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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Akakpo-Ahianyo (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 18

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments (*continued*):*

(a) Appointment of five members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/36/541/Add.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to invite representatives to consider Part II of the report of the Fifth Committee on subitem (a) of agenda item 18, in paragraph 4 of which the Fifth Committee recommends that Mr. Jobst Holborn of the Federal Republic of Germany be appointed a member of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for the unexpired portion of Mr. Rudolf Schmidt's appointment, ending on 31 December 1981. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 36/305 B).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

2. Mr. TAVARES ESPAILLAT (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my privilege to convey

* Resumed from the 8th meeting.

the warmest congratulations of the Government and delegation of the Dominican Republic, and my own personal congratulations, to Mr. Ismat T. Kittani on his fitting election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, which election augers well for our discussions.

3. I should like at the same time to express my admiration for Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar's outstanding, correct and vigorous direction of the session just ended.

4. The delegation of the Dominican Republic, on behalf of its Government and people, extends its condolences to the family of President Anwar El Sadat and to the people and Government of the Republic of Egypt on the tragic death of their head of State, who was one of the pillars upholding peace in the Middle East and in the world today. His death moves us to the most profound thoughts, both in the very heart of the United Nations and in the States that constitute the international community.

5. It is a great pleasure to extend a very cordial and friendly welcome to the new Member States that have joined the Organization. We are sure that Vanuatu and Belize will, by their spirit of collaboration and their identification with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, contribute to the achievement of the objectives that fortunately led to its birth in San Francisco in 1945, permitting the world to enter a new era of peace after the devastation of the last world war.

6. Allow me, as Secretary of State for External Relations of the Dominican Republic, to endorse before the General Assembly these words which justify the existence of the United Nations: "Peace is the foundation of international order and the most effective instrument of human progress."

7. The situations of conflict we are facing in this period of history illustrate, from every point of view, the sentence I have just quoted. We are living in the nuclear age; we are living through a crisis of law and the proliferation of the most destructive weapons ever conceived. Only with a spirit of good will, co-operation and solidarity will the States Members of the Organization succeed in finding the formulas that are urgently needed for achieving peace.

8. The task is undoubtedly a difficult and—why not say it?—ominous one, as the panorama of international politics becomes increasingly complex. Nevertheless, we believe that peace is not impossible when human beings are confronted with a dilemma that has become a challenge to their very survival.

9. The Dominican Republic, a small country, has struggled vigorously for the rule of freedom and peace in the world, and it is striving increasingly to conduct its international relations in accordance with the standards established in the founding instrument of the world Organization and in the light of the principles of international law.

10. Many years passed before the reality of what the Caribbean represents for this part of the world was taken into account and assessed in the context of the hemisphere. Colonial history reveals that the surrounding ocean was a closed and mysterious place that served as a setting for pirates, buccaneers and freebooters. The history of the island of Tortuga is a murky drama, as described by one of the most respected historians and jurists of the Dominican Republic. This island, located in the path of the hurricanes, is still a reminder of an age of intrigue and death.

11. No analysis is needed to state that the insularity of the Caribbean area is a fragmented one. It produces characteristic sociological phenomena that have not been advantageous to our harmonious and lasting union. The Dominican Republic enjoys the privilege of being probably the first country to point out that, because of its very nature and geographical situation, insularity should lead to thinking on a regional scale because of mutual interests and the new perspectives now opening up in the world.

12. Thus, this idea, which had become rooted in the nation's political thinking, began to take concrete shape during the official visit made to my country by the Minister for External Relations of Costa Rica in 1979. A novel and realistic conception of the greater Caribbean area came into being, based on linking all the independent countries whose territories are washed by those waters.

13. The work being done to make the Caribbean Basin initiative an immediate reality is most encouraging. This initiative originated with the group sponsored by the United States, and its participants now include the United States, Canada, Mexico and Venezuela. Thus the countries of the region now facing the direct impact of the crisis affecting the international economy could rely on financial resources to meet the challenge of their development.

14. The Caribbean Basin initiative began to take practical shape after the Nassau meeting of the foreign ministers of those four nations in July of this year. The countries of the area are actively working to make its programme of action an immediate reality, for the dismal future looming ahead of us does not permit delay.

15. We are aware that private investment will play a large role in this programme. It must be recognized, however, that several factors will prevent these investments from producing good results in the short term. The hesitancy to commit capital, the lack of energy sources and, in some cases, of the indispensable infrastructure and the high interest rates prevailing in financial markets can constitute discouraging factors for potential private investors. We therefore feel that, in view of the pressing economic situation facing our countries, the programme must give priority to official assistance, both financial and through

the adoption of measures to eliminate the barriers that affect our countries' exports.

16. For the Dominican Republic, whose main export product is sugar, it is a matter for grave concern that various countries that import this staple food are taking measures that have very negative repercussions on selling prices. Reconsideration of those measures, which have such a serious effect not only on the Dominican Republic but on other countries as well, would be an effective and helpful measure of co-operation to be taken by the countries that have adopted them.

17. I would like to say how pleased the Government of the Dominican Republic was to allow the city of Santo Domingo to host the important meetings on the Caribbean Basin initiative. These meetings, which are being held this very week, will assemble representatives from the Caribbean countries, Central America and the group sponsored by the United States.

18. We should like to make special mention in this world forum of the valuable economic co-operation we are receiving from the countries of the region in the context of the Energy Co-operation Program for Central American and Caribbean Countries, concluded at San José on 3 August 1980 by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, the main suppliers of the oil we consume, under which Mexico and Venezuela are financing part of our oil bill. These funds will be used for development projects.

19. We have become convinced that human rights and terrorism are separate subjects and that each must be considered individually. We cannot avoid recognizing the fact that under many circumstances there is an obvious connection between them.

20. In the battle against violation of human rights, the authorities whose task it is to maintain public order have often exceeded the limits established by law. I am referring to a situation in which, in the context of its activity to contain the spreading tide of terrorism, legitimate authority exceeds its jurisdiction and expands its activity to a point where it can be termed a violation of the law. This gives rise to the idea that the concept of State terrorism must be added to that of terrorism pure and simple. Abuse of power, which is also a criminal offense, cannot be allowed to reinforce legitimate prosecution. To exceed those limits constitutes a violation of human rights by the authority acting to prevent this type of violation.

21. In this context, we should like to mention the proposal made by the Federal Republic of Germany to contribute to a decision aimed at embodying respect for human rights in more concrete form. It is paradoxical that on the one hand physical integrity is considered an inalienable right within the general structure of human rights while on the other hand there is no provision barring the death penalty.

22. In this period typified by a demand for human rights there is one unacceptable note of discord: namely, the fact that in some countries a punishment reminiscent of the *lex talionis* is still in effect. The right to punish

implies the obligation to regenerate and rehabilitate the individual who committed the offence. Changes in criminological thinking are considerable, and the abandonment of outmoded and barbaric ideas is being advocated. The continued entrusting to the State of the destruction of human beings by human beings, therefore, seems unjustifiable.

23. At the thirty-fifth session my delegation spoke about this situation [24th meeting, paras. 76-78], which in our opinion is an anomaly. At that time we noted that the American Convention on Human Rights¹ prohibits capital punishment on the one hand while on the other hand tolerating it in those States where it existed prior to the signing of the Convention. The substantive law of the Dominican Republic prohibits capital punishment, and when we signed the Convention we expressed the hope that in the future this anomaly would be eliminated from that inter-American instrument governing human rights.

24. Since the first outbreaks of terrorism in the second half of this century the Dominican Republic has supported the principle that terrorism is a violation of common law and accordingly that classifying it as such may be the key to limiting the incidence of international crime. Classification of it as a political crime hinders punishment under the legal system for many acts which then cease to be the subject of the public rejection that justifies the existence of public order. It also elevates the most loathsome transgressions to the status of heroic deeds.

25. In those cases classification as political crimes encourages protection through asylum and thwarts extradition. In this situation, we recommend that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism review these arguments thoroughly and include in its study a specific analysis to determine the applicability of triple classification of political crimes according to their nature, their motives and the association of the political crime with a common-law crime. This has enjoyed a certain acceptance among those who propound the tripartite idea of the political crime and suggests that classifying terrorism as a crime against the law of nations, with all its consequences, might ultimately prove to be the radical formula that could at last reduce the uncontrolled spread of terrorism.

26. We believe that the States Members of the United Nations are persuaded that terrorism could lead to a state of anarchy, since it shows every sign of increasing rather than diminishing. The victims of this grave social and political outrage are generally innocent persons while the perpetrators suffer no risks, as in the case of the taking of hostages, the seizing of aircraft with their passengers and many other forms of terrorism, which must be condemned by joint action.

27. Among the acts of terrorism which have shocked the world this year and which point to a kind of return to barbarism are the assassination attempts made on President Ronald Reagan and on the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II. They occurred before the echoes of the condemnation by all civilized nations of the taking of hostages at the American Embassy at Teheran and at the Dominican Republic's Embassy at Bogota had died down. It could be said that the sacrilegious hand of evil was raised as proof

of the unwillingness to search for legal methods and effective formulas to halt the wave of international terrorism.

28. Let us think also of the dramatic death of President Anwar El Sadat. Terrorism is indeed the most odious form of crime.

29. My delegation wishes to mention at this point the appeal now being made by the Organization for the fostering of good-neighbourly relations in the interest of maintaining international peace and security. It is certainly the aim of this proposal to lead to better understanding and harmony among nations, with the consequent reduction of international tensions, and to provide support in preventing disputes and conflicts.

30. Within the context of this idea of good-neighbourliness, the Dominican delegation has submitted a plan [*ibid.*, paras. 56-62] based on the relations between the Governments of the Dominican Republic and Haiti, which share sovereignty over the second largest island in the Antilles archipelago. The results flow not only from that premise but also from one that we consider more specific, that of permanent good will between peoples and Governments. That statement transcends the principle of the inter-American legal system. To make it doctrinally more attractive and more viable, the idea of a method of action has been embodied in the promising and dynamic phrase "a better will", which implies the idea of continual and progressive transformations toward the goal of brotherhood among States.

