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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Head of Government, Prime Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname, Mr. Willem A. Udenhout, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. UDENHOUT (Suriname): Sir, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Suriname and on my own behalf I extend warm and hearty congratulations to you on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that your professional qualities and the services you have rendered so successfully in the past to the international community uniquely qualify you for this high office. We are certain that this body will conduct and complete its work efficiently and successfully under your competent guidance.

3. At the same time, I wish to express my Government's gratitude for the balanced and effective way in which Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We wish him well.

4. The Secretary-General should be commended for his tireless efforts on behalf of the suffering world community longing for development, peace and stability. Much progress in these areas can be attributed to his personal intervention in most delicate situations.

5. We welcome Brunei Darussalam to the family of nations and extend our best wishes to the Government and people of this new Member State.

6. Another year has passed since my delegation had the honour to address the General Assembly. Although it may be more appropriate to elaborate extensively on the significance of this lofty Organization at the commemoration of its fortieth anniversary next year, I am seizing this opportunity to reiterate the adherence of my country to the principles and the objectives of the United Nations.

7. In a world with growing antagonisms, the United Nations has an important role to play as a platform for dialogue, for reducing tension and solving conflicts between States, for reshaping the world into one of justice, peace, prosperity and dignity for mankind and for bringing hope where despair exists.

8. We realize how remote mankind is from realizing these noble principles and how much the very existence of States is threatened by repeated and disquieting manifestations of disrespect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. We realize to what extent political, military and economic power is still abused in many parts of the world, while large segments of humanity continue to suffer from deprivation and underdevelopment.

9. The Republic of Suriname consistently adheres to the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. We therefore urgently call on all States Members of the United Nations to uphold these principles, without which peace and prosperity will be mere illusions.

10. Our foreign policy continues to reflect the non-aligned spirit and is geared towards supporting the creation of a just international order based on the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for sovereignty and the right to self-determination.

11. Actions which take place throughout the world sometimes make us wonder if these universally accepted principles only guide the actions of the smaller States, since it appears that positions of strength do not accommodate these principles as easily as do positions of weakness.

12. It is time for a change. What we need is not a countless number of resolutions but, rather, firm determination to end the duplicity and double standards in international affairs.

13. In transforming Suriname from its colonial structure, we share the fate of many third-world countries that have to overcome various obstacles, both of an internal and of an external nature, in this legitimate process. Unifying a people divided by colonial interests in the past and promoting a consciousness of their own destiny are certainly not easy tasks.

14. The task of securing real and well-balanced development for our people and building a manageable economy naturally requires a sound infrastructure. To realize all this and to build an independent nation well integrated into the Latin American and Caribbean region were main objectives at the very outset of our revolution on 25 February 1980. But our efforts alone are not sufficient to accomplish this tremendous task.

15. When we concluded the Treaty on Co-operation for Development with the Netherlands on our independence, we were convinced that that settlement of our historical claims would provide the basis for economic development and for improving the well-being of our long-neglected people.

16. Perhaps this is not the time to elaborate extensively upon the fate of that solemn Treaty. You should be informed, however, Mr. President, that the

execution of that Treaty, reached voluntarily between the Republic of Suriname and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, came to a unilateral and abrupt halt in 1982, as a consequence of which we have since been deprived of the funds provided for in that Treaty. We are convinced that this arbitrary action will not meet with the approval of the United Nations community.

17. Nations may develop differences of opinion over time on more or less basic issues. The Republic of Suriname, however, is of the opinion that no problem between two parties or sovereign States will ever be fairly solved if they are not discussed in an honest, frank and fair dialogue. After all, this is the founding principle of the United Nations. We should follow it in all circumstances. Therefore, we stand ready, and publicly state our willingness, to discuss, at any time, the issue of co-operation for development with any party genuinely interested in the well-being of the people of Suriname.

18. It was in this spirit that we recently approached the Netherlands to discuss the normalization of our relations. We express the hope that the dialogue, for which a basis has been established in the mean time, will lead to a new understanding with regard to the Treaty.

19. Notwithstanding the adverse effects of the unexpectedly reduced level of support for its economic development, Suriname has continued its efforts to establish a self-reliant economy, and we can happily report that our efforts to develop our nation have met with solid and encouraging support on our continent and beyond.

20. One of the most pressing problems in our hemisphere concerns the situation in Central America. The people of the region, like others, want the right freely to determine their own future in peace and security, free from any outside interference or intervention.

21. We are convinced that military solutions in Central America do not lead to lasting peace. The policy of some States in the region not only is at variance with the basic principles governing the conduct between States, but also violates the ruling given by the International Court of Justice on 10 May of this year.¹

22. My Government staunchly supports the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group. We express the hope that the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562, annex] will contribute to the achievement of co-operation, peace and stability throughout the Central American region.

23. My delegation also hopes that the Caribbean region will remain a zone of peace in which the peoples of that region can exercise their right to self-determination, free from any outside interference and intervention. It is our heartfelt wish that the people of Grenada will be able to determine their future in accordance with their own political, economic and social interests.

24. I wish to reiterate the view of the Government of the Republic of Suriname that non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States is an essential condition for peace between nations, a principle which, unfortunately, is too often disregarded. In accordance with this principle, every State has the obligation to refrain from instigating, participating in, or organizing acts of civil strife or terrorism in another State and from promoting any activity which

could lead to a threat or the actual use of force against another State.

25. Suriname therefore supports the drafting of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. We call on all States to co-operate to enable the United Nations to conclude this fundamental convention.

26. The question of Namibia, that unfortunate example of inhuman treatment of blacks by white supremacists, confronts us once again on the agenda of the General Assembly. On 27 August this year, the United Nations Council for Namibia convened a solemn meeting commemorating Namibia Day, the anniversary of the day on which the people of Namibia launched their armed struggle against the racist régime of Pretoria, which has continued to occupy their land in defiance of the numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, and in defiance of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

27. Efforts to arrive at an internationally acceptable solution in accordance with the principles set out in Security Council resolution 385 (1976) culminated in the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), in which the Council approved a detailed plan for the transfer of power to the people of Namibia, with United Nations assistance. We are well aware that six years have since elapsed. The fact that Namibia continues to be denied a peaceful and speedy transition to majority rule is due entirely to the intransigence of the racist and expansionist régime of South Africa.

28. In the discharge of its mandate relating to the situation in Namibia, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has repeatedly called for measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to bring about South Africa's compliance with relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions. The adoption of a comprehensive programme of sanctions would signify to South Africa that the world community will no longer tolerate its tactics and manoeuvres.

29. In this case, decisive steps by the international community are long overdue, for what is at stake here is the ability of the United Nations to respond adequately to the needs of millions who are suffering under the oppression of a provocative colonial régime. The Government of the Republic of Suriname denounces the establishment of any linkage or parallel between Namibian independence and extraneous and irrelevant issues.

30. On behalf of my delegation, I wish to express our full solidarity with the heroic people of Namibia and to appeal to the international community to support their just struggle against colonial occupation and the plunder of the uranium and other natural resources of their country and for the right to self-determination, freedom and independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the national liberation movement of Namibia, which is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

31. As regards the situation in South Africa, my delegation strongly condemns the South African racist régime for continued violence and repression against its black population and expresses its support for, and solidarity with, all those struggling for the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

32. My Government rejects South Africa's new mystifying constitution and the sham elections held in connection with it. I also wish to reaffirm our support for, solidarity with and commitment to the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], the representative of the majority of the people of South Africa, in its valiant struggle to eradicate *apartheid* and bring freedom, justice and independence to the South African people.

33. My delegation cannot but express concern with regard to the situation in the Middle East, and it deplores the increasing tension in this region. The invasion and illegal occupation of southern Lebanon are the bitter fruits of a policy pursued by Israel to deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent and sovereign State.

34. My delegation reaffirms its conviction that a just solution and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the unconditional and total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories. It would like to emphasize that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese territory is a prerequisite for that country to regain its independence.

35. The expansion of the Iran-Iraq war during the past seven months into the Persian Gulf is an indication of a further deterioration of the relations between these two non-aligned brother nations. My delegation regrets to note that this conflict is causing serious human and material losses to the countries concerned while posing a serious threat to international peace and security.

36. In this context, we would like to recall the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, which remains central to the philosophy of peaceful coexistence. For this reason, we reaffirm the necessity of an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized boundaries as a preliminary step towards the peaceful settlement of this tragic war, which deplorably has even involved the use of chemical weapons.

37. My delegation wishes to commend the Secretary-General for the peace initiatives he has recently undertaken between the parties concerned.

38. Concerning the situation in the Korean peninsula, my delegation would like to reiterate its support for the desire of the Korean people to reunify their divided homeland peacefully through a dialogue between the North and the South without any foreign interference.

39. The Government of the Republic of Suriname also maintains its position with regard to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and Afghanistan in order to allow the people of those countries the opportunity to reach a political settlement and determine their own destiny.

40. In this connection, we hail the recent peace initiatives taken on Afghanistan by the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General at Geneva.

41. Each year we hear the pleas of the majority of States for general and complete disarmament in order to avoid the growing threat which the international arms buildup poses to mankind. Nevertheless, we notice a steady increase in global military spending, as no one appears to be able to control the nervous feeling that accompanies the impression of falling behind in this deadly arms race. Indeed, this is a dangerous development which not only consumes

the scarce financial, human and material resources available, but will ultimately lead to the total destruction of our planet. My Government therefore continues to support all serious proposals for general and complete disarmament and, consequently, we call on all parties concerned to negotiate arms reduction as a matter of urgency.

42. It is gratifying to note that the economic situation in some developed countries has recently shown an upward trend. For the majority of countries, and certainly for the developing countries, however, the nightmare of the longest and deepest recession of the last 50 years continues unabated.

43. The causes of this persistent crisis are to be found in the very structure of international economic relations, which are still based on inequality and domination. If trade, not aid, was to alleviate our problems, we must sadly note that the present depressed markets for raw materials and goods produced in developing countries have not brought the necessary relief, owing to the steep fall in commodity prices and the sharp price increase of industrial products, while at the same time protectionist measures in various developed countries hamper our exports.

44. Meanwhile, the foreign debts of many of these countries have reached astronomical proportions. There have been many urgent, even desperate calls for reform. All to no avail. The situation has now reached crisis proportions, as evidenced by the social unrest and political turmoil which have recently erupted in many countries.

45. In order to deal effectively with this crisis, global and comprehensive approaches are required, reflecting the interdependence of developing and developed countries and the interrelated character of problems affecting the international economic system.

46. The global negotiations initiated at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly should be reviewed with an early solution to these problems in mind.

47. In this regard, my Government holds the view that South-South co-operation must be encouraged and promoted as a valuable mechanism for restructuring the economic system, while fostering sub-regional, regional and interregional co-operation.

48. My delegation fervently hopes that the Caracas Programme of Action² will still prove to be an important framework for creating instruments and developing necessary devices to strengthen this form of co-operation.

49. In our own region, constructive efforts have been made which in January of this year resulted in the adoption of the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action [see A/39/118]. In the opinion of my Government, the ideas elaborated and proposals put forward deserve the special attention of the industrialized countries, since they reflect the economic reality of Latin America and the Caribbean. In conformity with this Declaration, specific measures must be adopted to bring about transformation in the existing international financial and trade policies in order to enhance the accessibility of products from developing countries to the markets of the developed countries. This would relieve their debt burden and restore the financial flow for development.

50. The Committee for Development Planning could not have chosen a better title for the main

section of its report, which reads "Crisis or reform: breaking the barriers to development".³ There are no alternatives. Reform in international economic relations, especially of the international monetary and financial system, is an absolute necessity. Once again, we appeal to the international community to examine the general demands for a policy change in this crisis situation, and we pledge our support for measures of high and immediate priority in the interest of global recovery.

51. My delegation is deeply concerned over the acute problem of drought in the sub-Saharan countries of Africa, where tens of millions of people are threatened by malnutrition, hunger and famine. The three-year drought, on top of the international recession, has severely affected those countries.

52. We attach great importance to and fully endorse the special action programme for Africa, which should be an impetus to the joint efforts of the international community to provide assistance.

53. As a signatory State to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,⁴ Suriname became a member of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. We are therefore committed to the completion of their task. In our view, the decisions adopted at the first session of the Preparatory Commission in 1983 met the standards of equal and equitable international co-operation in the exploitation of the mineral resources of the international sea-bed area.

54. The Government of Suriname regrets that these positive results of the Commission's work are being hampered by the activities of some major industrialized countries. They have initiated negotiations between various consortia in their respective countries and are preparing bilateral or plurilateral agreements outside the scope of the Convention, thus undermining the work of the International Sea-Bed Authority. Because of these activities, the Preparatory Commission was unable to complete its task during its second session, held this year, in particular with regard to the question whether or not the Preparatory Commission should also act as a dispute-settlement authority. We condemn these activities. The resources of the sea-bed must be developed in an orderly manner for the benefit of mankind and must contribute to a more equitable and fair global economic system. We therefore reject any separate agreements in which the major industrialized countries would share the sea-bed among themselves, and we urgently appeal to all industrialized States, whether or not they have signed the Convention, to refrain from undertaking any activities outside the scope of the Convention, as we consider the sea-bed mining legislation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea a major breakthrough in the global economic stalemate between the developed and the developing countries.

55. My Government wishes to express its satisfaction with the Economic Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,⁵ held at New Delhi in March 1983, in which it was emphasized that Antarctica had considerable environmental, climatic, scientific and potential economic significance to the world. It was also stated that exploration of the area and exploitation of its resources should be carried out for the benefit of mankind and in a manner consistent with

the protection of the environment of Antarctica. For these reasons, my Government deems the establishment of a new régime for the continent of Antarctica necessary in order to enable all States Members of the United Nations to benefit from its resources. Both reason and justice would be well served if the principles of "common heritage" and "common benefit", enunciated in the United Nations treaties on outer space and in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, were to find application in a new régime for Antarctica.

56. The United Nations was conceived in a spirit of good will and optimism. The global problems which have accumulated for almost 40 years and threaten to undermine our world community have been described eloquently and accurately on innumerable occasions. The Organization has, with resounding rhetoric, depicted and condemned racism, the arms race between the super-Powers, the plight of the needy, exploited and oppressed of the earth, the armed conflicts between brother nations, the disrespect for national sovereignty, the violations of territorial integrity, the debt crisis and the disturbing imbalance of economic relations. However, we have to note with sadness that the rhetoric used in this forum often seems to replace rather than generate the effective measures called for. My delegation therefore hopes that the United Nations will soon take more concrete steps that may be recognized throughout the world as recordable successes, in keeping with its noble principles.

57. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Head of Government, Prime Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname, for the important statement he has just made.

58. Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session and would like to wish you every success in carrying out your responsible duties.

59. We highly appreciate the skilful guidance of the General Assembly during its thirty-eighth session by Mr. Illueca, the present President of the Republic of Panama.

60. My delegation would like also to congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

61. In the present international situation, which has been greatly aggravated by imperialist circles, the peoples of the world expect the United Nations to concentrate its efforts on solving the central problem of the present day: the prevention of nuclear war. We are deeply convinced that this problem is the one on which attention should be focused at this session of the General Assembly. The solution of other urgent problems facing mankind will depend directly on the world's ability to avoid a nuclear holocaust.

62. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have submitted to the General Assembly at this session a series of specific initiatives and proposals. They represent a realistic and well-founded programme of action aimed at curbing the arms race, removing the threat of nuclear war, eliminating conflicts and hotbeds of tension, introducing the fundamental principle of the non-use of force into international relations, returning to détente and

maintaining normal relations among States with different social systems.

63. The implementation of this programme would not only make it possible to eliminate the threat of war, but also help to channel immense material resources into resolving the problems of social and economic development, including the provision of assistance to developing countries.

64. A number of initiatives by other peace-loving, non-aligned countries have the same thrust.

65. Unfortunately, we must state that the path towards reaching these vital goals is blocked by grave obstacles, the main one of which is the militaristic foreign policy openly proclaimed and persistently pursued by the United States.

66. The United States bid for military superiority, the deployment of new United States first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the stockpiling of enormous nuclear arsenals, and attempts to turn outer space into an arena of the arms race have highly charged the international situation.

67. Flouting the will of countries and peoples, the United States has made terrorism a State policy and is trying to turn practically the entire planet into a "sphere of its vital interests", as evidenced by events in Lebanon and in Grenada, by what amounts to intervention in El Salvador and the undeclared war against Nicaragua, by the support given to the racist régime of South Africa, by threats against Cuba and Syria, by the escalation of tension in the Persian Gulf, by gross interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and by a growing military presence and the establishment of military bases in many regions of the world.

68. Having deployed its new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the United States has disrupted the process of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons. It has sharply exacerbated nuclear confrontation on the continent and has created a serious new threat to world peace.

69. United States medium-range nuclear weapons not only pose a threat to East European countries, but also have in their sights dozens of countries in the Middle and Near East and in northern Africa.

70. Indeed, no verbal subterfuge can conceal the fact that, as new United States missiles are deployed in Europe, the possibility of negotiations has increasingly been blocked and additional barriers are being erected in the way of lowering the level of nuclear armament.

71. The situation is compounded also by the fact that revanchist sentiments in some Western countries have been on the rise of late. It is true that attempts have been made to convince us that we are supposedly exaggerating this danger. But the Ukrainian people, having experienced all the horrors of the Second World War and having suffered an enormous toll in human lives, cannot remain indifferent to the fact that in some quarters demands are openly voiced to change the borders which now exist in Europe and to revise the treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany. Delirious ideas of "reviving the Reich" within its 1937 borders are being hatched. It should also be noted that cabinet members and other Government officials are participating in revanchist gatherings. Revanchism, combined with United States nuclear missiles, poses a very serious threat to international peace and security.

72. Recently we have heard in certain Western capitals professions of peaceful intentions and of the need to renew political dialogue. Why, then, the delay? The countries of the socialist community have always strongly favoured, and continue to favour, agreements and an improvement in the political climate. What is needed today is not talk about the usefulness of negotiations, but rather a willingness to conduct negotiations on substantive issues and to reach agreements on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. What is needed are concrete deeds, not words.

73. Konstantin U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has said in this connection:

"We make an unequivocal appeal to the United States and its allies: it is time for them to reaffirm by concrete deeds their share of responsibility for the fate of the world, to realize the futility of a policy based on a position of strength and on reliance on the arms race, and to demonstrate real, rather than a mere ostensible, readiness to engage in dialogue and negotiations in order to find mutually acceptable solutions to problems on which the future of mankind depends."

74. The assumption by all nuclear Powers—following the example of the Soviet Union and in accordance with the will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations—of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would constitute a decisive contribution to saving mankind from the nuclear threat. As suggested by some countries, such an obligation could be embodied in an international legal instrument. There is no doubt that the implementation in practice of the Soviet Union's well-known initiative for observing certain rules of conduct in relations between nuclear-weapon States would be of great significance.

75. The international situation would also be greatly improved by the adoption of such measures as a nuclear-weapon freeze by all nuclear Powers—or, initially, by the United States and the Soviet Union on a bilateral basis by way of setting an example for other nuclear Powers and as a major step towards a subsequent reduction and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

76. The Ukrainian SSR supports the Joint Declaration issued on 22 May 1984 by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania [see A/39/277], which, in essence, constitutes an appeal to freeze nuclear arsenals.

77. The Soviet Union has proposed an immediate agreement to cease the quantitative buildup of all components of nuclear weapons, to renounce deployment of all new kinds and types of nuclear weapons and to establish a moratorium on all nuclear-weapon tests. The conclusion of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would be the logical corollary of that moratorium. Basic provisions of that treaty were proposed by the Soviet Union as long ago as the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly,⁶ which, as is known, supported the elaboration of such a treaty and recommended that the Conference on Disarmament take appropriate action. We believe that it is the direct responsibility of the Conference on Disarmament to make

maximum effort to resolve this question, the solution of which is long overdue.

78. The Ukrainian SSR supports the initiative for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world, including the European continent.

79. The question of excluding outer space from the sphere of the arms race is organically linked to the problem of preventing nuclear war. In accordance with a resolution of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 38/70*], which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of Member States, the Conference on Disarmament should work out a relevant agreement. However, owing to the position of the United States, which is seeking to use outer space as a springboard from which to deliver with impunity a first nuclear strike, negotiations on this important and urgent question have not yet started.

80. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that the General Assembly should vigorously oppose any plans to militarize outer space and should demand that negotiations be started immediately on that urgent problem, on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

81. The inexhaustible possibilities of the uses of outer space should be utilized in the interests of all mankind and not to its detriment. It is precisely this desire that motivated the new Soviet proposal to include on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind" [*A/39/243*].

82. The peaceful exploration of outer space, which has become a symbol of the spectacular achievements of science and technology, is destined to be an effective means of solving many global problems, including that of economic development. The Ukrainian SSR is making a substantial contribution to the peaceful exploration of outer space, and we therefore whole-heartedly endorse the Soviet proposal concerning a radical solution to the problem of how to prevent the militarization of outer space and ensure that it can be used for creative, rather than destructive, purposes.

83. If there were reliable guarantees that outer space would be free of any weapons, the way would be opened to fruitful co-operation among States in this domain and eventually to the establishment of a world organization for the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

84. The question of prohibiting the development, production, and stockpiling of chemical weapons calls for an immediate solution. The Soviet draft basic provisions of a convention on the subject,⁷ which have recently been supplemented, taking into consideration the wishes of a number of countries, with provisions regarding verification of the entire process of destroying chemical weapons, are on the negotiating table at the Conference on Disarmament.

85. We believe that the draft represents a constructive basis for the prohibition of this particularly barbaric type of weapon of mass destruction. The recent proposal of the Warsaw Treaty States to rid Europe of chemical weapons is also prompted by a desire to achieve that goal. Its implementation would make it possible to diminish considerably the risk of chemical warfare on the continent and, consequently,

in the world at large and to begin the reduction of chemical weapons arsenals.

86. The adoption of such partial regional measures would promote global efforts to expedite the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons, which remains the ultimate goal of the Warsaw Treaty States. This would stimulate the adoption of similar measures on other continents as well.

87. At the same time, it must be noted with regret that the much-touted United States draft treaty on the prohibition of chemical weapons⁸ is distinctly negative in its approach to this extremely important problem and contains provisions which are unacceptable to many States even at this stage. We have the impression that the United States draft treaty has been submitted with a single purpose in mind and that is to cover up the ongoing accelerated preparations in the United States for the implementation of a \$10 billion chemical rearmament programme.

88. I should also like to recall other proposals put forward by socialist countries. They include a programme of nuclear disarmament in stages aiming at a gradual reduction of nuclear weapons until they are completely eliminated. This programme retains its urgency to this day.

89. The implementation of a proposal recently submitted by the Warsaw Treaty States to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] countries to begin talks on the question of mutual agreement not to increase military expenditures and subsequently to reduce them⁹ could be an important step in containing all areas of the arms race. This proposal is taking on particular urgency owing to the unchecked growth of military appropriations in the budgets of the United States and its *NATO* partners.

90. Of great significance in the current situation is the proposal of the socialist countries [*see A/39/300*] to conclude a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the States of the Warsaw Treaty and those of *NATO*.

91. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that agreement to the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic [*A/39/141*] for the adoption of a declaration on the right of peoples to peace would be an important moral and political act that would impede the actions of those that entertain the demented idea that it is possible to win a nuclear war. It is a basic duty of each State to exercise this right. The fulfilment of this duty requires that the policies of States, above all nuclear-weapon States, be directed towards eliminating any threat to human survival. The adoption of this proposal by the General Assembly would contribute to the mobilization of the world public's efforts to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and to preserve life on earth.

92. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR believes that, in the present dangerous international situation, the United Nations has an important task to accomplish, namely, the adoption of other specific measures also aimed at strengthening international security and, above all, eliminating pockets of tension and military conflicts and stopping acts of aggression in different parts of the world.

93. In this context, the Soviet initiative [*A/39/244*] concerning the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of an important and urgent item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the

socio-political system in other sovereign States” is particularly relevant and timely. We think that, by strongly condemning the policy and practice of State terrorism as a method of dealing with other States and peoples, the General Assembly would make a tangible contribution to establishing political guarantees of peace, strengthening the security of individual States and consolidating international security as a whole.

94. For almost 40 years now, acute tensions have persisted in the Middle East, where the Israeli aggressor, enjoying the direct support and protection of the United States, continues its policy of occupation and annexation of the Arab lands, is engaged in punitive operations against the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots and is threatening Syria. This international terrorism and banditry elevated to the level of a State policy has transformed the Middle East region into a focal point of constant military conflicts which pose a serious threat to world peace.

95. The vital interests of the peoples of the Middle East, as well as the interests of international security as a whole, demand the earliest achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in this region.

96. The basic principles for and concrete ways and means of solving this problem are embodied in the “Proposals by the Soviet Union on a Middle East settlement” [see A/39/368]. Most important of all, they involve recognition of the inadmissibility of acquiring other peoples’ land by means of aggression. Consequently, the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 must be returned to the Arabs. The inalienable right of the Palestinian people—whose sole legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]—to self-determination and to establish their own State must be ensured in practice. Finally, the state of war between the Arab States and Israel must be terminated and all States of the region must be guaranteed the right to a safe and independent existence and development.

97. A comprehensive, truly just and genuinely lasting Middle East settlement can be reached only through collective efforts in which all the parties concerned participate. An international conference on the Middle East could accomplish this major task. However, the United States and Israel are known to be staunchly opposed to the convening of such a conference.

98. The continuing exacerbation of the situation in Central America and the escalating armed interference by the United States in the affairs of the sovereign States of that region is a matter of grave concern. The piratical invasion of independent Grenada by the United States and its continuing occupation can only be qualified as terrorism.

99. The undeclared war being waged by the United States against Nicaragua through forming, arming and infiltrating that country with gangs of mercenaries is an act of State terrorism.

100. The same is true of United States policy in El Salvador, where reactionary factions, assisted and supported by Washington, are committing genocide against their own people in the hope of quenching the flames of their liberation struggle.

101. The Ukrainian SSR is strongly opposed to United States interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign States in Central America. We advocate a just political solution to the problems of this

region through negotiation. We support the constructive proposals by Nicaragua and commend the efforts of the Contadora Group to prevent a large-scale conflict in that region. The Security Council and the General Assembly at its current session can and should play an important role in easing tensions and bringing about a political settlement in that area.

102. A dangerous hotbed of tension persists in southern Africa. Bolstered by the United States and some other Western countries, the racist régime in Pretoria is pursuing a policy of aggression and destabilization *vis-à-vis* the neighbouring African States. It is intensifying its reign of terror and repression against the indigenous populations of South Africa and illegally occupied Namibia and continues to block a settlement in Namibia.

103. The Ukrainian SSR supports the demand that the Security Council invoke comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to make the racists immediately withdraw their forces from Namibia, cease their aggressive actions against neighbouring States—above all, Angola—and abolish the shameful system of *apartheid*.

104. We are resolutely opposed to the policy of the United States and other NATO countries and Israel aimed at expanding military, political and economic co-operation with the racist régime of Pretoria.

105. The Ukrainian SSR condemns illegal actions by the United States to dismember the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands—Micronesia—and virtually to annex it and turn it into yet another strategic military springboard. Preventing the colonial enslavement of Micronesia and finalizing the process of decolonization in all other colonial and dependent Territories is an imperative need of our time, and the United Nations undoubtedly has an important role to play in attaining that goal.

106. The threat to the existence of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, territorially integral and non-aligned State has grown considerably as a result of the actions of imperialist forces to foment hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world, including the eastern Mediterranean. In this context, we attach great importance to the mission of the Secretary-General, entrusted to him by the Security Council, to reach a political settlement of the Cyprus problem.

107. The tasks of improving the situation on the Asian continent are well served by the Soviet proposal¹⁰ dealing with confidence-building measures in the Far East, including measures in the military field, and by the proposal of the Mongolian People’s Republic¹¹ on concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific.

108. The Ukrainian SSR has always supported the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their homeland after United States troops have been withdrawn from South Korea. We support the proposals of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea aimed at substantially improving the situation in Korea and creating favourable conditions for a fruitful dialogue between the North and the South.

109. We are whole-heartedly in favour of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and oppose attempts to use the United Nations in order to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. We

fully support the realistic and constructive programme of political settlement put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to stress the importance of creating a favourable atmosphere for the continuation of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, conducted through the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

110. We fully support the well-known initiatives of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea regarding the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. The countries of Indo-China have reaffirmed their constant readiness to promote dialogue with their neighbours in the interests of easing tensions and developing co-operation.

111. I should like also to express some thoughts of my delegation regarding the problem of current international economic relations. Imperialist States, and above all the United States, are openly pursuing a policy of undermining the peaceful foundations of trade and economic relations between States and blocking the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. In defiance of the generally accepted norms of relations between States, the ruling circles of those countries are tearing up agreements reached, setting up a trade, credit and technology blockade, and employing methods of strong-arm pressure, embargo and sanctions against those States which reject their dictates.

112. By making use of their predominant position in the world capitalist economy, they are seeking to shift onto the developing countries the deleterious consequences of economic crises, inflation and other upheavals that have become constant and characteristic features of the capitalist system today.

