



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 17

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments:

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

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon, I shall first of all invite the members of the Assembly to consider part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 17 (b). In paragraph 4 of the report the Fifth Committee recommends the appointment of Mr. Enrique Ferrer Vieyra of Argentina to fill the vacancy for the unexpired portion of Mr. García del Solar's term of office, that is, until 31 December 1984. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 37/305 A).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

2. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by Mr. Cristino Seriche Bioko, Vice-President and Minister of Health of Equatorial Guinea. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

3. Mr. SERICHE BIKO (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour for me to avail myself of this opportunity to address the Assembly in the name of the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and their President, Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, whom I represent here, and to express to the vast family of the international community the brotherly greetings and solidarity of my country.

4. I am particularly pleased to pause here to express, on my own behalf and on that of the delegation over which I have the honour of presiding, our most sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President on your well-deserved election as President of the Assembly to direct and preside efficiently over the debates that will be held throughout these days during which we shall be trying to find viable solutions to the innumerable problems which affect our world of today and constantly threaten peace and the civic and harmonious coexistence of peoples. It is our profound hope that your presidency will be carried out with the equanimity, foresight, wisdom and high diplomatic skills which have always characterized you and won for you the respect and esteem of us all. I should also

like to transmit to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Kittani, our appreciation for the effective manner in which he discharged his functions during the last session. We particularly wish to congratulate Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the Secretary-General, on his election to the lofty responsibility of ensuring the administrative and political functioning of the Headquarters of our great community. We are certain that his stature as an accredited diplomat and his vast knowledge of the machinery of the United Nations system will ensure that the difficult tasks entrusted to him will be carried out with guarantees of certainty and effectiveness.

5. On my delegation's behalf, it is my pleasant duty to express our sincere gratitude to the Government of the United States of America, and in particular to the authorities of the State of New York, for the hospitality that has always been lavished upon us and for making available to us the material and spiritual conditions necessary for the success of sessions of the General Assembly.

6. Three years ago a representative of the people of Equatorial Guinea came before the Assembly at this podium to announce to the international community the action taken by the Equatorial Armed Forces which, on the dawn of 3 August 1979, decided to do away with the blood-stained régime of the wretched tyrant Macías Nguema.

7. Three years ago, in the same statement, the Government of the Supreme Military Council, established by that liberating action of the people of Equatorial Guinea undertook freely and resolutely, before the world and history, the sacred obligation of making every necessary effort to remove my people from the abandonment and destruction in which it had been plunged by the former régime.

8. Of course, the Government of the Supreme Military Council had no idea of the enormous difficulties that would later arise in the country's reconstruction. Indeed, the difficulties were and are enormous and multiple, since our task consists in eliminating the trauma from the minds of the citizens of Equatorial Guinea and building a new and different society. To this end, we have the urgent need to give priority to rehabilitating those fields of activity most important to the normalization of life in Equatorial Guinea, namely, health, education, agriculture and, above all, the economy—the decisive factor in the entire process of our reconstruction and development.

9. Today we can be proud of having worked honestly and resolutely, facing every difficulty and overcoming all kinds of obstacles to achieve some positive goals along the long and difficult road of reconstruction. Our achievements can be seen by all in Equatorial Guinea, and it would be too much for me to try to

list them here, achievements which, I must add, would not have been possible without the decisive support of the international community.

10. When, in order to bring about the economic relaunching of Equatorial Guinea and in response to the pathetic appeal made by my country, the United Nations approved the holding of an international pledging conference at Geneva, we could not have guessed the significance it would have for our country. That Conference, held at Geneva in the month of April last—and attended personally by Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic—represented for my country a propitious opportunity for us to present in a clear, concise and detailed manner to the international community an inventory of our most urgent needs and the projects we have for solving them gradually, and at the same time to request assistance from international financial circles in obtaining contributions for the financing of those projects.

11. Through not only the assistance but also the interest and understanding of the international community, we were able to revise our forecasts, which was a source of great satisfaction to us, and we are very grateful to the countries which attended the Pledging Conference and showed interest in several of the projects we submitted there. We are also grateful to the governmental and non-governmental organizations which also showed an interest in our projects and to the United Nations system which, with special zeal and sincerity, worked ceaselessly to ensure the smooth running and success of the Conference, whose results are already being made visible in Equatorial Guinea through the large number of representatives of countries and international organizations who have come to maintain the first contacts and evaluate on the spot the possibilities of carrying out the proposed projects within the context of that Conference.

12. I have been specially asked by the President of the Republic to avail myself of this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Equatorial Guinea, our sincere gratitude to all those who participated in or contributed in any way to that Conference, and our thanks for the fruitful results it achieved. It is an obvious proof of solidarity which the people of Equatorial Guinea will never forget, and we are confident that the spirit of that Conference will be kept alive and fervent, and that there will be increasing interest in assisting our country both on the part of the countries which attended the Conference, and on the part of those which, while not having been able to attend, feel a sense of solidarity with the cause of my country's reconstruction.