31. With this conviction, we support the proposal on the agenda which gives us the opportunity to make an evaluation that we feel is more ambitious and at the same time more direct and practical: the extension of a kind of "good will" doctrine to all States alike. It would be a collective appeal, born of the Organization, and its aim in these times of conflict that disturbs the peace of the world would be the defeat or at least the diminishing of the warlike spirit that blocks the peaceful solution of the international conflicts threatening mankind.

32. The foregoing remarks make this an appropriate time to refer to the countries that share the Korean peninsula.

33. The Dominican Government has often advocated dialogue as the master key that opens the door to good understanding and helps in finding peaceful formulas for settling the conflicts that affect various areas of the earth. Accordingly we favour the resumption of discussions between South Korea and North Korea so that the Koreans themselves may find favourable conditions that can lead to the most suitable independent and peaceful solutions, the re-establishment of mutual trust and the achievement of a lasting peace between the two communities in accordance with the principles of the Charter, in particular the principle concerning the free self-determination of peoples on a footing of equality and mutual respect.

34. One supremely important event that serves as yet another example of the dangers lying in wait for the international legal community and thus for the maintenance of

peace is the unjustified invasion of Afghanistan, which is contrary to the basic principles of the Charter.

35. We cannot ignore the fact that it is the responsibility and within the jurisdiction of the Organization to restore the rights trampled underfoot by some States to the detriment of others, when generally speaking the actions are not in response to an act of aggression. Even in such an exceptional case such actions are lawful only when the Security Council has before it an armed conflict, which is not the case with the invading country.

36. In those circumstances, in order to eliminate the precedent tendentiously created and the consequences of a *fait accompli*, the least we can hope is that the peace-loving countries will support the resolution approved by the Council of the European Community calling for an international conference to find a satisfactory solution that will permit Afghanistan to recover its independence and return to its previous status as a non-aligned country.²

37. Within those peaceful outlines proposed by the European Council to the Soviet Union to permit the convening of the conference as quickly as possible, it is absolutely necessary that a consensus in favour of such an initiative be reached at this session. Its implementation would diminish the existing tension that is disturbing the peace.

38. We have devoted particular attention to agenda item 58, on the review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security for we consider the maintenance of the principle of non-intervention to be vital to the maintenance of peace.

39. We believe that observers of the international political scene cannot fail to be aware of the violations and the progressive weakening in recent years of the principle of non-intervention, which is the backbone of the maintenance of peace under the aegis of the United Nations. That has been happening despite the General Assembly's reaffirmation last year [*resolution 35/158*], on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, of the universal and unconditional validity of the basic principles of the Charter, which apply equally to all countries without distinctions of any kind.

40. At that time, States were urged to comply strictly with their obligations under the Charter, and it was urged that the provisions of the Declaration be applied as a means of making peaceful coexistence possible.

41. We cannot fail to note the urgent need to practise and support non-interference in the internal affairs of States and to have recourse to peaceful methods for the solution of disputes. That proposal for strengthening peace and security is one for which we should all fight, in circumstances in which it would open wider the doors to international co-operation and render understanding among nations more effective.

42. Conflicts undeniably persist in areas of Africa. The situation in Angola and the matter of Namibia are cases in point. Another worrisome problem is that notwithstand-

ing the provisions forbidding the practice of *apartheid*, it continues to be a cause of friction and could lead to an explosion of violence, which is the principal enemy of peace.

43. We deplore the fact that in certain areas of conflict the atmosphere is not conducive to the discovery of correct formulas for peaceful solution through discussion. We can rejoice, however, in the fact that Egypt and Israel have been holding meetings concerning the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula. That will be a very promising beginning for resolute steps forward in accordance with the Camp David accords. It proves that the climate is becoming more conducive to having peace gradually lead to a new era for the Middle East, an area that for more than 14 years has been overwhelmed by unpredictable negative risks.

44. At its thirty-fifth session the General Assembly considered a proposal by the Federal Republic of Germany for the creation of an appropriate mechanism for finding ways to control the alarming flood of refugees,³ which, in the words of the proposing nation, has become a growing threat to good-neighbourly relations among States. Consequently, it is a difficult problem, particularly for countries that have a common border.

45. The Dominican delegation fully shares those concerns and would support the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee to assume the responsibilities deriving from the programme for "International co-operation to avert new flows of refugees".

46. The conflict between Iran and Iraq continues without the parties having found suitable formulas to end it by means of a system for peacefully resolving disputes and conflicts. We feel that mediation by the States Members of this Organization is in order, so that the parties involved may arrive at an honourable solution to end the military confrontation that has been devastating the peoples of both nations and which could degenerate into a major disruption in the area.

47. Respecting the principles of non-intervention and self-determination of peoples, the Dominican Government shares the concern of the countries that support peace and human solidarity regarding the present situation in the sister Republic of El Salvador. We express our most fervent hope that the matter will be resolved quickly and in accordance with the sovereign will of the people of El Salvador.

48. A review of the figures, in the light of what has been called the population explosion, causes concern when estimates and evaluations point to the existence on our planet of 9 billion human beings by the year 2100. That trend is occurring despite indications of concern by many countries regarding the prospects of excessive population growth, a problem that urgently calls for particular attention to family planning.

49. As regards the Dominican Republic, the Organization is aware that the official plans cautiously being put into practice in our country are proving very satisfactory. We could say that in the Dominican Republic we are

shaping a national awareness propitious to the practice of family planning and responsible parenthood and antithetical to the practice of abortion.

50. The Dominican Republic is honoured to have been selected as the site of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. I am pleased to inform the Assembly that the future headquarters of that Institute are now in the final stages of construction and will be inaugurated in the near future. We encourage all States Members of the Organization to contribute to the trust fund for the Institute.

51. The problem of food supply is developing at the same pace as that of population growth. For that reason, the entire world should recognize the importance of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It is therefore regrettable that after almost 11 years of devotion to the work of establishing scientific principles to govern that inexhaustible source of wealth, it has not yet been possible to complete the final instrument that would be a source of salvation for the human race, threatened as it is with shortage in the near future of the resources that are indispensable for its survival and progress. Therefore, regardless of the reasons for the failure to complete the final debates and to move next year to the signature of the longed-for convention on the law of the sea, it would seem desirable to sign the proposed convention at Caracas next year, as soon as possible after next year's sessions in New York.

52. Population growth in the world undeniably constitutes a problem that makes imperative the vigorous and decisive mobilization of all production resources. Based on those convictions, the Government of the Dominican Republic has been encouraging agrarian reform and is devoting particular attention to agro-industry.

53. Many years ago a famous Dominican writer and politician, Ulises Francisco Espaillat, father of independence and President of my country, had the foresight to point out the importance of agriculture for our nation. He declared with inspiring authority that work must be glorified and that of all industries agriculture was the easiest, the most useful, the most generous and the most fruitful. This exemplary Dominican added with patriotic ardour that it was the most noble industry, the industry that most effectively provided that independence of position most suitable for citizens who wish to remain free and independent.

54. The economy of the Dominican Republic has not escaped the widespread effects of convulsions in other economies, which result from the irrepressible forces of this historic period of emerging decisions, a period that is irresistibly striving towards a new economic order as we approach the year 2000. Nevertheless, the efforts made by our Government during the last three years—though troubled in part, especially by the forces of nature—thanks to the pragmatic actions of Antonio Guzmán, head of the Dominican State, show a normal situation in the national economy, in the context of free enterprise and the full force and effect of public freedoms.

55. A cautious monetary and fiscal policy is being carried out. The fiscal policy provides for adjustment of pub-

lic expenditures to the income from taxes; under the monetary policy, unduly rapid expansion of the money supply has been brought under control and the money has been channelled chiefly towards the productive sectors, particularly agriculture and industry.

56. An aggressive policy to promote non-traditional exports is being followed and is producing positive results. It should be mentioned that under a recent law, generous incentives are given to the exporters of non-traditional products. One such incentive permits them to retain a portion of the foreign currencies earned by these exports, paying to the Central Bank of the Dominican Republic only an officially predetermined percentage.

57. Today more than ever we must keep in mind the mandate of the Creator of the Universe that man must earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow. Thus, the divine work extends to the urgent mandate to win peace with the energy of our mortal, human blood. We venture to say that this is the primary challenge of our age, starting with our presence here at this time to fulfil a transcendent promise. The General Assembly must go in search of solutions required by conflicts that we cannot allow to continue and become chronic. A final explosion could jeopardize the very existence of the Organization, which is the only constructive institution created by the last world war. A repetition of that conflict must be prevented at all costs.

58. To conclude these reflections, we should like to call to mind the third encyclical of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, entitled *Laborem Exercens*, dedicated to those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, to workers of all kinds, manual, intellectual, industrial or agricultural, who labour in the midst of the most intense, sudden and ominous tensions.

59. In the midst of their debates, delegations at this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly should meditate on the exhortation contained in the very word "work" which has come down through the ages as a perpetual and resolute echo of the voice of God.

60. MR. FRANCISQUE (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): It is with deeply felt emotion that we heard the tragic news of the death of Anwar El Sadat, a great statesman who was assassinated yesterday morning in Cairo. His death is a great loss for the international community. This peace-loving man sought ardently for an equitable solution to the bloody conflict which has beset the Middle East. We would request the Egyptian delegation, therefore, to accept the sincere condolences of the Haitian delegation and to be kind enough to transmit these to the family of the deceased and to the Government and people of Egypt. We hope that Egypt, a friendly country, will emerge enlarged from this test, and we ardently hope that it will continue to progress along the paths of peace.

61. I wish to address the warm congratulations of the Haitian delegation to Mr. Kittani on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His election has a symbolic value for us, because it is not only seen as a tribute to his own personal merits and to his qualities as a statesman and seasoned diplomat,

but also as a tribute which, through his country, will reflect on to the entire third world. His outstanding intellectual and human qualities will undoubtedly make for the success of the work of this session, during which the international community will once again have to work together to meet the challenges of our era.

