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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly will hear this afternoon a statement by Mr. Aristides Royo, President of the Republic of Panama, whom I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations and to invite to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. ROYO (*Panama*) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, in the course of the Fifth and Sixth Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries I had the privilege of many opportunities to appreciate your outstanding qualities as a statesman, of which you gave admirable proof. Your election to preside over the work of the General Assembly is a source of satisfaction to the peoples of the third world and to the international community. On behalf of the people and Government of Panama, and on my own behalf, I am happy to greet you and, through you, all the members of the Assembly.

3. We also wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar and to express our appreciation of his efforts to start the global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development.

4. May we also greet the recently admitted new Member States, Vanuatu and Belize.

5. My country appreciates having been elected by a significant majority to one of the vice-presidencies of the Assembly and to have been appointed a member of the Credentials Committee.

6. We wish, moreover, to express our sincere thanks for the condolences expressed by the majority of Member States on the tragic loss of General Omar Torrijos Herrera, the prime mover and leader of the Panamanian revolutionary process and Head of Government of our country. We appreciate the commemorations held in his honour in so many countries. General Torrijos will remain forever our major source of inspiration.

7. I have come to this rostrum to speak on behalf of a people that has waged a long struggle for its full independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. We fully share the great concerns of the international community—concerns which are even more serious to those nations that still labour under different forms of economic and political dependence.

8. The third world, which is identified by the similarity of its problems in the struggle for political, economic and cultural independence, hails 1970 as the year in which the General Assembly, at its twenty-fifth session, adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]. Thus the United Nations gave decided support to the concept of collective and universal security, without military alliances, for the establishment of truly stable peace in the world. That was a significant response from the countries that were witnessing the cold war of the great Powers, since it pointed the way to assuring the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations outside the traditional bounds of military pacts and the servitude imposed by the force of arms or by economic pressures.

9. However, even today, there still subsist practices of dividing up the world among the great, without concern for the legitimate interests of the weak. We admit frankly that the role of the latter in the solution of world problems usually tends to be that of mere spectators or victims. Yet we can now draw comfort from the growing national and universal trend in Latin America, Africa and Asia. There is a new attitude and a greater determination on the part of the people of the third world to overcome traditional frustrations of international dependency and the deficiencies in the old political patterns.

10. The distinguished heads of State or Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs gathered in the Assembly have focused their attention on the delicate economic and political situation that has become increasingly serious during the last decade and for which no effective solution has yet been devised. The possibility of undertaking and completing adequate global negotiations is still a mirage, and the establishment of a new international economic order, through the implementation of the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [General Assembly resolution 35/56, annex] is still a frustrated dream.

11. We shall speak briefly on those aspects of the crisis that have the worst effects upon countries like mine, which form the majority of Members of the Organization. The upheavals in the economies of the handful of countries that form the industrialized few are shifted to the dependent nations, severely burdening them and forcing them into irremediable collapse. Astronomical foreign debts paralyse the less developed countries and deprive them of their vital resources, causing them to sink into

under-development. The technological gap between the industrialized and the less developed countries widens constantly, thwarting the efforts of the latter to increase their holdings in capital goods, raise their productivity and take a more active and useful part in the world market.

12. Meanwhile, the two gigantic constellations of destructive power continue to pursue their insane arms race, spending unproductively each year hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars—a small fraction of which would be enough to provide hundreds of millions of human beings suffering hunger, ignorance and unemployment with the schools, hospitals, food, medicine and tools they so badly need.

13. Even worse than this terrible physical and spiritual damage is the havoc wrought on the conscience of mankind by the threat of nuclear war with which the two super-Powers confront each other. Indeed, we are nearly on the threshold of such a war. The peoples of the world feel a sense of dread as they contemplate the possibility of war in which the wave of radioactivity would annihilate hundreds of millions of human beings in a matter of minutes but, ironically, would spare entire cities.

14. The situation facing the community of nations represented here is but a manifestation of the collapse of the international economic, social and political order that has existed since the Second World War. To overcome this crisis we must build a new international society, one making effective and valid the principles of coexistence and co-operation among States.

15. My country's international policy is based on the fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement as an independent moral force, independent of blocs and spheres of influence, and as a positive and global factor of international peace and security. We believe in the right of every people to adopt the political, economic, social and cultural system that best meets the needs of its great national majorities. The pluralistic nature of the movement, which is based upon the sound application of the principle of the sovereign equality of States, rests on the right to self-determination. To the non-aligned, this means that States have equal rights and equal duties, in both the political and economic spheres, and that, despite the differing economic, social or political systems or ways of life they may adopt, they are all equal members of the international community.

16. The economic and social problems of the third world countries will not be solved by magic or by dogmatic formulas. Redress lies in planned development, which calls for reforms in the traditional structures in order to adapt them to the complex requirements of contemporary life.

17. We of the smaller nations cannot but be disturbed at the tangible fact that there are still those who would deal with us according to the domino theory. Panama, on the contrary, views relations among all nations of the world within a context of true pluralism in which the right of every people freely to choose its own form of development must be genuine, not illusory.

18. One of the basic objectives of the Organization is to wage a universal struggle to seek and maintain peace. But

we admit as a basic fact the existence of an international and transnational structure that is unjust, violent, oppressive and unequal. This fact, the motive force and crux of which is, on the one hand, the international division and exploitation of labour and, on the other hand, certain regional processes and groupings, has shaped an imbalanced structure of dependence that retards the possibilities for the full, democratic and free development of natural and human resources and gives rise to the social backwardness of peoples. This is an undesirable situation and, besides flouting the principles of the Organization, is a frequent cause of the tensions and conflicts that threaten world peace.

19. However, it would be both immoral and collusive to strive for world peace at the cost of international justice. It has been the search for justice that has throughout history legitimized revolutionary movements of social, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist liberation that strove against these and all other forms of international tutelage. The struggle for true social development is a struggle against all forms of oppression, exploitation and political or ideological tutelage and its aim is to eradicate dependence and subordination. As far as we are concerned, the struggle against oppression and dependence is the struggle for peace. The best guarantee of peace is one that does away with international injustice.

20. Panama is a nation lying on the isthmus that links two great portions of the American continent and ensures maritime communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. This geographical feature constitutes the country's main natural resource and at the same time offers a useful service to the nations of the world. In the course of Panama's history this resource has been taken over to serve the interests of one or another Power, thus creating distortions in the country's structure when its character as a link led to a disregard of the other national resources, casting the great majority of its population into a marginal existence and setting up a system of economic, political and social injustice. Our people have always struggled to regain the enjoyment of that resource for the benefit of national development, and to secure independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and a just and truly democratic way of life. These efforts have always been at one with the interests of the international community, since they oppose unilateral control over an interoceanic waterway by any one Power to the detriment of other nations.

21. It was not until the end of the decade of the 1960s that the process of altering the social, political and economic consequences of that situation was begun. The Panamanian revolutionary process, inspired and led by General Omar Torrijos, threw open the doors to a true democratization of Panamanian society and to the full achievement of our independence and sovereignty.

22. Agrarian reform provided access to land for our farmers and all communities were given access to education, housing, health care, communications and sources of energy; this brought all regions of the country into the national body. Participation by all communities throughout the country in the discussions and decisions concerning problems and the future of the Republic was widened through a general system of popular and pluralist representation upon which the legislative power rests.

23. These transformations allowed the establishment of a healthy climate of social order and institutional and political stability, guaranteeing respect for human rights and civic freedoms and permitting the continued peaceful development of the nation. Yet all this has occurred and has been given meaning within the context of the noble struggle and the persevering efforts over the past 13 years, through difficult and delicate diplomatic negotiations to regain Panamanian territorial integrity and the effective exercise of our genuine sovereignty over the Panama Canal area, a matter to which I shall refer in due course.

24. However, domestic peace within our borders cannot be duly consolidated or safeguarded from threats while the neighbouring region continues to be afflicted by the painful conflicts besetting it. We are disturbed by the political, social and economic climate that characterizes every region of the world without exception. The key to the solution of the immense problems that overwhelm the large majority of the countries of the third world lies in the fact that true peace is indivisible from social justice. Wherever there is want, disease, ignorance and unemployment, wherever there is hopelessness, there will be violence in one form or another: the violence of hunger, uncertainty, homelessness, the violence of privileges and the violence of those who uphold them by refusing to make the necessary changes and, finally, the violent rebellion of the wretched and the forgotten who can no longer wait forever for peaceful change.

25. A particular source of deep concern is the profound political and social crisis affecting Central America and the climate of tension that prevails in the Caribbean. The crisis cannot be resolved without going into its deeper causes, and these lie in the dramatic imbalances and social injustices suffered by the majority of the populations of the area.

26. It is unrealistic to blame these crisis on foreign influences or infiltrations while ignoring the internal causes. Central American conflicts are not imported spin-offs from the East-West confrontation but are truly Central American in nature and can only be settled by the members of the very societies affected by them. Some have tried to describe the crises as a manifestation of East-West contradictions and term them a threat to world peace, thus making it a matter for judgement on the part of all members of the international community.

27. There are ethical reasons and historical, geographic and cultural links that tie us to our sister States and prevent us from turning a blind eye to their tragedy. We are staunch defenders of the principle of non-intervention and of the right of peoples to self-determination but we reject the argument that to express that concern and to point to its causes, the parties involved and its effects constitutes interference in the affairs of others. Central American and Caribbean tragedies are not alien to us, for we are Central Americans, we are Caribbean.

28. To deplore and to denounce genocidal terror and the dreadful violation of human rights that has taken place in that region and to pass judgement on the causes of the conflict cannot be termed foreign interference. Foreign interference is support for one or the other of the contending parties by means of financial, technical or military assistance. Moreover, we believe it is equally harmful for the peace and security of the whole region to resort to

threats of reprisal or military intervention or economic retribution as ways of influencing the decisions of any State in the area.

29. All forms of foreign participation in Central American conflicts must be ended immediately. This means that all types of outside intervention must cease, not only some of them, not only those of a certain origin or type or those intended to help a particular contender or group in the struggle. Any sort of help given to one or another of those involved in the conflict will cause the deaths of thousands of innocent people.

30. No over-all solution can be achieved by purely military means. Panama considers that political solutions must be negotiated in order to end these conflicts, and this can be done only with the participation of all sectors in the various countries that are involved in the struggles. We agree that, in the search for peaceful solutions, the organization of a democratic electoral process is one part or aspect of the whole, but we must honestly point out that such elections must be preceded by the creation of an adequate social and political climate that will guarantee the free and safe participation of the different sectors.

31. With the desire to contribute to the achievement of such political solutions, Panama offers its territory and its good offices to encourage contacts and negotiations to that end.

32. The end of the terrible civil strife afflicting El Salvador will be followed by all sorts of problems that the prostrate nation will be unable to remedy with only its war-devastated resources. We know that that was the painful experience of Nicaragua. Wide-scale foreign co-operation of all types will be indispensable to enable these countries to recover and to regain the rhythm of their basic activities.

33. We welcome the proposals to set up an international emergency fund aimed at overcoming the problems connected with the economic and social development of Central America and the Caribbean region. However, we believe that the plan will be still-born if it implies discrimination against some countries of the region or provides for any type of military matériel, interventionist aspects or political conditions. It must not be forgotten that we, the people of Central America, aspire to development in freedom, with unlimited respect for our independence, our right to self-determination and our real sovereignty and that, therefore, we prefer poverty to chaining ourselves and our hopes to the chariot of any foreign force.

34. Panama will join such an effort if it is based on the clear and just requirements of respect for the sovereignty of all the recipient countries, their own decisions and their freedom to choose alternatives, forms of development and sources of financing without limitations imposed by the private initiatives of transnational corporations.

35. Furthermore, my country is happy to greet the emergence in the area of a new and independent republic and we offer Belize a warm welcome. This event spells the end of the most obvious vestige of colonialism in Central America and is therefore of profound significance. Thus, Belize has become a Member of this Organization, of the Organization of American States and of the non-

aligned movement. It therefore now behoves all of us to contribute to the strengthening of the young State of Belize and to ensure respect for its sovereign rights and its territorial integrity. We are sure that the Government of Guatemala will find the appropriate moment to join the rest of the States Members of the United Nations in recognizing this peace-loving neighbour and will decide upon peaceful negotiations as a way of settling their differences and establishing fruitful co-operation with Belize. Panama offers its readiness to assist in that endeavour.

36. We wish to reiterate what Panama has declared in the past, that in order to dissipate the tense atmosphere created in the Caribbean that also affects so many other countries, both the United States and Cuba should strive to establish and widen effective means of communication and dialogue. Thus, too, the United States, Nicaragua and Grenada should avoid any further deterioration in their dealings with one another. To some we appeal for respect for the right of self-determination, and to others, for flexibility and consistency towards the other countries of the region.

37. We endorse the legitimate aspiration of the peoples of Argentina to recover their sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands; those of Bolivia to obtain by peaceful means access to the sea under Bolivian sovereignty; those of Puerto Rico to obtain the full exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination as an essentially Latin American nation whose separate identity was already included among the objectives of the Amphictyonic Congress held in Panama in 1826.

38. Concerning southern Africa, we reaffirm Panama's unreserved support for the aspirations of the peoples of Namibia and Azania and at the same time we reaffirm our solidarity with the front-line States and the movement of liberation of southern Africa, represented by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa.

39. We condemn the unjust and cruel aggression committed by the racist régime of Pretoria against the People's Republic of Angola, an outrage that constitutes an insult to the United Nations system.

40. My country hopes that as a result of the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, which took place at the beginning of this month, and in keeping with the Panama Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia, adopted this year in my country by the United Nations Council for Namibia [see A/36/327, annex], the members of the international community will redouble their efforts to achieve the prompt independence of Namibia, in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the non-aligned movement, the General Assembly and the Security Council.

41. We reaffirm the urgency of eliminating colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* from southern Africa. Our mission must be to combat the rebirth in South Africa of nazism, of racial intolerance and of policies based on terrorism, exercised as a function of the State by the Pretoria régime.

42. Turning to the north of the African continent, Panama supports the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara and recognizes the existence of the Government of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, with which the Republic of Panama enjoys diplomatic relations.

43. Panama must insist on the urgency of ensuring respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. Foreign military occupation of the island is unjustified and must be terminated. We must encourage progress in the intercommunal talks aimed at the restoration of calm, peace and the inalienable rights of the people of Cyprus, thus promoting peaceful relations among the States of the eastern Mediterranean region.

44. My country advocates the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region of the Middle East, based on the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab lands, the right of Israel and neighbouring States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries and the exercise of the inalienable rights of self-determination by the Palestinian people, including its right to its own independent State, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as its sole legitimate representative.

45. Panama does not believe that the United Nations can remain unmoved by the loss of life and the regrettable bloodshed and material damage taking place in Lebanon. All the resources of the Organization must be brought to bear to ensure respect for the decisions of the Security Council, so that peace can be restored to that beleaguered nation, and a resumption of the bombing of the civilian population and of military and terrorist actions prevented, with due respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of the country.