13. One of the most serious injuries suffered by the people of Equatorial Guinea during the dictatorship was the undisguised and unprecedented suppression of our fundamental rights, leaving the citizen of Equatorial Guinea deprived of his minimum rights. There are numerous examples that bear eloquent testimony to the acts of the past régime which with impunity cruelly jeopardized those rights. Therefore, one of the main goals of the Supreme Military Council, when it took power on 3 August 1979, was to restore those fundamental rights to the people of Equatorial Guinea; and from that very year a gradual but firm process of democratization of the country was initiated and measures adopted for the scrupulous and

strict respect of the human person. On past occasions we listed in various statements the measures we have taken, from the liberation of all political prisoners to the drafting and presentation to the people of a Constitution which our Government has been implementing faithfully, to comply with the promise and commitment entered into before our people and history.

14. Indeed, the Government of the Supreme Military Council, faithfully following the line of conduct it established when it first came to power, and in compliance with General Assembly resolution 34/123 which established the programme for the gradual democratization of our country, has lived up to its promise made to the people on the occasion of the second anniversary of the "freedom *coup*", and has drafted the text of a constitution which, in order to comply with the requirements of our time regarding guarantees of human freedoms and the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it submitted for revision to United Nations experts appointed for that purpose by the Division on Human Rights.

15. On 2 August 1982 that Constitution was officially and solemnly presented by Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic, to the people of Equatorial Guinea. On 15 August the people was consulted in a popular referendum about whether or not it accepted the text of the Constitution. On 21 August, the National Referendum Committee announced the official results of that referendum.

16. It is my pleasure here to announce with pride to the international community that the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, in a referendum conducted through a direct, free and secret ballot, has provided itself with a new democratic constitution, supported by an overwhelming majority of 95 per cent of the votes cast, on the basis of a 96 per cent voter turnout.

17. On the same occasion, and in accordance with another provision of the Constitution, Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, by the acclamation of the people and in expression of its free will, was charged with guiding the sacred destiny of Equatorial Guinea for the seven years following the adoption of the Constitution.

18. That massive, unanimous election of Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo to the nation's highest office was free from any trickery and resulted from the desire of the people of Equatorial Guinea to maintain continuity in the process of democratization it has undertaken, and that the same guiding hand should complete it, before proceeding to the general elections to take place at the end of the seven-year term of the presidential mandate.

19. Our Constitution, the basic code which now rules and guides the sacred destiny of my people, provides for a Council of State, a People's House of Representatives, a Court of Justice, a National Council for Economic Development and Community Councils. The latter are adapted to our national situation for democratization by giving the power structure its roots in the communities, in the countryside.

20. We think we have kept our word to the international community, given in the Assembly, and are pleased to have done so before the time set in a programme drawn up in collaboration with the United

Nations. Our devotion to the people, and our historic commitment to it, have enabled us to provide that people, only three years after taking power, with a democratic constitution, with all the organs and conditions required to ensure scrupulous respect of its basic rights and the enjoyment of a state of law, in keeping with the standards of the second half of the twentieth century.

21. We are fully convinced that, just as it responded massively and affirmatively in favour of the Constitution, our people will also be able to live up to it by safeguarding and respecting it, so that, with the Constitution as our cornerstone and beacon, we shall go forward together in peace and national harmony to accomplish the very difficult task of reconstructing the country.

22. Basic difficulties—such as those we face in the area of food and, above all, in restoring the country to economic health—have shown us that our strength is limited, although our efforts are enormous. We are therefore certain that we cannot travel this hard road on our own, without the steadfast assistance of the international community, whether bilateral or multilateral.

23. Regarding bilateral relations, we have sought to break with the isolation which the past régime imposed on our people for more than a decade, and we have not only succeeded in re-establishing international credibility and trust, but have greatly strengthened the links that unite us with neighbouring countries, with the African continent, and the world in general, without ideological or bloc discrimination.

24. In this connection it is my honour to mention the excellent relations of co-operation between the Republic of Equatorial Guinea with Spain, whose assistance has always been decisive for our country, as well as the relations we maintain with France, the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, Morocco, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Egypt, to name but a few. These are countries whose co-operation has already taken positive form in Equatorial Guinea.

25. Our relations of co-operation with the neighbouring brother countries of the United Republic of Cameroon, the Republic of Gabon and the Federal Republic of Nigeria are excellent, for those countries have spared neither effort nor moral and material means to encourage us and spur us on to continue resolutely the great task of reconstruction. I express, before the Assembly, our deepest gratitude to them. We have signed agreements on bilateral co-operation with Sao Tome and Principe.

26. As to the community of Hispanic nations, we are aware of the affinities and identity which unite us to it, and we are making every effort to achieve greater integration and to establish solid links with our brothers in Latin America and the Caribbean region. There are already joint projects with the Argentine Republic, and our ties with other countries such as Venezuela, Cuba and Mexico, are strengthening and are becoming increasingly positive.

27. In a world like ours in the second half of the twentieth century, our concerns can only grow. We believe that this rostrum—the Assembly—is the

most appropriate place to denounce the alarming and growing abandonment by nations of the principle of dialogue in favour of the spirit of war and confrontation. The cold war, which, during the post-war years, had itself been a threat hovering over the peoples, has dangerously given way to the proliferation of armed confrontations.