62. I should also like to express our profound gratitude to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar for the competence and remarkable talent with which he discharged the delicate duties of the President at the thirty-fifth session.

63. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate to the Secretary-General the considerable appreciation of the Government of the Republic of Haiti for the openness of mind, the loftiness of view and the competence with which he has devoted himself during the last 10 years to seeking a solution to the numerous problems of our time.

64. I feel great pleasure in addressing the good wishes of my Government to the States of Vanuatu and Belize, which have just acceded to independence and have now become Members of the great family of the United Nations. We are convinced that they will unite with other Member States in the struggle for a world of peace, justice and fraternity.

65. Since the last session, the international community has had to tackle complex problems, and in various parts of the world new hotbeds of tension have been ignited. The situations in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Indochina, Latin America and southern Africa are all subjects of profound concern for the international community. Everywhere we can descry grave threats to international peace and security. It is our duty to dispel these threats so that fear, anguish, mistrust and hate do not further poison international relations.

66. Peace is indivisible, and the purposes of the Charter cannot be pursued as long as its noble ideals are being attacked and understanding and co-operation have not yet woven relationships of trust and mutual respect between the States Members of the Organization. Unfortunately, the arms race is continuing and intensifying, despite the enormous waste of resources which it involves and the chasm tragically deepening between the rich and poor countries.

67. This illustrates in concrete terms the lack of attention paid to the suffering of mankind and the obstinate refusal of the major Powers to make the small sacrifices needed to improve the lot of the poorest peoples of the earth. The world economic crisis which has persisted for many years now has worsened, and its repercussions have been felt principally in the already weakened economies of the poorest countries of the world. This situation and its tragedies will not disappear until the richest nations show some generosity and commit themselves resolutely to an out-and-out campaign against the hunger, disease, poverty, underdevelopment and ignorance which darken the daily life of millions of human beings. An objective analysis of the world situation strengthens the conviction that everywhere there have been very serious inroads into the living standards in many third world countries; the collective sufferings of whole continents point the finger

at the greed or indifference of the wealthy nations. Every day new blows are being struck against human dignity. Unless these cries of anguish are heeded, they may well lead to tragic situations with unforeseeable consequences.

68. The continuing world economic crisis calls for new approaches. Actually, these approaches have been advocated for a long time now. Since the very first session of UNCTAD, in 1964, a new international division of labour has been demanded as an essential element in a new world economic order. The palliatives thus far applied to the system have been rather modest, whereas the new realities require a thoroughgoing revision of present thinking for the introduction of values which are more in accordance with a new view of the international economy. Indeed, that is the key to all the problems of our time, which it is our duty to resolve if we do not wish to reach a point of no return. Despite the failures for which we are collectively responsible, we cannot allow ourselves to be overcome by pessimism, which would discourage us from undertaking anything. The world should change the present situation—the frightful situation of three quarters of the people of the world. It is to be hoped that intellectual speculations will be replaced by innovative action, which implies a great deal of courage and clear-sightedness. The solutions adopted to resolve the inflation crisis should be viewed in a global context, that is, that the major industrialized countries should be particularly careful not to harm the interests of the poorest countries and further aggravate the numerous difficulties already afflicting them.

69. Undoubtedly, laudable efforts have already been made to seek solutions to the various imbalances to which humanity is exposed. Nevertheless, the gaps are widening. More people are dying of hunger every day. That requires a reassessment of the policy of aid and the strategy that have been adopted hitherto. From the conclusions deriving from our analysis, it is obviously necessary to bring about new international relations which are much more humanitarian and much more just. It is distressing to note that the developed countries are spending more than \$1 million a minute on the arms race. If only one tenth of this sum could be diverted to meet the basic needs of a decent standard of living, the development thus generated would be so spectacular that it would far exceed the most optimistic hopes of mankind. Accordingly we wish to make an urgent and pressing appeal from this rostrum to States, particularly the great Powers, to devote a greater share of their resources to the service of life instead of to preparations for destruction and collective massacre.

70. Therefore we hope for a resumption of the strategic arms limitation talks which, if successful, would help to remove the fearful spectre of another war, which could only result in the multiplication of material devastation and moral suffering over entire continents of our planet. That is something which is indeed food for thought and which should make all of us work together. This is why my Government also attaches the greatest importance to the Tlatelolco Treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America and hopes that General Assembly resolution 35/143 will be strictly implemented.

71. It is in order to avoid events leading to confrontation that we request the richest countries to increase their

economic and financial participation in the aid programmes of the United Nations specialized agencies and of other multilateral economic institutions. Those bodies can achieve their ideal of progress, peace and justice only with the support of Member States. Some specialized agencies, such as the World Bank and the IMF, for example, are failing to meet the fully justified expectations of the countries of the third world because of lack of funds. And this will always be so as long as these countries are not given the proper assistance and as long as the form of assistance has not been determined in response to the real needs of these recipient countries and with full respect for their individuality and the political choices they have made.

72. It is not a few token millions which will make it possible for the world to reduce the divide separating so many peoples. What is needed is a new strategy with the aim of making it possible for more people to meet the basic costs of a decent standard of living and to be more confident in the future. This new strategy to which we refer and which must be the platform for development assistance implies not only the financing of certain projects but also an intelligent and appropriate transfer of certain types of technology which will in the long run help to guarantee a less insecure future for the most impoverished people of the earth. This new approach, together with a solution to the energy problem and a reform of the international monetary system, should in the long run enable the recipient countries, that is, the countries of the third world, to lose the feeling that they are on an eternal breadline and to achieve a certain autonomy in their development programmes. That is precisely the underlying philosophy which should guide the action of the international community in establishing a new international economic order which is both just and equitable and which meets the aspirations of every human being to have more and to lead a better life.

73. Indeed, we must deplore the numerous obstacles which up till now have stood in the way of achieving this. But we should also emphasize certain positive steps which should be multiplied and followed up. I should like to stress in particular the results obtained at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which made possible the adoption of a Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries.⁴ The Haitian Government earnestly hopes that this Programme of Action will be scrupulously implemented and that it indicates a growing political willingness by the rich countries to face up to the immense tragedy of underdevelopment in the third world.

74. Improving the standards of living in the least developed countries will undoubtedly hinge on the assistance of the wealthier countries but also on that of the most advanced developing countries, particularly those which are petroleum exporters. It is in the name of this solidarity which should prevail among peoples that the head of the Haitian nation stated the following in a recent address:

“Co-operation should be imbued with more solidarity and justice and should provide us with the image of a family of nations united by a mutual desire to promote

a new socio-political order in harmony with the fundamental aspirations of all peoples. . . . We should not allow sterile egoism to tarnish the profound nature of man and the hope which heralds the dawn of an international co-operation based on reciprocal trust, mutual respect and the right of peoples to self-determination.”

75. The United Nations is still the only international body in which all States, great and small, can unite their efforts to achieve peace and universal prosperity. The Organization has had to face many pitfalls since its creation. Although it has not been able to provide specific solutions for all the problems which affect mankind, its very existence is evidence of its vitality. The Organization has been able to adapt itself to new times, and it is essential for mankind's future that it survive.

76. For some years now the General Assembly has been playing an increasingly important role in the Organization. A simple review of the numerous items which are included in the agenda of the present session provides an eloquent testimony of that. The unprecedented efforts that have been made for many years now to close the tremendous gap separating the rich and the poor countries have resulted in the creation of UNCTAD, which is playing an increasingly important role on the international scene.

77. The Republic of Haiti is very gratified that that is so, but it remains true that not all United Nations organs have evolved in such a fortunate way. This at least partially explains the heavy work programme which falls to the lot of the General Assembly; and the increasing number of agenda items in each session makes it impossible for each of them to be given proper attention.

78. The question of increasing the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council is timely. Most of the States Members of the Organization did not participate in the Council's creation. It is therefore quite natural that they would like to be directly involved in the activities of an organ as important as the Security Council. My Government is very sympathetic to this point of view and is aware of the numerous advantages that would stem therefrom. Nevertheless, this matter deserves to be weighed very seriously and can be successfully solved only if there is a political willingness on the part of the permanent members of the Council. Painstaking and serious negotiations will therefore be necessary, because any undue haste in this matter would result in weakening an organ the usefulness of which is universally recognized.

79. It has become the rule in the United Nations to proclaim the need for all peoples to respect the principles and ideals which derive from the Charter. The Haitian Government's position in the light of the potential or actual conflicts which disturb and alarm our world is dictated by our unshakeable faith in the competent organs of the United Nations and the legal rules which have been unanimously accepted by the Member States.

80. Latin America and the Caribbean have not escaped the profound changes which are a feature of current international relations and which occasionally take the form of violent upheavals that endanger the stability and security of the continent.

81. The present situation in the sister Republic of El Salvador involves a very serious threat to the peace of the hemisphere; that is why the Government of Haiti would associate itself with any initiative designed to find an equitable internal solution to the tragedy of the people of El Salvador.

82. The Republic of Haiti is very pleased at the brotherly and cordial nature of the relations that prevail between it and the Dominican Republic. That country's Secretary of State for External Relations, who preceded me at this rostrum, particularly stressed the significance of this.

83. As regards the conflict of the Middle East, we deplore the deaths, the material devastation and all the misfortunes that are the daily lot of millions of human beings. The Republic of Haiti considers that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) provides an adequate basis for a just, lasting and satisfactory peace among the parties concerned. Recognition of Israel's need for secure and recognized frontiers and recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination are the fundamental prerequisites for any negotiated solution to that conflict. It is essential that the peoples directly concerned give up their intransigent positions and seize any opportunity for dialogue that would help to reinforce the efforts already being undertaken in order to bring about a comprehensive solution of that conflict. If that peace is not achieved, there is a grave danger that all the nations of that region will be plunged into a catastrophic situation. That state of permanent tension endangers world peace.

84. Since 1946 the question of South Africa's racist policy has been on the agenda of all the regular sessions of the General Assembly. That inhuman and abhorrent policy still troubles the conscience of the world. The Republic of Haiti, the foreign policy of which is based on historic traditions of freedom and fraternity, cannot remain indifferent to the indescribable sufferings being endured by the people of South Africa.