46. As a true believer in the principle of non-use of force in international relations and in the peaceful settlement of disputes, Panama urges an end to the occupation of Afghanistan by foreign forces, pursuant to the decision of the General Assembly [resolution ES-6/2]. We also denounce the recent attack on a nuclear reactor in Iraq, which led to a condemnation of that act by the Security Council in its resolution 487 (1981). My country also feels deeply the painful continuation of the military conflict between Iran and Iraq, two non-aligned States to whom we appeal fraternally to put an end to that fratricidal war and settle their differences peacefully.

47. With regard to the situation in Kampuchea, although Panama recognizes the People's Republic of Kampuchea as the sole legitimate Government, we feel that efforts should be redoubled to create the necessary conditions for the maintenance of peace and stability in the region of South-East Asia.

48. We share the aspirations of the Korean people to the peaceful reunification of their homeland. The Government of Panama considers that the solution of the Korean question is indissolubly linked to the full exercise of the right to self-determination by the Korean people, free from any foreign interference. That would be possible if, as we hope, the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972¹ were fully implemented, since it is based on the

principles of independence, peaceful unification and great national unity.

49. Not only in Latin America, Africa and Asia, however, are there conflicts and tensions which cause deep concern. At the moment, Europe is going through a delicate crisis which, notwithstanding its complexity, also mirrors the problems of the non-aligned countries. The struggle for independence, social justice and peace are not the sole monopoly of those of us in the third world who have until recently served as scapegoats. That same struggle is now being carried on by the peoples and Governments of Europe, which have also suffered civil wars and the devastating effects of two World Wars.

50. In the light of all this, we warmly welcome European efforts to take an independent and praiseworthy position in the face of the growing arms spiral and polarization. We endorse the effort to spare Europeans the horror of being in the front line of a nuclear war.

51. We are moved by the profound ideological debate that is gradually encompassing all of Europe and that bears on the continent's right to live in peace and independence, free from the blackmail of the super-Powers, which assume the right to divide Europe up with no concern for its legitimate interests. We too reject the strategy of turning whole European countries into launching pads and targets for increasingly murderous missiles which, whatever the outcome, would not strike their launchers.

52. Nor can we condone the growing pressure being put on the will of the people and the Government of Poland. As was the case in El Salvador, we consider that the Polish people are undergoing a crisis whose root causes are domestic and whose solution must flow from agreement among the Polish people themselves and, first and foremost, among the workers. Let there be an end to threats and foreign interference. Let us not forget that the last time there was interference by foreign forces in Poland, Europe and mankind paid the price in the form of millions of dead. The Poles, and those of us who desire the survival of Europe and mankind, must strive to build bridges to a peaceful settlement of that crisis.

53. Thus it is that from Latin America, and imbued with the spirit of the last understanding arrived at by Marshal Tito and General Torrijos during the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979, we stretch out our hands to the people and Governments of Europe in a plea for an alliance with the non-aligned movement so that together we can come out in defence of the right of mankind to live in full respect for political and cultural plurality.

54. In line with our anti-colonialist, independent and non-aligned policies, Panama, as a member of the Ibero-American community of nations, appeals for genuine negotiations in order to restore the territorial integrity of Spain by returning to Spanish heritage and sovereignty the territory known as the Rock of Gibraltar, which is occupied by England despite the rights of its legitimate sovereign, Spain.

55. Many of the problems to which I have referred are closely linked to the injustice and disorder that prevail in international economic relations, and particularly to what

is included in the so-called North-South dialogue. We should like to see a restructuring of the international economic order, which is not only a necessity that brooks no delay for the poor and exploited countries, but also a necessity for many of the industrialized nations. Unfortunately, in that "dialogue" things seem to have taken a different tack since some of the super-Powers seem blindly and recklessly determined to turn it into a dialogue of the deaf.

56. Yet, to tell the truth, we must admit that many of the difficulties lie in the fact that we ourselves, we of the "South", have not progressed enough to be able to come to agreement and put forward a joint development programme. What success we may be able to obtain from such "North-South negotiations" can never be greater than that which we may have previously been able to achieve by agreement among ourselves.

57. Panama attaches the highest priority to its participation in the Group of 77. That Group is an invaluable tool with which to achieve more just economic relations and to strive for the goals of the developing nations aimed at the establishment of a new international order. In this connection, we enthusiastically support the Programme of Action and the machinery adopted by the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held in May 1981 at Caraballeda, Venezuela, on economic co-operation among the developing countries.

58. We believe that it is indispensable to achieve co-ordination and concerted action among the groups of Latin American, African and Asian States in order further to strengthen the unity and effectiveness of the Group of 77 in the promotion of our common interests.

59. In 1975 the Latin American countries, meeting in Panama, decided to create the Latin American Economic System [SELA]. That system seeks co-ordinated and concrete solutions to our development processes and is an organizational instrument with which to co-ordinate Latin American plans within the regional economies. It is also intended to meet the objective of ensuring a qualitative exchange in our economic relations with the United States, in keeping with our own social and economic priorities.

60. This justifies the decision of the Latin American Council of SELA to adopt a global approach to those relations which would go beyond the mere commercial aspects. To that end, SELA has decided to hold a meeting in Panama to define the main lines and components of a Latin American policy concerning the United States, so as to solve the problems created by the imbalance in trade relations between the region and that country. That event will have two stages: a preparatory stage of a technical nature from 23 to 27 November, and a second one at a higher level on 30 November and 1 December 1981. The Panamanian Government is relying upon the participation of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States members of SELA for that second stage. At that time we shall provide air transportation to Saint Lucia where, on 2 December, the eleventh session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States is due to open.

61. Today, we wish to bring before the Assembly a subject that has, in the past, already received its careful attention. It is one that involves the interests of a major portion of the world community as well as of Latin America and also has a bearing on the plans and hopes of all nations of the third world, since it touches on the principles and practices that should prevail in relations between a small country and a great Power. I refer to relations between Panama and the United States in the matter of the interoceanic canal and the full compliance with the terms of the treaties concerning it.

62. The relations between Panama and the United States that were established during the building and functioning of the canal date back to 1903. The Panama Canal Agreement of 1903 had a definite colonialist imprint, and since its entry into force there have been open divergencies regarding its interpretation and implementation.

63. Because of its territorial sovereignty over the Canal, Panama always argued that the powers granted to the United States were limited to the specific purposes of the Canal concession, whereas the recipient of that concession contended that it possessed absolute authority. On the strength of this unilateral interpretation, the so-called Canal Zone was placed under a public administration other than that of the Government of the Republic of Panama and subject to ordinances emanating from a foreign Power to be carried out by officials who were alien, and at times hostile, to Panamanian authorities.

64. Seven decades of confrontation and 14 years of intricate negotiations culminated on 7 September 1977 in the signing in Washington by the President of the United States, Mr. Jimmy Carter, and the head of Government of the Republic of Panama, General Omar Torrijos Herrera, of the Panama Canal Treaty and the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal.²

65. The main purpose of the Torrijos-Carter treaties was to eliminate a situation of a colonial nature by which one State exercised jurisdiction over an important portion of another State's territory, to restore the full sovereignty of the State which had suffered such limitations and to guarantee the restoration of the Canal to its legitimate owner, even though only after such a lengthy period as that ending in 1999.

66. According to the 1977 Treaty, the former relationship of subjection was replaced by one of co-operation on an equal footing for purposes of mutual interest and benefit. It was in this spirit that Panama granted to the United States for a given period of time certain rights for the purposes of the operation, maintenance and protection of the Canal, subject to the increasing participation of Panama during the period ending on 31 December 1999, at which time the Canal would revert to its territorial sovereignty in a proper operational condition.

67. Despite the above, in September 1979 the United States Congress enacted Public Act No. 96-70, which distorts the meaning, sense and intention of that Treaty. With full awareness of the meaning of our words, we affirm that, instead of laying the foundations for the fulfilment of that Treaty, Public Act No. 96-70 set it aside and substituted provisions that hampered the fulfilment of its principles and objectives. These had been to eliminate the

colonial enclave or, which is tantamount to the same thing, to dismantle what had been known as a "Government within a Government", to establish a régime of co-operation for the administration, maintenance and protection of the Canal and to make an efficient waterway available to Panama and the international community.

68. Through the understanding that emerged from the lengthy debates during the negotiations, the Torrijos-Carter treaty created a binational Commission, called "Panama Canal Commission", to administer the Canal, and it was clearly defined as an entity that was separate and different from the executive machinery of the United States.

69. Public Act No. 96-70 confers on the President and the Secretary of Defense of the United States undue powers in that Commission; it reduces the latter's administrative powers and confers on the United States Congress itself such authority in basic matters touching on the administration of the Canal that it converts the Commission into a mere offshoot of the Executive of the United States. This creates a serious problem in the efficient handling of transit through the Canal and causes grave obstacles to the proper implementation of a Treaty that embodied the decisions of two nations. To set aside the legitimate interests of Panama in the application of the Torrijos-Carter treaty is tantamount to negating the Treaty itself.

70. It would take far too long and tax the patience of the Assembly to list all the negative consequences and repercussions of Public Act No. 96-70 for the administration of the Canal and on Panamanian-United States relations. Although all are equally serious, I shall limit myself to mentioning only the most outstanding and leave it to the permanent representative of my country here to complete the documentary information concerning the problems faced in the implementation of the Treaty.

71. First of all, the reduction in the administrative powers of the Canal Commission encourages the application of numerous United States federal laws on Panamanian soil and, even more serious, the establishment on that soil of United States administrative bodies that interfere in important aspects of the Canal administration without any legal basis. This is true of the Federal Authority for Labour Relations, the Board of the Staff of the Canal Zone, the Civil Service Commission, the Appeals Board for the Canal Zone and other official United States entities which either already existed or were expressly created to perform tasks which should be performed by the Panama Canal Commission.

72. There is another important consequence of this situation. According to Public Act No. 96-70, the only funds on which the Commission can count to pay its expenses are the income from the Canal. This means that the binational Commission cannot obtain any form of credit to cover a potential deficit or undertake investments or incur special expenses beyond its income for the fiscal period concerned. These constraints affect the financial viability of the Commission and its ability to carry out work necessary to maintain the Canal in a condition to meet the needs of interoceanic transit.

73. Some months ago the waterway was faced with serious problems that caused prolonged delays in the transit

of ships. The expected increase in interoceanic traffic requires repair work to the bed of the Canal so as to ensure its ability to take uninterrupted day and night traffic until well into the twenty-first century. The pertinent programmes have already been drawn up and their cost has been estimated at \$500 million. The restraints imposed by Public Act No. 96-70 make it impossible for the Commission to acquire the funds necessary to carry out these works.

74. The financial situation of the Commission is further worsened by the series of charges imposed by Public Act No. 96-70 and flowing from the former Panama Canal Company, a body whose existence and creation were challenged by Panama. Thus, for example, the amortization of the costs of early retirement and compensation to employees of the earlier Canal entity and the unrecovered costs incurred prior to the coming into force of the Torrijos-Carter treaty, have reduced the assets of the Commission by more than \$60 million per year.

75. According to articles I and III of the Torrijos-Carter treaty, the Republic of Panama, as territorial sovereign, grants to the United States of America for a limited time the rights necessary to ensure the operation, maintenance, improvement and protection of the Canal, its outworks, installations and auxiliary equipment and, to provide the necessary resources to guarantee and regulate the flow of navigation and traffic through the interoceanic waterway. The United States accepts the concession and, *inter alia*, commits itself to the transfer of the Canal to Panama on expiry of the concession in an operational condition. As a necessary counterpart to such rights, the United States assumes the obligation of providing the funds required to ensure the functioning of the Canal. This is an indispensable requisite to guarantee uninterrupted passage by vessels and to satisfy the needs of international shipping throughout the entire period during which the United States will exercise those rights granted to it in the Treaty by Panama.

76. Consequently, the only logical interpretation is that when the Treaty stipulates that, on its expiry, the United States shall transfer the Canal to Panama "in operating condition", that condition must be such as to guarantee that the Canal will be capable of providing the services expected of it. Therefore, if thus far the United States has not fulfilled its obligation to carry out the maintenance work required by the Canal during the existence of the concession, the waterway will not be in a condition to serve its users on the expiry of the Treaty.

77. In the field of labour relations, Public Act No. 96-70 gives a number of powers to the President of the United States and to several United States Government offices which have the effect of creating a "Government within a Government". One of those offices, the Civilian Personnel Policy Co-ordinating Board, is given the powers of establishing wage scales already put into effect by the Canal Commission and by the Armed Forces of the United States still stationed in the Canal area. Such provisions violate the principle of equal pay for equal work and establish differences among workers and employees on the basis of their date of employment. In fact,

that leads to a reduction in the salaries of those employees, mainly Panamanians, who were recruited after the entry into force of the Torrijos-Carter treaty. This will mean that, for the duration of the life of the Treaty, the Panamanian economy will suffer an estimated loss of \$4 billion, according to figures of the administrative organs of the Canal Commission itself.

78. The application of Public Act No. 96-70 to labour relations has given rise to grave problems, which have in turn caused serious dissatisfaction among the workers and employees of the Canal Commission and which ultimately might affect the functioning of the interoceanic waterway.

79. In a word, the injustices and inconsistencies of Public Act No. 96-70 not only conflict with the aim of eliminating the "Government within a Government", but create unnecessary problems that are difficult to solve if that law is not soon considerably amended so as to bring it into line with the spirit and the letter of the Treaty. In fact, foreseeing those problems which have indeed arisen in the implementation of the Treaty, the Republic of Panama made approaches at the appropriate time for the necessary amendments to the said United States law. However, few of the observations made were taken into consideration when the law was enacted.

80. On 9 January 1980, a short time after the law came into force, I addressed a lengthy note to Mr. Jimmy Carter, then President of the United States, in which I indicated the flaws in Public Act No. 96-70, and repeated the desire of my Government that our comments be taken into account; and to support that request the Panamanian representatives submitted to the Board of the Canal Commission a file of observations that the Government of Panama desired the Congress of the United States to consider.

81. The Panamanians hope that, if that file of observations is given a favourable reception, the Government and the Congress of the United States will then be able to fulfil completely the duties and commitments assumed by that country under the watchful eyes of the world when the 1977 Treaties were approved. From those Treaties there should flow a new and just relationship between our two peoples and States and an encouraging example for other nations represented in this Assembly. Otherwise, the small nations, the peoples of the third world and the international community will doubtless take it very much to heart, since it would affect their trust in the sincerity and good faith of international agreements with the great Powers. We prefer to believe in that sincerity and that good faith. We are ready for wide-ranging talks that will lay the foundations for an understanding in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, otherwise friction might affect the efficient peaceful use of the Panamanian waterway. However, we are encouraged by the formal promise made by President Reagan on 4 December last when he stated that "the United States will continue to respect and fully implement the Panama Canal Treaties". We agree with President Reagan when he immediately added "with this spirit of co-operation and mutual respect we can achieve the aim shared by both, of peace and prosperity in all Latin America and throughout the world."

