

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



25th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 5 October 1981,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*):

Speech by Colonel Seyni Kountché, President of the Supreme Military Council, Head of State of the Republic of the Niger.....	509
Speech by Mr. Toma (Samoa).....	514
Speech by Mr. Caïd Essebsi (Tunisia).....	516
Speech by Prince Al-Faisal (Saudi Arabia).....	521

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): This morning the General Assembly will hear a statement from His Excellency Colonel Seyni Kountché, President of the Supreme Military Council, Head of State of the Republic of the Niger.

2. In the name of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations.

3. PRESIDENT KOUNTCHÉ (*interpretation from French*): I come to this rostrum with mixed feelings: first, a sense of deep trust, which makes me see the United Nations as the supreme resort, a very special place where justice and peace reign, an irreplaceable springboard for efforts to bring about concord, understanding and solidarity among nations. This is a very powerful and sincere feeling, and it is ultimately that feeling which made me leave my distant country, Niger, to come here and speak to the Assembly in this crystal palace in Manhattan.

4. But I have another feeling, less exalted perhaps, because it is more practical, more human, more suited to this fine, distinguished Assembly which is greeting me today. It is a sense of vague dissatisfaction, born of certain demands and well-meaning criticism which make me regret that the United Nations is not always able to match the ideals of its Charter and the immense trust placed in it by most of the countries of the world.

5. I am not here to praise the institution, nor, above all, am I here to add to the concert of, at times, excessive criticism and often unjust accusations, which in fact reflect only inner bitterness or even deep disappointment. Niger harbours no bitterness or disappointment to be blamed on the United Nations; quite the contrary.

6. My purpose is simply to tell the Assembly how much concern my country, which for nearly two years now has been a member of the Security Council, feels at the problems of the hour, in the settlement of which we firmly intend to play our part, and how much we hope that the United Nations will carry out its role in the best interests of the world as a whole.

7. At this stage let me say how fortunate I feel to have this opportunity solemnly to reaffirm the unconditional devotion of my country to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations—the basis for relations among States—as providing the best way to ensure international peace and security.

8. We are opposed to any violation of the Charter. We condemn any transgression of the fundamental principles of sovereignty, independence and equality of States, regardless of their territorial dimensions, their geographical location, the level of their development or their political, economic, social or ideological systems. We proclaim the inviolability of the territorial integrity of States. We recognize the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples under a colonial or racist régime or foreign occupation or domination. We recognize their right to take action, to struggle and to battle to achieve the goals to which they aspire as a nation. We promise them our active solidarity.

9. May I say to you, Sir, that we welcome your accession to the presidency of this session of the Assembly in which we see a sign of hope and a symbol: a hope of the irrepressible and enriching awakening of the third world and a symbol of the restoration of the powers of the voiceless, and dispossessed and the neglected, who are now unanimously determined to secure recognition of their rights.

10. You are a worthy son of the Orient, which is based on faith and a glorious history, endowed with immense resources, but sharing with Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific only faint hopes for a less painful future and the terrible suffering of endemic deprivation that is as unjust as it is shocking.

11. I am therefore not surprised that throughout your career, a particularly long and brilliant one, an effort to defend the poor and fight for equity among nations has been evident.

12. The General Assembly has wisely placed its fate in your hands and thereby paid you an undying tribute that no speaker at this rostrum can possibly match. I will content myself with encouraging you to continue to work for peace, justice and equity. May you hold aloft for Iraq,

for the Arab and Islamic peoples, for the third world and for the entire world the proud banner of hope, assistance and unity handed on to you by your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar.

13. Mr. von Wechmar was a distinguished President. I address to him our sincere compliments on his tireless efforts during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly to launch the global negotiations, which are so necessary and so urgent and on which the tranquillity of tomorrow's world may well depend.

14. These are indeed ominous times, marked by increasingly serious inequalities and quite understandable and often legitimate impatience, times marked by discouragement because of unkept promises. The system desired and created by the great Powers of the world persists. Thanks to that system the rich calmly preserve their individual and collective well-being, while the economic dependence of the third world increases. Therefore there can be no progress towards the new order so enthusiastically supported here, which is supposed to correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development for present and future generations.

15. Never, I repeat never, before has there been such a growing gap between the wealthy and those whose only concern is to have enough food merely to survive and to preserve their threatened dignity.

16. The present world economy is in such a state of imbalance that the new criterion for regrouping, for alliance and for division among nations is, in the final analysis, wealth or poverty. Let us not be led astray by ideological differences: everything is now governed by these two contrasting realities, which bear dangerously within them the stigma of exploitation and the potential for confrontation. Countries are no longer grouped according to their size, their special abilities, the abilities of their continent or the virtues of their civilization and history. They are now divided simply into rich and poor, the rich systematically dominating the poor and the poor paradoxically having no alternative but to follow in the seductive wake of the rich.

17. This difficult situation results largely from the inability of the existing international financial and economic structures, which were set up nearly 40 years ago, immediately after the Second World War, to adapt to present-day needs.

18. In spite of certain minor changes that have taken place, the principles on which those structures are based essentially favour the dominant economies. Thus, if the countries of the third world have been able to play an increasing part in international trade, the net result for them has not been the means to ensure self-sufficient development.

19. The deterioration in the terms of their trade with the developed countries, which is one of the greatest scandals of our day, has constantly worked towards a reduction in real terms of their return on exports.

20. At the same time, the foundations of the world monetary system have been shaken by the deterioration in the position of the principal reserve currency, and this has caused erratic variations in the exchange values of currencies and brought about a period of instability and intense speculation.

21. The system inevitably led to its own disorder and its own crisis. Then the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] raised the first significant challenge to the established order.

22. That awakening in November 1973 had a considerable impact. That collective action on the part of a group of developing countries, producers of primary products, was strictly in line with the resolutions and the Programme of Action of the fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, and clearly reflected the urgent need to establish a new international economic order, which was endorsed several months later in the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the conclusion of its sixth special session, in April 1974, devoted to raw materials and development [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)].

23. That action revealed, at the same time, the vulnerability of the wealthy countries, the need for a fundamental reorganization of economic relations among the developing countries and the advantage for those countries in working together to establish among themselves a dynamic strategy for economic co-operation.

24. This double phenomenon of the awakening of awareness among the poor and the fragility of the bases of supremacy of the rich is not without certain risks, in so far as it shows a lessening of moderation, willingness to share and generosity.

25. In order to survive, mankind must therefore have the will and the means to prevent the disastrous trends which may arise from the excessive thoughtlessness of the rich and the frustration of the developing countries.

26. Because of the unproductive waste of immense resources in the arms build-up, the developing countries cannot attain the quite modest levels of official assistance set by the United Nations.

27. Their debts have, as a result, only increased. In 1970 their debt amounted to \$74 billion and debt servicing amounted to \$9 billion. By 1980, that is, in the 10 years corresponding, paradoxically, to the pompously named "Development Decade", their debt had increased to \$456 billion and the cost of debt servicing had increased to \$91 billion.

28. Even food assistance—the urgency and humanitarian nature of which is emphasized every day by the extension of critical zones of malnutrition—at times seems to be losing its ability to attract support.

29. What can be done to remedy this situation? How can we ensure that the impatience of the South and

certain too conservative reactions of the North do not lead to a world dominated by discontent, fear and anxiety? How can we convince the community of nations that if we are at this unhappy pass it is unfortunately because of the lack of will to reach a compromise between privilege and privation.

30. As regards the North, the response to these questions is to be found, in my view, in the courageous admission that yesterday's privileges are already endangered and will be even more endangered if attempts are made to perpetuate them without recognizing their anachronistic and excessive nature.

31. As regards the South, it is possible for those countries to play a more active, effective and better integrated role in the affairs of the world, particularly in the areas of the processing, marketing and distribution of raw materials. All this should be done in a spirit of harmony and co-operation with the advanced countries and in an effort to bring about equitable and sincere complementarity.

32. We shall spare the world from a very damaging economic confrontation only if together we overhaul North-South relations and work together for a more unified approach to the development of the world and for the well-being of mankind. I am sure that I shall surprise no one when I say that the unfairness, the irrational and fraudulent distribution of the resources of the world, the deprivation of all kinds and the various types of suffering and hardship caused by the economic deficiencies to which I have referred are extremely dehumanizing and dangerous, and must be ended.

33. In the new economic order which must be brought about, the North must make it possible for the South to grow and prosper and play a full role in the international economic system.

34. The main routes to this beneficial development have already been perceived, cleared and marked out. I shall limit myself to indicating the indispensable areas in which action is urgently necessary.

35. The North must give up at once all idea of a club system and all persecution complexes and rapidly agree to a certain number of major reforms in regard to the structures of the existing international economic system. I am thinking here in terms of changing the balance of world trade; the stabilization of prices, particularly of raw materials, on which the developing countries are so dependent; and courageous monetary reform. But the North must also get used to the idea that since industrialization is an inevitable stage of development and our countries will have need of access to markets as well as of investments and will inevitably turn to the North for the outlets which are necessary for the future expansion of their industrial production. We mean by that that the protectionist policies of the developed countries must be reconsidered and ended and must be replaced by internal changes actively directed towards wisely-chosen specialization, towards raising the purchasing power of their citizens and eliminating unemployment and inflation.