85. *Apartheid* is not only a flagrant violation of human rights; it is above all a system of oppression and exploitation of the indigenous population of South Africa by a racist minority which monopolizes economic and political power. It is therefore distressing to see that that régime continues to enjoy considerable support. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* makes specific reference to this. It lists by country the economic, military and even nuclear assistance which certain countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] continue to provide to that racist régime. And yet all those countries are Members of our Organization and, on numerous occasions, have reaffirmed their devotion to the Charter of the United Nations. Can it be that they think differently in the case of South Africa? It is only the ill-considered assistance given to that régime that has made it possible for it to develop into a system a policy based on racism and slavery more than a century after the abolition of slavery.

86. The Republic of Haiti, because of its racial affiliation and historic traditions, must be in the van of all the movements attempting to combat racism and colonialism. That is why it has always been active in attempts to adopt sanctions against the infamous régime of South Africa.

87. At the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa held at Paris, the universal condemnation and growing isolation of the South African Government were clearly demonstrated. Nevertheless, certain major Powers did not see fit to take part. I should like to take this opportunity to ask them once again to adopt a firmer attitude against South Africa, because we are convinced that only effective sanctions can induce that régime to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Organization.

88. Despite the many resolutions of the Security Council and the almost unanimous disapproval of the international community, South Africa still maintains its illegal domination over the Namibian people. This shocking state of affairs unfortunately continues because certain States which are more concerned with their economic advantages tolerate, in defiance of morality and civilized values, the unspeakable attitude of South Africa, which runs counter to resolutions in the adoption of which those States were involved. My Government reaffirms its commitment to the cause of the liberation of the Namibian people and their independence. We remain convinced that the United Nations is equal to the task of leading the people of Namibia to self-determination. That has always been our view since the General Assembly ended South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and placed that Territory under the authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia until it reaches independence.

89. The eighth emergency special session, on Namibia, convened in September was a further milestone in mobilizing the international community in order to lead the Namibian people to self-determination by peaceful means. Effective sanctions are essential if we are to break the stubborn resistance of the South African régime. Those States which have hitherto balked at the inevitability of sanctions against South Africa are falling into a grave error if they think that their attitude will lead that country to give up its policy of aggression. On the contrary, the Pretoria régime feels encouraged and does not hesitate to commit flagrant acts of aggression against the front-line States, particularly Angola and Zambia. It is therefore imperative for the international community to do everything necessary to bring that racist Government to reason, since it represents a serious threat to international peace and security. The dangers that I have just described appear even more imminent in the light of South Africa's nuclear activities. There is therefore an urgent need for all such aid to that country to be suspended.

90. A negotiated solution to the question of Afghanistan has so far been impossible, despite all the efforts of the international community. Once again the Haitian people express their solidarity with the Afghan people. This armed intervention of a major Power adds to the unfortunately already long list of occupations of small countries by stronger ones under false pretexts, occupations which always meet with the stubborn resistance of the victims.

91. Such acts of aggression, constituting as they do a challenge to the international rule of law, cause pointless suffering to innocent people. Thus hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees who have been expelled from their homes are leading a precarious existence in temporary camps. However, we are convinced that, with the underlying

ing rationality of history the Afghan people will recover their territorial integrity and their full dignity. The Republic of Haiti condemns outright this serious threat to the political independence of Afghanistan and considers that a solution to the conflict cannot be achieved without the immediate, unconditional and complete withdrawal of foreign troops.

92. In Kampuchea the situation is equally deplorable and is an affront to the rule of law. The Haitian people, a peace-loving and freedom-loving people, will never compromise on those essential principles. The harmonious relations that my country enjoys with most of the other members of the international community are dictated by a desire for understanding and co-operation. It is in this context that my delegation declares itself ready to support any peace initiatives. We particularly deplore the fact that one of the parties to the conflict boycotted the International Conference on Kampuchea. However, we are convinced that the resolutions adopted at that Conference are likely to promote a just and final settlement of the conflict. Furthermore, we support the idea that an immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea is a necessary prerequisite to all serious negotiations.

93. Similarly, the Government of the Republic of Haiti cannot but encourage any initiatives which will help promote a negotiated solution to the war which pits Iran against Iraq and to the conflict which for three decades has artificially divided the Korean nation.

94. In reflecting on the many addresses that we have already heard from this rostrum, we cannot help concluding that they all meet at one precise point—the profound desire of nations to live and develop in peace and harmony, according to the spirit which imbued those who signed the Charter at San Francisco. This feeling is shared by all of us, with no differences of ideology or faith or any other differences. This demonstrates unity in the diversity of philosophy and political beliefs and expresses eloquently how much man is essentially a being of peace, the peace which engenders progress and will ensure for future generations the comfort of a happy life.

95. Nevertheless, harmony in this vocation of peace unfortunately meets other obstacles, which cannot be eliminated unless peoples are willing to give up their intransigence and their desire to dominate. The coming of that world which we all want undoubtedly requires work which will last a long time, but it is not a mirage. We can achieve it through understanding and sincere dialogue.

96. In the name of that ideal we invite the nations to unite. In the name of that ideal we urge upon States more understanding, more generosity and more humanity. Such is the ardent wish of the people and Government of the Republic of Haiti at the beginning of this session.

97. Mr. AHMÁT AGHBACH (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): I join preceding speakers in congratulating Mr. Kittani most warmly on his election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His accession to that high post obviously bears witness not only to his eminent qualities as a skilled statesman and diplomat but to his breadth of knowledge and wide experience

of the Organization. We are convinced that under his guidance and thanks to his wisdom our work will be concluded successfully. In this respect, may I at once assure him of my delegation's complete co-operation.

98. I also wish to reiterate our deep appreciation of the devotion, intelligence and tact with which his predecessor, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, discharged his noble task.

99. It is a pleasure for us to emphasize the appreciation of the Government of Chad for the efforts of the Secretary-General to uphold the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and, above all, for his concern about the situation in Chad.

100. Finally, we congratulate Vanuatu and Belize on their accession to independence and welcome them to the great family of the United Nations.

101. Once again we are gathered here to review the positions of our Governments, assess the behaviour of some and point up the contradictions—indeed, the humiliations—suffered by others. The situation prevailing in Chad is proof of this. That is why we crave the indulgence of representatives as we undertake first a brief summary of that situation since the victory of the governmental forces over the enemy on 15 December 1980.

102. The people of Chad, like all other peoples of the world, jealously guards its independence and national sovereignty and denies any one the right to impose a code of conduct on it. As is only proper, Chad respects the sacrosanct principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], such as respect for territorial integrity, the free choice of a socio-economic régime, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the self-determination of peoples.

103. It is fitting to recall that the painful war into which Chad was plunged stemmed from a situation created by foreign Powers. Our economic development, which was still only in its embryonic stage and largely jeopardized by drought, is at a standstill. All administrative, economic and social structures are dislocated, if they exist at all. The entire country has to be rebuilt.

104. At the tragic moment when the very foundations of the nation and its unity were threatened, the international community did not remain indifferent; it responded promptly to the appeals made by our delegations at the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth sessions of the General Assembly by adopting, respectively, resolutions 34/120 and 35/92.

105. By its resolution 34/120 the General Assembly appealed urgently to all Member States, specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system and international economic and financial institutions to provide generous emergency aid to Chad through bilateral or multilateral channels, with a view to meeting its short-term and long-term needs with respect to reconstruction, rehabilitation and development.

106. In that connection, the Secretary-General was requested to dispatch a mission to Chad to review with the Government the aid which it needs for its reconstruction and the question of organizing a meeting of donors and to co-ordinate his efforts with those of UNDP, ECA and the World Bank. But the abortive *coup d'etat* of 21 March 1980, which degenerated into a civil war, made it impossible for such a mission to be sent. Thus resolution 34/120 remained a dead letter.

107. During the thirty-fifth session—that is to say, during the height of the N'Djamena war—the General Assembly in its resolution 35/92 A renewed its appeal for assistance in Chad's reconstruction. Since there could be no response to such an appeal in the absence of peace, the Assembly adopted a second text—resolution 35/92 B—aimed at extending emergency assistance to people affected by the war.

108. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, for its part, at its eighteenth session, at Nairobi, adopted resolution AHG/Res.102 (XVIII) Rev. 1 [see A/36/534, annex II], in which it appealed to all members of the OAU, to the United Nations and to other international organizations to come to the aid of the Government and people of Chad. In that regard, it called upon the Secretary-General of the OAU to organize as soon as possible, and in co-operation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, a pledging conference to assist Chad to finance its reconstruction plan.

109. The adoption of these various resolutions gave the people of Chad cause for great hope and was a source of satisfaction and relief.

110. In implementation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Secretary-General dispatched two missions to Chad, in January and March of 1981, to estimate the emergency aid required by the people of Chad. Furthermore, an agreement was signed between Chad and UNDP for the reconstruction of the N'Djamena airport by that agency.

111. Similarly, such organizations as ICAO, WHO, UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the European Development Fund made considerable means available to us.

112. Thanks to those combined efforts famine and epidemics have been avoided; displaced persons and refugees have found shelter from the elements; and distribution systems of drinking water and electricity and N'Djamena airport and other means of communication are being rebuilt.

113. Certain friendly countries did not wait for the appeals of the United Nations and the OAU to come to our aid. We refer particularly to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which granted us substantial material and financial aid for the national reconstruction of Chad. Similarly, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Gabonese Republic and the Federal Republic of Nigeria unswervingly have demonstrated their active solidarity with the people

of Chad. We wish to express our profound gratitude to those brother countries.

114. France, since the socialist Government came to power, has expressed its willingness to resume co-operation with Chad. Thus President Goukouni Weddeye made a friendly visit to Paris from 16 to 18 September 1981. We venture to hope that the missions which the Government of France has sent to Chad to evaluate our needs for reconstruction will soon lead to practical steps in our country.