113. Last June, the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance adopted a declaration entitled "Maintenance of peace and international economic co-operation" [see A/39/323, annex II], which constitutes an elaborate programme of action to improve international relations. This programme envisages the implementation of recommendations and agreements, including those adopted within the United Nations, which have been worked out through the collective efforts of States and are aimed at developing mutually beneficial, fruitful economic co-operation and establishing a new international economic order.

114. The adoption of effective decisions and actions to implement the proposals contained in the declaration would undoubtedly promote the successful development of international economic co-operation and constitute a major contribution to consolidating international peace and security.

115. Recently, the Ukrainian people have been celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of the Ukraine from the Fascist aggressor. Next year—1985—we will solemnly, together with all peace-loving nations, mark the fortieth anniversary of the great victory in the Second World War. All the peoples who fought against fascism and militarism contributed to that victory. The Soviet Union's decisive role in it is indisputable.

116. The enormous sacrifices offered on the altar of that victory demand that we do everything that we can to avert and eliminate the threat of a new world war. This is the thrust of all efforts by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet State. Vladimir V. Shcherbitsky, Member of the Politburo

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, has noted in this connection:

"The Soviet people realize that the objective of the clear and consistent peace-loving policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to build confidence among nations and to return to détente and co-operation. Our party and Government and our friends are taking all possible measures to preserve peace for the present and succeeding generations."

117. The Ukrainian SSR will continue actively to support the efforts of the United Nations aimed at averting the threat of nuclear war, curbing the arms race, eliminating pockets of tension and expanding and deepening mutually beneficial co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

118. Mr. ABDULLA (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I take great pleasure, Sir, in extending to you my warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am quite confident that your wisdom and competence will contribute to the success of this session. It is also my privilege to express our profound gratitude to Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of Panama, for the able manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session.

119. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made since he took office and to wish him every success in dealing with the difficult tasks facing the international community.

Mr. Helgason (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

120. It is a pleasure for me to welcome Brunei Darussalam, under the leadership of Sultan Hassan Al-Bolkiah to membership of the United Nations.

121. Today, more than ever before, there is a growing sense of instability in the world. Threats of armed conflict increase, with no sign on the horizon that could make us hope that solutions will be found. Similarly, the anxiety and fear felt especially among the third-world nations, to which we belong, increase the possibility that, in any one of the hotbeds of tension, the situation will deteriorate into outright war.

122. The stage of international affairs that we are witnessing at present is particularly disturbing. On the one hand, there is an ever increasing feeling of insecurity and a tendency to resort to the use of force rather than to seek mutual understanding for the settlement of conflicts, while, on the other hand, the economic situation is constantly deteriorating.

123. The significant results achieved by the United Nations in humanitarian fields pale in comparison to the tragedies of war, the killings, the displacement of innocent people, the poverty and hunger that threaten millions of human beings. This is so true that any reference to achievements becomes a mere attempt to escape from reality.

124. The deterioration in the international political and economic situation has been and is being brought about by a growing trend towards the threat or use of force, continued interference in the internal affairs of States, exploitation of certain States by

others and violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of many of them; and all this is combined with the heightening of confrontation between the super-Powers, the revival of the cold war, and the competition for spheres of influence, heralding an increased possibility of general confrontation.

125. Given that situation, it is necessary to intensify our efforts to observe more strictly the international legal norms and the principles and Charter of the United Nations, and to respect and implement the Organization's resolutions. The United Nations is the only organization capable of ridding mankind of the spectre of chaos, war and hunger.

126. The Assembly's agenda is composed of numerous, complicated items requiring concerted action by all countries of the world. Perhaps one of the most important and complex matters that have faced the Organization since its establishment is the question of the Palestinian people. It is now high time for Israel to understand that the only road to peace is through dialogue and negotiation, leading to a just solution that will restore the dignity of the Palestinian people and ensure their legitimate right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own independent State. Israel must also understand that resort to the use of force cannot guarantee its peace or security. It will not be able to achieve stability or ensure its interests if it persists in ignoring the interests of the Palestinians and continues to violate the sovereignty and security of neighbouring States.

127. Israel's rejection of the various peace initiatives and its frustration of all attempts to solve the Palestinian question make it responsible for the state of war and tension prevailing in the Middle East.

128. The Sultanate of Oman, which has supported all the efforts of those who seek peace in the region and work to achieve it, endorses the Geneva Declaration on Palestine calling for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in which all the interested parties would participate.¹² The endorsement by the General Assembly, at its last session, of the guidelines of the Geneva Declaration calling for the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable, legitimate rights is an important step in the context of international efforts to achieve a political settlement of this conflict. We understand full well, however, that no conference will succeed without the participation of all the parties concerned.

129. We consider the Palestinian-Jordanian *rapprochement*, as evidenced by the continued and intensified bilateral talks, to be a positive and encouraging factor for mobilizing the Arab efforts and setting the stage for decisive action aimed at achieving a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

130. For the past two years, Lebanon has been subjected to the burden of the Israeli presence in its country. The continued occupation of southern Lebanon by Israel reveals that the reasons given are illogical and mere attempts to justify Israel's brutal invasion of Lebanon. We demand that Israel cease its violation of Lebanese territory and withdraw unconditionally therefrom.

131. We are pleased to see today that the people of Lebanon are in the process of recovering from their ordeal, having formed a national Government which has begun to restore their confidence and security

and to put a halt to all practices contrary to their independence, sovereignty and unity.

132. During the course of this year, the shelling of oil tankers of the countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council, which were sailing between the ports of countries that are not engaged in the hostilities, constituted a clear attempt to expand the scope of the war between Iran and Iraq. Freedom of navigation is a principle which every Member of the international community recognizes and protects. Any violation of security and navigation in the Gulf region—a region of vital economic and strategic importance—can lead to interference in the region on the part of the super-Powers. Therefore, we call for compliance with Security Council resolution 552 (1984), which expresses the concern of the international community to ensure the freedom and safety of navigation in the region.

133. Oman noted with great satisfaction the acceptance by both Iraq and Iran of the Secretary-General's proposal, which resulted in an end to attacks against all cities in the two countries. Oman also supports all efforts and contacts initiated by States of the region with a view to reaching an early settlement of the conflict by peaceful means. We appeal to Iran to respond to those peace overtures, which serve the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the region as a whole, in the same positive manner in which Iraq has responded.

134. Recently, several ships in the Red Sea suffered damage as a result of mines. Endangering international maritime transport is an irresponsible act, and we call upon the international community to take a strong stand against that act. We also commend the work undertaken by certain States in clearing the navigation routes of the Red Sea of mines in order to make them safe and navigable.

135. Almost five years have elapsed since the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union took place. Despite resolutions of the United Nations and appeals from non-aligned countries and the Islamic world, the Muslim people of Afghanistan are still subjected to foreign domination. While we appreciate the efforts exerted by the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General, we cannot accept the continuation of this state of affairs as a *de facto* situation. We demand the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops and call for a peaceful solution which will ensure the right to self-determination of the people of Afghanistan and a safe and honourable return of the refugees to their homeland.

136. In South-East Asia, a solution is yet to be found to the problem of Kampuchea. We reiterate our call for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchean territory. We continue to support the Association of South-East Asian Nations in its efforts to work out a solution to the Kampuchean problem and to bring about national unity and self-determination for the people of Kampuchea without any foreign interference.

137. Conflicts and instability remain a cause for concern in the Horn of Africa. Oman takes great interest in the events unfolding in that area. We urge that an end be put to attempts at interference in the internal affairs of the States of the region.

138. We reiterate our condemnation of the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa,

which is contrary to the norms of international and humanitarian conduct. We hold the racist Government of South Africa responsible for the failure of the negotiations on Namibia, held at Lusaka last May, and at Mindelo, Cape Verde, in July. The obstacles South Africa introduced to impede the negotiations are part of a ruse by which it seeks to perpetuate the oppression of the Namibian people and the exploitation of their natural resources. We urge once again that efforts be continued to enable the Namibian people to gain the right to self-determination and independence.

139. The Indian Ocean remains the scene of rivalries between the super-Powers. By virtue of our geographic location as a coastal State and our membership of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, we are intent on implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. We strongly urge that an end be put to the escalation of competition between the super-Powers for spheres of influence in this region. While we are satisfied to a certain extent by the limited progress which was achieved at the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, held in July last year, particularly in regard to the draft agenda, we call on the Committee to intensify its efforts to conclude its preparatory work so that the Conference on the Indian Ocean can be held in the first half of 1985.

140. We are following with concern the tensions and violence in Central America. The settlement of disputes, whether internal or external, must be pursued on the basis of respect for the rights of peoples and the sovereignty of States. Intervention by the super-Powers in the internal affairs of States of the region must not be allowed. We call on the Contadora Group to continue its endeavours to formulate a solution that will ensure a return of stability and peace to the States of the region.

141. The call for disarmament is no longer a political question but, rather, a matter of human survival on this planet. The continued escalation of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, has created an explosive international situation, characterized by an increased dependence on force, and has led to insecurity and instability in international relations and to the waste of enormous sums and economic resources at a time when millions are suffering from extreme poverty, hunger and unemployment. We wish to express our concern and disappointment at the breakdown of the Geneva talks on disarmament. We urge all parties to resume those talks and effectively to eliminate weapons of mass destruction, which could cause total annihilation, but which some claim are of a defensive nature.

142. The international economic situation is in no better shape than the state of co-operation in the political and security areas. There is chaos in the international monetary system, while the shrinking of international trade, fluctuation in the prices of raw materials, proliferation of protectionism, constraints on the flow of capital and high interest rates continue to aggravate the balance-of-payments deficits in the developing countries, increase their indebtedness and diminish their ability to service the debts—a series of events which has led to the bankruptcy of some of those countries.

143. We are all aware that the existing systems are incapable of solving the problems faced in the global

economy. The lack of confidence between developed and developing countries and the narrow and subjective perspective in the approach to the crisis are the reasons for the failure of all North-South forums, including the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

144. The international economic crisis requires an immediate and comprehensive solution which will take into account the legitimate interests of all States. In spite of all the difficulties we have encountered, we still consider that collective and constructive dialogue, in which all States participate on an equal footing, is the best way to resolve the problems facing us and to identify and adopt long-term measures and reforms.

145. Mr. ESTIMÉ (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, on behalf of the Haitian delegation, I wish to offer you my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, where you will not fail to display the eminent qualities which won you this honour and which are already your hallmark as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. In choosing you, the Assembly has paid a well-deserved tribute to your diplomatic skills and, through you, to your country, Zambia, which remains a symbol and a model in the struggle against racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa.

146. I also wish to express once again to the Secretary-General the total confidence and profound respect of the Haitian Government for his tireless efforts throughout the year in the service of peace and international co-operation. We shall continue unreservedly to support all his initiatives with a view to strengthening the often thankless task of the Organization in the indispensable and so difficult dialogue that is the corner-stone of relations among peoples and States.

147. We also joyfully welcome Brunei Darussalam to the great family of the United Nations. We are sure it will make an active and valuable contribution to the work of the Organization.

148. On the eve of the assessment of the first 40 years of the work of the United Nations, we must once again confess that our most profound hopes have been dashed and that the world of peace, justice and brotherhood to which we naturally aspired seems to recede daily. We must recognize that hotbeds of tension have increased, East-West tension has never been so high and the arms race has taken on the look of a crazy, dangerous adventure, the cost of which is a constant insult to the third world in its misery.

149. We must also emphasize that the international community has never possessed so many different resources and that today, towards the end of this twentieth century, men have never had such mastery over matter, thanks to the spectacular progress in science and technology.

150. We must therefore seek the true sources of these repeated failures in the implacable selfishness, excessive ambition and senseless fanaticism of many and in our deepest and most ingrained prejudices, and we must finally understand that in these circum-

stances it is indeed difficult for the Organization to fulfil the noble and delicate mission entrusted to it.

151. Thus, fully convinced of our unavoidable common destiny, the Haitian Government would like to restate its firm belief that, despite its institutional flaws, the United Nations continues to represent the most appropriate instrument for the achievement of our ideals, and we urge all States Members, and particularly those who are members of the Security Council, faithfully to abide by the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. For, despite our disappointments and feelings of frustration, there is no alternative to the methodical pursuit of dialogue and consultation in full respect for the rules of law and the universally acknowledged principles of equality, justice and sovereignty which undoubtedly constitute the most precious asset of our common heritage.

152. It is thus against that background, and with an awareness of the gravity of recent developments in the international situation, that the Haitian Government proposes to restate its position on the principal items on the Assembly's agenda, in the hope that it can make a contribution, however modest, to the solution of the problems that seem to be jeopardizing the future of mankind.

153. In this connection, the recent events in South Africa, in the course of which new martyrs were added to the blood-stained list of the victims of *apartheid*, have in a very special way drawn our attention to a state of affairs that constitutes not only the most flagrant of violations of fundamental human rights but also a standing challenge to the Organization, which since 1946 has found itself powerless to eradicate from the face of the earth this last vestige of racism and colonialism.

154. Availing itself of the indifference of certain nations, the Pretoria régime continues to build up its arsenal of constitutional and legal provisions enshrining the *de facto* inferiority of the black majority and opening the door to the most violent manifestations of unbridled despotism.

155. Faithful to its historic traditions, the Haitian Government most strongly condemns the indefensible conduct of the racist minority of Pretoria and welcomes the recent adoption of General Assembly resolution 39/2, which rejected as null and void the so-called new constitution of South Africa. We are deeply attached to the people of South Africa and we reaffirm our unconditional solidarity with them in their heroic struggle to bring about the total elimination of the *apartheid* régime.

156. We cannot fail to denounce the open complicity of which countries lending political, economic, military and nuclear co-operation to the South African régime—on the highly suspect pretext of maintaining strategic interests—are guilty. We call upon them no longer to oppose the adoption of comprehensive mandatory sanctions that alone can prevail against Pretoria's brutal arrogance and lead to the establishment of an open, democratic and multi-racial society in South Africa.

157. Moreover, confident in its great military and economic power, encouraged by the success of its destabilization campaign against neighbouring States, South Africa is persisting in its occupation of Namibia, in violation of relevant resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolution 435 (1978), which laid the foundations for a peaceful, negotiated

settlement of the Namibian question. With recourse now to violence, now to intimidation, now to trickery, the South African Government seeks by every possible means to consolidate its hold on Namibia.

158. In these circumstances, we must congratulate SWAPO, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, for its spirit of moderation and for the great flexibility and political maturity it has demonstrated in the face of the bad faith and intransigence of South Africa throughout the negotiations designed to implement resolution 435 (1978).