36. But it would appear, unfortunately, judging from their clearly egocentric reactions to the energy crisis, for example, that these countries are still nurturing tendencies to turning a deaf ear each time the South braces itself and refuses to accept the crumbs which for so long have been served it. However, the Economic Summit at Ottawa last July and especially the excellent atmosphere of mutual understanding which last August marked the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy at Nairobi perhaps suggest that things will evolve differently in the future. May the International Conference on Economic Co-operation and Development soon to begin at Cancún, Mexico, confirm this hope.

37. The North must then, or rather at the same time, set in motion a vast programme of transfer of resources to the South to increase investments, speed up production and the processing of goods, transfer technology and promote and guarantee growth. It must commit itself to a speedy implementation of the conclusions of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held recently in Paris,¹ which has just accorded timely recognition to the special problems of the least developed countries. Thus it must actively concern itself with the fact that the current economic and monetary situation is putting these countries in a clearly disastrous impasse, which calls for a rescue operation of solidarity, which will necessarily involve making special financial facilities available to them. In addition to the creation of a system to stabilize the prices of their raw materials these countries must have priority benefit of structures to help offset high interest rates, which are aimed at prolonging their recourse to profitable borrowing. Furthermore, if there is no pure and simple cancellation of certain of their debts contracted for development purposes, they must be granted a moratorium that takes into account periods of crisis such as the present one.

38. The North must also insist that the Governments of that group of countries which have not yet attained the goal of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product make the necessary political effort in order speedily to reach this level of official development assistance, so that at the end of this century at the latest the rate can reach approximately 1 per cent. In this connection I believe I should warn against theoreticians who advocate that the North need only actively promote its own development and the South's will follow in its wake. In my view, these theoreticians are preaching an outmoded and erroneous thesis, which even smacks of a certain revival of paternalism that can no longer be accepted in good conscience by the South. If the South's development is to be viable and harmonious it must be endogenous in nature, respecting the views and the values of the South and making use as much as possible of the people and the resources of the South. Relations with the North will be meaningful, fruitful and equitable only if this is done. Of course, this presupposes that the developing countries will make a decisive contribution by implementing judicious horizontal co-operation among themselves. In this regard the Lagos Plan of Action,² for example, constitutes a good starting-point for the States of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. But that also presupposes that international action will be able to play a truly worthwhile role within the

context of a body of social and economic reforms that can be welcomed by each of our countries.

39. It goes without saying that, given the undeniable problems confronting them, the developed countries may argue that their means are insufficient. In all objectivity, that must be conceded. But in their case insufficient means is not synonymous with a lack of means, and it can never be stressed enough to them that their development would greatly benefit from being freed from warlike tendencies and an end to the arms race. Mankind, which aspires to its well-being, happiness and survival, really has no need of all the weapons and death-dealing machines which it is being so feverishly pushed to acquire, only to find itself in the final analysis the only possible target of its own observations. The incredible figure of military expenditures for this year alone is \$500 billion.

40. Finally, the North must support and contribute massively to the World Food Programme, in particular by vigorously supporting the implementation of the programmes of FAO and especially the Plan of Action on World Food Security. Those parts of the Brandt report³ advocating an especially urgent aid programme of \$4 billion a year and long-term measures to help the poorest countries to break out of the cycle of famine and hunger must be viewed by the developed countries with goodwill and acted upon speedily. And here I should like to encourage the World Bank and the IMF to persevere in the new directions they have mapped out; namely, for the World Bank, the liberalization of its operations in order to contribute to the anti-poverty programme dealing, in particular, with agriculture and rural development; and, for the IMF, the decision to consider with interest the reports supporting the prolongation of its financial assistance to member States with low incomes whenever these countries, as is often the case, suffer from the consequences of poor harvests or have to deal with a substantial increase in world prices of foodstuffs.

41. These are a few thoughts which, were they to be further developed and applied, would perhaps make it possible to improve North-South relations and make them more healthy, thus opening up, at a timely moment for our planet, opportunities for harmonious and balanced economic evolution in which all mankind would be able to live and flourish in renewed hope of increased well-being, which is so necessary if its great yearning for happiness and dignity is to be satisfied.

42. The creation of such a climate, marked by sustained efforts to ensure equity, active solidarity, international mutual assistance and generosity, would also have the great advantage of bringing about the conditions for an economic détente capable of preventing in future such crises as the energy crisis, which would only be new consequences of the weariness of the poor in the face of unceasing exploitation by the rich. After all, no one is any longer questioning the relationship between present energy problems—specifically oil supplies—and general questions of structural change in the world economy. Any realistic strategy aimed at making the dialogue between petroleum producers and industrialized countries productive will necessarily involve development problems. I fear that the same will soon be true of other export products.

43. That is why, once again, there is great urgency. It is urgent that the prices of other primary products should not soar as did oil prices, which—as a reaction, as I just said—rose abruptly by 350 per cent in 1973-1974 and by a further 140 per cent in 1979-1980; it is urgent that the world be protected from such an economic catastrophe, from which many countries probably would not recover—among them, of course, the smallest and weakest countries already bowed down beneath the intolerable cost of their oil bills.

44. I do not wish any longer to convey the impression that I have come to this rostrum solely to discuss economic problems. Unfortunately, there are other subjects, other threats, other forms of discord which are disrupting the world every day and on which I must dwell on such an occasion. My country, which will soon be concluding its two-year term on the Security Council, has had adequate time, on many occasions to state its position on most of the situations disturbing the conscience of nations and seriously threatening the peace and security of the peoples of the world.

45. I must, however, recall Niger's grave concern over the arrogance and terrorism of Israel in the Middle East and the incredible stubbornness, the constantly defiant attitude and the stalling tactics of South Africa, which continues illegally to maintain Namibia under its colonialist and racist boot and to oppress its own black majority under the inhuman laws of its contemptible policy of *apartheid*. But, in doing so, I shall not engage in unnecessary lamentations, for those two countries have heard so many pleas, reproaches and condemnations that they have become immune to them and no longer respond to the injunctions of the world except by over-reaction or scorn.

46. Let Israel merely know that its tranquillity, development, survival cannot be found in military power or in war, but in a peaceful and rapid settlement of the Palestinian problem. Its stubborn desire to pursue its policy of aggression, expansion, confiscation and frantic judaization of the Arab territories that it has occupied since 1967 will probably do less for its future than would a courageous willingness to co-operate with the international community in order to reach agreement on the ways and means of bringing about a just and lasting solution to that sad problem, which is eminently political and human. It must in any case realize, having lived through the recent suffering of its own people under nazism, that neither pogroms, nor brutal oppression, nor blind persecution will defeat a people whose selflessness and collective determination are ennobled every day by each new fallen martyr in its ranks. The Palestinian people is entitled to a land, a home, a country. As for the Arab States of the area, no one can reasonably wish to destroy them or humiliate them to the point of inducing them to renounce their duty to help their Palestinian brothers to win back their inalienable rights and their dignity. Finally, Jerusalem must be allowed to enjoy international status, for that status alone is compatible with its prestige as the city of three religions.

47. The case of South Africa is more troubling in another way. After 15 years of open rebellion against the United Nations and the international community, it

seemed that the moment had come, in January 1981, for the racist authorities of that country to relish victory in tranquillity by finally freeing Namibia within the framework that they themselves had weighed, considered and accepted—that is, the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). But their insults during the Geneva talks were so spectacular and so resounding that the entire world still seems not to have recovered from them.

48. But the truth of the matter is that South Africa holds extremely valuable assets that are given, alas, enormous weight by its vast riches—assets that the OAU and the international community together will probably not be able to trump by a mere flood of speeches and resolutions. The support that it is able to line up in this hall alone gives it peace of mind while it embarrasses us, for its partners are essential and precious to us as well; they have long proved that they know how to defend the freedom of peoples and respect the dignity of races.

49. Let us none the less repeat to South Africa and to its partners and allies that the Namibian problem has gone on long enough, that the Namibian people and their sole representative the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] have suffered enough, that the front-line States have paid enough, and that the patience of Africa and of all peoples that love justice and freedom has limits and has now reached the breaking-point. The independence of Namibia must be speedily won and proclaimed if we wish to spare Africa and the rest of the world an increase in unnecessary tension that will only lead us to upheavals with irreparable consequences. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains a suitable basis for that task and one that, logically, must not be discarded. We would ask the contact group of Western States, which have assumed *de facto* responsibility for that task, to bear that point firmly in mind and to act swiftly to ensure that Namibia is present soon at this prestigious gathering of sovereign and free nations, the General Assembly of the United Nations.