115. We also hope that the other members of the international community will not fail to contribute to the recovery of Chad by giving practical assistance in the political, diplomatic and financial fields.

116. The Government of Chad tirelessly strives to maintain and strengthen national unity and stability. In this connection, the head of State has signed a decree granting a general amnesty to those persons who have been detained, condemned or exiled for political reasons. Within the framework of this general amnesty the citizens of Chad who left the areas of combat are returning by the thousands to their country, thanks to the dynamic action of UNHCR and the valuable assistance of neighbouring countries, in particular Nigeria, the United Republic of Cameroon and the Central African Republic. We wish to reiterate our profound gratitude for their generous sacrifices on behalf of the people of Chad.

117. Furthermore, in order to give a general orientation to the actions to be undertaken in regard to the situation prevailing in the country, the Government made public on 25 August 1981 a declaration of general policy. In this declaration the Transitional National Union Government committed itself to an international policy of non-alignment and support for the struggles of all peoples against imperialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, zionism and all forms of domination and segregation.

118. In its relations with neighbouring and other countries Chad is committed to respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the OAU and the principles of the non-aligned movement. Its territory will never be used as a base for subversive actions against neighbouring countries, friends and brothers, and it will never permit the establishment of a foreign base on its territory.

119. Chad will co-operate fully with them on the basis of respect for mutual interests and common understanding, national independence and territorial integrity, while taking into account historical, geographical and cultural factors.

120. Since December 1980 a great deal has been said regarding the Libyan military presence in Chad. We should like the international community to know that this military presence is possible only because we asked for it, to help us in frustrating a plot aimed at the annihilation of Chad. The plot was organized and maintained by States members of our organization, and I shall return to this later. In this respect we wish to reiterate from this rostrum our gratitude to our brother people of Libya for this courageous act of solidarity.

121. We are always ready to welcome the pan-African force for the maintenance of peace. It was in this sense that the Transitional National Union Government, in its declaration of general policy, committed itself to the establishment, in co-operation with the authorities of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, of a timetable for the gradual withdrawal of the troops stationed in Chad. But this has not yet been completed because of the manoeuvres and acts of destabilization of our neighbouring and brother country, the Sudan, which gives shelter to Chad dissidents, although this is contrary to the relevant decisions of the OAU. It should also be said that the Libyan authorities have themselves indicated their desire to withdraw from Chad, but the Government of Chad asked them to stay because of the external threats.

122. As the head of State declared at his press conference in Paris on 18 September 1981, "As long as the Sudan continues to threaten Chad by acts of destabilization, and until we establish our integrated national army, the Libyan troops will remain on our territory."

123. The Sudan is fighting Chad on the false pretext that the Libyan troops on our territory represent a danger to its security. Why are not Chad and other neighbours of the Sudan concerned about the presence of more than 40,000 Egyptian soldiers on Sudanese territory? We feel that this is a matter that concerns the two countries, namely, Egypt and the Sudan. Therefore the Government of the Sudan has no reason to be unduly concerned about the presence of the Libyan military contingent in Chad. Why does the Government of the Sudan welcome Chad outlaws and finance, arm and train them, with the obvious assistance of certain Powers? Did not President Nimeiri declare at the end of the N'Djamena hostilities that the war had not come to an end in Chad?

124. The threats of aggression against Chad have increased since March 1981. The Government of Chad has made those facts known to the President of the Security Council. These war-like actions have become so intemperate that the Government of Chad felt bound to report the fact once again to the President of the Security Council on 21 September.⁵ It was to improve this unfriendly attitude that the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity called on Chad's neighbouring States not to give refuge to movements that oppose the Government of Chad. Furthermore, the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, President Daniel Arap Moi, has redoubled the efforts by sending messages and special emissaries to the Government of the Sudan to ask it to stop its interference in the internal affairs of Chad.

125. However, all these measures have been in vain. Since 5 September 1981 acts of brigandage on the Chad-Sudanese frontier have become open aggression by Sudanese regular soldiers against the Government forces of Chad.

126. No country, however weakened, can tolerate such scorn for its sovereignty. From this rostrum we solemnly appeal to the Government of the Sudan to halt its aggression, which is contrary to the interests of both our peo-

ples. But if it persists in such a course despite the defeat suffered by its forces on the eastern frontier of Chad, it will always and everywhere encounter the same determination of the people of Chad to defend itself by all possible means. We call on the Sudanese leaders to remember the cost of the many years of internal war that they have known, which never brought happiness to the people of Sudan.

127. While apologizing for having described at such length the situation of our country, I wish to express our sincere desire to live in peace with all our neighbours, including the Sudan, provided it ceases its acts of aggression against our people, who aspire only to peace and social and economic well-being after so many years of tribulation.

128. I should like to refer briefly to the main items on the agenda for this session which are of special interest to the delegation of Chad, namely, decolonization, maintenance of peace and security, and international economic co-operation.

129. With regard to decolonization, the obstinate refusal of certain régimes to apply General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples clearly shows the contradiction between the glorification of human rights and their daily violation, particularly in southern Africa, Western Sahara and other parts of the world.

130. The situation in Namibia is a matter of grave and constant concern for my Government. Thus, my delegation condemns the arrogant and anachronistic attitude of the South African régime which, in order to consolidate its illegal presence in Namibia, creates an atmosphere of intimidation and terror through the inhuman system of *apartheid*.

131. Such an attitude leaves the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] no other choice than armed struggle—the only one, in truth, capable of bringing the Pretoria régime to reason, in spite of its support from Western Powers, and to force it to capitulate, as did its emulators in Salisbury.

132. Chad, for its part, will continue to denounce any fraudulent constitutional or political manoeuvres whereby South Africa attempts to perpetuate its system of colonial aggression and exploitation of the population and resources of Namibia. We reaffirm our total opposition to the odious system of *apartheid* that exists in South Africa, which is a real challenge to all mankind.

133. Chad energetically condemns the recent invasion of Angola by the racist hordes of Pretoria. With the same firmness, we condemn the cowardly acts of aggression of the South African air force against fraternal front-line States.

134. We could not leave the subject of the African continent without recalling the situation in Western Sahara. That conflict is also of great concern to my Government. Faced with this tragedy, Chad has consistently called for a peaceful solution based on respect for the principle of

self-determination in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the OAU and of the United Nations.

135. In this connection, my country has fully subscribed to resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) on Western Sahara, adopted at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity at Nairobi [*ibid.*]. We thus entrust to the Implementation Committee created by this resolution the organization of a referendum on this question so that the Sahraoui people may finally enjoy their legitimate rights.

136. Since it is unanimously recognized today that no solution to the Middle East can be found without a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian question, a refusal to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization is tantamount to rejecting peace. Experience has shown that all attempts at partial settlements have not produced the desired results.

137. As far as we are concerned, we have always affirmed in the OAU, in the non-aligned movement and in the United Nations that the Palestinian people, like any other people, have the right to their homeland and that their inalienable rights must be preserved. Consequently we once again condemn the decision of Israel to make Jerusalem its capital. For its part, my country will continue its efforts to ensure the restoration to the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, by all means possible, and the return of the other Arab territories occupied by Israel.

138. We likewise condemn the destruction of the nuclear installation at Tamuz in Iraq and the bombings of civilian targets in Lebanon by Israel.

139. Other major problems now face the international community, and Chad trusts that peaceful solutions will rapidly be found in the higher interest of all concerned. The conflict that still threatens the stability of the sister republics of Iran and Iraq, despite the many attempts at mediation, remains a matter of constant concern to our delegation. We most ardently hope that in the near future a peaceful solution will be found to the tragedy that has befallen the peoples of both countries.

140. The peoples of the third world face not only the odious practices of *apartheid* and racism, as is the case in southern Africa, but also new attacks on their independence and territorial integrity. All this is a threat to their right to freedom and dignity.

141. General and complete disarmament is one of the objectives that has been proclaimed by the United Nations for nearly three decades. However, despite the many initiatives taken by the Organization in this field, the world is witnessing instead an unbridled race for supremacy in destructive power. This is why Chad welcomes the idea of a new special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Such a session, we venture to hope, would enable all Member States to contribute to the establishment of a strategy for true general disarmament.

142. We have talked of peace, and now we should like to touch briefly on problems of development, for—as a

voice of high moral authority, the late Pope Paul VI, stated—development is the new name for peace. This means that one cannot speak of peace so long as hundreds of millions of human beings live in abject poverty while a handful of the rich live in opulence and engage in a reckless race to acquire the most destructive weapons that mankind has ever known.

143. And yet, for 36 years the world Organization, whose Charter devotes some of its provisions to the problems of development, has been dealing with the fate of the poor countries. Unfortunately, as you will no doubt agree, the political will of the rich countries has not been in accord with the declarations of the United Nations. The failure of two successive decades devoted to development is due to this lack of political will.

144. In such circumstances, will the United Nations continue to adopt resolutions that will never achieve even the semblance of implementation? My delegation believes that the time has come to leave the world of ideas and enter the world of action. This means that there must be unreserved readiness on the part of our partners and full acceptance of the solidarity that should prevail among members of the same family; such active solidarity was demonstrated by the United States with respect to Western Europe after the Second World War and took the form of the Marshall Plan. And yet, the problems we face today in the developing countries far exceed in scope those experienced by Europe, which, it should be remembered, despite the destruction it suffered had the technology.

145. Why then is there one law for the rich and another for the poor? Development problems are familiar to everyone, and we believe that all the measures advocated by the third world over the past two decades for their solution are reasonable. But the North-South dialogue is held up because certain Powers take unilateral positions and give negative answers when it comes to reconciling differing views in order to achieve positive results. Our delegation hopes that the meeting of 22 heads of State and Government to be held at Cancún in a few days will provide an opportunity for those Powers to give proof of their good will to the third world by permitting, *inter alia*, the reopening of the global negotiations in the United Nations.

146. Whether it is a question of commodities, the transfer of technology, monetary problems, financial aid, new and renewable sources of energy, the least developed countries or co-operation among developing countries, my country supports the efforts the United Nations has made for many years in these various sectors to bring about a new, just and equitable international economic order.