28. National leaders are growing more intransigent, and the results of this are there to be seen: self-destruction and the tens of thousands of human beings who are paying with their lives for wars waged for sterile claims. Such problems are of profound concern to my Government; they are to be seen far beyond the walls of this Hall, and it is imperative that practical solutions be found. I refer especially—but only by way of example—to the conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the question of the Malvinas, the occupation of Cyprus, the situation on the Korean peninsula, a practical satisfactory solution for which has been sought since 1966 without success, the untenable status of Namibia.

29. All these problems have a significant effect on the noble principles of the self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, principles to which my Government adheres and abides by. Along with this, there is the constant tension in the Middle East, which has become more acute with the invasion of Lebanon and the killing of Palestinians by Israeli forces, which constitute flagrant flouting of the inalienable rights of an entire people. Further, terrorism runs rampant in Europe.

30. The African continent continues to be the theatre for military operations and adventures by non-African Powers. Those Powers are fomenting discord and confrontation among our States, in order to weaken us and freely to exploit our resources, imposing on us truly humiliating trading conditions.

31. The tensions which exist are well known and do not need a special review at this time, for they are always a part of the daily life of our continent and pose a grave threat to the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. This is not the time for a detailed analysis of this tragic problem, for we believe that that analysis and a solution to the problem are an inter-African responsibility.

32. Nevertheless we appeal to African States to show maturity and find a single firm and decisive solution to the crisis, one respecting the integrity and inviolability of the fundamental principles of the charter of the OAU. We cannot permit the disintegration of the OAU because our solidarity would thereby be profoundly affected, as it is our best weapon in our struggle against the political, economic and social injustices from which the African continent suffers.

33. We are pleased at the return to order in Chad and we wish that brother people peace and prosperity.

34. In accordance with this line of thinking, the people of Equatorial Guinea, in the person of its President, Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, whom I have the honour to represent in the Assembly, is in favour of finding immediate and positive solutions to these disputes by way of dialogue and mutual understanding, involving the consistent, clear, and literal

implementation of the relevant resolutions on these disputes adopted by this great Organization.

35. As Vice-President of the Supreme Military Council, and having the honour of representing the President of the Republic, it remains only for me to reiterate to the Assembly that my Government is resolutely determined to promote the social and economic development of our country, strictly and faithfully to comply with the process of democratization which we have started, to respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to make every effort to help establish solid foundations for peace in the world.

36. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Vice-President and Minister of Health of Equatorial Guinea for the important statement he has just made.

37. Mr. SAAVEDRA WEISE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great and significant honour for me to come to this rostrum representing my country before the world.

38. My first words go to you, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your well-deserved election as President of this session of the Assembly. Your unmistakable gifts as an experienced diplomat guarantee the success of our work. It is a pleasure, and not merely a formality, for me to convey the thanks and congratulations of my Government to Mr. Kittani of Iraq for the wise and successful way in which he carried out his duties as President of the thirty-sixth session.

39. Recently the United Nations has seen its mission even further enriched by the appointment as Secretary-General of one of its most distinguished officials, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, a most worthy representative of Peruvian diplomacy. Bolivia reiterates its pleasure at his appointment and its congratulations and best wishes to him, the first Secretary-General representing Latin America, and the brotherly and ancestral ties between Bolivia and Peru and the Andean countries are well known. His presence as Secretary-General is a sound guarantee for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Organization.

40. For years we have been expressing our faith and reiterating our purposes. Every year we come here and repeat our intention to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter. We announce optimistic outlines for the future and the definite achievement of our aims. However, realistically and objectively I think we must now pause on our way to see whether we have really moved beyond mere statements to concrete achievement.

41. Peace is still an unachievable goal and perhaps, sad to say, a nostalgic dream of Utopia. Colonialism still seeks to broaden its areas of domination, with aggressive and even bloody usurpation; hegemony and the use of pressure by the powerful still persevere and indeed show a disturbing tendency to increase. Inequalities and injustices continue to show their ugly faces. Terrorism and new treacherous forms of aggression, under cover of the advocacy of change, disrupt every form of coexistence. Racial discrimination continues as a flaw of mankind in our time. Territories conquered by force of arms remain in foreign hands.

Arms manufacture and the development of new and powerful means of destruction cast gloom over the positive achievements of our civilization, and now there is a real danger that tomorrow, just as the twenty-first century is about to begin, we may find ourselves with a world in ruins unless common sense prevails.

42. These are some glimpses of the realities of today's world, which persist despite the efforts of the Organization. My delegation would like to state certain views on these matters, as an expression of the unswerving Bolivian position on principles and international policies.

43. Bolivia is one of the non-aligned countries, for compelling reasons of principle and also because we advocate the elimination of dogmatic compartmentalization and hegemonic bonds and because self-determination and the inviolability of sovereignty are the proper response to the efforts of the various forms of imperialism to absorb others. The non-aligned countries advocate a role of balance in defence of the rights of the weaker countries in the face of the cold struggle by the great Powers for supremacy.