82. This must surely mean a consequential radical amendment of Public Act No. 96-70 to bring it into conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Treaties. Once that has been done, we shall take care to inform the world that that sincerity and good faith of which I have spoken has in fact been confirmed.

83. There is one other aspect in which both the interests of Panama and those of the international community are basically at one. I refer to the régime of neutrality of the Panama Canal, as declared by the Panamanian State in the Torrijos-Carter treaties and for which we require the respect and adherence of all States in the world.

84. Panama attaches immense importance to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to the effectiveness of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco). In the opinion of my Government, there is a close relationship between those international instruments and the régime of neutrality of the Panama Canal. Thus we are justified in hoping that, through IAEA, protective measures will be established to guard against the potential danger of accidents or contamination involving nuclear-powered vessels. We also trust that the Agency will adopt the necessary measures to ensure the provision of insurance and adequate means of compensation in such cases.

85. In conclusion, we believe it timely to reiterate that the international community cannot fail to recognize that the declared neutrality of the Panama Canal does not remove the Canal from the jurisdiction and competence of the Panamanian State. For the sake of world peace all nations must, in accordance with the Charter of San Francisco, scrupulously observe unqualified respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of a State which, as in the case of Panama, facilitates international shipping through an interoceanic canal located in its territory, without impinging upon the sovereign and permanent rights of the Panamanian State over its natural resources.

86. Through me, the people of Panama once again wish to pay a tribute to the outstanding work that the President, the Secretary-General and the United Nations have done in the service of mankind.

87. Let us not be overcome by difficulties or by limitations. All of mankind is facing a difficult moment, but Panama believes in dialogue, in negotiation and in respect for the dignity and the cultural and political diversity of the peoples of the world.

88. Panama believes in the equality of States as a basis for frank and balanced discussions. We believe in those who devise solutions and not in those who exploit problems. Above all, we believe that those of us who have neither the intention nor the means to disturb peaceful coexistence in the world must earn peace by fighting ceaselessly against the true causes of conflicts and against those who try to take advantage of them and thus sacrifice present and future generations.

89. This, then, is an expression of the sincere desire for peace, justice and progress of the Panamanian nation.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank Mr. Aristides Rojo, President of the Republic of Panama, for the important statement he has just made.

91. Mr. NAARENDORP (Suriname): At the outset, Sir, allow me to join preceding speakers in offering you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your election to preside over this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your recognized skill and experience in the field of multilateral diplomacy are indeed important assets at a time when the Organization is called upon to deal with an ever-growing number of complex issues of global concern. We wish you every success in the performance of your important task.

92. We also wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, who carried out with great skill the functions of the presidency during our previous session.

93. We also include in our tribute the Secretary-General for his relentless efforts in promoting international peace and security.

94. We most warmly welcome the two new members of the family of nations, Vanuatu and Belize. We are convinced that they will make an effective contribution towards the realization of the goals of the Organization.

95. The Republic of Suriname had the privilege of becoming part of the Organization when we gained independence in 1975. In the six years that have elapsed, Suriname has taken its place in the international community, and we have learned to deal with problems at the sub-regional, regional and international levels.

96. Our internal situation has drastically changed since February 1980, when the traditional form of government was replaced by a revolutionary leadership in which the army plays a vanguard role with the full support of the civilian sector of society. The Government has set up a vigorous programme for the fundamental restructuring of our society in the political, economic and social spheres and in the educational system. Time does not permit me to elaborate fully on the programmes that we have designed so far. However, in this context, I should like to elaborate on the national goals and objectives with regard to our economic situation.

97. We are taking steps to ensure that our economy becomes organized in such a way as to achieve not only economic growth but the genuine development of our people. Notwithstanding the steady growth of our economy in the past decades, we are aware of the fact that the level of production by our people is still unsatisfactory and that the distribution of wealth shows a serious lack of balance.

98. Economic growth, in our opinion, is not a substitute for development; it is not a substitute for a transfer of know-how at the technical, managerial and marketing levels. Self-reliance is considered paramount to us in any future development of our economy and our people. We therefore intend to develop those sectors of our economy

that are based upon our natural and human resources, striving for diversification and control of those sectors. We are in the process of developing programmes for the expansion of our industrial potential in mining, forestry, fishery and agriculture.

99. Our foreign policy is directly linked to the objectives just mentioned. Furthermore, we continue to attach great value to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization, in which we firmly believe. Our adherence to the authentic principles of non-alignment constitutes another important element on which our foreign policy is based.

100. The General Assembly convenes its thirty-sixth session as the world shows fearsome signs of increasing political tension and continuing economic stagnation. Undoubtedly, those developments will place a heavy strain on the ability of the United Nations to fulfil its role in the maintenance of peace and security in the world. That task has never been an easy one. We, the Members of this Organization, take pride in its success during the past decades in preventing the escalation of many local and regional conflicts into a conflict of global proportions. The years ahead of us, however, might bring less heartening results, as the causes that continue to threaten peace and security still persist, and our efforts towards their eradication have until now proven less than successful.

101. The maintenance of peace and security will become increasingly difficult for the Organization in a world in which the existing unjust economic order continues to keep the vast majority of mankind in a chronic state of underdevelopment, hunger and deprivation. In the past year the developing world has become painfully aware of the fact that the prospects for restructuring that unfair system are gloomy.

102. The major industrialized countries have chosen to remain indifferent and selfish towards the just cause of the developing countries for a more equitable international economic order. The continuing presence of foreign troops in independent States poses a serious menace to peace, and the Assembly has to deal with it. The denial of self-determination to peoples in southern Africa and the Middle East will remain a source of tension and an obstacle to global peace and stability.

103. A most alarming development in the past year has been the further deterioration in the relations between the super-Powers. Strain in the relations between the two countries, already imminent at our previous session, has been seriously aggravated and has contributed substantially to the escalation of tension, conflicts and uncertainty in several regions of the world.

104. As a country aware of its location in the Caribbean and Latin American region, my Government is particularly interested in developments in this area. To break through the isolation from the sister countries of our region imposed upon us by our colonial past has been a constant policy of my country, and more so since the revolution ignited on 25 February 1980. It will remain a priority in our foreign policy to continue this process and to establish and maintain friendly relations with all the countries of our region, regardless of their political or social-economic systems.

105. We deeply appreciate the hands of friendship extended to us by our sister Latin American and Caribbean nations, and we have initiated the course of fruitful co-operation. In pursuing this policy my Government will remain faithful to the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as we remain convinced that strict adherence to these principles offers a primordial guarantee against inter-State conflicts and creates a climate for fruitful co-operation among States.

106. My Government wishes to express its concern at the danger of becoming another testing ground for the super-Power rivalry that looms over the Caribbean and Latin America. The legitimate struggle of peoples to free themselves from obsolete oppressive social structures and economic exploitation must be recognized and respected, and it would be a mistake to ignore this natural course of history.

107. While we deplore the continued violence and loss of life in the sister Republic of El Salvador, my Government holds the view that the people of El Salvador will achieve a political solution to their internal problems if external presence and interference are eliminated. In this connection, my Government reaffirms the position on this question taken by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Caribbean Community [CARICOM] in June of this year.

108. With regard to the Middle East, my Government notes with concern that this volatile region has been further plummeted into a situation which can easily escalate into a full-scale war with global consequences. It is my Government's view that Israel's behaviour during the past months has significantly contributed to creating this highly explosive situation. Israel, stubbornly refusing to comply with the decisions of the United Nations calling upon it to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, has stepped up its violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its Arab neighbours. My Government wishes to take this opportunity to repeat its condemnation of the indiscriminate air raids by Israel on Lebanon and the Republic of Iraq.

109. A comprehensive peace settlement remains, in the final analysis, the best guarantee of peace for all States in the region, including Israel. It is now a generally accepted fact that such a settlement must entail the rendering of justice to the Palestinian people, that is to say, the exercise of their right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own independent and sovereign State.

110. My Government is convinced that any peace effort designed to circumvent this reality is doomed to fail and that anything short of the full participation of the Palestinian people in the peace process, through its legitimate representative, the PLO, will share the same fate.

111. My Government deplores the ongoing war between the two non-aligned countries of Iran and Iraq. It is indeed regrettable that the parties to the conflict have not seized on the peace initiatives of the non-aligned movement and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to end their hostilities. We once more urge the two countries to work towards a peaceful settlement of their dispute.

112. We cannot but note our strong disappointment at the non-implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Afghanistan. While we reject any form of intervention in the internal affairs of States, it is obvious that the direct involvement of super-Powers in these unlawful acts bears serious implications for international peace and security. Our support for a political settlement of this issue on the basis of General Assembly resolution 35/37 remains unchanged.

113. A commendable effort of the Organization during the past year has been the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea. As an observer to that Conference, my Government welcomes its results embodied in the Declaration on Kampuchea,³ which, in our view, offers a viable basis for further negotiations to end the occupation of that country and to establish a durable peace in South-East Asia. We therefore urge all the countries of that region to co-operate with the United Nations in this effort.

114. The situation on the Korean peninsula remains at a stalemate. On the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the Joint Communiqué of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we call upon both parties to make all possible efforts to promote reconciliation between the South and the North through dialogue in order to achieve the peaceful unification of their divided homeland.

115. The high hopes that prevailed at our previous session for the speedy independence of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) did not materialize owing to the contempt that the South African racist régime has consistently shown for the decisions of this Organization. Over the past 15 years the international community has pursued all peaceful means in order to end the illegal occupation of Namibia. After the frustration that it encountered for many years in dealing with this question, our Organization is fully justified in taking the strongest possible measures to ensure the genuine independence of Namibia.

116. The overwhelming majority of States, by approving the application of the measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter of the Organization at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, clearly expressed the indignation of the international community at the peace-menacing behaviour of the South African régime. It is therefore the duty of all members of the international community to put decisive pressure on South Africa to withdraw its illegal administration from the Territory of Namibia.

117. My Government takes this opportunity to restate its condemnation of the violation of the territorial integrity of Angola by South African colonialist forces and to reaffirm its solidarity with the Angolan people. The people of Suriname look upon the people of Angola with admiration for the relentless support they give to SWAPO and to the oppressed people of Namibia in their struggle against the Pretoria racist régime.

118. In South Africa itself the crime of *apartheid* is undiminishingly practised against the majority of its population. The black majority population of South Africa deserves the full support of the international community in its struggle to dismantle this universally condemned system and to regain its human dignity.

119. Recognizing the danger for mankind resulting from the arms race, the General Assembly, at its tenth special session, devoted to disarmament and held in 1978, adopted the Final Document of that session by consensus [resolution S-10/2]. The determination reflected in its Programme of Action to reverse the madness of the arms race gave rise to the hope that mankind had finally come to terms with this grave problem. This hope, unfortunately, has been proved illusory. The arms race has continued unrestrained, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Mr. Ngarukiyintwali (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

120. Admittedly, some limited progress has been made in certain areas, but this falls short of the least that could be expected from the mandate of that session. It is beyond doubt that the world has moved closer to the danger of self-annihilation since the tenth special session.

121. Of course, we perfectly understand that disarmament is not a simple matter, as it encompasses the security of States and their very survival. But to resign ourselves to the notion that the only way to preserve peace is through a continuing arms build-up would indeed mean suicide for humanity, as it appears to us that the ability of mankind to live indefinitely in this perilous situation is not unlimited.

122. The goal of disarmament ought to remain the concern of all nations of the world, since the survival of all men is at stake. We cannot but stress the special responsibility of those States possessing the means to bring death and total destruction not only upon themselves but upon other nations as well. The only way to avert this danger is through meaningful negotiations leading to restraint of the arms build-up and, ultimately, disarmament under effective international control. We therefore regret recent decisions to add new types of destructive weapons to the existing arsenal. It is the opinion of my Government that this step is bound further to complicate future disarmament negotiations, already complex by their very nature.

123. Despite the disappointing results of the past, it is incumbent upon us to sustain our efforts to achieve disarmament in view of the danger inherent in the unrestrained arms race, not to mention the economic benefits that can result from the reallocation of arms expenditures for development purposes. My Government considers that the second special session of the Assembly on disarmament, to be held next year, is yet another opportunity for mankind to confront this danger seriously.

124. The international economic outlook, especially for the developing countries, is very dim. The world economy today is in its second major recession since 1973, which has resulted in high unemployment and inflation rates and balance-of-payment deficits, and has conse-

quently motivated the industrialized countries to resort to protectionist policies in order to safeguard their own interests.

125. The developing countries are not in a position to escape from the heavy burden imposed on them because of the present unjust international economic order, which mainly favours the interests of the industrialized countries. The developing countries have to bear the full weight of the impact of the energy crisis and pay proportionally more for industrial goods, and in doing so they are importing the inflation of the industrialized countries. The extremely high interest rates on capital make it nearly impossible to obtain sufficient financial resources to enable the majority of the developing countries to make the most crucial adjustments in their economies.

126. During the past years we have seen a proliferation of protectionist measures consisting of tariff and non-tariff barriers, which are being adopted by the industrialized countries against imports of goods from the developing countries. Unfortunately, these measures are taking place at a time when the developing countries are in need of the foreign exchange generated by those exports. As a consequence, this policy has resulted in serious constraints on their development efforts and has led to further deterioration in the terms of trade of the developing countries, causing tremendous problems such as a decline in internal savings, increasing unemployment and serious social unrest, a greater burden of debt servicing and greater dependence on external savings.

127. The impact of today's world economic crisis has seriously affected the developing countries and has acquired new and more frightening aspects. Their impoverished economies can no longer defend themselves against rising economic burdens and find themselves on the verge of collapse.

128. Some time ago, we solemnly and unanimously adopted the principles which would govern future economic relations among nations in a Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. It is regrettable to note that to date we have not been able to take the necessary action to establish such an order, owing to a lack of political will, considerations of short-term interests and fear of jeopardizing the present heights of achievement and influence of the industrialized countries. These countries seem to be very much preoccupied with themselves, safeguarding and maintaining their high level of living standards gained from the present inequitable international economic order. Only occasionally have they paid attention to the struggle for survival of the peoples in the developing countries who live in misery and who are desperately fighting for their legitimate right to establish a new international economic order which could ultimately enable them to harvest the fruits of their own efforts.

129. A good example of the present stalemate in the relations between the two groups of countries is the proposal to launch a global round of negotiations. Two years ago the international community agreed on the need for a global round of negotiations, and last year at this time the hope was expressed that early this year the relevant discussions could start. However, during the past months, the parties have not been able to agree on a set of rules of

procedure and are not even ready to touch on the more difficult problem of drafting an agenda.

130. One of the main difficulties related to the proposals for institutional change, especially where this would result in more effective participation by the developing countries, is the management of the international economic system. It was very remarkable to observe how apprehensive the industrialized countries were of discussing their traditional dominant role in the world economy if this would result in a substantial change of the rules of the game governing certain international economic and financial institutions.