147. Because of the situation prevailing in my country, we have taken up some of the Assembly's time to set forth the major concerns of our people. Our people have suffered so much from war that they now long for a lasting peace so that they can devote themselves to their development with the assistance of friendly countries and of the international community. We wish to state how much our delegation appreciates the words of sympathy for my country uttered by many of the previous speakers.

148. If we have reluctantly been forced to bring up the matter of a neighbouring and brother country, it has not been out of any desire for sterile polemics. We would simply draw the attention of the General Assembly to that situation, which is likely to disturb the peace and security of our subregion. We hope that our appeal will be heeded in the true interests of our respective peoples.

149. Before concluding, we should like once again to appeal to the international community to come to our aid, to the greatest possible extent, in the true battle we intend to wage in future, the battle for the reconstruction and development of Chad.

150. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): It is my privilege to convey to representatives the greetings of my sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Sháh Dev, and his best wishes for the success of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

151. It gives me great pleasure to extend to Mr. Kittani, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, our sincere felicitations on his election to preside over the current session of the General Assembly. He represents a country with which Nepal has very friendly and cordial relations. My delegation is confident that with his experience, skill and wisdom, he will guide the work of this session to a successful conclusion.

152. I also wish to express our appreciation to Mr. von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany for the impartiality and efficiency with which he conducted the business of the last session of the General Assembly.

153. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a compliment to the Secretary-General for his dedication to the ideals of the United Nations and for the exemplary manner in which he has discharged the heavy responsibilities of his high office during the past ten years.

154. Nepal welcomes Vanuatu and Belize as Members of the United Nations. Their admission is a further step towards the goal of universality of the membership of the world Organization.

155. The past year has offered little relief from the situation of uncertainty. The efforts of the international community to end the armed interventions in various parts of the world have yet to bear results. The process of détente continues to be seriously threatened, and the arms race has been escalating with renewed vigour. Sharp divisions continue to mark the relations between the big Powers. A just international economic order is not in sight. Present trends in international affairs are in contradiction of the ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In a world where interdependence and complementary relations among nations are deepening, it is only logical that matters which affect everyone must be decided by all. By the same token, it is equally logical that matters which affect the life of only one country must be left to that country alone to decide.

156. Nepal firmly believes that the only foundation for secure and just international relations lies in universal acceptance of the principles of the Charter and of the conse-

quent obligations without qualification. We appeal for international co-operation based upon that spirit. While we reiterate our commitment to the United Nations and express our hopes for its future, we also expect the United Nations to be an effective instrument in creating a better international climate, one of peace and prosperity, free from interference, interventions or wars.

157. No other problem has a larger dimension and deeper implications than the grim economic situation facing the world today. The question of a minimum decent standard of living for all humanity continues to be one of the crucial questions facing the international community. The developing countries, in particular the least developed among them, have been suffering substantial setbacks in terms of slower growth and widening payment deficits as a result of the world economic crisis.

158. The recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held at Paris provided a unique opportunity for an in-depth study of the severe problems facing these countries. While the record of concessional assistance to this group of countries has been disappointing, their vulnerability to external factors continues to grow with the stagnation and even decline in their production and exports and the increase in the price and volume of their imports. Against this background, it was not enough for the Paris Conference to adopt certain performance targets. What was required was a serious commitment to take practical measures to break the cycle of poverty and deprivation.

159. In that connection, I wish to quote what my sovereign observed while addressing the Conference in Paris on behalf of the member countries of ESCAP and ECWA:

“Indeed, the presence of the poor and hungry among us is a challenge to all value systems, to our religions, to all our moral principles or political theories. It is also a challenge to the United Nations system and all its organs and agencies, not to speak of the Charter of which we are all signatories. It is also an affront to humanity, to man’s better judgement, his cherished ideals and institutions. But above all the presence of destitutes on such a colossal scale is an insult to modern man, his science and conscience, his ingenuity and technology, his dreams and his deeds. And it is here I feel there is need for the international community to come forward to help us to help ourselves and commit us all to support the proposed Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s. For this Programme carries with it the dreams and hopes of the least developed countries and shows them the prospect of an oasis dimly appearing on the horizon of an endless desert.”

160. Though the final outcome of the Paris Conference did not meet all our expectations, we nevertheless view it as significant and encouraging. One important achievement of the Conference was the widespread consensus on the need for a substantial increase in the assistance provided to the least developed countries by 1985. We welcome the agreement on the need for simplification of conditions of assistance. We also welcome the Substantial New Programme of Action adopted at Paris as an important link in the vitally needed interaction between the developed and the developing countries.

161. It has been widely accepted that the deteriorating world economic situation has left no major group of countries or geographical areas untouched, and yet the impasse in the global negotiations still persists. A realistic way of making a fresh start on the global negotiations would be to take up specific areas of the existing economic order and to examine critically the premises on which they were built in the past.

162. Negotiations should concentrate on building the premises anew wherever the utility of the old assumptions has been eroded by time and by changes in international affairs. Though the forthcoming Cancún meeting is not a negotiating conference, we hope that free and frank exchanges of views there can serve as a catalyst for the global negotiations.

163. My Government views the question of economic co-operation among developing countries as being within the larger framework of global economic restructuring. The High-level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas this year has established a framework for the developing countries' pursuit of mutual co-operation and collective self-reliance. Nepal looks forward to the translation of the Programme of Action adopted at that Conference [see A/36/333 and Corr.1] into reality as an essential part of the new international economic order.

164. The sharp rise in the price of energy in recent years has underlined the need to look for alternative sources. Efficient import substitution through development of domestic production of energy has become one of the critical challenges for a country like ours. Nepal possesses abundant resources for hydroelectric generation from the scores of mighty rivers flowing from the Himalayas. Nepal is determined not only to harness and utilize those vast water resources in a planned way but is also willing to share the benefits with other countries of the region. However, like other developing countries, Nepal faces a number of constraints arising from a lack of infrastructure, capital, skilled manpower and technological know-how. While diligent efforts and drives on a national level to overcome those constraints are inevitable, the task can hardly be fulfilled without adequate financial and technological support by the international community.

165. The recently concluded United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy at Nairobi has set forth a Programme of Action⁶ which includes a series of policies and measures designed to expand and ensure a sustained supply of energy from both conventional and non-conventional sources. We call for the implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action. We also welcome the recommendation of the Conference to set up an inter-governmental body to mobilize resources in order to implement the Programme of Action.⁷

166. Though they are not adequate, we appreciate the initiatives and efforts undertaken by multilateral financial agencies to promote the development of energy resources in developing countries.

167. There can be no enduring security in the world as long as global poverty and economic injustice prevail. It

is from those two aspects of security and development that my Government has watched with growing concern the recent upsurge in the arms race. While close to 850 million people in the developing countries are living a marginal existence, enduring extreme poverty and destitution, could anything be more irrational than the unbelievable amount of resources now being expended on armaments? The people of the world are justifiably impatient over the failure of the big Powers to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty and thereby strengthen the non-proliferation régime. That failure has had disastrous consequences in both horizontal and vertical proliferation of the nuclear menace. It is equally saddening that efforts to conclude a treaty to ban chemical weapons remain frozen.

168. The growing tendency to accept the doctrine of limited nuclear war, together with the freezing of the strategic arms limitation talks, bode even more difficult times ahead. If the achievements in and outlooks for nuclear disarmament have been bleak, prospects for disarmament in conventional weapons have been equally disappointing. The impasse in arms control negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union has paralyzed all disarmament progress. That stalemate has been projected into multilateral disarmament forums, with the result that both the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission have been at a virtual standstill. We appeal to both the United States and the Soviet Union urgently to initiate serious negotiations on those vital issues, which concern the very existence of mankind.

169. The present situation has created a sombre background for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament scheduled to convene next year. That special session provides an opportunity to break the present impasse, but the risk of its failure is obviously high. Nepal believes that the principles of and the basis for an effective approach to disarmament have already been laid down in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session [resolution S-10/2], the first devoted to disarmament. The major task before the second special session is to maintain and reinforce the momentum generated by the first one and to carry towards their logical conclusions the goals of its Final Document. The coming special session should undertake an in-depth appraisal of the current situation regarding disarmament problems and the causes that have led to stagnation of or inadequate results from the disarmament negotiations held so far.

170. Nepal hopes for a satisfactory conclusion to the negotiations on the law of the sea that will accord universal recognition to the principle that all the resources of the seas belong to humanity as a whole and constitute a common heritage of mankind. That is the principal idea behind the proposal for the establishment of a common heritage fund. We earnestly hope that recognition of the right of land-locked countries to free access to and from the sea will form an essential part of the new régime of the sea. A successful conclusion of the ongoing negotiations will, I am sure, greatly strengthen the role of the United Nations in finding solutions to issues of global importance.

171. In a general statement of our policy concerning the major issues facing the international community, I cannot overlook certain political problems. I wish to begin by referring to the far-reaching consequences of the events in Kampuchea and in Afghanistan. We have repeatedly stated our view that armed intervention in both those countries was a clear violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Nepal holds the principles of non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries to be articles of faith. We cannot accept any justification for armed intervention, nor do we recognize the situation created by such intervention. In both Kampuchea and Afghanistan, total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces constitutes the essential first step towards the normalization of the situation. Such a total withdrawal will lay the foundation for the people of those countries to exercise their right to self-determination.

172. The recently held International Conference on Kampuchea has formulated a general framework for a negotiated political settlement of the Kampuchean question. We hope that all parties concerned will soon join the negotiations for a peaceful settlement that will ensure peace and stability in the whole South-East Asian region. Nepal has always believed in the peaceful resolution of disputes among States. The Charter of the United Nations provides ways and means for achieving such solutions. We once again call upon the United Nations to press for political settlements in both Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

173. The Middle East situation has deteriorated considerably in the past several months. The continued armed attacks by Israel aimed at undermining the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon have caused us grave anxiety. We deeply regret the recent indiscriminate Israeli bombing of Beirut and other parts of Lebanon. As a troop contributor to UNIFIL, Nepal appeals to Israel and all other concerned parties to co-operate with UNIFIL in restoring full Lebanese authority in that troubled country. I wish to express our deep sympathy to the Governments and peoples of Fiji, Ireland and Nigeria for the losses their contingents have suffered this year in the service of peace. My delegation joins the Secretary-General in his appeal to those Governments which have been withholding payment of their assessed contributions to UNIFIL to reconsider their position. There should be no question that the financing of a duly authorized United Nations peace-keeping force is the collective responsibility of all Members of the United Nations.