44. Those who supply raw materials and make great sacrifices in their struggle to achieve their development have their spokesmen in the non-aligned countries. The demands and claims made by many of our peoples have received a positive echo in the voice of the non-aligned countries. That is the case, for example, with Bolivia's demand for the restoration of its sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean. Only an equidistant position between the imperialist forces, avoiding subjugation and imposed conditions, can grant a country moral authority and consideration in international affairs, and that is precisely the position which the non-aligned countries seek.

45. It is this unswerving support for the principles of self-determination and sovereignty which has led the Government of Bolivia, presided over by General Guido Vildoso Calderón, to apply a policy of a return to democratic institutional rights for our people.

46. In Bolivia we have set in motion the pre-electoral process, with the scheduling of a general election for April 1983. The consensus achieved among the political parties on the basis of the invitation to participate made by the Government without any discrimination has led to the constitution of a National Electoral Court. We have also started on the study of a plan for economic recovery in order to apply emergency provisions to overcome the situation of deficit and the serious crisis inherited by the present Government. As a result of a study, the economic plan was, also on the basis of consultations, brought to the notice of the political forces and the trade unions; a political and economic dialogue thus took place.

47. Giving effect to the general feelings expressed by the political parties and labour representatives, who requested an immediate transition to a democratic system, the Bolivian Government has decided to convene the representative Parliament elected in the 1980 elections, which had been suspended by a military coup at the time, so that that Parliament will, in accordance with the norms of the political Constitution of the State, appoint the new office

holders who will have charge of the nation from 10 October next. For them and their arduous task in government we request the solidarity of all nations, particularly on account of the grave economic crisis that my country is experiencing. The new constitutional authorities will have to overcome that crisis and will need all the co-operation that they can possibly obtain from friendly countries—combined, of course, with Bolivia's own efforts—in order that Bolivia may progress.

48. All this process of transition to democracy has taken place within the framework of an unchanging respect for human rights and the prerogatives of the citizens, and on the basis of the fulfilment of the treaties and international commitments entered into by Bolivia.

49. On 10 October next the armed forces of Bolivia will restore the political control of the nation to a civilian Government. This voluntary gesture, in keeping with the wishes of the Bolivian people, is worth emphasizing in this international forum.

50. Another subject which I cannot refrain from mentioning is that of the progress of integration. Happily, we are living in a time of integration and economic co-operation, of interdependence. All nations—literally all—need something from others. There is inevitably a need for raw materials, goods and services, technology, credits and assistance of all sorts. What is important is that the prices should be fair, exchanges just and that co-operation have but one aim—to secure the goal of shared development and common benefit.

51. In the regional and sub-regional spheres Bolivia has been taking part in all the programmes of integration and co-operation. Its special geographical location in South America and the fact that it is a country with tributaries of three of the four major river basins of the continent has given it a unique status as a signatory country of all the sub-regional agreements as well as the regional treaties of the Latin American Integration Association and the Latin American Economic System. For example, we are a member of the Cartagena Agreement, binding on the Andean nations, and a signatory of the Treaty for Amazonian Co-operation and the Treaty of the River Plate Basin.

52. The Bolivian position with regard to the process of integration is clear. We uphold the need to preserve, expand and improve the machinery of the integration process. Integration and the programmes and actions for co-operation are only a means towards the ends of development and the harmonious progress of our nations. We must also nurture, strengthen and improve those instruments of economic and social progress, whose sole beneficiaries must of course be our peoples and their future.

53. We must also make the North-South dialogue a reality and seek ways to give viable form to the new international economic order. This scheme has so far not had the acceptance, the solidarity and particularly the political will of the industrialized nations, which it needs if its basic objectives are to be met.

54. These problems, therefore, should be seen as part of the struggle for economic, political, social and

cultural liberation of peoples who, like those of Bolivia, are currently engaged in their own development. If manifest unwillingness and delaying tactics continue to be shown, it will be impossible to intensify the co-operation which at the international level should promote the development of nations in a setting of justice and equity. We therefore look forward very much to the prompt initiation of the global negotiations.

55. Understanding, co-operation and the processes of integration have another requirement in order to be perfect—the redressing of injustices and inequalities. I must refer once again, before the world community assembled here, to our geographical condition—the fact that we are landlocked, a fact that has been forced upon us for the past 103 years. This reference also derives from the imperative mandate given by my people, who for more than a century have pressed for their rights to return, with sovereignty, to the shores of the Pacific.

56. We all know that when they have the stamp of legitimacy the rights of nations are never exhausted. Therefore, the return of territories which have been usurped in so many latitudes of the world is essential.

57. With regard to the maritime problem of Bolivia, the time of our return to the Pacific Ocean is bound to come. But good faith is necessary for this, together with a clear readiness by the other party to make reparations. We also need action and the encouragement and support of the international organizations, particularly if, as is fortunately the case, we have the firm support of the majority of the world community for our just cause.

58. Humanity has virtually put an end to one of the most degrading and odious systems adopted by man in the past—slavery. But, late in the twentieth century, still other grievous vestiges of the past remain as an affront to mankind—colonialism and racial discrimination.

59. Twenty-two years have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Each year we revert to the terms of that declaration and the General Assembly adopts new resolutions on specific cases. Nevertheless, new forms of colonialist aggression can be clearly seen, not simply disregarding the principles and purposes of the Charter but clearly violating them. A recent example was the case of the Malvinas Islands, with its bloody epilogue, leading to the restoration of colonialism, which should give us food for serious thought.