131. It would not be fair to pinpoint only the gloomy side of our economic relations, and I should therefore like to draw the attention of the international community to the forthcoming summit conference of the leaders of 22 developed and developing countries at Cancún. The inspiration for the Cancún meeting came from the sobering report issued last year by the Brandt Commission.⁴ That report not only warned against the danger of mass starvation in the developing world unless a programme for survival was adopted, but also called for a meeting of heads of Government to enable proposals and concessions to be thrashed out with candour and boldness. On the one hand, we realize that the road to Cancún is littered with exhausted rhetoric, broken pledges and failed strategies. But, on the other hand, we must recognize that the world's economic and political crisis is not a temporary one but is deeply rooted in the present international institutions. To give up the dialogue would be a wrong strategy, and we therefore strongly welcome the Cancún meeting. We are convinced that from the mistakes and experiences of the past years a new approach can be conceived in order to make a new attempt to revive the stalemated global negotiations.

132. I have touched on some aspects of the relations between the developed and the developing countries. It would, however, be an omission on my part if I did not stress the necessity of more co-operation among the developing countries themselves. In this connection, my Government holds the view that the need to expand the developing countries' exports of primary and processed commodities remains the highest priority for those countries.

133. In the past two decades we have witnessed the formation by developing countries of an unprecedented number of economic co-operation and integration groupings, mainly at the regional and subregional levels. The results of these groupings have not always been successful. At the same time, it is important for us to deepen the South-South economic linkages with a new sense of urgency. The High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation Among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981, was a step in the right direction. We hope that in implementing the various economic co-operation activities adopted, the developing countries can rely on the collaboration of the United Nations regional commissions, the specialized agencies and other inter-governmental organizations.

134. The Government of Suriname is of the opinion that one of the means of strengthening economic co-operation is the development of adequate transportation and com-

munication systems appropriate to the requirements of the developing countries. The high costs of actual transportation and communication systems have been a major obstacle to increasing trade and co-operation among developing countries.

135. Having said that, I should like to stress that economic co-operation among developing countries cannot be a substitute for global economic co-operation between developing and developed countries, nor should it in any way relieve the industrial countries of their responsibilities and commitment towards the developing countries.

136. The Government of Suriname attaches high priority to subregional and regional economic and political co-operation and has therefore embarked on a course of closer co-operation, especially in the subregion of the Caribbean and Central America. The Government of Suriname has already taken the first steps to closer co-operation with CARICOM. Besides the already existing economic co-operation with its neighbouring countries, Suriname will very soon embark on fostering closer relations with the Andean countries and the countries of Central America, including Mexico.

137. It is a well-known fact that the wide and continuing gap between the needs of developing countries and the resources available for operational activities is growing. To date, despite numerous efforts, it has not been possible to ensure a considerable real increase in resources for operational activities on a predictable, continuous and assured basis.

138. At the same time, we are witnessing the phenomenon that, as a result of various United Nations global conferences, the creation of global funds to be financed through the mechanism of pledging conferences is being encouraged. These funds are related to specific sectoral programmes as part of global conferences and are determined in many cases by the consensus achieved during those conferences. Many donor countries support the creation of these funds for such purposes as are consistent with the perceived development assistance priorities of their own Governments.

139. However, that approach has resulted in a reduction of the relative share of resources in the field of multilateral technical co-operation handled by UNDP, and in the creation of a number of separate funds, each with its own administrative structures. We question the justification of that approach since the result of the pledging conferences has, to date, been far below the targets envisaged. It is reasonable to expect that the industrialized countries, after making commitments, would be prepared to accept their share in implementing those decisions which they strongly supported. It is therefore a matter of regret that the present trend in some industrialized countries is to decrease their financial contributions to the different funds of the Organization.

140. We therefore favour a single-purpose funding mechanism for multilateral technical co-operation. This would not only ensure for the developing countries that the resources available are distributed on a predetermined equitable basis but also that the use of such resources would be in accordance with individual national development priorities. For the donor countries, a single general-purpose mechanism would ensure that the resources made

available for multilateral co-operation are used to the maximum extent possible for coherent and integrated development activities.

141. The call for a new international economic order reflects the disillusionment with a system that no longer suits our needs. It involves a desire for general systematic reforms, as well as revisions in specific functional areas. The new international economic order and the new law of the sea represent two such efforts—the first of a general and the second of a more specific, functional nature.

142. It is clear that the outcome of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will have a great impact on the new international economic order. That Conference was convened because of the realization that those resources must be developed in an orderly manner for the benefit of all and must contribute to a more equitable and workable global economic system.

143. We therefore fully agree with those who claim that a weak international sea-bed authority—one merely granting concessions and licenses to transnational enterprises—would only give rise to a new form of imperialism. It is no secret, therefore, that the third world countries consider the draft sea-bed mining legislation in the convention on the law of the sea a breakthrough in the global economic stalemate between developed and developing countries. But a chance for stable commodity prices, guaranteed funds for development and the acquisition of sophisticated technology by those developing countries which have economies heavily based on mining of land-based minerals might be lost if some industrialized nations attempt to scuttle the convention.

144. We appeal to all nations of good will to do nothing to destroy the results achieved during eight years of hard work since 1973, when the Conference began its work on the draft convention. The Government of the Republic of Suriname is still convinced that a comprehensive and well-balanced convention is the only way to avoid a scramble for the riches which are the common heritage of mankind, in accordance with the declaration of principles contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV).

145. At the end of the ninth session of the Conference there were hopeful signs that that slow-moving legal Conference was not far from its completion. A compromise was reached on many outstanding issues, particularly with regard to part XI of the informal draft convention, which regulates the principles governing the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Therefore it was a matter of deep regret for my country that these high expectations were overshadowed at the beginning of the tenth session of that Conference because of a statement by one delegation that it had been instructed to ensure that negotiations should not end at that session, pending a policy review by its Government.

146. My delegation notes with satisfaction that a genuine spirit of co-operation was demonstrated at the end of the tenth session, which resulted *inter alia* in the decision that the present informal draft convention should be converted into a revised text which will have a formal status.

147. My delegation also notes with satisfaction that one of the most persistent problems faced by the Conference

over the years, namely, the question of maritime boundary delimitation between adjacent or opposite States, has been solved by the introduction of a new compromise formula, which was acceptable to the group favouring a formula with emphasis on "equitable principles" as well as to the group favouring an equidistance formula. The decisions on the seats of the International Sea-Bed Authority and the Law of the Sea Tribunal are also considered a major step forward, and I take this opportunity to congratulate Jamaica and the Federal Republic of Germany respectively.

148. The Government of Suriname sincerely hopes that the process of consultations and negotiations on some outstanding issues will be finalized during the last substantive session in March 1982, so that in early September of that year the signing of the Final Act and the opening of the convention for signature in Caracas will take place in order to fulfil the mandate that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea received from the General Assembly 11 years ago.

149. The increasing tension in the world in the political, military and social, as well as economic, fields makes it imperative for us to express our great concern. The Government and people of the Republic of Suriname therefore pledge full support for our joint efforts in keeping this planet intact by means of arms-control and peace-making initiatives and in establishing a new international economic order. Strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations is therefore, in our opinion, a matter of survival for all nations living on this planet.

150. Mr. DOOGÉ (Ireland): I should like to congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. In electing him the Assembly has recognized both his outstanding personal qualities as a diplomat, deeply versed in United Nations affairs, and the growing importance of Iraq, a country with which Ireland has recently developed closer relations. I wish also to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, who presided over the last session with great skill and dedication. I join in the tributes which have already been paid to our Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the cause of peace in such difficult times.

151. It is a pleasure to welcome to the General Assembly the representatives of Vanuatu and of Belize. My country, as a member of the Security Council, had the honour to join in recommending both for membership of the United Nations.

152. The international outlook in this month of September 1981 is sombre indeed—as sombre as it has been at any time in recent years. Change and flux have always been a feature of international life, but as we start this session of the Assembly it must be clear to all of us that strains and pressures are building up in many areas to a dangerous degree.

153. First, over the past year relations between the super-Powers have deteriorated, and there are signs that the next year may bring a period of challenge and confrontation rather than of dialogue and agreement.

154. Secondly, the prospect of any serious effort towards disarmament seems to be receding. The talk is rather of new weapon systems, of higher defence spending and of the possibility of actually fighting a nuclear war.

155. Thirdly, tensions in several regions where there are serious problems of long standing have increased dangerously over the past year. The Middle East and southern Africa continue to present problems that concern and threaten all of us. Conflicts continue in countries such as Afghanistan, Kampuchea and El Salvador, and there is open war between Iran and Iraq.

156. Fourthly, the general world economic outlook continues to be discouraging; and there has been little serious progress in the effort to reorganize the world economy on a fairer basis. Major change which is necessary in the common interest is no closer than it was a year ago, and many millions of the world's peoples have little reason to expect any early improvement in their lot.

157. Each of those sources of conflict and tension is dangerous enough in itself, but the pressures they generate now seem to be intensifying and to be reinforcing one another. The result has been a general increase in international tension over the past year and an increased strain on the fabric and structures of international life.

158. The question for each of us, large or small, at the start of this session is how we can use the framework, structures and procedures offered by the United Nations and its family of related agencies to make the world at the end of another year less dangerous than it is today at the start of our session. Over the next three months the General Assembly faces a long agenda of issues in the political, economic, social, legal and human rights fields. The views of the 10 members of the European Community, to which Ireland belongs, have already been stated in this debate by Lord Carrington, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom [8th meeting]. I should like, in this national statement, to set out more fully the views of my own Government on the most important of the issues before us.

159. There is at least one area of importance where some significant progress has been made. This is the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which is probably the most ambitious global undertaking of the United Nations in recent years. The wide variety of issues and the different national interests involved have made the work difficult to complete, but considerable progress has been made and my Government is happy at the extent of the agreement already reached. Many fundamental issues have been negotiated to the stage where consensus seems feasible and only a few outstanding issues remain unresolved. I hope that the programme of work which the Conference has set itself for the next session can be adhered to, so that it will be the final decision-making session, and that a comprehensive convention on the law of the sea can be adopted by consensus next year.

160. On the other hand, the deterioration of relations between the super-Powers has blocked any real progress on disarmament during the past year. Mutual distrust has led instead to an emphasis on arming rather than on dis-

arming. We all know the difficulties. Each Power or alliance views the arms which it acquires and stockpiles for itself as defensive. It is those of its opponents or potential adversaries which are seen as dangerous and contributing to tension. It is understandable that States should wish to ensure their own security. But the increase in the armaments which one side feels to be necessary to ensure its security increases in the same proportion the insecurity of its rival. So they are caught in an apparently unending arms spiral. The arms race becomes itself a cause as well as a consequence of increased international tension.

161. The nuclear arms race now seems to be in the process of escalating in an exceptionally dangerous manner. The theory of nuclear deterrence is one which many may have grudgingly accepted. My country has never believed that deterrence could be a really durable basis for a stable and peaceful world order. But until now, at least, this approach has been based on the assumption that nuclear weapons would never be used. There is now, however, a growing view in some circles that it might be possible actually to fight and to win a nuclear war. This new theory could mean that nuclear war, far from being unthinkable, could come to be seen as a rational instrument of State policy. Such a theory challenges the dictates of common sense and threatens to undermine the moral prohibitions which so far have averted the ultimate disaster.

162. What we need now from the nuclear Powers are some practical measures of arms control which would limit the growth of nuclear weapons as a necessary preliminary to later agreement on their reduction. That at least would give some hope of progress on other disarmament issues. My delegation has been encouraged by the announcement that the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to begin talks in Geneva on 30 November on limiting so-called tactical forces. But this can only be a small beginning in a world of nuclear danger. The world needs a good deal more, and needs it soon. For some time now Ireland, like many other countries, has been pressing for a treaty imposing a complete ban on all nuclear testing in any environment, and pending that a voluntary moratorium on any further tests. This would be a token of the nuclear Powers' good faith and would help to dispel some of the increasing distrust which is damaging international relations.

163. We also believe that a new and serious effort is needed to strengthen the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in order to prevent their further spread. There is an urgent need for a chemical weapons convention, particularly in view of some recent developments. We want to see early progress in other areas relating to disarmament, including so-called confidence-building measures to help diminish international distrust. A new more positive approach by all participants in the review conference of the Final Act of Helsinki, at Madrid, and at the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva would, we believe, help in changing for the better the present international climate.

164. The steady increase in military expenditure is not only dangerous in itself but also a wasteful diversion of the world's resources from development. Poverty, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy—all the effects of underdevelopment—remain daily realities for the vast majority of the world's population. In terms of sheer numbers, more people today live lives of misery and want and more

people die of hunger than ever before. This situation is an affront to the human conscience. Because of its universal character, the United Nations system has a vital role to play in promoting development. Ireland fully supports that role. We believe that the emergence of the North-South dialogue is one of the most encouraging achievements of international co-operation during the past decade. But it must be a real and constructive dialogue and not a mere exchange of statements on existing positions. The problems are such that practical solutions must be found urgently.

165. Ireland wants to see a renewal, an expansion and a strengthening of the North-South dialogue. We believe that the United Nations has the capacity to respond to the demands of a new dialogue as well as to the need for measures to accelerate growth in developing countries and to improve the global economy. In particular, we look forward to an early start on a process of global negotiations, which we believe will promote growth and development of benefit to the entire international community. Our hope is that the meeting next month in Cancún will facilitate and speed up preparations for the global negotiations. We want to see the fundamental issues tackled and imaginative but practical solutions devised to meet the many problems now facing us.

166. I am happy to record that my Government, on coming to office three months ago, pledged that Ireland intends to reach the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance by the end of this decade. This will be done by progressively increasing our allocations for development assistance each year and will be accompanied by an emphasis on maximum effectiveness of our aid within a balanced over-all programme. In the context of the over-all target we are committed to devoting at least 0.15 per cent of our gross national product to the least developed countries.

167. Concern for human dignity, however, must not be limited to economic issues only. In recent years, situations in which society operates in such a way as to deprive people of their fundamental rights in a serious and systematic way have rightly become the concern of the international community as a whole. It is over 30 years since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In that period, the influence of the Declaration has increased immeasurably. The general principles of the Declaration have been given more detailed legal status through the human rights instruments subsequently adopted by the United Nations, and the Organization has developed its procedures and machinery for examining gross and consistent violations. We want to see that capacity improved. In particular, the section of the Secretariat dealing with human rights should be strengthened.

168. Even though the United Nations is still in a position to investigate only some of the gross violations in the world, there is evidence that progress is being made in such investigations. The extension by the Commission on Human Rights of the mandate of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances reveals the willingness to investigate that widespread problem. The range of internationally agreed instruments enabling the United Nations to take action in regard to specific categories of violation is also being widened. At this session of the General Assembly we shall consider, with a view to

adopting and solemnly proclaiming, the draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.⁵ That is the outcome of nearly 20 years of work within the United Nations. It will define in some detail a very important human right—the right to freedom of belief.