174. We have often repeated our position that every State in the Middle East, including Israel, has the right to live in peace and security within well-defined boundaries. However, we are convinced that a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem cannot be achieved unless the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to be an equal partner in peace negotiations and their right to a separate State of their own, are recognized. The total withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since 1967 constitutes the first prerequisite of a negotiated settlement. Indiscriminate and unjustifiable military actions like the recent Israeli bombing of Iraqi nuclear installations can only aggravate an already very difficult situation.

175. Nepal repeats its sincere appeal to the two neighbouring non-aligned countries—Iran and Iraq—to exercise maximum restraint and to seek a peaceful solution of their problems.

176. On the question of Cyprus, Nepal continues to give full support to the intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We reiterate our position that any political settlement of the Cyprus question must be based on strict respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus.

177. With regard to the Korean question, my Government continues to hold the view that the aspirations of the Korean people to national reunification should be fulfilled peacefully through direct negotiation without outside interference.

178. My delegation deeply regrets the duplicity of South Africa in thwarting the United Nations plan for a free Namibia. We reiterate our support for the just struggle of the people of Namibia for national liberation under the leadership of SWAPO. My delegation likewise remains steadfast in support for the just struggle of the people of South Africa against the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. We fully endorse the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa⁸ adopted by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa and once again appeal to the Security Council to act in conformity with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the international community.

179. I cannot fail to express our great appreciation for the valuable assistance and support extended by the various bodies and specialized agencies of the United Nations to our development efforts. It is indeed heartening to note that in spite of problems and the sometimes besetting frustrations, the United Nations has been making serious efforts to tackle the multi-dimensional issues of economic, social and humanitarian problems.

180. We note with deep appreciation the magnificent achievements of the programme of humanitarian assistance to the people of Kampuchea. Equally reassuring are the efforts to launch a massive programme of assistance for African refugees. The records of these achievements reinforce our belief that there can be no alternative to the United Nations in realizing the goals of promoting economic and social advancement of all peoples. Guided by those considerations, my Government is prepared to co-operate actively in the efforts to revitalize the Economic and Social Council.

181. As a non-aligned country, Nepal has full faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Our abiding faith in the United Nations is reflected in the incorporation of the purposes and principles of the Charter in the directive principles of our Constitution. In an effort to develop a co-ordinated approach to bilateral, regional and global issues, we have always pursued a policy of seeking and respecting the views of others. Inspired by the ideals of mutual benefit and collective self-reliance, we have always expressed our readiness to join our neighbours in any prudent exploitation of the vast human and

natural resources in the collective interest of the whole South Asian region.

182. Our proposition that Nepal be declared a zone of peace is the ultimate expression of our traditional national ideals, our quest for peace and security and our aspiration to development. This proposition embodies our belief that good-neighbourliness and friendly relations among the countries in the region should be reflected in the full understanding of the views, problems and aspirations of others. The zone-of-peace proposition is the expression of our commitment to strengthen friendly and co-operative relations with all our neighbours and friends; it is consistent with the principles of the United Nations and the ideals of non-alignment.

183. I have spoken at length on the issues confronting the international community and our perception of those issues. We believe that the constructive forces of change should lead towards positive development. The Charter of the United Nations represents a constant in the eternal flux of things. The principles embodied in it represent the only valid framework for the endeavour of man for the well-being of man. I appeal for a rededication to these principles.

184. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now give the floor to the representatives who have asked to exercise their right of reply.

185. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I am replying briefly to the passages about Belize contained in the statement delivered to the General Assembly by the Minister for External Relations of Guatemala [26th meeting]. I do so with reluctance because the claims advanced by the Minister, and his interpretation of events relating to Belize, have already been heard by the Assembly on the occasion of Belize's admission to membership in the United Nations [13th meeting] and they have already been answered, not only by my delegation [*ibid.*], but also by the votes of the membership at large and by speakers on behalf of all our regional groups who welcomed Belize's independence and its admission to membership in the United Nations.

186. Nevertheless, it is my duty once more to place on record the United Kingdom's rejection of the allegations made by the Guatemalan Minister for External Relations regarding Belize. I have set out in detail, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, my Government's position. And the view of the international community is quite clear from the unanimous vote in the Security Council and the overwhelming vote in the General Assembly, which only Guatemala was unable to support.

187. Secondly, I refer to what the representative of Malta said yesterday [28th meeting] about the problem of remnants of war in Malta. He alleged that Britain used the island of Filfla as a training ground for aerial bombing against the advice of elected Maltese representatives and that bilateral contacts with the British Government had proved unavailing.

188. The United Kingdom views with sympathy the problems that certain countries have faced in coping with

the remnants of war left on their territory. The British Government has always been willing to discuss any such problems bilaterally and remains willing to do so.

189. The Prime Minister of Malta was told in June that the British representative in Valletta was at the Maltese Government's disposal for discussion. We still await the response of the Maltese authorities. Furthermore, the British Government has repeatedly indicated that while it is under no legal obligation to clear from Maltese waters unexploded ordnance or wrecks, much of which are the direct result of wartime attack by the Axis Powers, it will examine what assistance it might be possible to offer in the context of specific harbour development plans where it can be shown that wrecks or unexploded ordnance constitute a hindrance to such plans. This offer too remains open.

190. Britain's approach to the problem in Malta reflects practice in the United Kingdom, where wrecks are normally left undisturbed unless they are a demonstrable hindrance to navigation.

191. As regards the island of Filfla, it is true that after Maltese independence it continued to be used as an air weapon and air gunnery range. But this was with the full agreement of the Maltese Government and in accordance with procedures to safeguard life and territory comparable to those used in the United Kingdom.

192. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): In the statement of the head of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya this morning [29th meeting], there was no direct reference to the dispute over the continental shelf between his country and mine. Yesterday evening [28th meeting], however, the representative of Libya, in exercising the right of reply to my own detailed statement, stated the following very briefly.

193. First, he said the nature of the dispute is legal and technical; secondly, that the question of continental shelf demarcation is still before the Conference on the Law of the Sea; thirdly, that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is anxious to finalize the procedures for referring the matter to the International Court of Justice "as soon as possible", either through bilateral contacts with Malta or through the efforts of the Secretary-General; and fourthly, that they desire good-neighbourly relations with Malta.

194. Those were the words; now let us look at the facts.

195. Those very same sentiments, perhaps in slightly different words, were expressed by the representative of Libya at the end of the general debate at the thirty-fifth session [29th meeting], when I first raised the question. In fact, they were also the gist of a letter sent to the Prime Minister of my country by the Prime Minister of Libya on 19 December 1976, that is, almost five years ago.

196. It therefore appears that Libya has not moved an inch from its position over the past five years. With all its oil and oil revenues, with all its expertise on oil exploration and contracts, it is still immobilized by the "legal and technical" aspects of the dispute with Malta. By re-

markable contrast Malta, with no actual experience or expertise in oil exploration, was able to agree, and unconditionally to ratify the agreement, to go to the International Court of Justice in five days. Failing a bilateral agreement, where else but the International Court of Justice can a legal question between nations be decided, and how can it be decided by the Court unless the matter is first referred to it? Libya has done nothing except to say that it is willing to go to the Court. Malta not only has the instrument to go to the Court ready but it also has bound itself in advance to abide by the decision of the Court. If Libya had acted as we did five years ago, the Court would have decided the question by now.

197. The second point by Libya is that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is still dealing with demarcation issues, among others. Of course, that is quite true. But, in the mean time, Libya itself has not stopped its own offshore exploration activities, numbering at least 30. It has stopped only one, by the threat to use force, and that one was the single exploration activity legally authorized by Malta.

198. The third point made in the reply of the representative of Libya was that they were anxious to finalize procedures "as soon as possible". Then why, may I ask, has it already delayed this by five years and is still trying to delay it by unilaterally insisting on pre-conditions which no self-respecting country can accept? If Libya is so convinced about the legality of its cause, why is it so reluctant to refer the matter to judicial arbitration?

199. Its last point is that Libya desires to promote good relations with Malta. The quickest way for Libya to do so would be if it stopped delaying matters and unconditionally agreed to refer the case to the Court.

200. In his statement this morning the head of the Libyan delegation stated:

"Whatever the differences on the demarcation of territorial waters, we call upon the international Organization and peace-loving peoples to stand up against the American acts of aggression and not allow the United States to bestow upon itself the role of a policeman who imposes his will upon others." [29th meeting, para. 66.]

201. Malta unequivocally condemns any act of violence. But I hope I am correct in presuming that Libya too is ready not to impose its will by the threat or use of force on others, especially on small friendly and non-aligned neighbours such as Malta.

202. In fact, the leader of Libya, Colonel Qadhafi himself, in relation to the same incident, was reported by the Jamahiriya's news agency to have said in September this year:

"America has not used any friendly methods with us. We believe that any dispute on the Gulf of Sidra should have been taken by America to the United Nations, to the International Court of Justice or to the Conference on the Law of the Sea. America has from the start used against us its air force as though we lived in a jungle."

203. May I therefore, before the Assembly, respectfully point out to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya that as a peace-loving country Malta has brought the dispute to the United Nations. Malta is ready not to use force. Malta is prepared to go to the Court, without any pre-conditions, today. Malta is ready to abide by the Court's decision. And Malta would appreciate it very much if the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya could categorically give us the same assurances and act on them now, because we cannot wait any longer than we have already on this question.

204. I should like to be allowed to take this opportunity briefly to make a short reply to the representative of the United Kingdom.