60. Faithful to its position of principle on the rejection of any form of colonialism, Bolivia supported the Argentine cause and will continue to support the demands for repossession of its territory made by our brother nation of the River Plate, as we have done since 1833, when the President of Bolivia at that time was the first to speak up against the British usurpation of that era.

61. We can never try hard enough in the Organization to put an end to colonialism and all forms of seizure of territories and the imposition of tutelage and foreign rule on peoples. On the day we dispose

of these last vestiges of colonialism mankind will be able to take pride in having taken an enormous step towards a world of truly free communities, such as those for which the Liberator Bolívar fought. His bicentenary is to be commemorated next year, and I am sure that the Organization will wish to participate in commemorating that anniversary, thereby confirming the universal nature of Bolívar's thinking and deeds.

62. With regard to racial discrimination and *apartheid*, my country's consistent attitude has been one of opposition and condemnation of that situation and system, which are a breach of the elementary principles of equality and human rights.

63. Man holds certain rights even before his birth. If we commit a breach of those rights, we offend God, who modelled our spirit on His image and in His likeness.

64. I said at the beginning of this statement that peace was an objective that the world had not yet achieved. The recent distressing events in the Middle East, particularly those in Lebanon, give some idea of the deplorable situation.

65. I must express here the deep concern of the Bolivian community and its Government over the now long-drawn-out crisis in the Middle East, which has so grievously affected various peoples in the region. We must strive to find there an understanding which, with recognition of the rights of the countries involved, will bring about a return to peaceful coexistence and mutual respect.

66. Violence can only give rise to greater violence and peace is not a free gift; it must be built carefully, with sacrifice and magnanimity.

67. The mission of the United Nations with regard to the problems of the Middle East and of the world in general is still an arduous one requiring unswerving commitment. We must all be committed to this task if we want to show that man is capable of thinking of the future, using his intelligence to coexist and to build, to reconcile differing views and not to hate, thus overcoming a shameful recent past, which paradoxically encompassed the greatest examples of barbarity and tragedy as well as the greatest achievements of the technological era. The answer to the challenge of the years to come lies within us; it is the possibility of offering the coming generations a world of harmony, peace and justice.

68. These difficult problems concerning peaceful coexistence lead to another major theme of our age. I am referring to the problem of disarmament. A Bolivian writer has said:

“Two of the greatest mistakes made by mankind were to condemn Socrates and to manufacture the atomic bomb. The first did violence to the meaning of justice; the second showed man the road to his own destruction.”

69. Instruments have been adopted by the United Nations and at the multilateral and bilateral levels on the need for disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons including resolutions banning test explosions in the atmosphere and under water. In open contradiction with these commitments, however, the arms buildup, the sophistication of weapons and

the production of new and menacing means of destruction have continued. Unfortunately, each conflict gives rise to improvements in and new uses for the means of warfare, as was the case in the recent painful conflict over the Malvinas.

70. Perhaps what is needed to stop the arms buildup is in the first place spiritual disarmament: the elimination of hatred and prejudice; the liquidation of barriers of ideological animosity; the promotion of fellowship, bearing in mind that mankind is after all a single entity and that fraternal understanding is possible.

71. The period of multiple crises which mankind is once again experiencing is straining our capacity to face up to the challenge it presents and our courage. The Organization is again being put to the test and we the Members must not evade this tremendous challenge but meet it head on. The principles of the Charter and all the resolutions and declarations generated by the problems of the world form a basic body of norms accepted by all the world. We must now show that we can go beyond the spirit and the letter of those documents and are capable of establishing peaceful coexistence, with freedom, bread and love for all the people of our earth.

72. Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): I should like first to convey to you, Sir, the warm and sincere felicitations of the delegation of Pakistan on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your assumption of this high office is an acknowledgement by the international community of your outstanding merit and qualities as a statesman. It is also a tribute to your great country. I wish you every success in guiding the deliberations of the General Assembly on the complex issues facing it in the year ahead. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing our esteem and admiration for your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who presided over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly with great distinction and success. I should also like to convey our deep appreciation to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar for his dedicated and unremitting efforts in search of peace during a year which has seen a succession of crises and continuing turmoil. We commend his resolve in the bleak international circumstances of today, to strengthen the role and influence of the United Nations in the conduct of international relations.

73. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] is an eloquent and candid comment on the grim reality of the international situation, which he has succinctly described as “international anarchy”. In the recent past we have witnessed an alarming intensification of conflicts and tensions, use of force with impunity, growing mistrust among nations, increasing confrontation in East-West relations and a new escalation in the arms race, which in this nuclear age portends the gravest consequences for the very survival of mankind. This spiral of violence is accompanied by a deepening apathy regarding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and an indifference regarding the role of this institution as the primary multilateral instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

74. The gravity of the international scene demands a rededication to the ideals of the United Nations

in the same spirit of commitment as led to the foundation of this world forum after the agony and horror of the Second World War. The strength of the United Nations, which is indispensable to world peace, is also a measure of our determination to achieve a just and civilized world order and to prevent a universal holocaust.

