recourse to that of lender almost of last resort; secondly, to the burdens imposed by the demands of conditionality in return for assistance; and, thirdly, to the need to emphasize and ensure a strong developmental role for that institution, on whose functioning the prosperity of the international economy as a whole depends.

318. Implicit in the danger of what I term the retreat by the Fund to the position of lender of last resort is the additional stress that is placed on would-be debtor countries—typically, though not exclusively, the developing countries. Invariably, interest rates charged by the private international capital market are anything but concessional, and there is the danger in this practice of having the economies of debtor developing countries mortgaged to private financial institutions—and that is only one of the dangers we see.

319. The burdens of conditionality imposed by IMF, in the form of required currency devaluations, the decrease or removal of welfare payments and subsidies, or whatever forms they assume, constitute sources of additional economic, social and political stresses which further inhibit the capacity of individual States to pursue their development objectives.

320. With respect to the World Bank—the other pillar of the international financial establishment—my delegation notes that that institution, as a result of the prevailing favourable interest rate structure, has amassed an excess of income over expenditure mounting to some \$600 million in the course of its 1983 operations. Does that signal both quantitative and qualitative increases in the assistance to be granted in future to developing countries by that agency? We look forward to a more flexible and diversified pattern of assistance to developing countries on terms which are effectively concessional, which take into account the low level of prices for their primary products and which will reduce the volume of the net capital flows away from less endowed countries to the World Bank and the already developed countries.

321. It is in the context of this severe picture of international co-operation and socio-economic development that the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago fully supports the attempts made by countries members of the Group of 77 to establish a "South Bank" in the nature of a development bank to be responsive to the particular needs of developing countries.

322. The proposed establishment of a "South Bank" draws attention to the capital-deficient status

of the countries of the third world. In our time, the problem of the international indebtedness of developing countries imposes a burden and an immense constraint on the pursuit of objectives aimed at economic and social development. The plight of some members of our region in terms of the amortization of their accumulated international financial obligations gives rise to the gravest concern. The combination of this factor with the effects of protectionism, the ravages of, for the most part, imported inflation and the fluctuation and essential deterioration of international commodity prices threatens to condemn those countries to a state of penury and to a degrading and burdensome subjection within the international community. Such a situation ill supports the aims and purposes of the United Nations. My delegation therefore expresses the hope that appropriate measures will be adopted by the community of nations to eliminate this obvious danger to international peace, co-operation and development.

323. The search for a new international economic order has led to initiatives in the areas of food, population, trade and a host of other concerns which have plagued the international community for decades. Almost invariably the quest for solutions to these problems or problem areas took the form of an international conference generally sponsored by the United Nations.

324. Today, with members' permission, I should like to confine my remarks in this general area to a clear and unmistakable trend which has emerged in the management of global resources in the context of a new international economic order. The signing by the overwhelming majority of States of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea<sup>13</sup>—the Montego Bay Convention, as it is more generally known—is evidence of the general endorsement by the community of nations of a new international economic order.

325. Part XI of the Montego Bay Convention deals with the "Area", which is the term applied to the seabed and subsoil beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and, in article 136 of the Convention, the Area and its resources are stated to be "the common heritage of mankind". In article 157, the Convention vests the organization and control of activities in the Area in an International Sea-Bed Authority, particularly with a view to administering the resources of the Area. My delegation considers the consolidation of the common heritage as enshrined in the Convention a matter of absolute necessity. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago would condemn any action which was calculated to subvert or in any way frustrate the spirit or the letter of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

326. This overview of the international scenario brings into relief three major issues. The first points to the need to renew, redouble or redesign international initiatives aimed at the resolution of the problems related to the achievement of peace, co-operation and development. The second—necessarily related to the first—is the need to revitalize, if not refurbish, the machinery at our disposal for the attainment of these tasks. The third has as its main thrust the need to incorporate more fully the participation of developing States and of small developing countries in particular, for which the activities of the United Nations have the greatest relevance, in the decision-making process and in the general manage-

ment of the pursuit of peace, security and development.

327. This is particularly relevant to us as members of a world body which has proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace. Peace for us implies more than a cessation of conflict and a dismantling of armament. Peace for us involves respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the equality of States, large and small. Above all, peace for us means removal and eradication of structural violence, the causes of which are rooted in the social ills of discrimination and the developmental ills of poverty, misery, ill health, hunger and frustrated socio-economic aspirations. Let us target these essential goals in a combined effort towards the achievement of true peace through international co-operation.

328. In this combined effort towards the achievement of peace, my country aspires to make a more effective contribution. My delegation is of the view that there is an important role to be played by small States in the revitalization of the United Nations and in the securing of peace and economic prosperity and welfare through co-operation. Small States cannot harbour pretensions to power and military might, even if these were desirable goals. Thus, in our interaction with other members of the international community, we rely on the force of international law and of international morality.