205. I take note that our colleague from the United Kingdom believes that it is on a bilateral basis that the question should be resolved. We are also trying to do that on a bilateral basis, but we have not so far been very successful, despite the fact that we have been doing it for quite a long time.

206. Now, he indicated that we have to provide proof that the war remnants are an impediment to our economic activities. Well, let me just give two. The British Government itself, when Malta was still a military base, did carry out a survey of Grand Harbour. So it is technically feasible to do so. But at that time the shipping of the day required only a depth of 12.5 metres; today's shipping and that of the future requires a draught of 17 metres. Because we do not have that depth, due to the failure of the British Government to help us to achieve it, the Malta Dry Docks Corporation is losing many profitable repair opportunities for lack of enough draught to allow bigger ships to enter the harbour. That is one point.

207. The second point is that part of the sea-bed off Malta was used as a dumping ground for explosives. Now these explosives are being moved by underwater currents to areas which affect island shipping and fishing potential. Fishermen have confirmed that the ridge is a good fishing ground but that nets get torn due to the accumulated and dispersed ordnance on the sea-bed.

208. There are many other areas where our economic activities and the prospects of our economic progress are being impeded because of these war remnants. The agreement was simply to warn off fishermen from the dangerous area, but certainly there was never any understanding that the refuse from the aerial bombardment should not be removed at the time of its termination, and we feel that the responsibility lies with those who knew beforehand that there would be a danger and, therefore, that they should be removed.

209. But I can assure members that we shall continue all efforts to remove this problem, both through bilateral efforts and also in appropriate forums.

210. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): It will be recalled that at the 24th meeting the representative of Somalia accused the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country of misrepresenting the decision on the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at

its eighteenth session, held at Nairobi. But, as the verbatim records of this Assembly will bear out, the charge is totally unfounded.

211. It was in fact the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly who, in his report to the General Assembly on the activities of our regional organization, highlighted the salient points of that historic OAU decision and expressed Africa's fervent hope for an era of peace in the region.

212. It was in response to that expression of hope for peace, which reflects the deepest sentiments of the leaders and the peoples of Africa, that my country's Foreign Minister felt duty-bound to declare to this Assembly, as he did to the OAU Assembly at Nairobi, Ethiopia's acceptance of the decision and its readiness to implement its provisions. By what logic, then, and by what stretch of the imagination can such a positive statement be construed as a misrepresentation?

213. The principles enunciated in the recommendations of the OAU Good Offices Committee, which were duly endorsed by the Assembly at Nairobi, are crystal-clear and do not lend themselves to any ambiguity. These are well-known principles emanating from the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU, as well as from the declarations of the non-aligned movement. Non-acceptance of the decision, therefore, is tantamount to rejection of the basic law of nations, which those documents embody. It is in the light of this that the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia said "the new era of peace and stability in the region can become a reality only when there is an equal commitment on the part of Somalia to respect accepted principles and norms of international behaviour". [22nd meeting, para. 120.] That too cannot be regarded as misrepresentation since the hope for an era of peace in our region is based on the assumption that the collective will of Africa will prevail and that both parties to the conflict will abide by the decision adopted at Nairobi.

214. It was in fact the conclusive nature and the strength of that decision which led the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly to declare to this Assembly that the era of peace "would not be hard to introduce and sustain if both sides would formally recognize and apply the fundamental OAU principles". [11th meeting, para. 34.]

215. This sense of optimism, which undoubtedly is shared by the 49 heads of State and Government of the OAU who endorsed the recommendations of the Good Offices Committee, would have been enhanced had the representative of Somalia joined the Minister of my country in declaring his Government's willingness to accept and abide by the "final verdict" of Africa, as my Minister put it. Instead, the representative of Somalia has tried to take Africa seven years back by questioning the mandate of the Good Offices Committee. Obviously, this is neither the time nor the place to raise such extraneous issues.

216. Contrary to what the representative of Somalia would like to have the Assembly believe, the recommendations of the Committee of eight African States, which 49 heads of State and Government of the OAU endorsed at Nairobi, did not come out of the blue. They are the result of seven years of hard work by a committee which

has discharged the responsibilities assigned to it in accordance with the specific mandate entrusted to it by the OAU. They are a conclusive pronouncement of an important organ of the OAU, composed of eight sister African States to which both my country and Somalia willingly submitted their case. It is too late now to question its mandate.

217. In a characteristic manner, the representative of Somalia also charged that the decision adopted by 49 African States was "incomplete and one-sided", thus seriously questioning the wisdom of African heads of State and undermining the credibility and prestige of the OAU. The truth is that the Committee had throughout the years been even-handed in its approach and faithful to the principles of the OAU charter.

218. At this stage it may be necessary to recall briefly some of the major developments that led to the historic OAU decision adopted at Nairobi.

219. The series of Somalia's wars of aggression against Ethiopia began in December 1960 and continued in February 1964, in July 1977, in 1978 and in April 1980. The senseless and endless acts of sabotage and subversion carried out by its infiltrators are too numerous to mention; they are in any case matters of record. It was to put an end to that state of affairs that our regional organization created the Good Offices Committee to solve the problem once and for all.

220. In June 1974 the Committee concluded its Mogadiscio meeting by declaring that the territorial claim advanced by Somalia was contrary to the OAU charter principles and decisions and Ethiopia could not, therefore, be requested to cede part of its territory to Somalia. Three years later the Committee again met at Libreville, Gabon, and recommended that both countries cease all hostilities and respect existing frontiers.

221. It will be recalled that, instead of listening to the wise counsel of Africa, the representatives of Somalia arrogantly walked out of the meeting and subjected the then Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua, to insolent and disparaging remarks because he had the courage to state that the OAU considered the Ogaden part and parcel of Ethiopia.

222. Nevertheless, since Somalia had already finalized its plans and strategies to invade Ethiopia, no amount of appeal to reason and sanity could have any restraining influence on its leadership. So it carried out deliberate and premeditated military aggression against Ethiopia in 1977 and 1978.

223. The OAU Good Offices Committee again met at Khartoum. I cannot go into the details of what transpired then, because the time I now have at my disposal will not permit it. But I should state briefly for the record of the Assembly that the then President of Nigeria—President Olusegun Obasanjo—was accused by Somalia's leaders of being unfair. Moreover, in keeping with their usual tactics, they alleged that Ethiopia was preparing to invade Somalia. Notwithstanding the baseless allegations and the sinister attempt to introduce false issues into the argu-

ment, the Committee concluded its deliberations by maintaining that an indispensable condition for the settlement of disputes between African States could best be met by the reaffirmation of the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of existing frontiers between OAU member States and non-interference in the internal affairs of member States. Frustrated by such repeated assertions and unable to desist from disastrous military adventures, Somalia launched another round of aggression against Ethiopia in April 1980.

224. Subsequently, the OAU Good Offices Committee met at the ministerial level at Lagos in August 1980 and, having reaffirmed once again that the Ogaden is an integral part of Ethiopia, unanimously concluded that an indispensable prerequisite for the restoration of peace in the region was the recognition, affirmation, implementation and application by both sides of the following OAU principles: first, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; secondly, non-interference in the internal affairs of States; thirdly, peaceful settlement of disputes; fourthly, the strongest possible opposition to any encouragement of subversion against the Government of another member State; and, fifthly, inviolability of frontiers of member States as attained at the time of independence.

225. That is the most serious indictment of Somalia's irredentist policy.

226. No sooner had the Committee finalized its recommendations than Somalia issued a statement repudiating the Committee's recommendations, accusing it of considering issues that were not in its mandate and terms of reference. But Africa did not accept this political and legal fiction. Obviously, out of the 50 members of the OAU, 49 of them cannot all always be wrong and only Somalia right. Consequently, in his capacity as Chairman of the OAU Assembly for that session, the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone reported the conclusion reached by the Committee to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Somalia tried to bamboozle the Assembly at that session by contending that the recommendations made at Lagos did not reflect the overwhelming view of Africa, since they were not yet adopted by an OAU Assembly—contending that they were merely recommendations and, therefore, not binding. But to the utter dismay and astonishment of the leaders of Somalia, the eighteenth regular session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which was held at Nairobi last June, fully endorsed the recommendations.

227. That historic decision is what the representative of Somalia characterized as "incomplete" and "one-sided". It may be incomplete in so far as it did not condemn Somalia's persistent refusal to heed the voice of reason and its continuing defiance of the collective will of Africa. If it is one-sided, it took the side of the well-known principles contained in the OAU charter. But there is no question about the validity and binding nature of the decision. The Nairobi Assembly decision is, in the words of

the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, the "final verdict" of Africa.

228. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I ask the speaker to conclude.

229. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Those who fail to respect the provisions of that decision will have only themselves to blame for the possible disastrous consequences of such failure.

230. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I regret that the representative of Malta raised the question of the continental shelf between Malta and the Jamahiriya. I do not want to dwell on this matter in the last minutes of this meeting. All that I want to make clear is that the delay in referring the dispute to the International Court of Justice is caused by Malta itself.

231. We have signed an agreement referring the issue to the International Court of Justice. That agreement was ratified by the People's Councils in the Jamahiriya, and on numerous occasions we have tried to convince Malta that it should come to an agreement on the timing of the exchange of the instruments of ratification. We have twice dispatched missions to Malta carrying the instruments of ratification in order to effect the exchange, but the Maltese refused to do this and called upon us to change the wording of the instrument of ratification to suit their own ends. It is indeed strange to try to impose on us procedures and wording of our own instrument to suit their own needs. The procedural steps taken by the Jamahiriya are well known to the Secretary-General and his staff and to the Security Council.

232. I wish to reiterate my regret that the representative of Malta repeats such allegations on every occasion. It is all the more surprising in that he represents a member of the non-aligned movement yet uses words which are basically directed to an imperialist country. He uses those words against my country, which has spared no effort to help Malta and to express its friendliness to that country.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica"*, Treaty Series No. 36 (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States, 1970).

² See *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 122, document A/35/242.

⁴ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁵ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14702.

⁶ *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 59.

⁸ A/CONF.107/8, chap. X.