75. The Middle East conflict remains the most serious crisis on the international horizon and a glaring record of persistent violations of international law and brazen defiance of the United Nations by an intransigent and implacable aggressor.

76. The recent massacre of Palestinians in west Beirut epitomizes the tragedy of the Palestinian nation. The shock and indignation felt throughout the world over this massacre should serve as a reminder of the continuing Israeli crimes against the Palestinian people, whose homeland has been usurped and who have been subjected to relentless persecution. Since its occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories in 1967, Israel has been pursuing a systematic policy of annexing those territories by changing their demographic and historic character, establishing settlements there and driving the Arab and Palestinian population into exile. In the process Israel is determined to liquidate the identity and nationhood of Palestinians in their ancient homeland.

77. Beyond the occupied territories, Israel desires to establish its military diktat and hegemony in the region. It has attacked its neighbours at will and with impunity. The brutal invasion of Lebanon, the cruel siege of Beirut and the events which led to the Israeli advance into the city and the massacre of Palestinians fully expose Israeli ambitions in the region. The crisis in Lebanon should make it clear to Israel's friends and allies that their support and protection only encourage Israel to sustain its irredentist ambitions on the pretext of strengthening its security.

78. The valour with which the Palestinian freedom fighters withstood the ferocious Israeli attacks, and the sacrifices of the Palestinian people, bear testimony to the strength and justice of their cause, which cannot be trampled by terror and expansionism. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] has emerged with renewed vigour as the voice for Palestinian freedom and has won international acclaim for its restraint.

79. The proposals endorsed by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez [see A/37/696] constitute a major initiative for a durable peace in the Middle East and demonstrate the sincere desire of the Arab countries and the PLO to bring to a dignified and honourable end the chapter of conflict in the Middle East. Predictably, Israel has rejected the Fez plan, as well as the proposals by President Reagan, which illustrates Israel's obsession with holding on to the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and its negative response to opportunities for peace.

80. In the immediate context, it is imperative that Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon be secured, that civilian life be fully protected and conditions of peace and normality be restored in that ravaged country. The agony of the Palestinian people and the justice of its cause demand that the international community take determined action for the achievement of durable

peace in the Middle East. Such peace depends on the immutable condition of Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the restitution of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to a sovereign State in its homeland.

81. In our neighbourhood, the crisis in Afghanistan resulting from Soviet military intervention in that country nearly three years ago persists, with no sign of reprieve in its severity. The Afghan national resistance has proved to be enduring and steadfast, despite the awesome military superiority and sophisticated modern equipment deployed against it.

82. The presence of 100,000 foreign military troops in Afghanistan, with its dangerous portents for the stability of the entire region, continues to evoke deep concern in the international community, which has consistently pronounced itself on the illegality of that presence and has demanded its termination. The latest expression of this international concern was embodied in General Assembly resolution 36/34, adopted last year with the overwhelming support of 116 Member States, which outlined, once again, the essential elements of a just political solution of the Afghanistan problem, namely, the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan, the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan, the right of the Afghan people to determine its own form of government and to choose its economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever, and the creation of necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour.

83. Despite the repeated calls of the United Nations and similar demands by the movement of non-aligned countries and the member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the end of the crisis in Afghanistan is not in sight. It is a matter of regret that the Soviet Union, which had traditionally enjoyed good relations with countries of the area, including Afghanistan, and which takes pride in its solidarity with third-world causes, should engage and persist in an action which has caused immense tragedy to the people of Afghanistan and which has been firmly opposed by the international community.

84. The grave political implications of the Afghanistan crisis are compounded by a vast and growing humanitarian problem in the exodus of the Afghan population on a massive scale from their country. Nearly 3 million Afghan refugees, who represent one fifth of the total population of Afghanistan, have been forced to seek shelter on our soil and have placed on us an enormous responsibility for their upkeep which we have willingly accepted as our humanitarian and Islamic duty.

85. As a country grievously affected by the crisis in its neighbourhood, Pakistan has a direct and vital stake in a peaceful solution of the Afghanistan problem. Consistent with the decisions of the United Nations, Pakistan has sincerely co-operated with every international endeavour, including the constructive efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal

Representative on Afghanistan. The Geneva discussions held in June under the good offices of the Secretary-General marked an important step in his efforts for a political settlement. We participated in those talks in a positive and constructive spirit and we look forward to further progress in the process of consultations initiated by the Secretary-General and assure him of our continued co-operation.

86. It remains our ardent hope that the Afghanistan crisis will soon be resolved in compliance with the decisions of the United Nations with the aim of strengthening peace and security in the region, while preserving respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State.

87. The ramifications of the crisis in Afghanistan and the disturbing security climate in our region have deepened our concern for the defence of our frontiers. We are seriously endeavouring to turn those borders into frontiers of permanent peace. But we have no control over developments in our neighbourhood and cannot turn our eyes away from the imperative of maintaining an adequate defence establishment commensurate with the size of the country and the extent of its international frontiers, which stretch across more than 5,000 kilometres. The strengthening of Pakistan's defence capability should not be a matter of concern to any other country—first, because any suggestion of such concern would have no relation to reality and, secondly, because those who make it assume the privilege of passing judgement on vital matters falling exclusively within our sovereign domain. We are tied to no bloc or strategic consensus, and our right to have a minimum defence capability of our own is an expression of our sovereign status as a non-aligned country.