159. In solidarity with the Namibian people, the Republic of Haiti categorically rejects any attempt to link the independence of Namibia to any geopolitical considerations and to the solution of matters that fall exclusively within the purview of the sovereignty of other States. We advocate the genuine independence of Namibia on the basis of resolution 435 (1978), and we call upon the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities by adopting the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We solemnly appeal to the international community to see to it that the Namibian people are enabled fully to exercise their sovereignty over their own territory and that they are guaranteed their inalienable rights to freedom, dignity and happiness.

160. Elsewhere in Africa, other hotbeds of tension jeopardize political stability and delay the social and economic development of countries of the region.

161. While particularly deploring the internal struggles that have divided Chad, the Government of Haiti hails with satisfaction the announcement of the withdrawal of foreign troops as an indispensable step towards the establishment of a lasting peace that will enable that nation to return to unity through dialogue and to exercise its sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

162. With respect to Western Sahara, the Republic of Haiti continues to believe in the possibility of a peaceful solution based on the principle of self-determination, in keeping with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and with the relevant resolutions adopted by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which we hope will be implemented without delay with the active assistance of the States most directly concerned.

163. In the Middle East, as we have often repeated, the solution of the crisis is to be found in the establishment of an overall peace on the basis of the principles of law, morality and justice, a peace that will include recognition and respect by all its neighbours of Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. Similarly, the Haitian Government feels that there can be no question of challenging the right of the Palestinian people to true self-determination within a physical, legal and administrative framework in keeping with their legitimate aspirations. In this connection, discussion and dialogue are, in our opinion, the best means for making progress towards that goal, and certain rather encouraging, albeit somewhat timorous, events lead us to feel that good faith and reason may yet prevail over hatred and blindness in that part of the world of such importance in the history of mankind.

164. As for Lebanon, a martyred country in which a particularly explosive situation prevails created by the presence of two armies of occupation, there can be no doubt that the withdrawal of those troops, in

keeping with the wishes of the Lebanese Government and people, would contribute to establishing conditions favourable to national reconciliation and reconstruction.

165. The question of Cyprus continues to occupy an important place in the discussions of the United Nations. Our position on this question remains unchanged; we advocate respect for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of that island, as well as the withdrawal of all foreign forces. The Republic of Haiti welcomes the efforts of the Secretary-General in carrying out his mission of good offices and we hope that that mission will be crowned with success.

166. In Asia, there are continuing hotbeds of tension created and fed by the expansionist aims of certain States which are clearly determined to impose their will upon others by means of an illegal military presence, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. How can we fail to mention in this connection the tragedy occurring in occupied Afghanistan and Cambodia? Haiti warmly hails the patriotic struggle of the Khmer and Afghan peoples and wishes to express its deep gratitude to the Secretary-General and his representatives and to all those who, in one capacity or another, are working for the restoration of peace and security in that sorely tried part of the world. We join the international community in calling for the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all occupation troops, thereby enabling those States freely to choose the form of government they wish, free from any kind of foreign pressures.

167. The Republic of Haiti also wishes once again to express its strongest support for the Korean people. We are convinced that the problems between the North and the South must be settled by negotiation, and we therefore call upon the parties to show good faith in renewing their dialogue. We noted with satisfaction the courageous initiatives of the Government of South Korea for the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation, and we remain convinced that direct bilateral contacts, without outside interference, are the only way to reduce tension and create the conditions that will lead to reconciliation.

168. I cannot complete this brief summary without giving Central America the special attention that it deserves from a Caribbean country which is following with concern the development of a tragedy whose devastating effects could quickly extend well beyond the region now involved.

169. It is important first to stress that, as we have often stated, the present crisis has its roots in the many serious socio-economic difficulties affecting the region, difficulties whose solution requires an exemplary effort of international solidarity, particularly on the part of the regional Powers, concerned about the continent's future. Therefore, there is no question of reducing to the single dimension of the East-West conflict a whole body of fundamental problems that can be resolved only by the peoples of the region themselves, who have the exclusive right to decide their type of society and establish their own development model.

170. In this spirit, the Haitian Government, in keeping with the principles that have always inspired its foreign policy, continues unreservedly to support the constructive approaches courageously made by the Contadora Group to restore, by means of dia-

logue and negotiation, peace and security, which are the irreplaceable foundations of all economic and social progress. We are happy to note that patience and goodwill have led to the elaboration of a coherent and balanced body of concrete proposals, grouped together in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex], the final version of which will have to be adopted soon if we want to avoid a general conflict breaking out before long.

171. It is therefore essential for the protagonists not to hesitate to add deeds to their words—that is, faithfully to respect their commitments and effectively to reduce the level of armaments, for any other attitude could bring about reactions and could upset the balance of forces and regional security.

172. In the South Atlantic, despite the lesson of the Malvinas, Great Britain is pursuing a policy of military expansion, which leads us to believe that it is prepared to maintain its colonial presence, in disregard of Argentine sovereignty. In so doing, it is failing in its fundamental obligation to seek a peaceful, negotiated solution to the problems between it and the Argentine Republic and to abstain from any measure that might increase tension in the area. We regret that the first contacts have not been followed up, and we urge the parties to resume the negotiations in earnest, in order to achieve, with the assistance of the good offices of the Secretary-General, a just and equitable solution to a dispute that has gone on for more than a century.

173. Just below the surface of all these conflicts, in the background of the bloody confrontations which plunge the world into mourning, there is the terrible problem of the arms race, which every year assumes more tragic dimensions, despite the appeals, recommendations and condemnations of the world's highest moral authorities. It is clear that the great Powers bear the full responsibility for solving this harrowing question and that only dialogue and consultation can settle the matter satisfactorily, it being borne in mind that the security of some cannot be assured at the expense of others.

174. While noting with interest the recent proposals put forward by President Reagan from this rostrum [4th meeting] to reduce tension and strengthen peace, we earnestly call for the establishment of multilateral machinery which will allow the transfer to international development institutions of the enormous resources which would be released by a programme of general, gradual and balanced disarmament.

175. The importance that most delegations have attached to an examination of the world economic situation shows the extent of the concern which continues to be caused by the unprecedented crisis which is affecting our countries and which in the final analysis is manifested by a disturbing worsening of the already precarious living conditions of the deprived peoples of the third world.

176. We well know the current manifestations—the spectacular deterioration of the terms of trade, the resultant drop in export earnings, the obvious slowing down in rates of investment and the considerable worsening of the debt problem, together with a drastic reduction in capital flows. All of this is leading to a marked decrease in per capita growth rates and production, leading to an alarming increase in unemployment and areas of poverty.

177. Thus, in Latin America and the Caribbean, in 1983, the gross domestic product fell by 3 per cent and the per capita income dropped by 6 per cent. At the same time, there continues to be such a reduction in international aid, in real terms, that there is reason to wonder how the third world can double its per capita output in the mid-1990s, as had been contemplated in the context of the Third United Nations Development Decade.

178. Without stressing the underlying causes of this state of affairs, we cannot but repeat that the industrialized nations bear a heavy share of the responsibility for the origins of this tragic situation, which so severely punishes the poor countries for crimes that they have not committed. Therefore, it is up to the rich countries to play a decisive role in creating an international environment capable of bringing about a healthy and lasting recovery which would be of benefit to all. Above all, it is their duty to show their political will to undertake the structural reforms that are indispensable for the establishment of a new order, which is not only a moral imperative but an economic necessity.

179. We are convinced that if the rich nations really wished to contribute more effectively to the development of the poor countries, and if they were truly convinced that it was in their interests and that perhaps their survival depended on it, those nations, which have successfully met extraordinary scientific and technical challenges, would find formulas, ways to intervene and suitable programmes to wipe hunger, ignorance and disease off the face of the earth.

180. Moreover, the recent excellent performance of certain Western economies gives reason for new hope—provided, however, that some basic truths are seriously borne in mind and are the foundation of policies for recovery.

181. First, it would be wrong to think that the strong growth of the rich countries can automatically bring about a revival of the weak economies of the third world, for there are in our regions certain structural deficiencies which prevent the mechanisms of the market from working normally and necessitate the intervention of the public sector and international co-operation.

182. Secondly, it is now recognized that the adjustment policies advocated by the West, and characterized in particular by drastic reductions in budgetary expenditures and imports, involve an excessive social cost, without, as one would expect, leading to the growth process that is sought. From one point of view, these are easy solutions which consist of provoking a global contraction of demand in the poor countries, to a degree difficult to support, while the industrialized nations shoulder only a derisory portion of the sacrifices. How can we fail to mention that some of the richer countries refuse to submit to the fiscal discipline that they would impose on others?

183. We believe that the adjustment process must be synonymous with dynamic reconstruction rather than passive constraint because, first and foremost, it must be designed to be productive and not to bring about poverty. Consequently, as a priority, in addition to the objectives already mentioned, it must include the creation of new jobs, the establishment of new industries, and, through the World Bank and IMF acting in close concert, the financing of new programmes, particularly in the key sectors of education, health, housing and agriculture.

184. Thirdly, it has been demonstrated that the economic recovery of the third world assumes that the rich countries will maintain a growth rate of more than 3 per cent, avoid protectionism, and act in such a way as to bring about a gradual lowering of interest rates, an improvement in the terms of trade, and the provision of adequate financing. Regarding this last point particularly, we deem it important to emphasize, in order to see the problem clearly, that whereas the non-oil-producing developing countries paid \$52 billion in 1983 to private creditors, they received \$20 billion in loans, \$15 billion more than had been contemplated by IMF under the system of transfer of net resources.

185. External financing should, therefore, be increased to help debt-servicing, assist investment and stimulate exports. A world in which the developing countries are confronted simultaneously with a lowering of their standard of living and a draining of their capital is extremely volatile.

186. Fourthly, with regard to the least developed countries, there is little doubt that the success or failure of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries¹³ constitutes the most eloquent test of the desire of the rich countries to restore the credibility of the North-South dialogue. If the international community is not in a position now to help this small group of countries, whose needs are relatively few, one may well ask oneself when and for whom it can do so.

187. On the eve of the mid-term review of the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action, we must admit that none of these objectives has been reached and that the level of aid remains far below that of the firm commitments made by the representatives of the donor countries. The Republic of Haiti therefore urges the United Nations to take special measures immediately, for two purposes at least: first, to maximize the aid given to the least developed countries by reducing the percentage of funds allocated to technical assistance—for which the experts are too costly in comparison with the services they render—and then apportioning most of the money thus made available to structural investments, which will have an irreversible effect in modifying the standard of living of the populations that benefit therefrom; and, secondly, to increase the number of programmes designed to bring back qualified personnel, the scarcest and most important of all resources, to their place of origin, that is to say, back to our own countries.

188. We must struggle against the flagrant contradiction of a promise of aid coupled with budgetary cuts, which inevitably brings about a decrease in the amount of money available for development. Clearly the time has come for the percentage of local resources required from the least developed countries to be systematically maintained at a level of less than 10 per cent.

189. Fifthly, the third world must now, more than ever before, rely on and reaffirm its own strength and systematically explore the many possibilities of South-South co-operation. Here, the Quito Plan of Action [see A/39/118] and the Cartagena Consensus [A/39/331] constitute excellent initiatives, as evidence of our willingness to assume responsibility for our own destiny and to attain our collective autonomy, especially with regard to food, through the

promotion of interregional exchanges and the exploitation of our immense resources.

190. The Republic of Haiti, in its capacity as Acting Chairman of the Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee, would like to reaffirm its faith in the underlying unity of our region as an historical, geographical and cultural entity, called upon to develop with full respect for all the socio-political options of each and every member.

191. We have greeted with great hope the implementation of the initiative on the Caribbean Basin designed to attract numerous investments and facilitate access of our products to the American market. However, while recognizing the merits of this plan, which is based on the dynamism of free enterprise, we must admit that, while it contains provisions necessary for our economic development, those provisions are, nevertheless, insufficient and inadequate when viewed against the backdrop of the many needs of the region.

192. For its part, Haiti remains firmly convinced that the solution of our problems is to be found first and foremost in the effort which each one of our countries continues to make to maximize the utilization of its own national resources.

193. Hence, the Haitian Government, in keeping with the formal commitments of the late President of the Republic and with the profound wishes of the nation, is pursuing, successfully and with perseverance, a very important twofold effort, despite the precarious nature of the means available and the complexity of the many obstacles we face. We continue, on the one hand, methodically to establish a process of genuine democratization which takes into account our own specific characteristics, our historic traditions and our social and cultural realities. On the other hand, our Government is also trying to mobilize our unfortunately inadequate national resources to promote economic and social development, the purpose of which is, first of all, to satisfy the basic needs of the population before the year 2000. It is in the light of this dual purpose that we must view two major events in our present policy, namely, the unprecedented reform of the judicial system and the solemn launching, in August, by the Head of State, of the agricultural reform, designed to achieve self-sufficiency in food within 10 years.

194. The summary examination of the world situation which we have just given leads us to say in conclusion that there will be no progress towards peace and economic development in an increasingly interdependent world without true international solidarity, a true will for change, and genuine determination on the part of the larger countries to implement the various resolutions to which they have subscribed.

195. In this context, the role of the United Nations remains most important and the Haitian delegation is ready at all times to make an active contribution to any initiative which might bring us closer to our objectives. As was stated by President Jean-Claude Duvalier:

“It is our dearest hope that 1985 may be the year of peace and that an important stage may be reached in negotiations to reduce international tensions and restore security wherever bloody conflicts are bringing about tragedy and suffering.”

196. Mr. MWANGALE (Kenya): Permit me, Sir, to join other representatives who have spoken before

me in congratulating you most warmly on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is clear proof of the confidence placed in you personally by the General Assembly. It is also a great honour to your country, Zambia, and Africa as a whole. On behalf of my delegation, I wish you and the other officers of the Assembly success in your endeavours to guide the work of the thirty-ninth session to a successful conclusion.

197. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who with singular distinction led the General Assembly successfully through the thirty-eighth session. We owe him a debt of gratitude for his untiring efforts and the wisdom he displayed at all times.

198. In welcoming the State of Brunei Darussalam, the 159th Member of the United Nations, I congratulate it and also extend the hand of friendship and co-operation.

199. Allow me to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the entire staff of the United Nations system for the good services they have faithfully continued to render to the international community.

200. In opening my remarks at this session of the General Assembly, I should like to start with a vision of world peace. We in Kenya hold the view that the future of the planet we all jointly share depends on the strengthening of peaceful co-operation in relations among States and on such relations being devoid of unnecessary frictions.

201. Whenever international peace and security have been threatened, the General Assembly has not failed to exert maximum pressure on the side of peace, justice and mutual understanding. It is Kenya's sincere hope that this session of the Assembly will continue to respond favourably to the general will of the international community to maintain peace and stability for all nations.