169. At this session the Assembly will also examine allegations of serious and widespread human rights violations arising out of conditions in certain Member States. I do not want to overlook violations in other countries, but I should say that the situation in El Salvador is a matter of particular concern to many people in Ireland. The callous disregard for human life in the political struggle and the murders which have taken place on a massive scale have shocked the world. We are convinced that the desperate plight of the population can best be alleviated by an end to outside interference and by the negotiation of a just and durable settlement. In this connection, Ireland accepts the principles underlying the recent Joint Franco-Mexican Declaration on El Salvador,⁶ which, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Mr. Cheysson, said earlier in this debate [9th meeting], has served as a reminder of the need to let each people settle its own affairs by political and democratic processes.

170. In many regions of the world where there are conflicts or potential conflicts, the increased tensions to which I referred earlier can be clearly seen. One such area is southern Africa, where Namibia is still occupied illegally, where acts of aggression continue to be launched by South Africa against other States in the region, and where the policies of *apartheid* are rigorously applied within South Africa.

171. The joint statement by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Western contact group on Namibia of 24 September 1981, has given us some hope that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) will be implemented and that Namibia will become independent in 1982. We welcome that statement and hope that every effort will be made to ensure that the negotiating process regains momentum. Should our hopes once again be dashed and South Africa again refuse to comply with the decisions of the Security Council on Namibia or attempt to postpone indefinitely Namibia's independence, we believe that the Security Council should be ready to discharge its responsibilities effectively and without delay. The seriousness of the situation in southern Africa and the need to achieve a rapid, just and peaceful settlement for Namibia, were demonstrated in recent weeks by the actions of South Africa against other States in the region, particularly Angola. I repeat here what we have already stated in the Security Council—that Ireland condemns South Africa's aggression against Angola as a violation of Angola's sovereignty and of the Charter of the United Nations.

172. Underlying the problem of southern Africa is the *apartheid* system in South Africa. That is not an issue on which it is possible to maintain a neutral attitude. *Apartheid* constitutes a direct challenge to the values which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We have seen no meaningful changes in South Africa's *apartheid* laws. Rather, those appear to be applied in an increasingly ruthless manner. The South African Government removes thousands by force to so-called homelands; it applies the pass laws rigidly; it maltreats its political prisoners; it imposes harsh sentences on opponents of

apartheid, such as the recent death sentences on a number of members of the ANC; it continues to impose banning orders; it systematically suppresses all efforts to move towards a truly democratic society.

173. *Apartheid* cannot succeed and the policies which flow from it will ultimately fail. Those in power in South Africa should face now the reality of their situation. Elaborate diversionary propaganda exercises aimed at persuading the world that all is well in South Africa deceive few, save, perhaps, those who devise them.

174. The Middle East is another area where a long-festering dispute has given rise to periodic outbreaks of violence on a massive scale which are dangerous not only for the region but also for the world as a whole. In recent months, we have witnessed the attack on the nuclear facility in Baghdad, the heavy casualties in Beirut on 17 July and the loss of further Lebanese, Israeli and Palestinian lives in hostilities in the Israel-Lebanon border area. Those developments render all the more urgent the conclusion of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

175. The Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, in his statement on behalf of the 10 members of the European Community, has already outlined the principles which we believe to be basic, and has emphasized our determination to work towards such a settlement. Ireland, as a member of the Community, fully shares those views. In the search for a way forward, we also consider particularly interesting and worthy of serious consideration the statement by His Royal Highness Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia, setting out the principles advocated by his Government for a settlement.

176. This conflict is a particularly difficult and intractable one because it is a conflict of rights. We believe that acceptance by the parties to the conflict of the principles already enunciated by the member States of the European Community, namely, the right to security and existence of all States in the region, including Israel, and justice for all its peoples, is essential if progress is to be made towards a peace settlement. An integral element in these principles is full exercise of their right to self-determination by the Palestinian people within the framework of a comprehensive settlement in the negotiation of which all concerned, including the PLO, play their full part. It is our hope that each of the parties involved will be able to accept a role for the others in the negotiation of a settlement on this basis.

177. Lebanon is a particularly tragic casualty in the Middle East conflict. Its problems are largely a consequence of the larger conflict in which it has become a battleground. The cessation of armed attacks called for in Security Council resolution 490 (1981) of last July is holding, and this has brought, if not peace, some respite from violence. But experience has shown that to offer reasonable hope of something more than a temporary lull in hostilities such arrangements must be consolidated and built on. Ireland continues to contribute troops to UNIFIL, as we have done to nearly every United Nations peace-keeping operation since we joined the United Nations 26 years ago. I should like to pay a tribute to the courage and devotion to duty of the members of that Force from all 11 countries involved and to express my sympathy for the losses they have suffered. It is essential

that all of the parties concerned extend to UNIFIL their full and unconditional co-operation.

178. Elsewhere in the Middle East, war continues between Iran and Iraq and no end seems to be in sight despite the efforts of several mediation missions. There are also continuing conflicts in central and southern Asia, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea.

179. The past 18 months have brought great suffering to the Afghan people, large numbers of whom have been forced into exile in neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan. The crisis not only affects the country itself but also imposes severe difficulties in neighbouring States and threatens both regional stability and international peace. My Government believes that any settlement must necessarily provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the creation of conditions in which the people of Afghanistan can determine their own form of government, free from outside intervention. The initiative of the European Community offers a reasonable means of advancing towards a negotiated settlement and of returning Afghanistan to its traditional independent and non-aligned status.

180. The people of Kampuchea too have undergone appalling suffering over recent years as a result of domestic cruelties and the hardships imposed by foreign invasion and occupation. Here too we believe that a comprehensive political settlement is needed. This should lead to an independent Kampuchea, whose people would be free to select the Government of their choice. In our view, Kampuchea should be free from any foreign military presence, it should maintain friendly relations with all the countries of the region and it should have the benefit of international assistance for reconstruction. We hope that Viet Nam and other nations whose co-operation is essential for arriving at a peaceful solution may soon agree to join with others in the international community to discuss a settlement on the lines I have indicated.

181. The right of every people to freedom from outside intervention applies too to Poland, a country for whose people we in Ireland have a special regard. We believe that, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Final Act of Helsinki, it is for the Polish people themselves to determine their own future without the threat of any intervention in their internal affairs.

182. I have spoken here of a series of world problems and the approach which my Government takes to them. I feel it right at the end of this statement to refer to a problem nearer home, that of Northern Ireland. I want to inform the world Assembly of the approach of the new Irish Government to that issue.

183. In the past 10 years violence in Northern Ireland has led to the deaths of 2,150 persons. This year alone deaths due to political violence have already reached a figure of 85. For a community of only one and a half million people these figures reflect much suffering and very serious community divisions. What is the origin of this tragic situation?

184. As it moved to independence just over 60 years ago, Ireland was divided. A long and complex history had left a minority in the north-eastern corner of the island who favoured the existing union with Great Britain

and were not prepared to join the majority in independence. So Northern Ireland was created and remained within the United Kingdom. Within this area, the Unionists, who were a minority in the island, now became a local majority. There was also a substantial minority who strongly opposed this settlement, which had made them a minority within Northern Ireland, and who aspired to a reunification of the whole island of Ireland. The result ever since has been a divided community in Northern Ireland, where political identity and loyalty has always been the basic issue in democratic elections and where violence has flared up at frequent intervals.

185. Historians may argue whether the problem of Northern Ireland was in its origin a colonial one. My Government does not approach the issue in this way. Nor do we see it as a matter of disputed territory or a claim of some kind by the Government and the people of the south on Northern Ireland. The central issue for all of us in Ireland today is peace, not peace in the sense merely of an end to violence—although that of course is vital—but peace in the wider sense of reconciliation and of healing.

186. This is necessarily a broad and general aim to which many would subscribe. The question is how to bring it about. What policies, what efforts and what changes will be needed? What future political structures will be necessary within Northern Ireland, between north and south in the island of Ireland and between Ireland and Great Britain, two countries which have been linked so closely and for so long? And how are the extremists of whatever political outlook whose recourse to violence opens new wounds instead of promoting healing and reconciliation to be dealt with? These are difficult questions, and they preoccupy my Government.

187. What I can do here is indicate very clearly the direction my Government will try to take and the principles we will try to follow.

188. First, as I said, our primary aim is peace, healing and reconciliation. It follows that we utterly repudiate violence, because violence in such a situation not only causes human suffering, but also keeps open old bitterness and cruelly opens new wounds.

189. Secondly, the claim by the men of violence to derive legitimacy from the past or from the future for acts of violence in Ireland today is a spurious one. By their actions those who make this claim are replacing the dream of Irish unity by a nightmare of violence and discord. The freedom won by the people of Ireland with much difficulty in the past was the freedom for each generation of people living in Ireland to choose the type of society they want for themselves and for their children. No Irish Government will allow that freedom of choice to be usurped.

190. Thirdly, my Government is open in its outlook and approach. It is ready to examine, to consider and, if major change is needed, to propose to our electorate whatever may best advance our basic aim of healing and reconciliation in Ireland.

191. Fourthly, to this end, too, we will do what we can to promote good will and understanding through dialogue across the community divisions in Northern Ireland and also between north and south in the island of Ireland.

192. Fifthly, we want to do all this within a framework which gives expression to and further promotes the many close links between the islands of Ireland and Great Britain.

193. Unfortunately, for many months now an immediate and pressing issue—the hunger strike by prisoners in Northern Ireland—has diverted attention and energy from those broader aims. That issue, related as it is to prison conditions in Northern Ireland and to the status to be accorded in prison to those who have been convicted of violence, has attracted world-wide attention. It is natural that it should do so. Self-sacrifice, particularly through a long-drawn-out hunger strike, testifies to deep conviction, and it arouses human emotions of sympathy and concern for those who are prepared to accept such a long and slow death. It is thus a weapon of great power. But it is a weapon; and in Northern Ireland it is a weapon which has been used with great determination by organizations and people who themselves have shown the most ruthless lack of concern for human suffering. In the words of the Irish poet Yeats: "Too long a sacrifice makes a stone of the heart." The hunger strike and its needless prolongation have made a stone of many hearts in Northern Ireland today.

194. Since it began in early 1981, 10 persons have died on hunger strike. But in that same period some 64 other persons have died by violence in the area, 40 of them struck down without mercy by those very organizations which seek to mobilize support and humanitarian concern around the world for their own members who are serving prison sentences in Northern Ireland for earlier acts of violence.

195. My Government has deep sympathy for all who suffer in Northern Ireland. No one of compassion could be indifferent in human terms to each successive death as it occurs. But what is one to say of those who encourage and use the long-drawn-out and widely publicized death of a young hunger striker to call for human rights while they themselves are meting out death most cruelly and without compassion to those whom they choose to see as opponents of Irish unity. For our part, the Irish Government, speaking for the great majority of the Irish people, wants to see an end to killing, to violence of all kinds and to the voluntary sacrifice of lives used as a weapon in a campaign of violence. We want this for humanitarian reasons—but also because we know that the hunger strike is a weapon to gain support for those who use violence and we want to see that weapon defused and disarmed.

196. There have been times in recent months when it seemed to us that the hunger strike could have been brought to an end without any concession of principle, that is, without conceding so-called political status, if the prison authorities were to make changes in certain limited respects in the rules under which the prisoners are held, while continuing to ensure, as they must, the good governance of the prison system as a whole. My Government, in its continuing contacts with the British Government, has sought to encourage it to consider whether any such measure might be open to it and could be introduced without concession on basic principle. Our hope was that lives could be saved—in prison and outside—and that the weapon of the hunger strike would thereby be blunted and defused. We believe that some such changes are possible without yielding on principle, and we hope that they will

be made by the British Government in view of its particular responsibilities. But I want to emphasize here also the responsibility for an end to this stubborn confrontation on the part of those members of paramilitary bodies who have organized it and sought thereby to mobilize support for their campaign of violence.

197. Many public figures in Ireland in both the political and religious life of the country have called insistently for an end to the hunger strike and an end to the campaign of violence. Those calls simply must be heeded. I want to echo and amplify them in the Assembly. The hunger strike and the campaign of violence with which it is closely linked are tragic and ultimately futile diversions from an aim which most Irish people share—that of bringing healing and reconciliation to the island of Ireland and lifting the burden of history from the shoulders of all its people.

198. I began my statement here today by referring to the sombre international climate and the need to do what we can at this session of the Assembly to improve it, to lessen tensions and to ease conflicts. That is our aim too in Ireland. I have tried to explain to representatives the approach that we are taking, and I ask for their support and understanding for what we are trying to do. I hope that by the time I come to speak to the Assembly next year I will be able to report progress and that I may be able to talk to representatives of real movement towards peace and reconciliation in Ireland.

199. In summary, we in Ireland seek peace in the world through the instrumentality of the United Nations; we seek peace in the many trouble spots of the world through the United Nations and other international agencies; and we seek peace in our own small island through the same principles of justice and mutual understanding that form the basis of the work of the United Nations.

200. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly has opened in an atmosphere of expectation and hope. We are reminded that at the thirty-fifth session the study of certain important questions, whose satisfactory solution could have beneficial effects on international peace and security, yielded blueprints and approaches that gave rise to great hope. They include the question of Namibia, the problem of the Middle East, the situation in Asia, the North-South dialogue and the negotiations on the law of the sea. While all of them were not resolved during the last session, we still hope that at the current session and under the wise and enlightened presidency of Mr. Kittani, progress will be made along the lines desired by the international community.

201. To attain those objectives, the Assembly will once more have need of a President who is both a statesman and a diplomat. Those two qualities are combined in Mr. Kittani. We would therefore like to express the pleasure and satisfaction with which we see him accede to his high position. Added to this is the fact that his country, Iraq, and my country, Senegal, enjoy exemplary and special relations. In extending to him my country's sincere and heartfelt congratulations along with its best wishes for success, I can assure him of the full co-operation of the delegation of Senegal throughout the work of this session.

202. I should like to take this opportunity to express my country's gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, for his highly personal contribution, as an experienced diplomat, to the success of our last session.

203. I should like finally to pay a tribute to the work of the Secretary-General and to his tireless efforts in the discharge of his sensitive functions.

204. In hailing the admission of Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu, I should like to wish them welcome and to assure them that my country's Government is prepared to establish with these two new Members of the Organization relations of friendship and fruitful co-operation.

205. We are meeting once again to review the year which is coming to an end and together to try to define in relation to the past and to the future—a future already burdened with unknown factors and uncertainty—the most appropriate ways and means to establish a world which is just because it is based on tolerance, mutual understanding and solidarity.

206. Since last autumn, the endless conflicts which have coloured relations among some Member States have undergone developments which are disquieting for humanity, even if in a few rare cases glimpses of a positive solution have been momentarily perceived. Thus, southern Africa, the Middle East and Asia continue to harbour hotbeds of serious tension which, at any moment, could flare up into conflagrations with unforeseeable consequences.