50. But the problem of South Africa will not then automatically be settled, for that country is still the embodiment of racism, intolerance and humiliation. The *apartheid* which rages there is an inhuman practice. No man, no State, no people can rest peacefully as long as that country continues to mete out—and with constantly redoubled force—the brutality, the persecution, the torture, the humiliation, the arbitrary imprisonment and the banishment so long the lot of the black South African majority which pays thus, with courage and self-sacrifice, for its only crime—that of being black and of wishing to be a living and important part of mankind.

51. How often has it been proclaimed from this rostrum that *apartheid* must disappear? How many resolutions have been adopted here, and elsewhere in the world, condemning South Africa for that shameful policy and even imposing sanctions on it? But if *apartheid*, alas, continues, it is because once again the weight and influence of the Western partners have not been brought to bear sufficiently on the problem. That is why I turn towards them and say solemnly to them once again that *apartheid* is a serious threat to peace, that *apartheid* is a grave defiance of all mankind, and that any search for world

peace must begin by combating and eradicating *apartheid*.

52. Our task in the United Nations is to do our utmost to maintain peace where it exists, to restore it where it is breached, to protect it wherever it is found to be fragile or threatened. But we must also recognize that peace is not fragile or threatened only in southern Africa or the Middle East. It is also fragile and threatened in Kampuchea, in Afghanistan and in many other parts of the world, for the very serious reason that a fundamental principle of our Charter is still not properly respected, namely, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, a principle which, in turn, presupposes the unacceptability of the use of force, or threat of the use of force, in relations among nations. But let us all agree that that principle has not lost its relevance and that it is not only vital to the future of all countries but, above all, to that of the United Nations and of all mankind.

53. I would not be so imprudent as to conclude this statement without referring to human rights, to the rights of the peoples of the world and to the canons of democracy. I simply wish to say that for us in the Niger, man is priceless. That is why our intelligence and our actions are devoted to the search for the well-being of the people of the Niger.

54. We are aware that our small, but worthy, population belongs to the group of economically weak countries. We are the proud inhabitants of a very harsh and unyielding land, which is both a stimulus and a hardship. That is why we are all committed, as a matter of urgency, to the building of our nation, and we have little time for questions of prestige, nor do we indulge in over-hasty actions.

55. To feed the people of the Niger, to house them, to educate them, to take care of them, to clothe them, so that they can worthily be present at the gathering of the nations—that for the moment is our only programme and our only pretention. But probably only those who, like us, have suffered thirst, ignorance, sickness and hunger can understand the appropriateness of those choices; only those who have been exposed to want or have been the victim of humiliation will be able to understand why we wish to struggle to be self-sufficient in food, to free ourselves of hardships caused by the unpredictability of the weather and to build a society marked by development.

56. Those, then, are the main goals of our struggle, the reasons for our mobilization and the motives of our hopes. It is true that we still have great difficulty in providing subsistence from our soil, because it is poor and infertile. It is difficult indeed for us to cope with the world economic environment, which demands far different means than our present rustic and pitiful capabilities. But we, as a nation, have enough endurance to continue the struggle, enough faith to continue the work and enough humility to recognize our weaknesses and to seek the co-operation of the world.

57. Who more than we could wish for peace and internal concord in order to build and grow? We wish for peace and international harmony so that we may assist

each other and bring about sincere co-operation among States.

58. In the Niger we are ardent supporters of peace, tireless workers for good-neighbourliness and fervent apostles of dialogue and understanding among nations. We condemn any desire for domination, whether from the East, the West, the centre or the periphery. We abhor injustice, intolerance and inequity. We refuse to accept instability or the threat of instability not only in our country but also in our region, on our continent or anywhere in the world.

59. We are grateful to the United Nations for everything it has done to maintain the unity and cohesiveness of the world; to bring about and protect the freedom and dignity of peoples; to foster the well-being of man and the development of mankind. Thanks to its vitality and its high prestige, the Organization has done well. But it can do more, provided we give it the necessary means and, at the same time, scrupulously respect the provisions of the Charter to which we, as free and independent nations, subscribe in the interests of their inalienable sovereignty.

60. I wish to end on this exhortation for, together with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the United Nations is certainly the finest, the most noble and the most relevant document that mankind has ever adopted. It is by honoring it, therefore, that you will give supreme substance and active weight to your work.

61. Words fail me here as I try to convey our gratitude to and our admiration of all those men and women of all races from all continents who have chosen the United Nations as their country and who are attempting to come to grips with harsh present realities in an effort to prevent our species from sweeping away the world by its own excesses. In the vanguard of those men and women we find, of course, the familiar figure of the Secretary-General, whose devotion to the cause of the Organization is undeniably beyond praise. A vigilant servant of the Charter and a tireless pilgrim of peace, he has regularly demonstrated his practical knowledge and his exemplary tenacity. Thanks to his diplomatic talent, his dynamism and his ardent devotion, he has raised the United Nations to the highest peaks, where it has found trust, prestige and credibility. On behalf of the Niger, I wish to congratulate and thank him.

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Supreme Military Council and Head of State of the Republic of the Niger for the important statement he has just made.

63. Mr. TOMA (Samoa): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased indeed to see someone of your unquestioned competence and wide experience in the President's chair, and we are confident that we can depend on your skill and wisdom to help us through the session ahead.

64. My delegation also welcomes this opportunity to extend our thanks, through you, to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany. We were extremely fortunate to be guided by his

firm but always fair hand throughout a far from easy session. His quiet and determined conscientiousness, his sensitivity and his unfailing charm and courtesy will assure his fond remembrance by us all. We wish him well in his new post.

65. The Secretary-General has again worked tirelessly over the past year, and we should like to pay a tribute to his ceaseless devotion to duty and his determined efforts in the cause of peace.

66. We are delighted to welcome the two new Members, Belize and Vanuatu. Both countries are fellow members of the Commonwealth, and we look forward to working with them in this forum also. Of course, Vanuatu's membership has special meaning for us, as we of the region felt strongly for Vanuatu during its sometimes troubled path to independence. We are especially proud to see how, with patience and perseverance, its people have found their rightful place in the international community. We know that the contributions that both those countries will make will, like their actions throughout their independence struggles, be the sort of fair-minded and carefully considered contributions that can only benefit the Organization. The admission to the United Nations of two small developing countries, which have the obvious economic weaknesses that many of us face but also a fierce determination to be their own people and to grapple for themselves with the problems of the future, is a further manifestation of the triumph of the human spirit and a tribute to the enlightened international community that has fashioned the climate for it to become a reality. Justly, like all of us, they are justly and rightfully proud of their nationhood and political independence. But they, and many of us like them—more so perhaps than others in the world community—will feel more keenly the reality that we cannot exist as nations without each other. The fact is that not even the large and resource-rich countries can go it alone today and still maintain for very long what they now enjoy.

67. Perhaps in the past we in Samoa, removed from much of the turmoil and strife in the world, have viewed events from afar with a certain detachment, secure in our remoteness and the peacefulness of our region. But those days have gone. The world grows ever smaller, and all of us—even the most geographically remote—in some way feel the effects of events elsewhere and the actions of others around the world. The reality of interdependence in the world today demands genuine and urgent efforts on the part of all to recognize and to understand the problems and difficulties of others around the globe. Nowhere is that more true than in the economic sphere, and the sooner all countries, even the most seemingly self-sufficient and economically well-off, realize that, the sooner we can begin the fight to ensure that the world as we know it will survive.

68. We cannot continue to go our separate ways. No one country can be so self-centred as to insist that things be done its way and only its way, regardless of the views or the situation of the rest of the world. Such attitudes are, to say the least, not helpful in the world of today. We must work together on practical measures to solve prob-

lems such as inflation, energy costs, trade imbalances and foreign-exchange difficulties.

69. We have heard much condemnation of protectionism, but in practice few remedies or meaningful accommodations have been found. We are grateful to those who have made the effort to assist in the Pacific in this regard. The treaty with Australia and New Zealand to give Pacific island countries non-reciprocal duty-free access to the Australian and New Zealand markets for many of our products and other assistance in this area is a move which we welcome. Also, our relationship with the European Economic Community through the Lomé Convention is extremely beneficial and important to us.

70. But however helpful those concessions may be, in the larger scheme of the world economy they are piecemeal measures. Other economic realities are fast overwhelming us, leaving the weaker economies, and especially the very vulnerable among them, like the least developed countries, the landlocked and the small island countries, in increasingly desperate situations. The plight of these countries is well known. They have the weakest economies in a world economic system which seems uncannily to ensure their perpetual disadvantage. In many cases they depend on a narrow range of products whose prices not only fluctuate wildly but slide backwards quite relentlessly relative to the prices of manufactured goods and other necessary imports. Sadly, this seems to have become the heritage of primary producers in the world market. Some of our countries are now facing chronic balance of payments problems which will surely undo the development efforts of the past and possibly even threaten political stability.

71. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held in Paris last September attempted to focus on measures to launch the least developed countries on the path of sustained growth. Although the Conference could not be described as a resounding success, we applaud the encouraging attitudes and efforts of some of the developed countries at that Conference. The implementation of measures identified at that Conference holds out the only hope for the revitalization of the economies of the least developed countries. None of those measures, however, can be of lasting benefit to the least developed countries, or to anyone else, if they are not accompanied by international willingness to fashion a more just basis for international economic relations. We like to think that such an endeavour is not beyond the spirit of co-operation or the courage of a world that has grown so intricately interdependent. We very much hope that the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development at Cancún will provide the impetus necessary for the resumption of meaningful global negotiations on economic issues.

72. The law of the sea is another area in which the absolute necessity of mutual co-operation is illustrated. We are a global community, and in such a community the collective interest must be paramount. Many of us are heavily reliant on the sea for resources. We began the law of the sea negotiations many years ago on the noble assumption that a fair sharing of the sea's resources was possible and it seemed that, at long last, a convention that would provide as equitable a settlement as possible was

within our grasp. Some had compromised on what they had felt they were justly entitled to in order that consensus for the good of the whole might be reached. The delay in the law of the sea timetable is therefore most dispiriting. We feel a tribute is due to the President of the Conference of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea for his energetic efforts to keep the whole process afloat. That there was some measure of achievement at the last two sessions of that Conference was due in large part to his tremendous energy, as well as to the patience of the many countries that have committed themselves to the successful conclusion of this unique undertaking.

73. As in the economic area, where the sharing of resources and the exchange of goodwill have become fundamental necessities, so in the political sphere we must share in the search for solutions. The United Nations must provide the main impetus towards such solutions.

74. In Namibia, South Africa must surely soon bow to the inevitable and abandon its posture of arrogant disregard for the world's opinion. We sincerely hope that common sense will prevail, for obviously South Africa cannot hold on to Namibia indefinitely, nor can a system that provokes world-wide horror continue without eventual bloody consequences. We deplore South Africa's stubborn refusal to abolish *apartheid*, and we feel its recent incursion into Angola to be an insult added to injury, for which South Africa must eventually pay. We look to a solution of the Namibian question based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and we urge the five Western countries to intensify their efforts to bring freedom to Namibia.

75. In the Middle East, the guidelines contained in United Nations resolutions are also clear. We believe in Israel's right to exist. We also believe in the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and a State of their own, should this be their wish. It is clear that all those involved must talk. Soliloquies and endless polemical slanging matches are non-productive, whereas dialogue can produce genuine communication and perhaps bring new perspectives to bear on the situation. Israel's recent actions, however, have not been conducive to dialogue and have certainly not led to an improved general atmosphere, which might make eventual consultations possible. The policies of continuing settlements, altering the status of Jerusalem and the recent bombing of the Iraqi nuclear plant are deplorable acts.

76. In Lebanon, cease-fire after cease-fire has given way to hatred and violence. Innocent civilians have suffered. In addition the United Nations peace-keeping forces have sustained many casualties. This senseless violence must cease. My delegation earnestly hopes that the present cease-fire will be the last, but this can only happen if those who use the situation in Lebanon to further their own ends refrain from so doing. UNIFIL must be allowed to do its job.

77. The situation in Afghanistan remains one of critical concern to the international community. The increase in foreign troops in Afghanistan during the past year and the growing number of refugees in Pakistan make the need to

find a peaceful solution all the more urgent. The people of Afghanistan must be allowed to decide on their own leadership and to choose for themselves the political system they consider appropriate, without outside interference. The refugees have a right to return to their country without fear of reprisals.

78. We are disturbed to see that fighting continues between Iraq and Iran, two Islamic neighbours with much in common. Their quarrel must surely lend itself to a solution through discussion and negotiation rather than bloodshed and destruction. Surely, too, they are making unusable some of the very facilities over which they are in disagreement.

79. In Cyprus, as well, continued dialogue is the preferred path towards a solution, and we commend the Secretary-General's efforts to keep the intercommunal talks alive. We are encouraged that the prospects for progress in those talks appear brighter.

80. The tragedy of a people bitterly divided against itself remains unsolved in the Korean peninsula. We hope that the Koreans can begin to bring peace to their land through discussion and mutual accommodation.

81. On the Kampuchean situation, my delegation supports the initiatives taken by the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations to bring this matter to resolution. We feel that the proposals contained in the declaration of the recent International Conference on Kampuchea suggest a useful framework for negotiation towards a settlement which would guarantee the Kampuchean people the right to select a government of their own choice, free from any intimidation, and allow the safe return of all refugees who wish to return. We sincerely hope that all parties to the conflict will eventually come to the negotiating table to restore stability to the South-East Asian region. We continue to be gravely concerned for the Kampuchean people, who have suffered so grievously in the past at the bloody hands of Pol Pot and his henchmen and who now labour under foreign domination. We earnestly hope that they may finally achieve a life free from fear, famine and fighting which have plagued them for so long.

82. We are pleased to see progress in one trouble spot of the world: Western Sahara. There, dialogue has brought results, and at the last session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, decisions were taken that provide for a referendum that will enable the people of Western Sahara to determine their own future [see A/36/534, annex II, AHG/Res. 103 (XVIII)]. We are encouraged by this move towards a peaceful settlement.

83. All our efforts to improve our world by sharing those things that better our conditions—whether they be our wealth, our resources, our cultures, or our solutions to political problems—will be empty of meaning if nations continue to share in the inexplicable desire to increase military establishments and armaments. Tension between the super-Powers has increased as they continue their race to produce super-weapons. Indeed, one such weapon is said to be so superior and so refined that it can

completely erase human beings without razing buildings or destroying other things considered to be of value.

84. We urge the super-Powers to intensify their efforts to halt the arms race and eventually to move on to the progressive dismantling of existing weapons of destruction. We welcome their decision to discuss next month at Geneva the limitation of theatre forces, and we look forward with hope to meaningful discussions between them in the future that would lead to overall balance and parity at the lowest possible levels, with the goal of effective reduction a future possibility. Mutual confidence is essential to the success of any disarmament talks, and we see confidence-building measures, however small, as steps in the right direction for the disarmament of both the big Powers and the third world. For let us not decry the big Powers as the only villains: many third world countries, much to our dismay, appear to put military priorities ahead of the health, welfare and education of their populations.

85. When priorities in the world are that askew, our chances for ultimate survival seem dimmer and dimmer. But it is of little help to sink into the slough of despair. We must instead concentrate on possible measures that, however slowly, can start us on the road back to sanity. Such measures include the strengthening of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)*] to prevent the further spread of nuclear arms; the conclusion of a chemical weapons convention; security guarantees for non-nuclear States; the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones; and, something of particular importance to the countries of the Pacific region, a comprehensive test-ban treaty so that all nuclear testing in any environment is stopped. Testing in the Pacific Ocean and the possibility of nuclear waste being dumped in our Ocean or any other have caused us great concern, both for the health of our peoples and for the purity of our environment. We wish those activities to cease.

86. If we can make progress on any of these matters at the coming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament we shall have taken a satisfying step towards the preservation of our world.

87. Mr. CAÏD ESSEBSI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is, for Tunisia, a source of satisfaction as well as proof of esteem and confidence: esteem for your qualities as a statesman and an experienced diplomat, and confidence in your ability to conduct successfully the work of this session, the importance of which, owing to the particularly delicate world situation, calls for all the wisdom and courage of which we know you to be capable.

88. In extending to you our warm and fraternal congratulations, the Tunisian delegation wishes to assure you that it will spare no effort to give you its full support and wholehearted co-operation as you discharge your important and arduous responsibilities. We shall do this all the more enthusiastically because you represent a fraternal Arab country, Iraq, with which Tunisia maintains the closest and most fruitful of relations both bilaterally and

in the framework of the United Nations and the various regional organizations in which our two fraternal countries work side by side.

89. The Tunisian delegation would also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar. We shall long remember here the skilful, objective and efficient way in which he conducted both the thirty-fifth session and the eighth emergency special session. Our wishes for success go with him in his new functions.

90. My delegation also wishes to pay the same warm and sincere tribute to the Secretary-General for the remarkable work, praiseworthy from all standpoints, that he has carried out in his 10 years of service to the United Nations in defence of the principles of our Charter.

91. At the Security Council meetings of 8 July⁴ and 23 September⁵ 1981, the Tunisian delegation expressed its great pleasure at welcoming Vanuatu and Belize to the Organization. We are pleased today to see them occupying their rightful seats in the Assembly. We wish to take this opportunity once again to bid our two new Member States a very warm welcome and to renew our warm congratulations to their respective delegations and assure them of our full co-operation.

92. I should also like to address Tunisia's greetings to all the peoples of the world represented here, and to reaffirm my country's determination to continue to spare no effort in the fulfilment of the principles underlying the Organization.

93. Suffice it for me to mention here the vigorous and resolute action of the Government of President Bourguiba to promote the betterment of the individual, to establish true democracy in my country with due expression of political freedom, social justice and economic progress, and, externally, to promote with friendly and fraternal countries, in the framework of the broadest co-operation, action based on understanding and dialogue.