202. The guiding spirit of my Government, under President Daniel Arap Moi, is the advocacy of peace, democracy and justice for all under the rule of law and the uplifting of the economic and social welfare of our people in unity, freedom and love for one another. This is the springboard and the foundation of our people's aspirations, and all our actions, both domestic and international, are tuned to promote, project and vigorously defend these goals. We extend the hand of friendship and co-operation to all nations which in turn do the same to us.

203. The problem of the *apartheid* system of South Africa has been on the agenda of the Organization for a long time. The racist régime in Pretoria continues to defy United Nations resolutions on this critical issue. The régime deprives the black people of that country of the right to enjoy basic human rights in their own land. In all walks of life, the black people in South Africa have no say in the conduct of the daily affairs affecting them. Their demands for social, economic and political changes for the benefit of all the people of the country are always ruthlessly suppressed by the racist régime in its desperate efforts to protect its inhuman *apartheid* policies. Measures are carefully designed for the forceful exploitation of the black man's human and material resources. These inhuman practices are the most basic causes of political tension and social conflict in the whole region. The stage has been progressively set for unavoidable social violence, with potential conse-

quences for international peace and security. The world witnessed dozens of people being killed and many more injured in early September this year, when unrest and violence occurred in the black townships of Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton, south of Johannesburg. Thus, the racist régime is continuing to sharpen its weapons of terror further to undermine the demands of the black people for democracy, equality and justice for all.

204. The *apartheid* system has been condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity. It is the moral duty of every country to do its utmost to achieve total destruction of this abhorrent system. In the efforts to achieve this objective, Kenya will not be found wanting. As my President, Daniel Arap Moi, said at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly:

“Across the whole spectrum of impact and meaning, *apartheid* torments the conscience of all civilized men. It violates those universal principles of human dignity and conduct which the United Nations has been authorized to codify and to harness. And there is no doubt that it affronts the very foundation of international law. On these three grounds alone, and there are many more, the only conclusion to be reached is that *apartheid* must be destroyed. In any case, there should never be any compromise with evil—and *apartheid* is, in every aspect, evil.” [11th meeting, para. 17.]

205. My delegation, which represents a people that fought a bitter and costly war for the freedom and independence of our own country, is deeply concerned over the economic and military co-operation South Africa receives from some States Members of the United Nations. This support enables the régime to maintain its oppressive system against the African people. We appeal seriously to those countries to reconsider their position and adopt appropriate measures directed towards total isolation of South Africa in order to compel it to dismantle its *apartheid* system.

206. The reported development and possession of nuclear devices by South Africa is a matter of extreme concern to Africa, which has repeatedly warned against assistance being given to South Africa to develop nuclear capability. None of the previous pretensions that the arms and military assistance given to that country were for self-defence has stood the practical test. South Africa wants nuclear capability and huge arsenals of armaments to intimidate, destabilize and carry out aggression against neighbouring African States, and in particular the landlocked State of Lesotho. We refuse to accept that possession of weapons will ever deter the Africans in their resolve to fight for freedom, dignity and equality.

207. We cannot allow ourselves to be deceived by the enactment of the so-called new constitution in South Africa. We are resolved to continue our support to the liberation movements of South Africa until victory is won and democracy re-established in that country. We call upon other States to do the same until South Africa abandons the inhuman practices and policies of *apartheid*.

208. The international community has been seriously frustrated in its efforts to bring to an end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. It is not my intention in this debate to dwell on the sad history of South Africa's aggression against Namibia.

The records of this speak for themselves. Even friends and allies of South Africa should now agree with us on the imperative need for South Africa to evacuate Namibia and for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The international community must not waste any time; we must seriously examine why resolution 435 (1978) has not been implemented and then decide on the appropriate course of action to take. South Africa must not be allowed to continue using Namibia as a springboard for aggression and for destabilization of the neighbouring States.

209. The United Nations and all its organs, particularly the Security Council, must focus attention on bringing about the earliest implementation of the Security Council plan for the independence of Namibia provided for in resolution 435 (1978). We all agree that the plan envisaged in that resolution remains the only basis for the peaceful transition to independence of that Territory.

210. In his report on Namibia pursuant to Security Council resolution 532 (1983),¹⁴ the Secretary-General confirmed that all the outstanding issues relevant to that resolution had been resolved. He also made it clear to South Africa that the linkage of Cuban troops in Angola with the independence of Namibia introduced an irrelevant and extraneous issue. Kenya fully agrees with the Secretary-General and hopes that Namibia will attain its independence before the end of this year.

211. Allow me to comment briefly on the Horn of Africa. Kenya is part of the Horn, and we are naturally deeply interested in all developments in that region. The area is still plagued by tensions and conflicts which adversely affect economic, political and social development and relations among States in that part of the world.

212. The Government of Kenya pursues a policy of good-neighbourliness with all its neighbours. We are convinced that without peace and mutual understanding there can never be significant progress in all aspects of human development. During the past few months, my President, Daniel Arap Moi, has personally held consultations with all the leaders in the Horn of Africa. The leaders of the area are dedicated and experienced statesmen, deeply devoted to the welfare of their peoples. This is an asset. My President found the experience both rewarding and encouraging. Consequently, Kenya feels duty-bound to continue the quest for peaceful relations, good-neighbourliness and economic co-operation in our region. We are convinced that these objectives are paramount and stand above any political persuasion or differences. Kenya therefore appeals to all the States in the area to redouble their efforts in the search for lasting peace, co-operation and mutual security. Any encouragement by other States towards these noble goals would undoubtedly attract our support.

213. I now turn my attention to the area of the Middle East. Like the peoples of southern Africa, the peoples of the Middle East have not enjoyed any peace for many years. The core of the problem is the denial of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and Israel's refusal to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We have stated time and again that no durable peace can be achieved in the area until the legitimate rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and to an

independent State of their own in the region are realized. The right of others in that region also to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized borders must also be respected.

214. The problem in the Middle East has been further aggravated by Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon in June 1982. Israel owes its legal existence to the United Nations, and it should not flout the Charter and resolutions of the Organization with impunity.

215. Elsewhere, the international political situation has not taken a turn for the better. We are disappointed that, despite the Organization's call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea, those countries still remain under foreign military occupation. In the Gulf area, a devastating war between Iran and Iraq continues unabated, with heavy losses of human lives and material on both sides. Farther afield, North and South Korea have yet to find a peaceful solution to their unification problem. We recognize the complexity of the problem, but we see no alternative to continued dialogue and the improvement of mutual trust and confidence between the two countries.

216. The tragedy afflicting Cyprus also deserves our attention. In this respect, we refer to Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984), in which the Council condemned all secessionist actions. Kenya has always called and will continue to call for respect for and recognition of the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of the State of Cyprus.

217. It is clear that super-Power rivalry is evident in the Indian Ocean. This rivalry is a threat to the countries in the region and undermines the efforts of the international community to convene an international conference on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. An international conference on this subject would bring together all the concerned States and maritime Powers to harmonize their views and to resolve issues that are impeding the establishment of a zone of peace in the area. We believe that the success of such a conference could be facilitated through a firm commitment by the countries of the region, by great Powers and by maritime users to the principles of the Declaration. Kenya has called and will continue to call for the implementation of the Declaration.

218. Disarmament has become an absolute and urgent necessity, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. The pressing task which confronts the international community is to seek the reversal of the arms buildup and ultimately to bring about the complete elimination of these man-made objects of self-destruction.

219. Indeed, there are two elements in Kenya's perception of disarmament. First, we believe that there is an intrinsic correlation between progress towards disarmament and the international political situation. Goals of disarmament cannot be reached in a political climate devoid of mutual confidence and characterized by tensions and breaches of the peace. Secondly, no moral, ideological or political explanation is sufficiently convincing to justify the present diversion of colossal human and material resources to improving and augmenting the already formidable nuclear and conventional arsenals.

220. The time has come for the General Assembly to adopt a convention that would give unqualified guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons against them at any time. The nuclear Powers and all militarily significant States must be persuaded to desist from the production of these weapons and to channel the vast and invaluable resources so released to the economic and social development and the well-being of all mankind. Kenya stands ready and willing to continue playing its part in strengthening international understanding. To this end, Kenya wishes to make a special appeal to the super-Powers to increase their efforts towards relaxation of tensions, mutual understanding and greater co-operation in the search for world peace and development.

221. For the last 10 years, the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization has been searching for an acceptable formula for strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations. Despite the very slow progress and the minimal results achieved over the years, we still have some hope of progress. Preventive diplomacy, although provided for in the Charter, is a question that had not previously been given detailed attention. We note that discussions have now opened on this matter, and we expect future proceedings to adopt the serious and purposeful approach demonstrated at its session last April. In its search for structural improvements, the Special Committee should not lose sight of its original objectives. These include: strengthening of the role of the Security Council and serious assumption by the Council of its responsibilities, including those provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter; strengthening of the role of the General Assembly, including a timely examination of the question of non-implementation of General Assembly resolutions; and analysing early-warning mechanisms for prevention of friction and international disputes. It is my Government's view that these issues cannot be considered in isolation from one another, but need to be examined concurrently.

222. On the question of developing a mechanism for dispute settlement under the United Nations, my Government fully supports the efforts of the members of the Special Committee to provide for a mechanism which is effective and efficient. We feel that this would enhance the role of the United Nations, promote negotiated solutions to conflicts and provide a useful mechanism for making contacts between parties to disputes. Such a proposal would also be in line with the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes [*resolution 37/10, annex*].

223. In our region, we are systematically engaged in serious efforts to find peaceful solutions to various disputes and tensions. Successful completion of the work of the Special Committee will greatly enhance peaceful relations among neighbours in our part of the world.

224. I turn now to the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. Kenya supports the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea⁴ as an important instrument that represents a codification and progressive development of international law. Kenya continues to follow keenly the steps taken by the United Nations

and its Member States to implement this Convention. Consequently, we have participated actively in the work of the Preparatory Commission, which continues to serve as an important link between the objectives of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and the activities of Member States in and beyond the waters under their national jurisdiction.

225. We urge all signatories to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and those to the Final Act of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea¹⁵ that are participating in the Preparatory Commission to display the same political will and resolve as they demonstrated during the negotiations on the Convention to enable the Preparatory Commission to pave the way for the early coming into force of that Convention. In this connection, we call on all States to refrain from taking any action that would delay the early entry into force of the Convention or impair its universality. Kenya supports the work of the Preparatory Commission and reaffirms its commitment to participate actively in its future deliberations.

226. As we meet here today, developing countries continue to be faced with critical economic problems, including serious balance-of-payments problems, unfavourable terms of trade, debt problems, high interest rates, foreign exchange shortages, high rates of inflation, rapidly rising unemployment, and prolonged and devastating drought and famine.

227. Kenya has followed with great concern the depressing international economic situation. In the last few months, a few industrialized countries have appeared to be on the threshold of economic recovery and one hopes that these indicators point to long and lasting prosperity.

228. Nevertheless, these signs of economic recovery in some major industrialized countries must not be allowed to distract our attention from the need for co-ordinated and world-wide efforts to bring about economic growth in the developing countries as two inseparable activities. We in Kenya cannot therefore accept the premise that if economic recovery is achieved in the developed countries the developing countries will automatically benefit as a result of such recovery. We do not accept the "trickling down" theory in modern international economic relations. While we welcome the signs of recovery in some parts of the world, that recovery is not likely to have much effect on the economies of the developing countries for some time to come.

229. The recent economic recession in the developed countries inevitably had an adverse effect on world trade and hence upon the economic fortunes of most developing countries. The very depressed state of demand in industrialized countries meant the continuing decline in world commodity prices. The terms of trade of non-oil-producing developing countries remained at about 20 per cent below the 1977-1979 average.

230. In reviewing the global economic situation, therefore, we cannot disguise our exasperation at the rather protracted malaise that continues to afflict the world economy. The crisis, which has now reached unprecedented proportions, is threatening the stability and stifling the economic growth of all countries. Consequently, the economic resilience and margin of safety once available to many developing countries continue to be severely eroded. The harsh realities

besetting the world economic scene today, compounded by cyclical factors, are in truth symptomatic of more fundamental inadequacies plaguing the international economic system. Since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, in 1974, many initiatives have been taken and numerous conferences and meetings held in vain attempts to redress these structural imbalances. The failure of these efforts to improve the international economic order does not negate their validity, nor should it diminish our commitment to the eventual achievement of their aim. Kenya once more reiterates its strong commitment to the establishment of the new international economic order. We should like to see equitable participation by all nations in the productive and decision-making processes of the global economy.

231. Kenya fully supports the efforts of the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 to address these problems, as manifested at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983. Immediate measures to stimulate world economic recovery and to accelerate development in the developing countries are urgently needed. Prominent among these measures is the proposal to convene an international conference on money and finance for development. We feel that the launching of global negotiations is long overdue, and we continue to advocate the early launching of such negotiations. My delegation therefore calls upon all the parties concerned to iron out their differences without undue delay.

232. As we gather here to take stock of events of the last 12 months, it is impossible not to note the following. First, the outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, was a disappointing experience for the developing countries. Secondly, not much meaningful progress has been achieved in the attempts to launch global negotiation. Thirdly, an attempt to review and appraise the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade in May of this year was not much of a success. Fourthly, the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development and the Committee on the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy have also not made much progress in their respective areas of competence, as envisaged by the General Assembly when they were set up. Fifthly, the recently concluded Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, failed to reach a consensus regarding policy guidelines and the mobilization of resources for the industrialization of the developing countries.

233. We therefore feel that there is a need to sort out collectively the differences and difficulties that continue to obstruct meaningful progress in our dialogue. We feel that negotiations rather than confrontation should be our central theme. I feel obliged to emphasize this point because we have been criticizing the outcome of many conferences, year after year, without giving thought to the persistent confrontation between groups. This is the root cause of our failures. The solution is flexibility and accommodation of each other's views. We have a collective responsibility, as members of the international com-

munity, to find ways and means of improving the quality of life of all the peoples of the world.

234. We are all in general agreement that now more than ever before the developing countries are faced with serious economic problems. We see international trade as a very important component of economic co-operation. Its decline has deprived the developing countries of the much-needed foreign exchange essential for the importation of capital goods and other relevant inputs for their development efforts. Additionally, their terms of trade have seriously deteriorated since 1980, when prices of primary commodities collapsed. The wave of protectionism in the developed countries, particularly the developed market economy countries, has been more evident since 1980 than ever before. This has been due to the inward-looking policies practised by most of these countries. We note, with dismay, that neither the November 1982 ministerial meeting of the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade nor the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development reached the sort of liberal consensus which had characterized the earlier trade rounds.