88. The unfortunate conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq has been a source of deep anguish and concern for us. In addition to causing extensive human and material losses, this war has aggravated the climate of insecurity in a highly sensitive region, and its early termination remains in the best interests of the peoples of the area. With this conviction, the President of Pakistan has made several efforts, singly and collectively, under the auspices of the Islamic Conference, and will continue to make every endeavour for the solution of this tragic conflict.

89. The convulsions of our neighbourhood have made us keenly aware of the perils of great-Power rivalry and confrontation to which, in an historic sense, the Indian Ocean region has always remained exposed. Pakistan has consistently supported Sri Lanka's proposal for the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, which symbolizes the shared aspirations of the people of the region for progress in conditions of peace and security. In the regional as well as international context, we will co-operate with every initiative aimed at securing the elimination of any foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean region and the removal of threats, whether from within or from outside the area, to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region.

90. I am happy to note that seven countries of South Asia have initiated concrete measures to promote

regional co-operation aimed at the well-being and progress of their peoples: Joint studies have been undertaken and action programmes have been worked out to promote co-operation in important economic sectors for mutual benefit. The recently held meeting of the Foreign Secretaries of South Asian countries in Islamabad was the third in a series of such meetings establishing an auspicious tradition of co-operation and understanding among countries of South Asia which we are committed to strengthen in the future.

91. Apart from being a geo-political imperative, good-neighbourly relations between Pakistan and India are essential to the fulfilment of the aspirations and hopes of millions of people in the two countries to live in peace and to ensure for themselves and for succeeding generations a life of dignity, well-being and prosperity. In this spirit, Pakistan sincerely desires full normalization of relations with India which can be achieved with the resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, the only outstanding problem between the two countries.

92. The Government of Pakistan has taken several initiatives, including the offer of a non-aggression pact, to foster an atmosphere of trust and confidence. We are gratified that last January, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries agreed that the conclusion of such a pact would make a positive contribution to peace and stability in the region. We also welcomed the suggestion of the Prime Minister of India for the establishment of a joint commission between the two countries. Already an exchange of views on the substance of the proposals has been initiated which augurs well for the future of Pakistan-India relations, on which the peace and tranquillity of the region largely depend.

93. Pakistan has consistently maintained a firm position of principle on issues which concern the sovereignty and freedom of nations, whether these pertain to our region, or regions far beyond it. Accordingly, Pakistan supports the right of the people of Kampuchea to shape their own future free from outside intervention and has joined the international call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that unfortunate land. Pakistan welcomes the formation of a coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Sihanouk and hopes that this Government will facilitate the creation of conditions conducive to the full implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly on the Kampuchean question.

94. We feel equally concerned over the dangerous situation in the South Atlantic and hope that a negotiated solution to the problem will be found on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations.

95. The illegal occupation of Namibia and the abominable system of *apartheid* perpetrated against the black population of South Africa continue to be an affront to human morality and values. The hopes which had been raised for an early independence of Namibia by the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) proved short-lived. South Africa, having first accepted the United Nations plan for free and fair elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the Organization, balked at its implementation and even questioned the impartiality of the United

Nations. The authors of the United Nations plan, namely the members of the Western contact group, have a responsibility to ensure the implementation of the plan as the credibility of their commitment to this plan is at stake.

96. Pakistan joins the international community in its demand for the realization of the independence of Namibia without further delay, and reaffirms its total solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] to bring the dark chapter of colonialism in their country to a close.

97. Pakistan shares the dismay and disappointment of the international community at the failure of the second special session on disarmament. It is clear that heightened international tensions prevented any progress on important disarmament issues, for which a modicum of détente in East-West relations and improvement in the global political situation have become a prerequisite. However, the failure of the special session should not lead to pessimism; nor should it be seen as the defeat of an ideal. The cause of disarmament concerns the very survival of mankind and must be pursued with a deep commitment, a positive outlook and a sense of destiny.

98. Pakistan believes in a comprehensive approach to disarmament and emphasizes the need to pursue it at every level since these are all organically linked to each other. Progress in one direction could stimulate movement in the other. Consequently, we welcome initiatives, at the bilateral, regional or global level, and measures, either interim in character or undertaken in a long-term perspective.

99. The prevention of a nuclear war is a primary challenge of our age and imposes a grave responsibility on all, especially the major nuclear Powers. We welcome the non-first-use declaration by the Soviet Union in the same manner as we had welcomed an earlier commitment by China to the same effect. We are also encouraged by the resumption of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the reduction of theatre and strategic nuclear forces and we hope that this dialogue produces meaningful results.

100. Without prejudice to the usefulness of unilateral or bilateral initiatives, we are convinced that the complex issues of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, can best be addressed in a multilateral context. The threat of nuclear weapons is pervasive and concerns equally every member of the international community. The United Nations, therefore, remains the most appropriate forum in which negotiations on disarmament could be effectively pursued.