94. Those principles, to the implementation of which the Tunisia of President Bourguiba is resolutely committed, do not appear, unfortunately, to have been strictly applied everywhere in international relations.

95. In the year that has passed since the last session of the Assembly, we have seen no notable progress in the development of the international situation. In fact, the tensions that confronted us are now more disturbing and more dangerous, and the problems we have tried to tackle remain unresolved and have become even more complex.

96. The Security Council, the supreme organ of the Organization, has certainly deliberated, practically throughout the year, on all the grave questions which represented a threat to international peace and security. We cannot but note, however, that the results of those deliberations have often led to disappointment and have increased the frustration of those who have addressed themselves to this supreme body, confident of their rights and motivated only by their faith in the principles of the Charter.

97. Whether it be for decolonization in Africa or the Middle East, racism and *apartheid*, the right of peoples freely to choose their own system of government, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, or regional conflicts throughout the world, the record unfortunately still remains a very poor one.

98. Hence the particular importance we attach to the deliberations of this session of the General Assembly, of which it is the imperative duty to change the dangerous course taken hitherto by events, to reconcile men with principles and the ideals of peace and progress, and to arouse new hope for the good of the whole of mankind.

99. More than 21 years after the adoption by the Organization of resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, at a time when we are already within sight of the end of the century, we must put an end firmly and with determination to the anachronistic, intolerable situation which still prevails in Palestine and in Namibia. We cannot disregard the valiant struggle being waged by the peoples of Palestine and Namibia under the leadership of their legitimate representatives, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and fail to recognize their inalienable rights to freedom, justice, self-determination and independence.

100. It is high time to put an end to the inadmissible attitude of provocation and defiance in which, in total equanimity, I would stress, the régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria are engaging. These two régimes of oppression, racism and zionism, no doubt exchanging the best-tryed recipes, are oppressing ever more ferociously with each passing day the peoples of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine and vying with each other in acts of aggression against the peoples of southern Africa and the Middle East—flagrant acts of aggression, repeated acts of aggression, but always with impunity, unfortunately. The field of these acts of aggression is becoming ever broader and is extending to Angola, Mozambique, Lebanon or Iraq, sovereign Member States of the community of nations.

101. And here we have the two of them, priding themselves on acting as spearheads of some kind of defence strategy for an order or civilization to which they have no claim to belong.

102. But apart from that aspect, the situation in the Middle East and in southern Africa today contains more than ever before risks of explosion and conflict which threatens the balance in the world.

103. In the Middle East military operations conducted by the Israeli army against the Palestinians and against the people of Lebanon have created one of the most dangerous situations that have existed since 1973. Those who thought that the Camp David agreements would have the effect of providing momentum for the peace process in the area today have had to face the facts. We cannot but note that those agreements have been exploited by Tel Aviv in order freely to conduct its strategy aimed at eliminating the Palestinians. Since that time, the war waged against the Palestinians has assumed impressive dimensions.

sions, involving both the air force and the navy, as well as the army.

104. It is the implementation of that strategy which today constitutes the major obstacle to the establishment of lasting peace in the area. So the obstinate refusal of Israel to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, its total scorn for the many resolutions of the United Nations and for international public opinion, have brought the problem of the Middle East to an impasse. Arrogance, aggressiveness, expansionism: these are three outstanding features of the attitude of Israel in the face of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians to a State.

105. Tunisia, which supports unreservedly the just cause of the Palestinian people, reaffirms its conviction that there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East without a comprehensive settlement which would take account first of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment—under the aegis of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO—of an independent state, and of the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Al-Quds.

106. Israel, using the pretext of security, wishes both to ensure its own military supremacy in the area and to annex Arab territories. It is precisely this expansionist policy that is today the main cause of insecurity and that almost led to a new war in the Middle East following the affair of the Syrian missiles—which were, incidentally, purely defensive devices.

107. Security is an urgent need for all the peoples of the area. It is imperative for their stability and their development. Thus, it cannot be seen in terms of the military supremacy of one State over all the others, which would push the latter into intense re-armament and into various alliances in order to oppose the hegemony of that State, its adventurist policy and its irresponsibility—the dangers of which we see in Lebanon, and of which the raid on the nuclear plant at Tamuz is the most illuminating example.

108. This premeditated act of war, unanimously condemned by the international community, constitutes a dangerous precedent which jeopardizes not only the IAEA system of guarantees, but also the rules of international conduct which govern the civilized world.

109. Peace in the Middle East is a vital necessity for all the peoples of the region. Several Arab countries have made concrete and positive proposals for the establishment of a just and lasting peace, based on consensus but rejecting expansionism, exclusivity and domination. It is urgent to begin without delay the exploration of new avenues to break the deadlock in the situation and embark on a process of true peace in that very sensitive part of the world.

110. That process should first, if it is not to fail, involve the PLO in all stages of negotiations. The PLO, which has constantly given proof of its realism, its sense of responsibility and its capacity to honour its commitments, has today come to be the only negotiating partner

capable of speaking on behalf of the Palestinian people. It is therefore time to admit that fact unreservedly.

111. It is also in the respect for international legality and the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Organization that we find the solution to the painful and explosive problem of Namibia. The present impasse jeopardizes the peace, security and development of the whole of southern Africa.

112. After the failure of the Geneva Conference owing to the recalcitrance and provocative attitude of South Africa, the debate in the Security Council in April 1981 and that at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly last September have revealed the limits that we could reasonably impose on the legendary patience of Africa, and of the Namibian people and its authentic representative, SWAPO.

113. The keen sense of realism and responsibility displayed by SWAPO in its struggle for the recognition of its right to self-determination and independence is matched only by its determination to bring about the independence of its people by means of negotiation and dialogue, or by any other means.

114. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly [*resolution ES-8/2*], Tunisia is firmly in favour of the immediate, unconditional and unreserved application, without reservation or modification, of the plan advocated in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and reaffirmed by the United Nations as a whole, to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and to bring that Territory to independence.

115. In so doing, we shall have made our deeds match our words and our principles match the facts.

116. Tunisia cannot conceal its surprise at the tolerant attitude which, in the name of a solidarity of principle, has been taken by the Western world towards South Africa and Israel about their violations of the principles of the Charter and their defiance of the United Nations. It is by its contribution to the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed peoples in Namibia and Palestine that the Western world will give convincing proof of the sincerity of its support for just causes and will demonstrate its genuine interest in Africa and the Arab world.

117. How much longer are we going to tolerate the people of South Africa being subjected to inhuman and barbarous laws, racist and segregationist laws which are enforced by the *apartheid* régime with impunity and with the toleration of others?

118. How much longer must we tolerate interference in the internal affairs of States and the presence in independent territories of foreign troops, the deployment of which prevents those peoples from freely choosing the form and system of their government? How long are we going to tolerate the massive and flagrant foreign military presence in Afghanistan and Kampuchea?

119. When are the parties concerned, whether it be in Afghanistan, Kampuchea or even in Korea, going to decide in favour of dialogue and negotiation and to spare their peoples the horrors of war and the torments of division?

120. Will the repeated appeals, made particularly by the Islamic countries, calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan ever be heeded?

121. Will the appeals endorsed by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held last July, make it possible to restore dialogue so that the people of Kampuchea will be allowed to know peace and prosperity?

122. Will the appeals of South Korea for dialogue and work towards understanding with North Korea be heeded and will they enable us to see the people of Korea making an effective contribution to the work of the Organization, whether that be through a single representation or, if not, separate representations, on the basis of existing precedents?

123. When will we see the efforts of the Secretary-General, those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference or the non-aligned movement—which this year is celebrating its twentieth anniversary and of which Tunisia is honoured to be one of the founder members—succeed in putting an end to the war that still continues in the Middle East between two fraternal and neighbouring countries, Iraq and Iran, which are surely meant to live in peace and co-operation? We have pointed out that one of the parties, Iraq, has made peace offers and appeals for negotiation. Will it be possible to take this opportunity to embark on a process that will permit a settlement of this distressing conflict? Will the parties involved resolve to give up a sterile struggle which can only prolong unnecessarily the suffering and devastation of the region and make even more remote the prospects of restoring peace and stability in the area?

124. Courage and heroism certainly have their merits. So have diplomacy and wisdom, and their merits are far superior in most cases. As evidence of this I shall give an example very close to my own country, that of Western Sahara, which after a long period of tension and conflict has, thanks to the clearheadedness and courage of the Maghreb leaders, under the auspices of the OAU and within the framework of African wisdom, just taken a decisive step towards the establishment of peace and stability.