235. Collective self-reliance as expressed through economic and technical co-operation among developing countries is a dynamic process. Such a process should prove critical for the revitalization of the development of their economies and also contribute greatly to sustained global recovery. Economic and technical co-operation among developing countries is indeed an integral part of Kenya's foreign policy. Within our limited capacities we have extended technical co-operation programmes to various developing countries, both within and outside our region. We continue to call repeatedly on developing countries to intensify their co-operation at subregional, regional and interregional levels in all fields.

236. Kenya urges the developed countries to view activities connected with economic co-operation among developing countries and technical co-operation among developing countries as being complementary to North-South co-operation. The developed countries should, therefore, accord all necessary support to both such activities. It was in the spirit of South-South co-operation that developing countries adopted in 1981 the Caracas Programme of Action,² the implementation of which has been enhanced by the many intergovernmental economic and technical meetings in the last few years.

237. In a number of regions also, new initiatives in connection with South-South co-operation have been undertaken. To this end, my country, together with other countries of eastern and southern Africa, concluded at Lusaka in December 1981 a treaty establishing a preferential trade area for the subregion. The area, which has a potential membership of 20 countries, has been operational since July of this year. Its aim is to achieve the expansion of subregional trade and co-operation in agricultural, industrial, transport and communications development.

238. Let me say a few words about our efforts in east Africa in the area of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries. We recognize that the primary responsibility for solving our economic problems rests with ourselves. We therefore actively co-operate with our neighbours in an effort to exploit our potential. I am delighted to say that Kenya has undertaken joint projects with neighbour-

ing countries in various fields. I am also pleased to say that since November of last year the east African subregion has made notable progress towards South-South co-operation. Early this year, the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania agreed on modalities of co-operation. I am confident that we shall be able to intensify our economic activities and achieve tremendous revitalization of our economies in the subregion. This co-operation will serve to enhance the preferential trade area and other forms of co-operation in Africa.

239. Kenya attaches great importance and meaning to the industrialization of the developing countries, particularly those of sub-Saharan Africa. The Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization is still fresh in our minds. Our immediate reaction to the outcome of that Conference is that it failed to agree on the fundamental issue of financing the industrialization of the developing countries. We hope that when this item is discussed in the Assembly an acceptable solution will be found.

240. Kenya views science and technology as crucial vehicles for development in developing countries. It is regrettable that, five years after the adoption of the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development,¹⁶ no meaningful agreement has been reached to implement the programme, in particular as it relates to mobilization of financial resources. We therefore urge Governments to intensify their efforts towards early implementation of the Programme.

241. Energy is an essential component of the development process. The need to shift from dependence on conventional sources of energy to much greater reliance on alternative sources cannot be over-emphasized. It was in view of this that the international community adopted, in 1981, the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy.¹⁷ The Programme called in particular for the mobilization of financial resources for harnessing new and renewable sources of energy. Kenya is seriously concerned at the slow pace of its implementation.

242. I now turn to the area of environment and human settlements. We continue to associate ourselves with the decisions of the General Assembly to establish an environmental commission to look into the world Environmental Perspective to the Year 2000 and Beyond, and to observe, in 1987, the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.

243. The African continent, from which I come, is the home of many low-income developing countries. Most of our countries are still net exporters of primary commodities, on which we depend for our foreign-exchange earnings. We are concerned that many African countries are still faced with continuous food shortages, malnutrition, disease, poverty, unemployment, underemployment, deteriorating terms of trade, indebtedness and a host of other difficulties.

244. We would recall that in April 1980, at its second extraordinary session, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in recognition of the developmental problems facing the African continent, adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa¹⁸ and the Final Act of Lagos.¹⁹ We appeal to all

gathered here to continue to give the Lagos Plan of Action the support it deserves.

245. Early this year, the Secretary-General visited countries in Africa and had an opportunity to see for himself and to assess the difficulties facing most of our countries owing to the climatic and ecological situation. It was as a follow-up of his visit that in March this year he appointed a Special Representative for Africa's Economic Crisis, to monitor all emergency and humanitarian aspects of the prevailing economic crisis in Africa and to report directly to him, and established a temporary office at Nairobi. We warmly welcome the Secretary-General's initiative. It was in the same spirit that the Economic and Social Council, at its second regular session, considered as a priority item Africa's economic crisis.

246. We feel that the very critical and serious economic problems facing Africa call for concerted international attention. The problems have been further aggravated by the prolonged drought which has been spreading throughout the continent, the encroaching Sahara desert and other natural disasters. Of all the developmental problems facing Africa, my delegation would especially like to highlight the acute food shortages, which have continued to increase in recent years. We see food and agriculture as the most important sectors of human life, since they affect the very survival of man. We urge the international community to take urgent collective measures to step up assistance to African countries to combat desertification, alleviate overall critical food shortages and achieve self-sufficiency in food production in the continent.

247. It will be recalled that the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,²⁰ adopted on 26 May 1984 by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa—the Ministers responsible for economic development and planning—did not receive the serious attention it deserved during the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, held at Geneva. As a result, the African countries were deeply disappointed that the Council failed to agree on any measures to alleviate the economic and social problems in Africa. My delegation proposes that this session of the General Assembly should take concrete measures to achieve short-, medium- and long-term solutions for the current economic crisis in Africa.

248. Kenya will be greatly honoured and privileged to host next year the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. The aims and objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women include the raising of the status of women by involving them at all levels in the affairs of their societies and their integration into the overall development processes at both the national and the international levels. This is in pursuance of the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year, adopted at Mexico City in 1975.²¹

249. Kenya attributes great importance to the convening of the World Conference. We are confident that Member States will seize the opportunity provided by the forum at Nairobi to discuss the many issues on the agenda in a constructive manner. In this connection, my Government is in close touch with the United Nations Secretariat regarding the necessary preparations for the Conference, and we look

forward to welcoming representatives of Member States and participants to the city of Nairobi.

250. Mr. AL-ASBAHI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to express to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic, our sincere congratulations on the clear confidence shown in you by the international community represented in this great Organization by electing you to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that you will direct the work of this session in a manner that will make useful and effective our efforts to find answers to the challenges we are currently facing and to shoulder our grave responsibilities. I can assure you that we will spare no effort to co-operate with you in order to bring this session to a successful conclusion and ensure that it achieves its aims, guided by the lofty principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

251. It gives me pleasure also to express our admiration and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of the thirty-eighth session, for his wisdom and competence in conducting the work of that session, thus ensuring its success.

252. I am pleased also to commend the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General to find just solutions to various international problems and crises. We also thank him for his valuable report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1] and for his comments aimed at reinforcing the role of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security.

253. We congratulate the people of Brunei Darussalam on their accession to independence and the admission of their State to membership of the United Nations. The people of Brunei Darussalam have age-old historic and religious ties with the people of Yemen, and we wish them prosperity and progress.

254. We live today in a world of turmoil, an unstable world, where a climate of tension and anxiety exists in relations among nations. This is no doubt the result of the many occasions on which the threat or the use of force has been chosen over the peaceful settlement of disputes. There can be no doubt that the use of force in international relations in order to impose solutions safeguarding private interests is contrary to the principles and norms of international law and a violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The use of force contributes to tension and turmoil in international relations, to the return to the cold-war climate and to the consequent frenzied arms race and production of all kinds of destructive weapons.

255. Complicating things even more are the recession and stagnation besetting the world economy, which have had adverse effects on international relations. We are faced today with grave responsibilities and heavy burdens. It is our duty as members of an international community, in which we seek complementarity and interdependence, to join our efforts to alleviate tension and eliminate its causes and to prevent a third world war, in which nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction would be used. That can be achieved only by the deployment of efforts, based on genuine good will, for the establishment of an international community founded on justice, equality and co-operation among all its members and thereby guaranteeing that the common interests of all are protected.

256. In addition to the exertion of such efforts, there must be a serious recommitment and adherence to the principles and norms of international law and of the Charter, and United Nations resolutions must be implemented, not violated. Unilateral solutions must not be imposed, leaving the Organization, which represents the collective will of the international community, on the sidelines.

257. It has become clear that the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East. It is one of the most important issues of concern to the international community and one that has been before the Organization for more than 36 years.

258. It cannot be a secret to anyone now that the root cause of this chronic problem is the intransigence of Israel and its insistence on continuing to occupy Palestine, its denial to the Palestinian people of the exercise of their legitimate national rights, its pursuit of expansionist, racist and aggressive policies against the Palestinian people and the other Arab States and its use of methods of oppression and terrorism. All this constitutes an affront to the international community and a flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

259. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if the question of Palestine, the core of the conflict in the region, is solved. Foremost among the elements of such a solution must be recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right of return and its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its independent State on its homeland, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

260. Many efforts have been made to solve the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem and to ensure stability, peace and justice, but the obstinacy and arrogance of Israel, its contempt for United Nations resolutions and for the will of the international community, its constant pursuit—with impunity—of its policy of expansion, annexation and mass expulsion, its oppression of innocent people, its establishment of settlements in the occupied territories, its adoption of decisions designed to change the cultural, demographic, political and religious character of Al-Quds al-Sharif and other occupied Arab territories, are all obstacles to the achievement of a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem.

261. It is high time for the international community to put an end to Israeli aggression and arrogance and for the just rights of the Palestinians to be recognized. The States that support Israel—foremost among them the United States—by providing it with weapons, funds and diplomatic and political support, must reconsider their position towards Israel and its policy of aggression in the Middle East. We wonder how the United States can reconcile the strategic cooperation agreement it concluded with Israel—which today is the most dangerous regional military force, seeking expansion and hegemony in the Middle East—with its responsibilities for international peace and security.

262. Israel has been a constant source of tension and threat to international peace and security since its founding. It is time that Israel and its friends and allies realized that peace and security in the region can be achieved only through the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people,

including its right of return and its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its homeland, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. Moreover, real security has nothing to do with the Israeli concept, which is based on inadmissible expansion and aggression.

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

263. The United States must now reconsider its position of bias towards Israel if it wishes effectively to contribute to the search for a solution of the question of Palestine and of the crisis in the Middle East. It must co-operate with the international community in obliging Israel to comply with United Nations resolutions, in the interest of international peace and security.

264. Those who truly support peace, justice and human rights also support the inalienable and historic rights of the Palestinian people. But those who support the expansionist policy of Israel stand side by side with aggression and usurpation. There can be peace in the Middle East only if all the efforts to achieve it are channelled to the adoption of practical measures to put an end to Israel's arrogance and its constant disregard for international resolutions, and to compel Israel to implement the United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East, to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to establish an independent State on its homeland.

265. The General Assembly has adopted a resolution calling for an international peace conference on the Middle East [*resolution 38/58 C*]. That is the proper framework for any peaceful approach to solving that sensitive issue, since it is based on the participation of the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, in the quest for a peaceful and just solution that will guarantee to the Palestinian people the exercise of their legitimate rights, in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions, as well as Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories.

266. The Yemen Arab Republic, which has given genuine and effective support to the Palestinian people—and the blood of Yemeni martyrs attests to this—reaffirms that any settlement that disregards the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right of return and its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its national soil, can only be an unjust settlement and doomed to failure.

267. It has become clear through the events of the past few years that the attempts at partial solutions and separate accords have made the solution to the question of Palestine more elusive. It is sufficient to remember that the Camp David accords encouraged Israel to intensify its policy of aggression and expansion.

268. The Arab States have done their utmost in the search for peace in the Middle East and have proven their peaceful intentions through the decisions adopted on 9 September 1982 by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez,²² which were welcomed by all regional and international organizations which support right, justice and peace.

269. While the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people constitutes a set-back for lofty objectives and for international law and reflects a tragic picture of the development of events owing to the failure of the international community to assume its full responsibility to deter the aggressors and to restore the usurped rights, another Arab country, Lebanon, has, since the Israeli invasion of 1982, been the target of the expansionist ambitions of Tel Aviv, and its southern part is still chafing under Zionist occupation, oppression and terrorism. We will not forget the destruction of Beirut or the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila camps with all their atrocity and barbarism.

270. We salute the heroic resistance and determination of the Lebanese people against the Israeli occupation and condemn the occupation of Lebanese territories, and we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Lebanese territories, in pursuance of the relevant Security Council resolutions. At the same time, we declare our whole-hearted support for the Lebanese people in its determination to settle its problems by itself, free from external interference or intervention, in such a manner as to safeguard the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, stability and effective role of the Arabs in Lebanon.

271. We express our grave concern at the continuation of the protracted Iran-Iraq war, whose dangers have escalated in such a manner as to threaten dire consequences for the region and for international peace and security. While commending the position of Iraq and its sincere response to the resolutions of the Security Council—especially resolution 540 (1983)—and to the appeals and endeavours of the Secretary-General, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other endeavours made to put an end to this futile, tragic blood-letting, we appeal to our brothers, the leadership in Iran, to respond positively to those endeavours and appeals to put an end to the war and to settle the conflict peacefully through negotiations with Iraq, its neighbour and sister, to achieve a just and honourable settlement which will safeguard the sovereignty and legitimate rights of both countries, in accordance with good-neighbourliness and all the other brotherly links between the two Muslim countries, and to safeguard the wealth and resources of both countries in the interests of their peoples, as well as for prosperity, progress and security. We commend every peaceful initiative and every positive response to the efforts at mediation and call upon all States, especially those with influence, to continue to make serious endeavours to put an end to this destructive war.

272. My country, which firmly believes in regional co-operation among geographically neighbouring States, is interested also in the preservation of security and stability around its borders. It therefore feels grave concern at the recent threats to navigation in the Red Sea. It condemns those criminal acts, which are aimed at destabilizing the Red Sea region, and reaffirms its previous declaration that the preservation of security in the Red Sea is the exclusive responsibility of the States of the region and that the region must be a zone of peace, free from foreign rivalry and conflicts.

273. My country also condemns any military presence or military bases in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea and once again stresses the need to

declare those areas zones of peace, free from fleets, warships and military bases. We support the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean and confirm the necessity of convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolution [resolution 34/80 B].

274. My country, which believes in, and firmly and unreservedly supports, the liberation movements in the world, particularly the PLO and SWAPO, calls for an end to the impasse concerning Namibia and reaffirms that the solution to the Namibian problem and the ending of the illegitimate South African occupation of Namibia can be achieved only through persistent efforts by the United Nations. We believe that the implementation of the resolutions of the Organization, especially Security Council resolution 435 (1978), constitutes the proper and practical approach to the solution of this problem.

275. The United Nations and the entire world have condemned South Africa for its racist policy, which is a blot on the modern history of mankind. While the racist régime of Pretoria still boasts of pursuing this shameful policy, thus defying world public opinion and international resolutions with an arrogance matched only by that of its Zionist ally in Tel Aviv, those two entities, with their racist policy of aggression, still enjoy the support and acceptance of a number of States Members of the United Nations. We caution against increasing co-operation between the two racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv in the production and manufacture of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, and call upon the States which provide those two régimes with the necessary resources and materials for the production of nuclear weapons to cease dealing with those two régimes.