207. Upheavals and dangers of all kinds continue seriously to jeopardize the futures of several peoples of those regions, peoples which aspire to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination. The same dangers today threaten the consolidation of the independence of young States, as well as their stability and development. I shall try to pinpoint some of these upheavals and dangers, to recall whenever necessary my Government's position on those questions, and to voice some suggestions which, in the eyes of my country, might facilitate their solution.

208. The eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the important question of Namibia, provided an opportunity for my country, Senegal, to reaffirm its position on that problem which, once again, poses a grave threat to international peace and security. If I return to that point, it is to recall certain principles, the implementation of which would help restore co-operation and stability in that region. I am talking about scrupulous implementation of the settlement plan of the Western countries, endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It cannot be overemphasized that that resolution is an honourable compromise; its adoption gave rise to great hopes and allowed the appearance on the horizon of the prospect of a just settlement of this problem, which is of such concern to the international community. My country welcomes the statements made this session by other delegations, in particular those of the Western countries which sponsored that resolution and are eager for its complete implementation as soon as possible. In this regard, we should emphasize the fact that the meeting of the five-country contact group showed a determination to pursue efforts aimed at the implementation of the Security Council resolution. Those countries deserve

encouragement and support in the course they are pursuing.

209. If South Africa were to persist in its dilatory tactics and thus to overtax the patience of the international community, there would be no alternative to the adoption of enforcement measures against it which would compel it to abide by the decisions of the Organization. As we said a few weeks ago, those measures are, essentially, first, to put an end to all military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa in accordance with Security Council resolution 418 (1977); secondly, to impose an effective embargo against it, especially an oil embargo; thirdly, no longer to make investments in it or to grant it loans; fourthly, to put an end to the purchase and marketing of gold and other minerals from South Africa and to co-operation with South African bodies which market those minerals; fifthly, to deny to South Africa certain essential supplies, *inter alia*, electronic and telecommunications material, machinery and chemical products, as well as transfer of technology.

210. It should be recalled that those measures were advocated by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981, over which my country, Senegal, had the honour to preside, because South Africa has created a dangerous and explosive situation throughout southern Africa. Those measures could be effective because the South African economy—which is, as is known, heavily dependent on foreign countries in the areas of technology, financing, capital goods and oil—would feel sorely the effects of binding, specific international sanctions.

211. My delegation would like here solemnly to renew the support of the people and the Government of Senegal for the fraternal people of Namibia, organized under the aegis of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative under the leadership of its President, our brother Mr. Sam Nujoma.

212. The odious system of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government, besides the challenge it constitutes to our devotion to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is more than a mere attack on African human dignity, it is a crime against humanity.

213. South Africa's repeated attacks against the front-line States, and especially against the sovereign people of Angola, must once again be condemned here. In this regard, Senegal would like once more to express its support for Angola.

214. The Organization must therefore meet this challenge, and to do this, the conclusions adopted at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa should be endorsed by the General Assembly during this session. We think that those conclusions constitute the most effective and also the most appropriate way to compel South Africa to end the system of *apartheid*. I should also like to take this opportunity to reaffirm solemnly here the steadfast determination of the Government and the people of Senegal to continue to offer their aid and assistance to the two South African national liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

215. Of course, other important political questions also concern my Government.

216. In the case of Western Sahara, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its eighteenth ordinary session held at Nairobi on 27 and 28 June 1981, added a new dimension to the conflict. Senegal, which already at Freetown in 1980 was advocating a "dynamic African-style compromise", would like to commend the agreement reached at Nairobi which, we very much hope, will put a prompt end to this conflict in the interest of all States of the region, as well as of Africa as a whole.

217. As regards the Comoran island of Mayotte, we would like to believe that the dialogue that has been opened between the French authorities and the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros will continue and be strengthened. Senegal is available to the parties to help them in this connection.

218. The question of Chad has been distinguished this year by two events, the installation of the Transitional National Union Government and the acceptance of the principle of the despatch of a pan-African force to Chad, the membership of which will be subject to approval by the Transitional National Union Government. We hope that the measures decided upon by the OAU at Nairobi will lead to the establishment of a lasting peace in a united and truly independent Chad, to the benefit of its people as a whole.

219. The conflict in the Middle East, because of its growing complexity and its many implications, remains today one of our most serious problems, requiring the close attention not only of that region but of the international community as a whole. Since December 1967, the resolutions and decisions of the Organization aimed at defining and organizing the framework for a just and lasting solution to that conflict have multiplied. Indeed, for more than a quarter of a century this question has been constantly under discussion within the United Nations, which has recognized that the resolution of this problem depends upon the implementation of a comprehensive and balanced approach that takes into account some of the fundamental principles of the Organization.

220. I need not remind you that the conditions involve the withdrawal by Israel from Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by force since 1967, the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent and sovereign State in their own homeland, and the recognition of and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the States in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

221. My country is convinced that these principles define just and valid bases for negotiations between all the parties concerned, in particular our brother people of Palestine through its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, led by our brother, Mr. Yasser Arafat. Of course, the great majority of States in the Organization adhere to this position. Nevertheless, Israel's intransigence remains the principal obstacle to the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the area.

222. Indeed, by refusing to evacuate the territories it has occupied by force, by pursuing its policy of systematic annexation, by the establishment of settlements and the judaization of those territories and by continuing to deny the Palestinian reality, Israel is undeniably invalidating its claim that it wishes to live in peace with its neighbours.

223. We feel it is the duty of the Security Council to take all necessary steps to check this constant deterioration of the situation, particularly in the occupied territories, by calling upon Israel to put an immediate end to its acts of aggression, which are a violation of the permanent principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations.

224. In this connection, my country, under its mandate from the Twelfth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Baghdad from 1 to 5 June 1981, must take this opportunity to appeal to the members of the Security Council to adopt a new resolution that would explicitly mention the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, whose aspirations are not completely reflected in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

225. My delegation must once again condemn the Israeli act of aggression against the Tamuz nuclear power station in Iraq. This act of aggression was aimed, among other things, at robbing a State of its sovereign and legitimate right to acquire nuclear technology.

226. The Government and people of Senegal are increasingly concerned by the situation prevailing in Lebanon. Senegal would like to reaffirm here its unswerving solidarity with Lebanon and to condemn Israel's acts of aggression, acts which frustrate the work of UNIFIL, to which my country has contributed.

227. Senegal would like to reiterate, as it did at the thirty-fifth session [20th meeting], its proposal for the elaboration of a system of safeguards and immunities for the troops made available to the United Nations for peace-keeping operations, so that such forces can carry out their mission effectively. The Lebanese people are a martyred people on whom war and genocide—in no way justified by its geographical situation—have been inflicted. And if today the Lebanese people have not yet been crushed by force of arms, it is because throughout their history they have always been able to face the injustices of fate with courage. For all these reasons, we appeal to all Lebanese parties and call upon them to turn resolutely towards national reconciliation in order to safeguard both the unity and the sovereignty of their country.

228. I should like to say a few words about the painful conflict between Iran and Iraq. In this respect, the international community should show greater persistence, taking new initiatives and intensifying the efforts already undertaken under various auspices, in order to induce the two belligerent parties to settle the differences between them by peaceful means within the framework of a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement.

229. The Islamic peace committee, of which Senegal is a member, which was established at Taif in January 1981, as well as the mediation committee of the non-aligned movement, have taken commendable initiatives in this connection, which the international community should en-

courage, aimed at ending a conflict with manifold consequences for international security.

230. The seriousness of the situation in the Middle East should not cause us to forget that, in other parts of the world, foreign interference and interventions and violations of the independence and sovereignty of States are contributing to the creation of unacceptable situations, unacceptable in terms both of morality and of law. Thus, in Cambodia and in Afghanistan, Governments have been set up by external Powers in defiance of the Charter and of the principles of the Organization. The United Nations has constantly underscored the injustice of the fate of the peoples of Cambodia and Afghanistan, who desire to live in peace, justice and unity.

231. These situations, which my country has frequently had occasion to deplore, should, because of their illegitimate nature and the disastrous consequences they entail for relations among States, lead the international community to take the necessary steps to combat the introduction and strengthening of the tendency to violate the fundamental principle of respect for the sovereignty of States laid down in the Charter.

232. In the case of Kampuchea, by adopting resolution 35/6, the General Assembly recommended, among other things, the withdrawal from Kampuchea of all foreign forces and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Kampuchean people. We are obliged to state that, despite the efforts of the United Nations, there seems to be little hope of a solution to the Kampuchean problem. For its part, Senegal would like to express its determination to continue to support the Kampuchean people and its authentic representatives until the triumph of justice, the sole object of their sacred struggle. At the same time, my Government thinks that the United Nations should take a new initiative to create an atmosphere favourable to a peaceful solution to this problem. In this spirit, it is pleasing to note that the International Conference on Kampuchea, which was convened by the Assembly on this question and which met from 13 to 17 July 1981 at Headquarters, defined a realistic framework for the settlement: withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and the organization of free elections under international control. There can be no doubt that the implementation of those measures presupposes the consent of all the parties concerned in the conflict. It is time that they all understood that the path of negotiation is the only one which can ensure the success of their arguments and spare their dignity.

233. In this respect, my country believes that the *Ad Hoc* Committee set up by the Conference could, with the aid and support of all the parties concerned, help to restore peace and understanding in the country.

234. The question of Korea also deserves our attention. The principle of reunification, accepted by both countries, should be encouraged by the United Nations.

235. The situation in Afghanistan, which is still an emotional subject and a cause of deep concern to my country, has prompted new interest with the recent initiatives by the European Community concerning the organization of an international conference on the question. Senegal has followed these initiatives with interest, since it seems that they could lead to an acceptable settlement

of the situation in Afghanistan, in the name of solidarity among nations and the principles contained in the Charter.

236. The problem of Cyprus is still on the agenda of the United Nations. We must welcome the real though limited progress that has been made this year in the framework of intercommunal meetings towards finding a just and peaceful solution that will preserve the unity and sovereignty of Cyprus. A tribute is due in this respect to the Turkish and Greek Governments, as well as to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for the efforts they have constantly made to resolve this question.

237. The final extinction of hotbeds of tension—in order to bring about international peace and security for all States, particularly those of the third world, which are almost all directly involved—would do much to establish a favourable climate for disarmament through the marked reduction of the use of military arsenals which such extinction would engender.

238. The importance which my country attaches to the problem of disarmament is well known, and it is also known that Senegal has also followed and participated actively in the efforts of the community of nations to strengthen international security. As member of a certain number of groups of experts set up by this Assembly—among others, that to study institutional aspects of the disarmament process and the group of experts on the relationship between disarmament and development—my country has worked to develop the proposals to which I have referred here at previous sessions. In this spirit, I would recall with emphasis my country's belief in the essential need for the denuclearization of third world regions, feeling that this question deserves the highest priority from our Assembly.

239. While supporting efforts in connection with generalized disarmament, unfortunately we can only deplore the slowness of negotiations on the implementation of the Programme of Action on nuclear disarmament [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*], adopted during the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, in 1978. On this question, which is vital for the future of the world, we small countries can only try to convince the great Powers which hold in their hands the keys to real solutions in this connection. However, it is recognized that the shared destiny of all States of our planet should lead us to show wisdom and political determination. However, we, the representatives of third world countries, which have always been the arena in which armed conflicts have taken place—conflicts often provoked, encouraged and maintained by Powers foreign to the regions concerned, thus involving all mankind in the arms race—must therefore show all the more zeal in achieving the objectives of disarmament.

240. This year, once again, the Assembly will consider the implementation of the decisions and recommendations adopted by the General Assembly at its first special session on disarmament, and will hear the report of the Preparatory Committee on the second special session on disarmament, scheduled for next year.

241. Disarmament and the halting of the race towards collective genocide should, we believe, be fundamental concerns, and, in fact, they are. In line with this principle,

we must stress the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. Thus, the Government of the Republic of Senegal feels that it is urgently necessary to increase the effectiveness of the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes and to strengthen the peace-keeping capacity of the Organization, even if this means changes in the present structures and amendments to existing texts. In this respect Senegal, which voted during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly for the resolution on the peaceful settlement of disputes among States [*resolution 35/160*], continues to follow with great attention the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. We hope that this Committee will be able to work out as speedily as possible a draft declaration on the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

242. All these questions—which are called “fratricidal wars”, “the perpetuation of colonial-type domination”, “the arms race”—are dangerously mortgaging the future of international economic relations, already darkened by the parade of poverty and suffering which is the daily lot of the developing countries, the first victims of the crisis of the 1970s.

243. We in the third world deplore this situation, which is particularly disturbing for the stability of developing countries and for world peace, since it is coupled with the persistence of economic structures which oppress developing countries and have been inherited from the period of the great colonial empires.

244. The future of mankind might not be so dark, however, if the international community were deliberately to choose new economic options based on justice and solidarity. In this respect, the appeal of the General Assembly for a new international economic order, made during the sixth and seventh special sessions in 1974 and 1975, proved an “unexpected blessing”, as has already been stated, since it aroused the awareness of the leaders of the developing countries to the vital need fundamentally to review the notion of development and growth.

245. Developing countries must strive to gain acceptance for a more complete definition of development, no longer based primarily on an almost one-dimensional vision of progress tied to purely quantitative growth. Development criteria must also, and at the same time, take into account the mastery of scientific and technical data, which requires adequate human as well as financial resources, and respect for the traditional values of developing countries.

246. My country must ask the Assembly to give consideration to the adoption of a suitable solution to the problem of the United Nations financing system for science and technology for development.

247. In this respect, Senegal would like once again to appeal to all Powers, whether of the East or the West, to manifest real political will to accept an adequate method of financing through voluntary contributions and the speedy establishment of institutional provisions. All our efforts must be united within the Assembly in order to achieve and bring about the necessary structures, namely, an executive committee and a secretariat. These two bodies would be coupled with the inter-governmental committee which already exists. These structures would

make possible better financing of scientific and technical activities and the participation of all African States in decisions in this field.

248. We also believe that the consensus achieved on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade offers a way of recognizing the interdependence of States and of opening the door to international co-operation.

249. The political will which made possible the consensus on that Strategy should inspire those Member States which prevented the reaching of consensus on procedural aspects of the global negotiations. Certainly the interdependence of the nations represented here calls, at the least, for international co-operation in the interests of all peoples.

250. The achievement of this new international economic order presupposes a new humanism—in other words, a new kind of healthy relationship among the members of the international community. To be sure, the violation of fundamental freedoms is a serious breach of the policy of development and cannot be justified by the requirements of such a policy.

251. Human rights are an essential dimension of development. Thus, on the proposal of my country, the sixteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which met at Monrovia in 1979, adopted resolution 115 (XVI) calling for the elaboration of a draft African charter of human and peoples' rights.