125. It is time for relations between States, whether they be large or small, to be based on mutual respect, and for differences in social or economic systems not to be allowed to be a source of conflict. It is time for every State to be able to organize its national structures in terms of its own realities and to define freely its policies, without having to fear encountering the interference of other States. This is what has come to be known as peaceful coexistence, which should have led to authentic détente; but, I am afraid, this is something which today we have come to see as belonging to the past. The hardening of positions to which we are now witness in international relations seems destined to bring about a re-emergence in

a new form of the cold war, which will once again give priority to problems of security, defence and armament, to the detriment of the objectives of peace and development. This atmosphere fraught with threats makes it difficult seriously to contemplate large-scale disarmament measures. On the contrary, we can see that the pace of the arms race—particularly competition in the realm of nuclear weapons—is becoming even faster; it constitutes not only a constant danger to mankind's survival but also a terrible waste of vital human and other resources. The need for maintaining dialogue, for resuming constructive negotiations, for eliminating the causes of mistrust that underlie the arms race is today more necessary than ever. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for next spring, will give us an excellent opportunity, one which we must not fail to seize, because without any doubt peace is mankind's most precious asset.

126. Major questions which have aroused the interest and hopes of the international community, which were on the point of being resolved and which have been the subject of long and arduous deliberations at regular sessions of the General Assembly, at special sessions and at *ad hoc* international conferences have come up against an obstructive attitude, which in its turn has given rise to questioning and concern.

127. Such questioning and concern have arisen with regard to the fulfilment of the international desire to define the law, such as the law of the sea and the laws determining North-South co-operation, upon which depends to such a large extent the future of the whole international community.

128. The world economic situation continues to give the international community grounds for grave concern. Nothing, indeed, in the past year has happened to modify in any way the alarming trends which we have constantly deplored for many years. Some of those trends have even been aggravated. The developed countries continue to struggle with their own structural and economic problems. Inflationary tension in some of those countries, the economic slowdown in others, the ever more visible differences in the perception of the scope of these two phenomena and the solution which should be applied to them have brought those countries to an almost chaotic state, frequently as a result of contradictory economic policies. The problem of interest rates, the fluctuation in foreign exchange rates, the rise of protectionism, the persistence and, in certain cases the exacerbation of high rates of unemployment, are all negative results of these policies.

129. Of course, the developing countries suffer the cumulative consequences of these policies, which are reflected particularly in their balances of trade, which for the most part are becoming increasingly unbalanced, and in the level of their indebtedness, often verging on the intolerable. Payment difficulties created in this way are accentuated even more by the reduction of public bilateral aid from certain developed countries, and by no means the least important countries, as well as by the many restrictions facing multilateral financing and technical assistance institutions, including the World Bank and UNDP, in adequately replenishing their resources. This

situation proves once again that the developed countries have no hesitation in transferring the costs of their own adaptation to the economic situation to the developing countries, which, because of the weakness of their economic structures, are forced to curb their expansion, if not halt it altogether, thus doing damage to the economic and social development of their peoples.

130. The third world countries in general recognize the increasingly tangible fact of the interdependence of countries and economic problems, but it is not at all realistic to ask them to wait patiently for a solution of the chronic problems of the industrialized countries before they can develop their own economies.

131. With a view to the establishment of international economic relations on solid and equitable foundations in the interests of all the parties concerned, the third world has for many years now been proposing the fundamental restructuring of these relations by the establishment of a new international economic order. This objective, in spite of the difficulties it has encountered, remains more valid than ever, because it is the only one which could promote a balanced and harmonious development of the world economy by reducing the ever-widening economic gap between rich and poor countries.

132. The project of launching global negotiations obviously stems from the same line of thought. These negotiations should not, of course, reduce to nothing the achievements, however limited they may be, obtained through efforts undertaken for so many years now in various international forums, and most recently at the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, which has just been held at Nairobi and at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, just held at Paris. But we should also try to fill gaps and go forward, bearing in mind both the short-term and long-term interests of the international community as a whole and the developing countries in particular.

133. Is there any need to stress that development depends to a large measure on science and technology? This aspect was dealt with at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August 1979, at which a Programme of Action was drawn up.⁶ The results, however, remain very limited, hence the need for strengthening the scientific and technological capacity within the developing countries because without that the transfer of technology to those countries can constitute only a very uncertain contribution to the work of development. This approach calls for increasing internal effort on the part of the developing countries, greater horizontal co-operation among them and a more determined contribution from the rest of the international community.

134. Aware of this need, a number of countries, including Tunisia, have embarked on consultations in order to educate all the parties concerned as to their role in this matter. We believe that this initiative is a useful supplement to the action undertaken in the United Nations. Success in this can only have a positive effect on efforts which will be undertaken at this session of the General

Assembly to produce an agreement on a system of financing for science and technology.

135. The third world, for its part, has already shown its firm determination to come to the next stage of the North-South dialogue in a constructive spirit, convinced of its rights and duties and the action made possible by its unity, which has just been strengthened by the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas last May. The third world countries are, above all, convinced that the developed world can no longer ignore the role which they play in the maintenance of its own prosperity. It is therefore in the interest of all for the developing countries to remain solvent and for them to develop unhindered, so that they can become genuine partners of the industrialized countries.

136. The deadlock in the process of launching global negotiations and the delay in concluding the work of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea are particularly worrying and disturbing.

137. We venture to hope that those responsible for this situation will soon be able to conclude the period of reflection which they have allowed themselves and share once again the general will to conclude work on the draft convention on the law of the sea and to embark on global negotiations.

138. In this respect, we are glad to see this general consensus strengthened by the open and unreserved support which we have noted in the statement to the Assembly by the representative of France [9th meeting] and also by the particularly encouraging and positive change of attitude on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany.

139. The International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, which is to be held at Cancún in the next few days, will give us an opportunity to see whether our hopes are well founded and whether the wish of those who want to make progress will prevail, so as to provide genuine momentum for global negotiations, the natural forum for which obviously remains the United Nations. The concerted action of all States Members of the Organization in order to provide further momentum for the North-South dialogue is necessary not only for economic reasons but also—and above all—for pre-eminently political reasons.

140. The stakes are high and far transcend the immediate interests of any of the partners in this common enterprise. I hope we can all realize this.

141. There is nothing about the international situation to encourage optimism. However, we must not allow ourselves to fall prey to doubt, resignation or despair.

142. It is indeed dangerous to allow the spiral of tension to go on increasing. The peoples of the third world are refusing to remain pawns in the game of great-Power rivalry, in markets for raw materials and in outlets for manufactured products. They are determined to achieve their status as fully-fledged partners in the concert of nations.

143. With regard to their security and their development—that is to say, their very destiny—they have every intention of assuming this role fully, freely and democratically.

144. Prince AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish at the outset to extend to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. You are renowned for your experience and competence and for the distinguished manner in which you represent your country. Your election to this high office is a token of the great esteem in which your country, Iraq, is held and of its constructive role in international affairs. We are confident that this role will contribute to the realization of world progress towards a brighter and more promising future.

145. In this connection I wish to extend my best wishes to the President of the previous session of the Assembly, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, and to commend him for his ability and wisdom. He conducted the proceedings of the Assembly with a competence that earned him our appreciation and gratitude.

146. I also wish to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for the genuine efforts he is exerting in his constant endeavour to solve international problems and to maintain the principles which form the basis of the Organization.

147. I also wish to join the other heads of delegation in welcoming Vanuatu and Belize as new Members of the United Nations. I am certain that they will contribute with other Member States to the realization of the noble objectives of the Organization.

148. Relations among States should not be based on submission and surrender; nor should they depend on power, domination and control. They must be based on solid principles and objective values, inspired by mutual interests and built on solid foundations of equality and justice. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has laid down solid foundations for its relations with other countries which brook no compromise. These foundations are not subject to any concessions. They are based on respect for the principle of national sovereignty and absolute rejection of any attempts to compromise it. They are based on equal relations with others and rejection of attempts at interference in their internal affairs. The Kingdom, like the rest of the international community, formulates its international positions and establishes its foreign relations on the basis of its international commitments and its ties with international organizations and bodies.

149. My country was one of the original signatories of the San Francisco Charter, which gave birth to the United Nations. Ever since, my country's faith in the importance of the Organization and in the basic objectives of the Charter has not been shaken. I do not intend at this stage to discuss at length the accomplishments of the United Nations or its achievements in various fields. We all endorse these efforts and believe in their importance and necessity. Our contribution is governed by our capabilities and our means. However, it would be unrealistic to state

that the Organization has fulfilled all the aspirations which the peoples of the world have placed in it.

150. The real challenge faced by the Organization lies in the fact that it still functions in a world which does not adequately believe in it. It operates in the midst of super-Power conflicts and of States which pursue policies of conquest and domination.

151. Once more the resort to force in international affairs is taking precedence in contemporary international life.

152. The gap between rich and poor countries has grown wider, and we are witnessing an increase in violations by the big Powers of the sovereignty of small States.

153. The aggressive and increasingly dangerous practices of certain States have continued.

154. The legitimate rights of peoples to self-determination have been compromised.

155. The continuation of these conditions and their negative effect on international relations calls for an intensification of efforts to put an end to such defiance and for the search for such means as would secure the needs of the international community and protect the interests of all peoples and nations. If there is to be any hope of overcoming these conditions or finding a course which would enable the peoples of the world to realize their aspirations for peace and prosperity, the United Nations must be able to protect its main objectives as manifested in the Charter.