276. We note with satisfaction the aspirations of the people of North and South Korea for the reunification of their country. We believe that those aspirations can be realized only through peaceful and democratic means, free from any foreign influence.

277. The turmoil and armed conflict prevailing in Central America make it imperative that greater efforts are made to eliminate the causes of that tense situation. What we should do foremost is to encourage the peoples and nations of the region to rely upon themselves in settling their dispute peacefully before it deteriorates into armed conflict. The peoples of Latin America must be enabled to choose their own future and to express their will free from any foreign interference. In this regard, we support the agreement reached by the Contadora Group. We feel that it constitutes a sound basis and a positive point of departure for solving the problems and removing their causes.

278. The persisting and unresolved Afghanistan problem constitutes a hotbed of tension. The Yemen Arab Republic supports the efforts to settle the Afghanistan problem peacefully through negotiations between the parties concerned, so as to put an end to the terrible blood-letting and enable the Afghan people to choose the social, economic and political system which it deems appropriate, free from any pressure or interference in its affairs. We also feel that we must try to solve the problem of the refugees and of their repatriation as soon as possible.

279. With respect to the problem of Cyprus, we feel optimistic concerning the negotiations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We feel

that genuine efforts must continue to be made in order to achieve a solution that is satisfactory to both communities, safeguarding freedom of religion and equality of rights and duties for all in an independent, unified Cyprus.

280. We are stating nothing new when we say that the intensification of international tension, and the relations between the super-Powers in particular, and the attendant hotbeds of tension and confrontation prove the credibility of the non-aligned policy and the importance of the role of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

281. We in the Yemen Arab Republic are proud of our adherence to the policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality, our commitment to the objectives and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and our rejection of the policy of blocs and axes. We are convinced that this is the only way that we can stand up to all kinds of domination and hegemony by major Powers and contribute to the support of world peace and the promotion of international relations along the path of détente and peaceful coexistence, while pursuing a policy that is open to co-operation with all, regardless of the economic or social philosophy of this or that régime, on the basis of mutual respect and equal treatment unprejudicial to the vital interests of our country.

282. My country is committed to the policies, principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and attaches special importance to disarmament issues and to efforts to put an end to the arms race. We share the increasing concern of the international community over the prospect of the outbreak of a third world war, which would involve the use of devastating nuclear weapons. That concern is heightened by talk of using outer space to launch future wars. Today it is more urgent than ever to make every effort to prevent a nuclear holocaust. The only means to avert this is to search for the appropriate means to make practical, effective arrangements to which the nuclear-weapon States, especially the super-Powers, would commit themselves. We call upon those States to seek agreement among themselves to put an end to the arms race and the production of weapons and to effect a balanced, gradual reduction of the stockpiles of weapons so as eventually to lead to their elimination and to general and complete disarmament. If this common aim is achieved by the co-operation of the peoples and nations of the world, it will be possible to channel the immense material and human resources now spent on armaments and arms production towards freeing the majority of peoples from the grip of starvation and disease and overcoming the grave shortages in their resources and potential for tackling the problems that face them in their efforts to build and develop their societies in the social and economic fields. We believe that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the most strategic parts of the world would constitute a practical way of contributing to control of the nuclear-arms race.

283. The world today is experiencing a situation of economic imbalance: the rich grow richer while the poor grow poorer. The result of this grave dichotomy is the widening of the gap between the developed and the developing countries, with its serious implications for international economic relations in general and for economic relations between the developing and the developed countries in particular. We believe that it is more urgent than ever to establish the new

international economic order, based on justice and equality, as well as new international monetary and economic structures. This requires the mobilization of a strong political will capable of tackling this enormous imbalance and of redistributing wealth instead of its being monopolized by certain States. We must always take into account the interests of all parties.

284. The prevalence of negative phenomena in international economic life, such as high interest rates, fluctuating exchange rates, protectionist trends and tariff and non-tariff barriers obstructing the exports of developing countries, and the imposition of restrictions which create obstacles to the transfer of technology to the developing countries, have led to a heightening of the international economic crisis and its serious effects on the developing countries and their development plans. The deterioration of world terms of trade, the chronic balance-of-payments deficits of the developing countries, their increased indebtedness year after year and their low growth rates, both economically and socially, have meant that the developing countries are paying the price and are sacrificing their development in the interests of the industrialized, rich countries.

285. The third-world countries must not continue to be a source of raw materials and a market for finished products. It is not in the interests of the international community to keep these States in a position of chronic economic deficit in which they are unable to honour their commitment to their peoples and to provide them with the basic necessities of life.

286. Assistance to the developing countries in their development plans is not mere generosity but, rather, it directly benefits the industrialized States in our complex, interdependent world. The developing countries have submitted a number of constructive, practical proposals in international forums to deal with the international economic crisis; these include the Economic Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983,²³ and the Buenos Aires Platform, adopted at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held from 28 March to 9 April 1983.²⁴

287. We can achieve welfare and prosperity for the whole of mankind if we work objectively and unselfishly, free from parochialism.

288. As we see the world of today moving towards further interdependence and complementarity, we should all seek ways and means to implement General Assembly resolution 34/138, on global negotiations, since they represent the most important, positive initiative towards activating multilateral international co-operation and implementing the principles contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

289. My country, one of the least developed countries, in addition to its limited resources, has fallen victim to natural disasters such as earthquakes and repeated drought. These have necessitated a modification of our development projects and plans, which were scheduled to be implemented within the context of our second five-year development plan. However, under the guidance of our political leadership and

with the assistance of friends and brothers within and outside the United Nations, we are optimistic about our country's ability to overcome these obstacles.

290. The needs of the age of technological revolution and the imperatives of comprehensive development call for reconsideration of the prevalent international information order, in accordance with the principles of the new information order, which should be given special priority in the joint action of the Organization.

291. In reaffirming in deeds rather than words our adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we are reflecting values and concepts ingrained in our people throughout its history, values and concepts set forth in our national Constitution, which is the intellectual and practical guide for our people's progress towards national construction, prosperity and unity.

292. My country, which is now celebrating the twenty-second anniversary of the glorious revolution of 26 September 1962, is living through a great phase in its history and marching resolutely towards the freedom, democracy, development and unity of Yemen, under the leadership of Colonel Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of the Republic, Supreme Commander of the armed forces and Secretary-General of the General People's Congress.

293. The convening of the second session of the General People's Congress last August was of great significance in our country's progress within the context of the national Constitution. Our people, leadership and Government are working together for the triumph of democracy and freedom in our country and the development of our cultural, social, economic and political life on the basis of our Islamic faith and in accordance with the principles of the immortal revolution of 26 September 1962. Our country has made great progress in establishing an infrastructure for development, and progress is also being made in the fields of education, health, expansion of internal trade and increased agricultural production. Exploration of our mineral and oil resources is under way, based on the principle of the people's sovereignty over its natural resources.

294. The Yemen Supreme Council has made great advances in fulfilling the aspirations of the people of Yemen to re-establish the country's unity. Commissions on unity are nearing completion of their work on national reunification, bringing together our people in the south and in the north.

295. Our foreign policy is based upon a deep belief in the unity of the Arab nation and on the necessity of improving the climate of relations among Arab States, whether at the level of the League of Arab States, through summit conferences or in bilateral meetings.

296. My country, a founding member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, seeks to strengthen links in all areas with other Muslim countries. The Fifth Conference of Foreign Ministers of States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, scheduled to meet at San'a in December of this year, will be an opportunity for a discussion of issues of vital interest to all the peoples of the Islamic nation and will contribute to the settlement of many issues on the agenda of the General Assembly.

297. Our position on regional and international questions and our foreign relations reflect our firm convictions and our genuine desire for the establish-

ment of relations based on mutual benefit and respect. We are proud of our constantly growing circle of friends, and we feel that dialogue, co-operation and understanding are the basic elements necessary for constructing a world in which peace, stability and prosperity will prevail.

298. Lastly, I am honoured to express the sincere wish of the President, Government and people of the Yemen Arab Republic that the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be crowned with success and that understanding, peace and justice will prevail in the world.

299. Mr. AFFO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): It is a signal honour for me to speak for the first time as head of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin to the representatives of the international community gathered here to explore, together, ways and means to ensure the peaceful coexistence and security of all the peoples of the world, for which we all yearn and for which we strive with all our strength, and to bring about the best conditions for mutually beneficial international co-operation.

300. I should like, Sir, to add the warm congratulations of my delegation to the unanimous chorus of those addressed to you by preceding speakers on the occasion of your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The People's Republic of Benin is especially pleased that the difficult and important task of leading our discussions has this year been entrusted to an outstanding, experienced man such as yourself, whose thorough knowledge of all the inner workings of the organs that make up the United Nations system is incontestable. Above all, however, you represent a country that has achieved an undeniable reputation on the international scene, and especially in Africa, through the tireless efforts it has constantly made in the search for a lasting solution to the problem facing our brothers in southern Africa who are the victims of all types of racial oppression.

301. You are taking up your important lofty task in the footsteps of Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, who led the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with great wisdom and remarkable clear-sightedness and firmness. We pay him a heartfelt tribute.

302. The delegation of Benin would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General in keeping with the outstanding qualities he displays in putting into practice courageously and with perseverance the noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. The brilliant report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1] that he has submitted to us is further evidence of his courage and clarity of mind. My delegation would like to extend to him the sincere thanks of the People's Republic of Benin for the friendship he showed our country by paying an official visit to Cotonou in January 1984, following the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The National Executive Council of the People's Republic of Benin wishes, through me, to reiterate to the Secretary-General its total support for him in the heavy responsibilities he has assumed.

303. I should also like warmly to welcome Brunei Darussalam, the new Member of the United Nations.

304. Each year, impelled by the inevitable surge of solidarity that must unite us, we meet here to take up the major problems of our time, those that affect the

life of our States and our peoples and constitute a threat to the fragile balance of today's world and that of the future. The floodlights that we direct today upon the status of mankind force us to face many painful facts that do not make for a great deal of optimism. Indeed, on the horizon the clouds of disaster and collapse are building up.

305. In the throes of selfishness, of the will to power and of greed, our world has turned into an overheated planet subject to increased tensions of all kinds that are seemingly impervious to joint action, dialogue, understanding, and recognition of the inevitability of our common fate and the universality of our problems the better to solve them. Awareness of the common dangers awaiting us, instead of inspiring us to unite to avert them, makes us lose our heads and pushes us into taking defensive measures each as irrational as the other.

306. How is it that, everywhere, we see, rising up in ever greater numbers, sorcerer's apprentices desperate to destabilize and compromise everything? We cannot resign ourselves to accepting these signs as heralding disruption and cataclysm, because our problems and difficulties are not insurmountable.

307. On the world economic scene, where the most serious disorders prevail, a common political will to link all the major regions of our planet in brotherly action to avert hunger and guarantee progress is the only answer. It is the sole solution to our world in disarray, where the human rights recognized and inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations are everywhere trampled underfoot and no longer effectively applied, because of the burdens which weigh so heavily on freedom, the right to decide one's own destiny, the right to food, the right to a roof over one's head and the right to take care of oneself and to be educated.

308. To mention these fundamental rights today is to take note of the tragic situation at the end of this twentieth century of the billions of people who make up the third world and who are totally disregarded in a system which does not pay them enough for their efforts and their production, thus giving rise to a cycle of impoverishment. The painful efforts of the developing countries to restructure their economies are cancelled out by the constant worsening of the terms of trade. It seems that nothing can alleviate the poverty of the developing countries. The return to arbitrary and unjustified protectionism has a constant effect on the production and export prospects of the developing countries, blocking their access to foreign markets. These countries seem to have been struck by a blind fate, but a closer examination shows that there are reasons for the situation from which they are suffering. Those reasons are to be found in the logic of a system based on profit dictated by the multinationals for their own selfish interests. The poor relations of the international economic system, the third-world countries, receive only small favours, given them because of their marginal participation in a hard and pitiless system that does not belong to them. The worst effects of the crisis are destined for them.

309. In this way, the aid planned by the institutions devoted to co-operation is considerably reduced. To monetary depreciation has now been added what some people call "galloping demography". In real terms, per capita transfers have declined by 20 per cent, for example, in the countries of Africa, the

Caribbean and the Pacific, reducing the total aid in real terms to \$4 per capita per year.

310. It is all the more important to recall these facts because certain of the richest States use the crisis as a pretext to make massive reductions in resources for development. A reduction of 30 per cent in total aid had even been envisaged without the slightest hesitation in certain decision-making circles. If that measure had been applied, it could only have seriously worsened the precarious position of the developing countries, some of which, lacking resources, no longer have access to lending markets.

311. One of the biggest problems facing the third world is the unprecedented growth in external debt, which means that our countries now produce only to pay to service debts which are increasing at a diabolical and unfair rate. Efforts at stabilization, growth and economic adjustment are thrown off course by rising interest rates and the soaring dollar, which are creating tension throughout the world. The external debt of the third world is now nearly \$850 billion. The pernicious machinery which has created this stagnation must be changed. No one stands to gain by allowing the situation to develop to the breaking-point, which has already nearly been reached in some regions, where a suspension of payments to creditor banks has been ordered. Such scenarios, which mark a new stage in the economic decay of the third world, now bordering on total collapse and bankruptcy, involve the risk, if we are not careful, of bringing about deterioration in North-South relations, tension and confrontation on a frightening scale.

312. Obtaining liquid funds on the international financial market requires prodigious efforts, including blackmail and sordid deals. The biggest international borrowers cannot obtain what they need, and States with large budgetary deficits which try to siphon off world savings for themselves cannot do so either, despite various manoeuvres.

313. The survival of our countries cannot be accommodated to a world reorganization plan designed for and characterized by the technological and industrial domination of the rich countries. This solution, which seeks at all costs to restore profit levels in a rigid way, giving the strongest a privileged place, would undoubtedly leave the weakest by the wayside. Close examination shows that the proposed rescheduling or refinancing of debts to ensure the maintenance of the rich countries' position in the existing economic system cannot bring about worthwhile improvements in the situation of our countries.

314. What our sick world needs today is to make financial management truly democratic, which requires the drafting of a contract of solidarity and therefore the establishment of a new international economic order.

315. The present system is blocked. Therefore, a restructuring which will help the development of such bodies as the IMF and the World Bank is more necessary than ever. If we are to succeed in this new task we must adopt other criteria than those of profitability. A genuine contract of solidarity between the wealthy and the poor countries has yet to be established. Here we may follow the path advocated by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, providing for the creation of a development fund financed by reducing and transferring expenditure on armaments.