252. Dakar, capital of Senegal, had the honour of hosting the high-level meeting of African experts which prepared the preliminary draft. Mr. Kéba Mbaye, the first President of the Supreme Court of Senegal and Rapporteur of the ministerial conference which prepared the text, declared in submitting it to the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at Nairobi:

“Our draft, by the balance it strikes between human rights and the rights of peoples, between civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights, and between freedoms and duties, bears the imprint of our specific nature.”

253. In conclusion, I should like to state that on several occasions the Republic of Senegal has already given proof of its devotion to the universal principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

254. Our country, together with other nations devoted to safeguarding the values that inspire the destiny of mankind, takes the opportunity offered by the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly solemnly to reaffirm that it will spare no effort to contribute positively to the search for, and implementation of, relevant solutions, to put an end to the various conflicts dividing the world, to lead and assist peoples to tolerate one another, to get along amicably with one another and to co-operate, in a spirit of mutual confidence and respect for each other's interests, culture and civilization, so that they may fulfil their destiny in freedom and peace.

255. It was this vocation of peoples determined to reach out to others while remaining themselves—a vocation which Senegal shares with the countries represented here—that our head of State, Mr. Abdou Diouf, on behalf of his African colleagues, at the opening of the OAU Assembly at Nairobi last June, was recalling when he said:

“Our combat is a shared one, for justice, dignity and the salvation of our peoples.

“If our ambitions, prospects, programmes and situations are to be achieved, there must be unity and solidarity among us. If unity and solidarity are to be achieved, there must be a spirit of tolerance based on the right to differ. And to this end we must settle our disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the charters of the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity.”

256. May our Assembly, throughout its work, contribute to the achievement of those ideals. The salvation of mankind is at stake.

257. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The election at the beginning of our proceedings of Mr. Kittani of Iraq to the high post of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is a tribute to his exceptional qualities as a diplomat and a statesman. A more authoritative voice than my own—that of the head of the Congolese delegation, Comrade Pierre Nze, Member of the Political Bureau and Minister for Foreign Affairs—could more eloquently have welcomed this signal honour not only to Mr. Kittani personally but also to Iraq, a country friendly to the People's Republic of the Congo. I am happy to extend to him the most cordial congratulations of my delegation and to take this occasion to let him know how particularly pleased we are that our work is being guided by a man already known for his competence and great probity.

258. I should like to associate myself with the many speakers who have extended to his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, well-deserved praise for the brilliant and effective manner in which he discharged his duties as President of the thirty-fifth session.

259. Finally, above and beyond the ritual aspects of the occasion, I wish to extend a warm welcome to Vanuatu and Belize, which have just been admitted as full Members of the United Nations. The presence among us of those two States which have only just emerged from colonial darkness bears witness to the substantial decolonization efforts accomplished by the United Nations, which, for 20 years now, has been the focal point of decisive actions that have led to the collapse of citadels of colonialism which only yesterday had been firmly entrenched.

260. The victory of the peoples of Vanuatu and Belize comes at just the right time to confirm the justice of the national liberation struggle being waged by freedom fighters against colonial oppression and exploitation. The whole humble history of mankind should remind us that when a people is determined to break the humiliating shackles of submission, no force can resist the inexorable whirlwind stirred up by its inflexible determination. The delegation of the Congo wishes to assure the representa-

tives of those two new Member States of its co-operation and solidarity.

261. The constant quest on the part of my country for increased solidarity and ever greater understanding among nations is justified by our people's conviction that only a dynamic mobilization of all peace-loving peoples can stop the advance of aggressive forces which are now giving rise to growing alarm the world over.

262. Yesterday the weakness of peaceful peoples fostered the outbreak of nazism and fascism, which were responsible for millions of deaths. Who knows into what catastrophes of history we shall be led tomorrow by the imperialist policy of confrontation which has imbued international relations with the characteristics of the East-West tensions, fraught with so many dangers? The arms race is proceeding at a rapid pace. The world looks on powerlessly at a kind of call to arms on the part of the blocs. Instead of the policy of détente, which the non-aligned countries have always cherished, we see developing today dangerous dialectics of confrontation. Those who are inclined to welcome unashamedly the intensification of international tension are wrong. Today the problem of how to maintain peace has become, because of the nuclear aspect, a global problem, a problem for all States, large and small.

263. In this explosive international situation there come into being everywhere hotbeds of tension which are being maintained feverishly, with the object of extending spheres of influence, by increasing the number of military bases in defenceless countries and establishing thinly disguised protectorates.

264. The case of Africa is one of the most troubling; the threats to that continent take many forms. First of all, there is the persistence of an ecological crisis caused by the encroachment of the desert and the constant drought which gravely affects a number of countries situated between Cape Verde and the Horn of Africa.

265. The economic threat, for its part, can be seen in the powerful domination exercised by multinational interests, for which Africa is nothing but a reservoir of raw materials and, furthermore, in the extreme weakness of a form of economy which depends strongly on foreign markets.

266. The political crisis is compounded by a military threat that affects Africa on all sides, one of the most obvious aspects of which is the wanton continuance of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa. The increasingly aggressive policy of that racist régime is a matter of grave concern for the whole continent. The continuance of the hateful policy of *apartheid* and the over-arming of the Pretoria régime, which, in addition to using many other methods of intimidation, is considering resorting to the blackmail of nuclear weapons to defend its anachronistic and anti-human philosophy, constitute flagrant examples of injustice in the world today.

267. Finally, of all continents, Africa has the greatest number of refugees and the largest number of so-called least developed countries. Praiseworthy efforts have at times been projected, especially as regards the humanitarian aspects or, more generally, the economic and social aspects, to which we shall return later in our state-

ment. As for the necessary prerequisites for the creation of confidence and the most favourable conditions for the establishment of peace in that part of the world, as yet we see no signs that might give cause for optimism.

268. As long as South Africa, which is racist and colonialist, does not regard itself as an African State with the same concepts of freedom and respect for human dignity as the other African peoples, there can be no doubt that international peace and security will constantly be breached in that area. Against whom, and why, is racist South Africa acquiring nuclear weapons? The unconditional protectors of the champions of *apartheid* could no doubt provide the international community with a clear response to that agonizing question.

269. To proceed methodically, we should at least begin by returning Namibia to its people. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was drafted with that in mind. In the view of my delegation, that is the only pragmatic approach that might pave the way to a just and peaceful solution of the problem of Namibia, which, as every one of us knows, remains essentially a problem of decolonization. We should remember that it is South Africa which unilaterally took the initiative of breaking off the negotiations that were begun by the contact group of five Western countries. That was indeed a serious step, in the face of which the silence of the international community seems strangely "deafening". My country, of course, encourages any initiative which might bring closer the exercise by the people of Namibia, under the aegis of SWAPO, its only authentic representative, of its right to freedom and independence.

270. The culmination of the process of decolonization in Namibia would have the initial effect of restoring peace in the southern part of the continent and of enabling the so-called front-line African States to concentrate on the essential task of the economic and social development of their countries. However, South Africa, which claims to be a besieged fortress, is opposing the advent of a climate of peace and co-operation in the region, increasing in a disgraceful and criminal manner its aggressive acts against those States which endeavour to implement courageously the relevant resolutions of the Organization with regard to the assistance that all Member States are duty-bound to provide to the Namibian people, whose territory has been transformed by the South African soldiery into a sweatshop, where men, women and children of the heroic Namibian people are suffering helplessly. The latest of these aggressive acts has been directed at the People's Republic of Angola and is continued today through the occupation by Pretoria's army of a part of the territory of a Member State of the United Nations.

271. In this case scandal and criminality reach the highest point when the international community does not even consider doing anything to dissuade the aggressor.

272. It might even be concluded from this, as was stated quite rightly by our Minister for Foreign Affairs at the eighth emergency special session [5th meeting], that it seems that Angola is being accused simply because it is implementing the relevant decisions of the Organization by what is its special contribution to the cause of the liberation of colonial countries and peoples.

273. The Organization has the political and moral duty to act before it is too late to defuse the tension persisting in that part of Africa. The Congolese Government, for its part, supports unreservedly the struggle of the fraternal people of Angola to defend its independence and its territorial integrity. Today, imperialism and its accomplices are criss-crossing Angola with their plots. Their efforts are to no avail because the Angolan people, faithful to the heritage of Agostinho Neto, will take up the challenge and will victoriously defend the gains of its revolution.

274. My delegation is very pleased to welcome the progress which, after so much suffering and anguish, has just crowned the efforts of the OAU to end the tragedy experienced by the fraternal people of Chad. The Congolese Government supports the praiseworthy efforts of this fraternal country towards reconciliation and national reconstruction. Some of the Western press, accustomed to giving its readers spicy stories about the third world, has recently indulged, in referring to the detachment of Congolese soldiers which, at the urgent request of the OAU, my Government agreed to send to N'Djamena, in hate-filled and defamatory articles which show the disdain with which these unworthy journalists regard the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which they consider to be inferior. The Congolese People's National Army is the army of our militant people, and was formed in accordance with the strict precepts of the Congolese Workers' Party. Its mission in Chad was supervised by an outstanding member of our Party and by the Chad Transitional National Union Government during the three months when our troops were constantly confined to the barracks of the N'Djamena police force. In any case, my Government challenges this blinkered press to show the least proof of its fabrications. This slanderous campaign on the part of Western media, directed now at one régime, and now at some other country in the third world, will in no way change the firm commitment of African States in general and those of Central Africa in particular which stand shoulder to shoulder with our Chadian brothers so that that people can recover, with its independence, peace and the pride of place which it occupies in our subregion.

275. In the northern part of the African continent, the problem of the decolonization of the Western Sahara has created a situation with an extreme degree of antagonism between the various protagonists in the Maghreb. It is gratifying that a referendum on self-determination has been decided upon, to enable the Sahraoui people, after a free and clear choice, to become independent. Whatever happens, Congo joins with the OAU and the United Nations in supporting the common efforts of the two organizations directed towards a just and final settlement of that problem.

276. The Indian Ocean, although it has been declared by the United Nations to be a "zone of peace", is today the scene of intense military activity. We are witnessing in this area a strengthening of naval fleets and military troops on the part of the great Powers. My Government again supports the efforts of the Organization, which should lead to the holding of conferences so that the Indian Ocean might indeed become a genuine zone of peace. We are convinced that the problem of the Comorian island of Mayotte and that of the Glorieuses islands will soon be subject to positive and sincere negotiations

between the French Government on the one hand and the Governments of Comoros and Madagascar respectively.

277. We cherish the idea of peace in the Middle East, where there still rages increasing violence because of the obdurate refusal of Israel to negotiate with the PLO. The position constantly maintained by my delegation is that the Palestinian issue is at the heart of the entire Middle East tragedy. Hence, any initiative of the "Camp David agreement" type becomes ineffective if it disregards the fundamental inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

278. The activities of the Israeli Government, with its serious and repeated acts in violation of international peace and security, are making bad worse, instead of helping to create a climate favourable to constructive negotiations in the quest for conditions for a lasting and final peace in that important part of the world. The bombing of Tamuz in Iraq, the bombing of civilian populations in Beirut in Lebanon, bear the marks of the determination of a Government wrongly bent on practising a no-holds-barred policy.

279. The case of Kampuchea is typical of the present crisis in international relations. In the face of all the facts, some Member States still want the world to believe that the people of Kampuchea never wished to rid itself, at all costs, of the Pol Pot dictatorship. It is obvious to my delegation that the inappropriate representation of Kampuchea at the United Nations serves as nothing more than a pretext to facilitate an intolerable interference in the internal affairs of that country and to delay as much as possible the dawning of an era of fraternal peace and co-operation in South-East Asia.

280. The orchestrated campaign round the so-called rebel bands which are being armed in full view of the whole world to fight the legal Government of Kampuchea are contrary to all the rules of international law. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is not only exercising effective authority over the whole national territory, but has since the beginning of the new Republic begun to rebuild the country on the ashes of the genocide perpetrated by Pol Pot. My country hopes that the peoples of South-East Asia who, throughout their long and glorious history, have given so many examples of wisdom and political courage to the world, will regain control of themselves and work henceforth in the quest for peaceful solutions to the disputes which are momentarily setting them one against the other.

281. As regards Korea, here also we fail to see the grounds for a policy of maintaining the division of this great people into two parts, North Korea and South Korea. Congo has always maintained that the United Nations should work towards the creation of conditions leading to a dialogue, free from any foreign pressures, between the two parts of Korea. We note that recently there has been a renewal of terror in South Korea against patriots who are in favour of the independence and peaceful reunification of that great country. There must be an end to any foreign interference in the affairs of Korea so that its people may embark upon the path of fraternal and constructive dialogue.

282. Twenty years ago the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries met at Belgrade and proclaimed that active international co-oper-

ation in the fields of material and cultural exchanges among peoples is an essential means for the strengthening of confidence in the possibility of peaceful co-existence.⁷

283. Since it did not meet that requirement in-time, the world must now deal with a far-reaching economic crisis and grapple with ways and means to facilitate the establishment of a new international economic order. The elements of that new order have already been laid down for the developing countries, in particular in the Group of 77.

284. The developing countries, which have been fully exposed to the harmful consequences of a particularly unjust order, have for some years been calling for the democratization of international economic relations. Yet those demands are far from being unattainable. Perhaps we could recall a few aspects of the approach of the developing countries, which might be summed up in the following manner.

285. First, the required improvement in international trade relations must include the necessary stability in the terms of trade, particularly those for primary commodities and a preferential access by the developing countries to the markets of the industrialized countries.

286. Secondly, we must regulate the flow of foreign private capital and increase the favourable consequences of that flow. Here we come to the question of restricting the activities of transnational corporations and the transfer of technology.

287. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary that the vicious circle of aid and indebtedness be broken in at least two concomitant ways. In the first place, the developing countries must be provided with an inflow of official capital and, above all, the developed countries must meet their commitment to devote at least 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to development assistance. Some developed countries have already understood that, as shown by the recent position taken in that respect by the new French Government. We commend that Government and urge other developed countries to exert some effort in that direction. In the second place, there must be a moratorium on the debts of the developing countries, which are being literally crushed by the servicing of those debts. Lastly, there must be a democratization of the international monetary system and the decision-making apparatus of certain international institutions.

288. As can be noted, those measures contain nothing more than a proposal that the wealthy countries should further concern themselves more with the problems of hunger and poverty throughout the world instead, for example, of throwing themselves headlong into the unbridled arms race, which is now swallowing up almost \$550 billion a year, and which is continually perfecting armaments for the apocalypse—weapons of mass destruction which would destroy all of mankind, such as the neutron bomb, which has been condemned by the overwhelming majority of international public opinion. If only \$20 billion annually were devoted to development, who could deny the impact that such a commitment might have on the economy of the countries of the periphery?