156. The prestige of the Organization, which embodies the hopes and aspirations of nations for peace, will remain in jeopardy if it continues to be satisfied with the adoption of resolutions and recommendations on matters of which it is seized. The ability of the United Nations to serve as a reliable safety valve for the maintenance of international peace and security, on the one hand, and for laying the foundations for justice and co-operation among States in the political, economic and social fields, on the other, depends to a great extent on its ability to play its role not solely by adopting resolutions but also by implementing them. Implementation is the real test of the value of a resolution.

157. While we all bear responsibility as Members of the Organization for the maintenance of world peace, justice and equality among States, the super-Powers bear a special responsibility in that regard. The fact that those Powers possess lethal weapons capable of destroying the world gives them no special rights. Might does not confer rights as much as it imposes obligations and responsibilities. Those Powers have an obligation to establish the foundations for international co-operation based on equality and justice. They also have an obligation to protect the interests of the small States and to defend their independence rather than partitioning them into spheres of influence. History provides ample proof that dividing the world into spheres of influence between conflicting

Powers leads, in the final analysis, to armed conflict between those Powers.

158. The two world wars were a clear example of that. If those wars led to the destruction of vast areas of the world, a new world war will lead to its total devastation. The real solution to that problem does not lie in the consecration of foreign influence, particularly, that of the super-Powers. The solution requires the elimination of the reasoning which calls for the division of the world into areas of influence. Consequently, the protection of our independence, the elimination and rejection of foreign influence and the refusal to acquiesce in such reasoning involve the protection not only of our rights as independent and free States, but of the security of the super-Powers themselves.

159. We are following with great concern and watching with considerable caution the developments in the relations between the two super-Powers. International détente, that is, mutual understanding between those Powers, which was one of the most important events of our time, has now reached a dead end. It has lost an essential element on which it should have been based, namely, that détente should extend to all and be in the interests of all. It should fulfil the aspirations and legitimate rights of all peoples and not be limited to a single relaxation between the forces of the two super-Powers. Nor should it consist of an understanding by them on how to impose their will on other States or proceed, under the guise of such an understanding, to divide the world into spheres of influence and domination.

160. We are now witnessing an increase in world polarization, and in competition between the super-Powers which involves the threat of a new cold war that would endorse invasions and expansion and would jeopardize the security of the region of the Middle East and its aspirations to peace and prosperity. Our region, the Middle East, probably suffers most from that tense situation and from the effects of the dangerous strategic competition threatening it. Those forces have been endeavouring to establish a military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. But we are anxious for the region to remain outside that conflict and that it be preserved as a zone of peace, instead of as a theatre of conflict.

161. On the other hand, we are gravely concerned about the recent announcement of "strategic co-operation" between the United States and Israel, which is likely to thrust our region into international alliances and cast it into the cauldron of super-Power conflict. That is inconsistent with the role of the United States in its efforts to find a settlement to the Middle East crisis. Such a role requires that the United States assume an impartial position.

162. At the same time, we find the efforts pursued by the Soviet Union to consolidate polarization in our region inconsistent with its role as a super-power, responsible for the maintenance of stability and the reduction of international tension.

163. All this confirms that international peace cannot be maintained and international relations cannot be stabilized

unless the contemporary international political order is based on the principles of law, equality and justice, which together constitute a complete and indivisible framework.

164. Just as we have asked that détente not be at the expense of the third world and its rights, we also forcefully demand that the renewed strategic conflict not be at the expense of the third world and the aspiration of its peoples to peace and stability.

165. A positive factor of which we can be proud in the political developments witnessed by our region was the establishment of the Gulf Co-operation Council. That positive development is consistent and fully in harmony with the charters and resolutions of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States. It is also consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. It in fact represents a strengthening and consecration of co-operation and interaction among the member States of the Council. At the same time, it does not constitute an alliance against anyone. It is an expression of the free will of those countries and of co-operation among them, in full and mutual awareness of their national interests, free of any outside influence. The Council will be a positive factor for stability in the region and will play an effective role in helping to eliminate foreign interference, particularly in matters which are considered to be within the exclusive competence of the Gulf States.

166. The membership of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in OPEC, its useful work in international economic bodies and its effective role in international efforts are aimed at strengthening international economic co-operation and finding solutions for all the problems encountered. That has not only led to its adoption of responsible economic policies but also to the establishment of a pragmatic and realistic perspective with respect to the international economic situation, its problems, and the solutions proposed for overcoming those problems.

167. A glance at that economic situation indicates that there is a reality which requires no discussion, namely, that the world is divided into developing countries with a declining standard of living, suffering from starvation, destitution and lack of resources, and industrialized countries with a high standard of living, enjoying extreme affluence and an abundance of resources. That situation constitutes a disequilibrium recognized by everyone. The whole world, including the industrialized countries, acknowledges that disequilibrium in the international economic situation. Yet it continues to lack the political will to change that situation. The only solution for that disequilibrium is that real wealth not be limited to specific States. It should be transferred and directed from the industrialized to the developing countries. The transfer of that wealth does not imply or aim at a reduction in the standard of living of the industrialized countries, but the extension of the scope of the economic structure, horizontally or vertically, will increase the opportunity for the developed industrialized countries of maintaining their continued economic growth in the medium and long term. We are proceeding from the perspective that, like it or not, this is one interdependent world. Our objectives can not be aimed at targets that are not interdependent.

168. The discussion by the General Assembly of economic matters and of international economic co-operation for development is of great importance because those matters have a considerable impact on international peace and security and on the reduction of international tension. While economic stagnation continues at the international level, the cost of imports by the developing countries of food products and capital and consumer goods increases, with a concurrent reduction in the demand for their basic products. Protective trade measures in the markets of the industrialized countries have been increasing, thus diminishing the exports of the developing countries to those markets. That results in a deterioration of trade conditions and an increase in trade balance deficits. Those problems are compounded by the rise in the costs of loans and loan servicing, fluctuations in the rates of exchange and a substantial decline in the official development assistance offered by the industrialized countries.

169. That gloomy picture of the conditions of a large number of developing countries requires a new effort to launch global economic negotiations aimed at the co-ordination of international economic performance and increased efficiency in international co-operation for development. It is regrettable that the efforts of the General Assembly to launch the global economic negotiations should be impeded because of differences over certain procedural matters. The nature of the subjects submitted for discussion does not permit delay or postponement. They must be given the priority and care which they deserve.

170. In this regard, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia wishes to commend the initiative of Mr. José Lopez Portillo, the President of Mexico, and Mr. Bruno Kreisky, the Chancellor of Austria, in calling for a limited summit meeting at Cancún to discuss problems of international co-operation for development. We hope that that meeting will succeed in restoring mutual confidence and strengthening common understanding between the participating developing and developed States. We also hope that it will provide favourable conditions for launching a new round of global economic negotiations and assist in the success of such negotiations rather than serve as an alternative for it. The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, through its participation in the meeting, will exert every possible effort to realize those hopes.

171. The policy of racial discrimination which South Africa continues to practice is racist, detestable and inhumane and based on contempt and the oppression of man by man. There is no longer a place for such a policy in our present age. The days of imperialism and enslavement are gone forever.

172. The continuation of the policy of *apartheid* by the present régime in South Africa is the reason for its refusal to withdraw from Namibia and to deny its people the right to self-determination and national independence, despite the repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Those resolutions state clearly and unequivocally that the occupation of Namibia by South Africa is illegal and poses a threat to international peace and security. My Government condemns the obstacles impeding the complete liberation of Namibia and

supports the resolutions of the General Assembly in this regard, culminating in its resolution adopted at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly [*resolution ES-8/2*].

173. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is proud to be a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Islam is its religion; the Holy Koran is its constitution and guiding light. Islam is a religion that calls for freedom and stands against aggression, exploitation and oppression. It opposes all forms of backwardness and encourages freedom of thought. It is capable of adapting to the accomplishments of our age. The basic nature of the Organization of the Islamic Conference meets the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world. For those reasons, and despite the fact that its membership is limited to Islamic countries, most of its activities and policies reflect the hopes and aspirations of all nations. That is why the Organization of the Islamic Conference occupies a distinguished place in the international community and has close relations with regional and international organizations with which we share common aims and aspirations. Those are the United Nations, the League of Arab States, the OAU, the non-aligned movement and so forth.

174. In January this year, the Third Islamic Summit Conference convened in the Holy City of Mecca. That great and historic gathering was a remarkable occasion at which leaders of Islamic countries adopted resolutions and recommendations of great importance and issued the historic Mecca Declaration. The upshot of all that is that the Islamic gathering is one for good and not for evil, for strength through law and not strength for oppression; a gathering that does not strive to create areas of influence at the expense of others but to achieve independence for all countries.