329. For Trinidad and Tobago, non-alignment is a cardinal principle of our foreign policy. We have pursued its tenets in our actions in the regional bodies to which we belong—the Caribbean Community, the Commonwealth, the Organization of American States—and in the wider international forums. Trinidad and Tobago holds firmly to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and sees as one of its major objectives the strengthening and enhancing of the role of the Organization the better to serve the interests of Member States. The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago seeks to be allowed to participate more fully in efforts to establish and maintain international peace and security and a general climate in which international development can flourish.

330. We appeal to all other Members of the United Nations to work together in this quest for peace and, in so doing, bequeath to succeeding generations a legacy that is worthy of the dignity of man. Trinidad and Tobago stands ready to serve.

331. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Iraq, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

332. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): I crave your indulgence, Sir, and that of my colleagues for exercising my right of reply at this late hour in order to set the record straight in connection with the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Iran on 1 October 1984 [*15th meeting*]. I shall deal with only a few of the points covered by the Foreign Minister of Iran in that statement.

333. First, it seemed somewhat strange that the Foreign Minister of Iran expressed concern about the people of the region and even more strange that he should believe that the conclusion of the people of the region was that it is because of the aggressiveness, expansionism and adventurism of Iraq that they are worried about peace. Yet I think all Member States recognize the fact that all those countries of the region that have spoken here in the General Assem-

bly have expressed their desire for peace and their conviction that peace is not present in the area because of the policy of the Iranian Government, which is to prolong the war with Iraq.

334. Secondly, I can very well understand the reason for Iranian rhetoric slandering the Security Council and the United Nations in general and accusing the Council of being one-sided. If that is the case, it is also true that the Charter of the United Nations makes the Security Council the organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is also a fact that Iran is a Member of the Organization, that Iran is bound by the provisions of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and that Iran is violating the provisions of that Article because it is boycotting the Security Council and not presenting its case before it.

335. Thirdly, the Foreign Minister of Iran has the audacity to accuse my country of aggression. I shall not labour that point. For over three years now, Iraq has on numerous occasions made it clear that it is ready to submit the question of who started the war to third-party, neutral arbitration. I challenge the Foreign Minister of Iran or any Iranian representative to take the floor in the Assembly and accept that offer.

336. Fourthly, the Foreign Minister of Iran accuses my country of harbouring territorial ambitions in Iran or of a political quest to topple that country's Government. Again, I challenge the Foreign Minister of Iran, or any Iranian representative for that matter, to come up with one official statement by an Iraqi official saying what he claimed to be the case. Yet I can produce thousands of statements from Khomeini down the line to the official representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the effect that through their action against Iraq they want to topple the Iraqi Government.

337. Again, if the Foreign Minister of Iran is worried about the Gulf and the security of navigation, the freedom of navigation and the principles of international law in that maritime area, why did Iran not accept Security Council resolution 540 (1983), which centres on the protection of freedom of navigation in the interests of the international community and in the interests of the peace, stability and welfare not only of the region but of the world as a whole?

338. He talked about violations on the part of Iraq, about how Iraq is attacking shipping in the Gulf. I think that, for those of us who have some notion of international law, it is quite clear that international law permits a party in an armed conflict to declare a war zone of maritime operations and, that in that zone, there are certain rights which a belligerent can exercise.

339. He talked about chemical weapons, and he centred the whole framework of his statement, more or less, on that particular question. There is a forum for tackling that question, the Assembly's First Committee. I have absolutely no doubt that it is going to be dealt with there, and we are ready. I remind him, however, that the position of the Iraqi Government is clearly stated in its letter of 27 March 1984, addressed to the Secretary-General,<sup>15</sup> in which the Iraqi Government categorically stated that it had never used chemical weapons. Regarding prisoners of war, I challenge the Foreign Minister of Iran and any Iranian representative to declare here in the Assem-

bly the agreement of the Government of Iran to an investigation to be carried out by the General Assembly, or by the International Committee of the Red Cross for that matter, into the conditions of prisoners of war in both countries and to submit a report for discussion.

340. Those who preach virtue should first exercise it. Those who are at war with their own people cannot come to the General Assembly and teach us lessons. I shall conclude by quoting to the Foreign Minister of Iran the very Koranic verse he quoted in his statement:

The Unbelievers spend their wealth  
To hinder (men) from the path  
Of God, and so will they  
Continue to spend; but  
In the end they will have  
(Only) regrets and sighs;  
At length they will be overcome;  
And the Unbelievers will be  
Gathered together to Hell;" [Koran 8:36].

*The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

<sup>2</sup>See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>3</sup>See A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII).

<sup>4</sup>See A/10112, chap. IV.

<sup>5</sup>For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

<sup>6</sup>See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. B.

<sup>7</sup>See A/AC.115/L.611, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>E/1984/110, annex.

<sup>9</sup>E/1984/110/Add.1.

<sup>10</sup>See A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, sect. I, chap. XX.

<sup>11</sup>Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>12</sup>Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *Le Défi mondial* (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1980), pp. 193 and 194.

<sup>13</sup>*Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

<sup>14</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. I, annex II.

<sup>15</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1984*, document S/16438.