316. It is more important than ever today, as we face the unavoidable reality of poverty and hunger, which continue to be the cause of considerable political upheavals, to find solutions to the serious contradictions of our world in crisis. The prosperity of the wealthy countries cannot continue to be built on the destitution and poverty of the poor countries. It is impossible to think of any kind of development if the problems of survival facing some of the third-world countries are not overcome and equitably resolved. Helping the third world to create a more just international order means helping oneself and guaranteeing the progress of mankind.

317. For four years—notably in its resolution 35/88 of 5 December 1980—the General Assembly has appealed to the international community to give financial, material and technical assistance to Benin in order to assist it in overcoming its economic difficulties. Meanwhile the Secretary-General has not ceased to take dynamic measures to mobilize and organize that special economic assistance to Benin. In particular, review missions have gone to Benin periodically to take stock, together with our authorities, of the progress of the programme. There was also a round-table conference of the socio-economic development partners of Benin, held at Cotonou in March 1983, which received crucial assistance from UNDP.

318. I should like to take this opportunity to express once again the sincere gratitude of the people of Benin, its Party and Government to the States Members and specialized agencies of the United Nations for the interest they have taken in, and the help they have given to, the programme of special economic assistance to Benin and Benin's development plan for 1983-1987.

319. A new mission to review the programme went to Benin last June. The results and recommendations of that mission are to be found in the Secretary-General's report on that subject [A/39/383].

320. Here I should like to recall that the results of the four years of implementing the projects of the programme remain modest because of certain hazards, such as drought, which have upset the original programme schedule.

321. My delegation would like to express its sincere thanks, on behalf of the Government of Benin, to all the States and the bodies of the United Nations system which provided emergency assistance to Benin during its serious problems following the drought of 1983-1984.

322. I should like to appeal to all States Members, to international organizations and to the specialized agencies and other bodies of the United Nations to make new efforts to provide assistance to my country so that effect may be given without any further delay to the development projects under the United Nations programme of special economic assistance to Benin.

323. My delegation, together with other brother countries, would like the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to adopt a resolution alerting the international community to the need to increase the capacity of the specialized agencies of the United Nations to assist countries that are victims of desertification and drought.

324. I would have liked very much not to have to speak at this session of certain political crises, or at least to speak of them solely in other terms and say

how pleased I was that they had been eliminated or overcome. Unfortunately, despite the judicious and relevant proposals which some delegations have formulated at previous sessions in this Hall, I have to say with deep bitterness that the international political situation is more disquieting than ever.

325. Indeed, whether it be in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America or elsewhere in the world, the clearly expressed will and good intentions of some have not been effective because of the duplicity, treachery and obstructive attitude of others with regard to tackling certain problems already considered at great length last year. What is worse, those problems have been exacerbated, while, at the same time, other particularly difficult situations have been created by those self-same States which have been openly and cynically profiting from the confusion, tensions and manoeuvres of all kinds.

326. The delegation of Benin is deeply concerned by the anachronistic situation which persists in southern Africa because of the minority racist régime of Pretoria, which is denounced by all peoples that cherish peace, freedom and justice. Indeed, human dignity and the fundamental principles and the resolutions of the United Nations continue to be flouted in southern Africa by the racist régime of Pretoria, which enjoys the active support and barely concealed complicity of those who still seek colonialist and neo-colonialist adventures, as well as any loot or profit they can extract therefrom.

327. The black people of South Africa are still innocent victims of the ignominious policy of *apartheid*, whose well-known corollaries include blind, bloody, barbarous repression, mass arrests and cowardly assassinations.

328. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa unfortunately continues. There can be no doubt here. The stubborn persistence in attempting to link the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the extreme excesses of racism and the violations of human rights all prove, if proof were needed, that the South African military rabble has no intention of putting an end to its annexationist, racist policy and is increasing its well-known diabolical plans and manoeuvres.

329. The sham constitutional reforms and the electoral charades organized last August for the Coloured and Indian peoples of South Africa are part of this reprehensible daily fare.

330. Fortunately, the oppressed people of South Africa displayed a spirit of maturity and solidarity and very quickly understood the cynical purpose of the so-called new constitution, which is to destroy their unity and entrench the odious system of *apartheid*. Those oppressed people took a heroic, historical decision and successfully boycotted the fake elections.

331. The People's Republic of Benin, which unreservedly condemns this new farce organized by the Pretoria régime under the ingenious slogan of "constitutional reforms", welcomes the response of the people of South Africa to this latest *apartheid* trick.

332. My country also welcomed Security Council resolution 554 (1984) for its denunciation and firm rejection of the so-called new constitution in South Africa. However, going beyond that resolution, Benin is convinced that it is urgently necessary to adopt comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the

Charter of the United Nations against that pariah of the international community.

333. I wish furthermore to assure all those in southern Africa who are struggling for independence, peace, freedom, equality and justice of the support of the people and Government of Benin. I reaffirm in particular my country's support for the ANC in its glorious struggle against *apartheid* and for SWAPO in its heroic fight to win independence for Namibia. Indeed, my country is deeply convinced that only the complete elimination of the scourge of *apartheid* and the unconditional and comprehensive application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) can bring peace to southern Africa.

334. We whole-heartedly desire such peace also in Western Sahara, where the confusion and the impasse concerning the question of decolonization in that region is of concern to us for more than one reason. My country, which welcomes the resolution on Western Sahara 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 1983,²⁵ is convinced that through its recommendations the pan-African organization has provided the ideal framework within which a political settlement of the burning Saharan problem can be negotiated by peaceful means. That just point of view was largely shared by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, when it did not hesitate to endorse those recommendations. Unfortunately, this did not take into account certain obstructionist, delaying tactics. Those behind such tactics are gratified by the confusion which they have brought about deliberately and knowingly, a confusion harmful to the interest of the peoples of the region, who are the unfortunate victims of a conflict which with a little common sense, logic and frankness could have been avoided.

335. My delegation, faithful to the principle of the right to self-determination of all peoples without exception and aware that such confusion cannot constitute an honourable outcome to the Saharan tragedy, draws the attention of the Assembly to the imperative need to do everything possible to break the deadlock in the situation in Western Sahara, in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations.

336. My delegation reaffirms its support for the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, which Benin recognizes as a sovereign State. It is firmly convinced that only the logical and responsible implementation of the recommendations of the OAU and the United Nations can lead to a just solution of the Saharan problem and allow the peoples of the region, which have suffered for so long, to devote themselves to the complex tasks of development which await them.

337. Similar tasks await the brother people of Chad, to whose tragedy no delegation, certainly not my own, can remain indifferent. In fact, the situation of "no war, no peace" which has prevailed for several months in Chad is as harmful to the national reconstruction effort as is war itself. Only genuine peace and effective reconciliation among all the sons of Chad will make it possible for the people of Chad to resume, with calmness and a renewed zeal, the enormous task of reconstruction of their country, which has been so harshly affected by years of civil war.

338. My country supports all efforts from whatever direction likely to bring peace and harmony to Chad through the essential unity of all its people. That is why my delegation welcomes all the attempts at reconciliation made by the current Chairman of the OAU and several African heads of State.

339. My delegation welcomes with satisfaction the decision of the Governments of France and Libya to withdraw their forces and supporting elements from Chad as of 25 September 1984. We trust that the operation that has just begun will indeed be the prelude to a process of true reconciliation among all the sons of Chad and to lasting peace in that brother country.

340. At the General Assembly's thirty-eighth session [32nd meeting], the delegation of Benin sounded the alarm concerning the deterioration of the situation and the increasing tension in the Middle East. The delegation I lead is concerned over the developments in that area, which is one of the most explosive on earth because of the scope of the tragedy taking place there. Once again it appears that peace and security in that region undoubtedly depend on the respect shown by the Zionist State of Israel for all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which it has obstinately refused to recognize and to implement. The Organization should duly assess the attitude of Israel and draw all the relevant conclusions from it. The international community cannot and should not remain passive in view of the policy of aggression, genocide, massacre and the establishment of settlements which the Zionist leaders continue to practise with impunity.

341. All appropriate measures should be taken to bring reason to bear on the Zionist State and to prevail upon it not only to implement United Nations resolutions, for which it has shown reprehensible disdain, but also to abandon a policy which constitutes a source of instability and danger for all the peoples of the region and a permanent threat to international peace and security.

342. In view of the current state of events, my country demands, on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon and from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967. We also demand that the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent State in Palestine, be recognized without delay. To that end, my country lends and will always lend its political and diplomatic support to the PLO, the sole representative of the oppressed people of Palestine.

343. Lebanon, the tragic theatre of fratricidal confrontations brought about and maintained by foreign intervention, is an object of concern to my delegation. We welcome the establishment in Lebanon of a Government of National Unity in which all political tendencies of the country co-operate in the democratic management of the affairs of the Lebanese State and for the restoration of peace and security in the country. My delegation hopes that that Government, the symbol of dialogue among Lebanese brothers, will honourably direct the destiny of Lebanon and consolidate, for the well-being of all, the peace which has progressively been established in the country.

344. I could not refer to the situation in the Middle East without also dealing with the persistent conflict between Iran and Iraq, two brother countries which

are engaged in a merciless war. The recent developments in that conflict are a source of great concern and deep apprehension to my delegation, because the risks of internationalization of the conflict are increasing and the massive destruction that has taken place in various parts only cancels out the development efforts of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples, which have already lost a large number of their worthy sons in that war.

345. My delegation once again invites Iran and Iraq to sit down at the negotiating table so as to settle peacefully, on the basis of established principles, the dispute between them, which has lasted for more than four years and which is not in the interests of their respective peoples.

346. As much as the situations in Africa and in the Middle East, where there is total instability and where, because of the tensions, the peoples are diverted from the development concerns that should be preoccupying them, the situations in Asia and Central America also deserve our attention.

347. My country is concerned over the presence of foreign troops in the Korean peninsula, which constitutes a major obstacle to bringing about a just and honourable settlement of the crisis persisting in that part of the world. My delegation fervently hopes that the foreign forces will leave the peninsula as soon as possible so that the tireless struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the just, peaceful, independent and democratic reunification of all Korea may be quickly achieved.

348. In Central America, my country is shocked to note all the orchestrated actions taken against the progressive peoples and States of the region, whose legitimate rights are being disregarded and flouted. My delegation wishes to reaffirm the firm commitment of the people and Government of Benin to the universally recognized rights of any people to determine its own destiny and to have the political system of its choice.

349. My delegation urges all States to conform in their actions to the fundamental principles which apply to all States, large or small, weak or powerful.

350. My country stands in solidarity with all oppressed peoples, with all States suffering from aggression in Central America, and we reiterate to them our staunch support in their just struggle to free themselves from oppression and foreign domination. Benin lends its support to the Latin American peoples and the Contadora Group, which are working for peace and stability in Latin America.

351. It is easy for all of us together to make our world more livable and more responsive to our needs, provided that we make the necessary effort to find factual expression of our will to eliminate resolutely the spectre of death and holocaust, to which we refer more and more frequently, considering disarmament an imperative need for the survival of the human race.

352. Today, a sad and fearsome new reality is coming into being and it threatens to dash again the meagre hopes we were beginning to have about the impossibility of nuclear war. Indeed, up to this time some had been sure of the improbability of a nuclear conflict, because no one could be the victor in such a cataclysm. Previously, one could still maintain the purely deterrent nature of the emplacement of nuclear devices. Unfortunately, day after day new events lend a new dimension to the situation.

353. Despite everything that has been said or done in that regard, the unbridled arms race still continues. However, the essential fact is that, far from a lasting restoration of a balance which had been disrupted because of a new type of weapon of mass destruction, the deployment of a weapon of the same type to counter that has represented in fact only another stage in the nuclear-arms race. That shows that, as we are speaking here, the development of nuclear weapons has finally become part of a logic of war—in other words, part of war plans and plans of military operations.

354. In the circumstances, how can we not be overcome with deep anxiety, in the face of such a serious threat? Much has been written lately about the cruise missiles, whose deployment, it seems, makes control and compliance with arms limitation agreements very difficult and increases the possibility of working around and thus violating such agreements.

355. The cost of a cruise missile, one single missile, would suffice to alleviate the sufferings and change the lives of a million people that are today the victims of adverse climatic conditions in the Sahel in Africa. Today these weapons may be counted by the hundreds.

356. To what court should we resort to plead the cause of peace, which is nevertheless within the realm of possibility?

357. More and more astronomical sums are devoted to the construction and maintenance of arsenals for conventional and nuclear war, whereas at the same time we deliberately or unwittingly turn away from international responsibilities which call upon us to mobilize these precious resources and devote them to development and to improving the living conditions of peoples, including those in developed countries.

358. Once again we appeal to all the leaders of all the countries of the world, and particularly to those whose countries possess fearsome military capability, to undertake a responsible political dialogue which would make it possible to lead, without acrimony or complacency, to a diagnosis of the crisis and the implementation without delay of the measures advocated by the international community. We wish our appeal to be the expression of the urgent need for action and also an act of faith imbued with a very high sense of responsibility.

359. The name of the United Nations is identified with an ideal of law, justice and peace, an ideal from which our world is steadily withdrawing. We must have the certainty that there are laws to be defended and values to be safeguarded. Unfortunately, the primary functions of the United Nations—maintaining international peace and security and guiding international co-operation for development—continue to be persistently disregarded.

360. We cannot ignore this. The crisis of confidence, even of identity, can be overcome. This is a major task which it will not be easy to carry out. The definition of the United Nations and the very foundations of its existence constitute an act of hope. Why, then, not act? Let us undertake immediately a frank dialogue which could serve to underpin the edifice. Such an immense pooling of efforts would certainly result in a return to the true universal vocation of the United Nations.

361. Ready for the revolution—the struggle continues!

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹*Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Provisional Measures, Order of 10 May 1984, I.C.J. Reports 1984, p. 169.*

²Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981. See A/36/333 and Corr.1, annex.

³*Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1984, Supplement No. 7, sect. 1.*

⁴*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.*

⁵See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. III, chap. XX.

⁶See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda items 39 to 57, document A/37/243.

⁷A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.

⁸CD/540/Appendix II/vol. III, document 500.

⁹See A/CN.10/64, annex.

¹⁰See CD/228, Appendix II/vol. I, document CD/160.

¹¹See A/36/388.

¹²See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August–7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A, para. 5.

¹³See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

¹⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943.

¹⁵*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.62/121.

¹⁶See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

¹⁷See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

¹⁸A/S-11/14, annex I.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, annex II.

²⁰E/1984/110, annex.

²¹See *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June–2 July 1975* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

²²See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510, annex.

²³A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, sect. III.

²⁴*Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

²⁵For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.