175. The Islamic States do not aspire to create a bloc opposed to existing military alliances. They strive to eliminate the foundation of alliances which bring death and destruction. The Islamic countries support disarmament and oppose the arms race. They oppose the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world and favour their reduction and elimination.

176. The initiatives of the Islamic Conference and the constructive role it plays are aimed at strengthening and developing co-operation among its members for their benefit and development, and ultimately for the benefit of humanity as a whole, thus responding to the objectives of the United Nations and upholding the principles of the Charter. The Organization of the Islamic Conference has exerted a considerable effort to maintain the Arab and Islamic character of Jerusalem, which is part of its heritage and civilization, particularly when the blind arrogance of Israel has led it to proclaim Jerusalem as the "eternal capital" of its racist entity, thereby challenging the world conscience, Islamic consensus and international law.

177. The Organization of the Islamic Conference was able to demonstrate to the whole world the dangerous dimensions of the flagrant Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. It condemned the Soviet Union and called for a complete, unconditional withdrawal of military

forces from Afghanistan, and for non-recognition of, or co-operation with, the present régime.

178. We therefore call upon all the other nations of the world to support that organization's position on this matter by condemning and denouncing the action of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Furthermore, the Organization of the Islamic Conference called on all nations to support the people of Afghanistan in the elimination of all forms of oppression, subjugation and occupation so that that people may regain its freedom and independence and be able to exercise its sovereign right over its territory. That will not be possible without the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan. The support that the Soviet Union continues to give to the rights of the Arabs in Palestine, for which we are thankful, does not justify its occupation of Afghanistan, nor does it justify the denial of the rights of the people of Afghanistan. We appeal to the Soviet Union to respond to the legitimate demands of the Afghan people and its right to self-determination. We hope that the Soviet Union will respond to this call so that its role is in keeping with what is right and just everywhere.

179. The continuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq has created deep concern in our region and a strong desire for its termination. The Islamic countries have spared no effort in this regard through the Goodwill Committee, whose membership was enlarged during the Islamic Conference held in the Holy City of Mecca, and which has among its members nine heads of State, members of the Islamic Conference [see A/36/138/annex IV]. We strongly support those efforts, and the supplementary endeavours of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations and hope that all these efforts will bear fruit. At the same time we very strongly deplore the recent aggression against the brotherly State of Kuwait, which was aimed at certain economic installations. It represents an aggression against the sanctity and sovereignty of Kuwaiti air space, undermines the security and stability of the region and violates international law and practice. The continuation of such aggression will lead the States of the Arab League to apply the Treaty on Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation between the League of Arab States.

180. The membership of Saudi Arabia in the Arab League is not merely a political or casual relationship. It is the reality of a common destiny and civilization reflecting a common history and culture, and common hopes for a world enjoying stability, prosperity and progress. The League of Arab States, in conformity with the objectives of the United Nations and its Charter, has played an important and constructive role aimed at strengthening political, economic, social and cultural co-operation among its members. In its efforts to attain those ends it was faced with a formidable obstacle that continues to prevent the establishment of peace and stability not only in the Middle East region but throughout the whole world. By that I mean Israeli aggression and the hateful racist policy pursued by Israel. When we refer to the Israeli enemy, we have in mind not only its aggression against a peaceful people in their own homeland, and the unlawful acquisition of their lands and property, or the fact that such aggression constitutes a violation of principles

and supreme human values and amounts to a brazen defiance of the resolutions adopted by international bodies; we also perceive the aggression as being directed against high moral values and lofty human principles. Ever since the forces of East and West combined to partition Palestine and to establish Israel, that State has decided to adopt expansion as its principle and aggression as its way of life.

181. The Jews who emigrated to Palestine at the turn of the century and in 1947 acquired 57 per cent of the fertile lands of Palestine have, through theft or unlawful seizure, extended their domain to include the whole area of Palestine, in addition to other neighbouring Arab territories. Since 1967, Israel has been creating settlements in the occupied Arab territories. In June 1981 they had reached a total of 32 settlements on the Syrian Golan Heights, 12 in the Gaza Strip, in Palestine, and 18 in northern Sinai, also in Palestine, and on the outskirts of Rafah. Thus the total number of Israeli settlements in that area at the end of June 1981 amounted to about 30 settlements in occupied Arab territories in addition to 111 on the West Bank and in Palestine. Israel has in fact usurped 34.4 per cent of the total area of the occupied West Bank, which had already been reduced to about 20 per cent of the total area of Palestine.

182. Israel was established on a basis of aggression and continues to thrive on it. Its history has been marked by policies of expansion, torture and occupation, which form the basis of its existence. In the course of just one month Israel has committed two criminal aggressions against two Arab capitals. The Security Council adopted a resolution condemning Israel for its aggression against the nuclear reactor in Iraq [resolution 487 (1981)]. No sooner had the ink on that resolution dried than Israel committed a savage crime against areas crowded with civilians in Beirut, killing and wounding hundreds of people, including women, old people and children.

183. Each time the excuses have been the same. Israel allows itself to violate the air space of a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations, to occupy parts of its land and kill its people, and to attack installations in another Arab capital—all under the pretext that such actions are dictated by the necessity of defending its security.

184. In an effort to deceive and mislead public opinion, Israel claims that its security is threatened by the existence of the Iraqi nuclear reactor. It also claims that its aggression against Lebanon is designed to protect the Christians and sometimes to protect itself against Palestinians in southern Lebanon. All these claims involve complete distortions of fact. On what basis could Israel consider the nuclear reactor to be a threat to its security, when in fact Iraq had established the reactor for peaceful purposes, had signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and agreed to open its reactor to IAEA inspection. Since when has Israel been concerned about the well-being of the Christians in Lebanon? It has itself killed and displaced the Christians of Palestine. Furthermore, the existence of the Palestinians in southern Lebanon is a direct result of the Zionist aggression against

the Palestinians and their displacement from their homes and country.

185. If we examine the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations condemning the aggressive actions of Israel, and stressing the right of the Palestinian people to their homeland and the Arab character of Jerusalem, we find nothing in them to support the Israeli expansionist logic or its illogical claims. The resolutions of condemnation adopted by the international Organization against Israel have never deterred it from pursuing such policies.

186. A glance at those resolutions shows clearly that Israel is a heavy burden on the international community. Never before has any Member of the United Nations so grossly violated international norms or gone so far in opposing the will of the international community. Have not the resolutions adopted by the United Nations condemning Israel piled up to no avail? They have not even been able to prevent Israel from pursuing its policy of aggression and expansion. Has no leniency towards Israel encouraged South Africa to follow suit to the extent that both now share a common policy of racism and expansionism?

187. I have no need to recite here the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council in this regard. Their number alone is sufficiently significant. The most disturbing factor in this respect, however, is the continued defiance by Israel of those resolutions, which obliges the United Nations to reiterate its previous resolutions every time the Palestinian question is considered.

188. We feel strongly that the need at present is not to adopt new resolutions, but rather to combine all those resolutions into a single resolution to be adopted by the Security Council and considered as a framework for a comprehensive and just solution to this problem.

189. His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, Crown Prince and Deputy Prime Minister, put forward certain principles which can be used as guidelines in the formulation of such a resolution. Those principles, previously embodied in resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, are as follows: first, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem; two, the removal of settlements established by Israel in Arab lands after 1967; three, a guarantee of freedom of worship and religious rites for all religions in the Holy Places; four, confirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and compensation for those who do not opt to do so; five, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip should be placed under the supervision of the United Nations for a transitional period not exceeding a few months; six, the establishment of an independent Palestinian State with Je-

rusalem as its capital; seven, confirmation of the right of the countries of the region to live in peace; eight, the United Nations or some of its Members shall guarantee the implementation of these principles.

190. His Royal Highness has stressed that the implementation of these principles depends on three conditions which must be fulfilled. Those conditions are: first, cessation of the unlimited American support for Israel; secondly, an end to Israeli arrogance, a condition which would be automatically fulfilled if the first condition were guaranteed; and, thirdly, recognition that the Palestinian question is the main factor in the Middle East equation.

191. The United Nations has done enough urging and condemning, yet an equitable and just solution is nowhere in sight. We ask ourselves whether there is any way to reach such a settlement, other than to proceed from the consensus of condemnation to tangible implementation. This is the question that must now be answered by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The specific procedure is embodied in the resolution we have proposed, which should constitute the framework for a settlement.

192. All the Arab countries desire peace and strive for its attainment. While they may disagree on positions concerning international efforts and initiatives, they do not differ on the need for a just and comprehensive peace.

193. Our faith in the principles and objectives of the United Nations, wherein all nations of the world meet, is solid and becomes even stronger with the passage of time, despite the problems and crises that face the world. Because of our faith in the Organization, we do not hesitate to come to it each year to discuss the various problems and crises in the world and to co-operate with others in seeking solutions for the establishment of a world community characterized by stability, progress, peace and security. May God guide us.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8).

² See A/S-11/14, annex I.

³ *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).

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, 2290th meeting*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2302nd meeting.

⁶ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.