289. After a long period of confrontation and sterile invectives, the North-South dialogue seems today to be giving rise to some cautious optimism. This year, the sched-

ule of meetings shows the awareness of the countries in both groups of the interdependency which closely governs the international economy and of the need to come forward, within a reasonable period of time, with a solution in the interests of the parties involved. In May 1981, at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas, Venezuela, the developing countries drew up proposals for what has been called "South-South economic co-operation". In July of the same year, it was the turn of Ottawa to host a conference of the major industrialized countries, which worked together on the serious problems of development. Recently, at the beginning of September, in Paris, France was host to a United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. In October in Cancún, thanks to the joint initiative of Austria and Mexico, a limited summit meeting will take place, bringing together about 20 heads of State and Government from the centre and periphery countries. Lastly, between now and the end of the year, a United Nations conference on development is to be held at United Nations Headquarters in New York.

290. All that activity is designed to attempt to get the North-South global negotiations under way. No doubt that is a complex area, in which each camp must rise above its self-interests, and where there are at present no grounds for optimism. But what leader, what statesman could remain deaf to that siren call of history to take part in an endeavor to build a more just, fraternal new world?

291. The time has come for my delegation to congratulate most sincerely the Secretary-General, whose dedication to the cause of peace and the well-being of nations, both large and small, is praiseworthy.

292. The best way to exorcise old ghosts is to draw up as complete a list of them as possible so as to know what to expect. That is what we have attempted to do in the course of this statement.

293. At a time when great storms are rising on the horizon, we must, all of us together, once and for all, re-examine the causes of the dangers which threaten international peace. The Organization has urgent duties to discharge, crucial problems to solve and dangers to avoid. Let us help it in good faith through our devotion to the cause of peace—a peace which must become the decisive focal point of international life.

294. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now give the floor to several representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right to reply.

295. Mr. AL-MARHOUN (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Unfortunately my delegation finds itself obliged to exercise the right of reply in order to clarify some facts.

296. As has become customary each year, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen this morning [19th meeting] presented a distorted picture of the position in our region. One of his misrepresentations was the claim that the Sultanate of Oman has made its territory available for the establishment of American bases.

297. Oman has repeatedly declared that it will never allow any country to establish foreign bases on its territory. Such declaration stems from the clear-cut policy pursued

by Oman, which considers the Gulf region, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea as a zone of peace where there should be no bases for one or the other big Power, in order to repel the danger of rivalry which could pose a threat to all countries of the region.

298. Everyone knows that the régime of Aden has agreed to make Democratic Yemen available for the installation of a huge base for the Soviet Union, from which it seeks to implement its designs for the domination of oil sources and waterways and for infiltrating the region. The pact signed recently by Democratic Yemen and some other countries in the presence of a representative from that super-Power provides for the evidence of the continuance of this conspiracy and of its growth.

299. The Sultanate of Oman is not linked to any big Power by treaties which are ostensibly meant for friendship and co-operation but which, in reality, are meant to carry out acts of subversion and exploitation, as is the case with the Government of Democratic Yemen.

300. The representative of that régime should first get rid of his country's alignment with the Eastern bloc and work for the liquidation of all foreign bases on its territory if he is really serious with regard to his proposal for a summit conference of the States of the Gulf, the Arab peninsula and the Horn of Africa.

301. Mr. GOULDING (United Kingdom): In his statement in the general debate on 22 September [7th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina referred to the negotiations concerning the Falkland Islands and their dependencies which have been taking place between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom with the participation of representatives of the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands. My Government is indeed taking part in these negotiations. But we cannot accept that there is a situation of "illegal occupation". The United Kingdom has no doubt about its sovereignty over the Falkland Islands and the Falkland Island dependencies. The Government of the United Kingdom nevertheless wishes to see the dispute resolved peacefully by way of negotiations. The Falkland Islanders, who are nearly all of British descent but know no other home than the islands where they and their ancestors were born, have the right to determine their own future in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We shall continue the process of negotiation, forgetting neither the Falkland Islanders' interests, which have already been recognized in previous resolutions of the Assembly, nor their wishes.

302. Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The speakers who from this rostrum referred to the question of Western Sahara unanimously hailed the efforts on this subject by the OAU since the eighteenth session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Nairobi. These efforts were aimed at a settlement in keeping with justice and law. Morocco played a part in order to facilitate the task of the OAU. Those same speakers offered encouragement from their respective Governments to the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara to press ahead with the mission entrusted to it by that session.

303. The President of the Republic of Kenya and current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government underscored from this very rostrum [11th meeting]

Africa's determination to overcome differences and to recover its unity in accordance with its own genius and traditions. However, this morning the representative of Burundi, in an attempt as grotesque as it was useless, tried to falsify history. He saw fit to adopt an attitude in flagrant opposition to the Nairobi recommendations, to which his country is a signatory.

304. I would remind the representative of Burundi that the so-called front which he supports has had its day. If I am not to accuse him of naivety, I wonder whether he has not deliberately lent himself to a manoeuvre to hamper the ongoing procedure, in which he is playing the role of a verbal mercenary. At all events, I deplore the fact that one of Africa's sons is to be found among the ranks of its enemies.

305. Mr. CHADERTON (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As a developing country, Venezuela prefers to use this rostrum to express the aspirations of our sister States in the third world, to denounce injustices and inequities which characterize international relations and to point out, criticize and confront the policies of great Powers which endanger world peace. We prefer to use this rostrum to talk about peace, democracy, social justice and the new international economic order.

306. We regret to have this confrontation with official representatives of a sister State. However, the insulting and excessive rhetoric used last week by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba [12th meeting], and repeated on successive occasions to a point of boredom by other spokesmen of his delegation, compels us to respond in order to make clear some matters regarding the anti-Venezuelan paranoia of the Government of that country.

307. In the 1960s, on Venezuelan territory, the signal failure of Cuban interventionism occurred. At that time the Government of Cuba trained, financed and equipped guerrillas and terrorists in Venezuela, but its political and military defeat was calamitous. Other attempts were made in Latin America and the Caribbean with identical results.

308. Venezuela undoubtedly spells trouble for any country which wishes to attack it. It is a peaceful developing country concerned with the problems of developing countries, but it has hopes and optimism with regard to the future—because its fate does not depend on the whims of a Messianic leadership but on the freely expressed will of the people, as it has no apparatus of terror intimidating and silencing those who venture to differ from official opinion.

309. Those attacking Venezuela are the very ones who are taking advantage of the highest positions in the non-aligned movement to support and to applaud the occupation of non-aligned countries by foreign troops and who are ready to approve of similar events elsewhere. Those attacking Venezuela are the very ones who pride themselves on having the only constitution in Latin America and the Caribbean to contain a declaration of loyalty to a super-Power. At the same time they seek to convince us that they are genuinely non-aligned.

310. Those who lyrically quote and requote poets in the Assembly are the very ones who represent a country in

which there is clemency for the common criminal but not for the dissident poet.

311. The Cuban régime's warlike obsession with and devotion to conflict constitute a permanent threat of intervention. How can one explain—except as superimperialist madness—the new worsening of relations with Latin America which had been rebuilt in recent years following the unsuccessful military adventures of the 1960s in our continent and a fraudulent attempt at rectification?

312. Venezuela is committed to co-operation and international solidarity, as reflected in our actions in international organizations and in specific programmes of co-operation with sister States with different political and social systems because we are not trying to impose our values, ideas and policies on anybody.

313. Venezuela is a country with frontiers open to its citizens. Venezuela is a country where hundreds of thousands of citizens from various parts of the world have settled and found freedom and opportunities for progress. Can the same be said by those who speak on behalf of a country whose citizens flee by the thousands because they prefer the bitterness of exile to political oppression, social decomposition, spiritual discouragement and intellectual sterility?

314. These are the differences for which those who have attempted to destroy Venezuelan democracy cannot forgive our country. As Rómulo Betancourt said, Venezuela is strengthened and encouraged by the patriotic solidarity of the leaders and the democratic parties—those in the Government and those in the opposition—and of its representative social organizations, its armed forces and the whole population.

315. Mr. NGO PIN (Democratic Kampuchea): The statement by the representative of the Hanoi authorities before the Assembly yesterday [17th meeting] on the situation in South-East Asia and in Kampuchea constitutes without question a masterpiece of mystification and perfidy in the annals of the Organization. Only the Vietnamese expansionists, spokesmen and agents of the expansionist super-Power are capable of making up such a feat of skill which, for that matter, is reversing the situation and the roles.

316. First, with reference to the situation in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia, the Hanoi expansionists have the outrageous impudence to attribute the cause of the present tension in South-East Asia and the escalation of the war in Kampuchea and at the Kampuchean-Thai border to a so-called Chinese threat against what they hypocritically call the Indo-Chinese States. In fact, all countries which love peace and justice the world over are perfectly aware that the present situation in South-East Asia, fraught with serious threats to international peace and security, resulted from the war of aggression and of occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam. For almost three years over 250,000 soldiers and 50,000 civilian agents have been systematically engaged in the policy of Vietnamization of Kampuchea and genocide of our people by every means at their disposal, including starvation and chemical weapons.

317. Today it is the same Vietnamese army stationed in Kampuchea which continues to launch aggressive attacks against Thailand, whose sovereignty and security have

constantly been threatened by the Hanoi authorities who carry out in a machiavellian style a policy of blackmail and of the carrot and the stick towards Thailand and other countries of ASEAN in order to force them to recognize the Indo-Chinese federation, that is to say, their annexation of Kampuchea and Laos by force so as to make them part of the Vietnamese empire.

318. Today the world is aware that, in order to achieve its expansionist ambition in South-East Asia, Viet Nam has already mortgaged its own independence and accepted to serve the global strategy of the expansionist super-Power in Asia and the Pacific. This global strategy aims at dominating South-East Asia and the South Pacific and, in particular, at controlling the Strait of Malacca, which links the South Pacific to the Indian Ocean. Today the world is also aware that the expansionist super-Power's navy, including the nuclear warships based in Cam Ranh, central Viet Nam, 4,000 kilometres from its original base at Vladivostok, can already reach the Indian Ocean in 24 hours, whereas it used to take more than a week. Its warships—not only those camouflaged as fishing boats—pass through the Strait of Malacca at the rate of one a day. They are ploughing the seas of the region. The aircraft-carrier *Minsk* has even moved into the Gulf of Siam. Moreover, its military aircraft take off from Danang and other air bases in Viet Nam and crisscross the skies of South-East Asia. There is therefore no doubt as to where the threats are coming from.

319. Secondly, as regards the roles in the tragic situation prevailing in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia, the Vietnamese expansionists, with a rare impudence combined with unbounded perfidy, have presented as reactionaries, imperialists, hegemonists, warmongers and those responsible for the deteriorating situation in South-East Asia the very countries which love peace and justice and support the just struggle of our people for their independence and survival and for the defence of the international order based on respect of the right and sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations and those of the non-aligned movement.

320. By the same token, the Vietnamese expansionists have the impudence and rudeness to treat as a crude political plot the International Conference on Kampuchea, in which an overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization participated when it was held here last July.

321. In this regard, we should like to remind the Vietnamese expansionists that since theirs is a lost cause, there is no point in their insulting the international community and the Organization, for such abuses can in the end neither cover up their war of aggression in Kampuchea and their expansionist aims in South-East Asia nor change the true nature of the Vietnamese régime in Phnom Penh, which is nothing but the shadow of the Vietnamese troops of occupation. Quite the contrary, these foul and warlike manners achieve nothing but the further unmasking of the aggressive and expansionist nature of the Hanoi authorities and the impasse to which their aggression in Kampuchea has come, along with the failure of their expansionist policy in South-East Asia, all thanks to the valiant struggle of the Kampuchean people and the international solidarity granted to that struggle at the United Nations and throughout the world.

322. Mr. ZAKI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): This morning, my delegation listened to the statement made by the representative of Democratic Yemen in which various points were raised and in which it was claimed that Egypt has made its territory available for use as foreign military bases. My delegation firmly denies all that was said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen in connection with that false and totally groundless claim.

323. My delegation thinks that it would have been better for the statement by Democratic Yemen not to have included such falsehoods. It would have been more appropriate for the Minister for Foreign Affairs to examine the foreign intervention and foreign domination to which his own country is subject, rather than trying to insult others in order to cover up his country's involvement, which is well known to everybody.

324. Egypt, which has always opposed the establishment of foreign military bases on its territory, has emphasized, and continues to emphasize its objection to the establishment of such bases. That attitude stems from its policy as one of the pioneering countries of the non-aligned movement and from its eagerness to safeguard its independence and its full sovereignty over every inch of its land.

325. As Arab brothers, sharing a common destiny and a common objective, it behoves us to avoid such misrepresentations and to unify our ranks in the service of the Arab nation.

326. Mr. FAHDLI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation would like to deny the allegations made by the representatives of Oman and Egypt. Democratic Yemen has no Soviet bases on its territory. We cherish our friendship with the Soviet Union, a country which stands on the side of the just struggle of the Arab peoples and seeks to serve the causes which certainly were not served by the Camp David accords or by the declared policies of the Omani and Egyptian régimes.

327. We should like to reaffirm that the statement made this morning in the Assembly by my country's Minister for Foreign Affairs was totally true.

328. Mr. NIZIGAMA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): When he spoke before the Assembly this morning, my Minister for Foreign Affairs explained clearly and precisely the position of the delegation of Burundi with regard to the question of Western Sahara. He did this in a dignified and responsible fashion.

329. The reaffirmation by any delegation of the right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination has always drawn the condemnation of the representative of Morocco. It is not our intention to disturb the serenity of these debates with polemics—we shall leave that to the representative of Morocco. We shall therefore limit ourselves to reiterating my country's position in connection with the question of Western Sahara. That position is in accord with the one so often reaffirmed both by the United Nations and by the OAU. We are sorry that it is not to Morocco's taste.

330. We had hoped that Morocco would at least bring itself somewhat into line with earlier decisions taken by

the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its session at Nairobi. As the present attitude of the Moroccan Government is only moving farther away from those decisions, we have no choice but to recall the principles decided upon by the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara aimed at halting the recolonization of Western Sahara.

331. It will soon be two years that Morocco has tried to close the file on Western Sahara. Rather than the referendum on self-determination advocated by the international community, Morocco is seeking to impose a so-called referendum on confirmation of the "Moroccan nature" of Western Sahara. Its lack of success in that area impels us to point to the only escape open to it: simply to leave it to the Sahraoui people to determine its own future freely, directly and without threats or intimidation. It is only when Morocco acts in accordance with those principles that the file will finally be closed on Western Sahara.

332. We have always condemned all colonialism and all neo-colonialism, whatever their origins. The recolonization of Western Sahara will not have our blessing just because it is African.

333. With regard to the accusations made against my country, they are a part of the pack of lies on which the

representative of Morocco holds a monopoly. They are so far from the truth that they do not even deserve a reply.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

²See *Panama Canal Treaties: Message from the President of the United States* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 3-38.

³See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

⁴*North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

⁵Subsequently adopted, in its revised form, as resolution 35/125.

⁶See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14659, annex.

⁷See Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council, Belgrade, 1973, *Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries 1961-1973*, sect. II.