101. Motivated by its commitment to the objective of general and complete disarmament and to nuclear non-proliferation, Pakistan had taken initiatives at the United Nations for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia and for effective assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use of nuclear weapons. Measures such as these could also strengthen the links in an overall comprehensive programme of disarmament.

102. The demands of security, disarmament and development are fundamentally interrelated. Progress

in disarmament could release the colossal resources, currently consumed by the insane arms race, for economic development and for combating deprivation and disease, which afflict vast sections of humanity. A common historical cause for a new world order must, therefore, motivate our efforts for strengthening international security and pursuing effective disarmament, and for alleviating injustices and disparities besetting the international economic situation.

103. Over the past few years we have passively witnessed a rapidly deteriorating crisis in the international economic system. A galloping cancer of stagnation, recession, inflation and mounting external debt have plunged the global economy to levels redolent of the Great Depression. This has led to the emergence of new attitudes and practices characterized by inward looking short-term solutions, elements contrary to the spirit of international economic co-operation and the principle of interdependence. Deflationary policies pursued by some developed countries have rapidly transferred the crisis to the developing countries because of the interdependent nature of the world economy.

104. While the contraction of the economies has been a universal phenomenon, the brunt of the crisis has fallen upon the developing countries. In 1981, for the first time since the 1950s, the per capita real income of the developing countries as a whole actually fell in absolute terms. The consequent deceleration in the process of development has led to record unemployment in both the developed and the developing countries, with resultant social unrest and growing political insecurity. The rapid deterioration in the terms of trade of developing countries, rising protectionism and reduced financial flows have led to an enormous increase in their external debts resulting in drastic reductions in development budgets and growth rates. At the same time, the debt burden of oil-importing developing countries increased during 1981 by \$50 billion over the 1978 level. This feeds into the recession by lowering their capacity to import.

105. The increasing current account deficits and the absence of properly designed international mechanisms to finance these deficits in the short run or to correct the fundamental structural imbalance in international payments in the long run is the central dilemma confronting us today. It should be a matter of concern for the international community that the burden of this extraordinary adjustment is being passed on to the developing countries, the most vulnerable members of the international community.

106. We believe that it is possible for the international community to find solutions to its problems. The glaring shortcomings in the existing economic system which are responsible for the present crisis also present a rare opportunity to rebuild the various components of the international economic order on a just and equitable basis. There is a need for massive and urgent structural changes, the parameters for which are so clearly outlined in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the establishment of the new international economic order. The basic malady is not the shortage of liquidity in the international system but its gross maldistribution.

107. It is indeed regrettable that global negotiations, proposed at the thirty-fourth session of the Assembly, have not yet been launched. The assurances sought by the industrialized countries are already provided for in the proposal submitted by the Group of 77 on the subject. Let us, therefore, abandon suspicions and apprehensions about each other's intentions and move forward to the substantive issues. However, what is alarming is the fact that lack of progress in the launching of global negotiations has been accompanied by a similar situation in sector-wise negotiations.

108. Another disturbing development is the alarming erosion of the spirit of international co-operation at a time when increasing multilateral economic co-operation could play a critical role in triggering the process of international economic recovery. Eight years ago, when the General Assembly at its sixth special session adopted resolution 3201 (S-VI), the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, it unequivocally emphasized the reality of interdependence, an interdependence between the developed and the developing countries. The Assembly also recognized the fact that the political, economic and social well-being of present and future generations depended more than ever on co-operation between all the members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality and the removal of the disequilibrium that exists between them.

109. Global interdependence demands that the restoration and growth of the international economy must be undertaken on the basis of international co-operation. We can find answers to the present problems involving financial transfers, protectionist sentiments and changing attitudes towards policies of development assistance only through a compact of mutual help and assistance. What we are looking for is not short-term financial and trade concessions, although they are important in themselves, but long-term structural changes which would involve creating a framework for expansion of world trade, provision of development finance on a long-term basis and the progressive democratization of the present international financial system to enable it to function in an equitable and efficient manner.

110. There is no alternative to a dialogue and mutual co-operation to overcome the malaise which has afflicted the economies of the North and the South alike. Increased interdependence in the world economy has ensured that no country or group of countries can achieve genuine recovery merely through efficient domestic management of their economies. A consensus on the root of the current problems and a co-ordination of responses to solve them are indispensable for this purpose.

111. While calling for a global response to the present crisis, the developing countries are conscious of the need to promote economic co-operation among themselves. This is one area in which positive developments have taken place. We believe that expanding economic co-operation among developing countries is a dynamic and vital element in any effective restructuring of international economic relations. However, co-operation among developing countries can only complement, and cannot be a substitute for, a new international economic order based on equity and justice.

112. The present economic crisis calls for vision and imagination on the part of the leaders of the industrialized countries, and we look to the emergence of a new internationalism, the awakening of a new spirit of global co-operation and a recognition of the imperatives of interdependence, requiring a more equitable management of the international economic system. The world economy can be rebuilt only on a sound and permanent foundation of economic efficiency and economic justice with the full participation of developing countries in international decision-making, and not through their exclusion. This is an imperative which the world leaders can no longer afford to ignore in their search for reducing tension and promoting peace and harmony.

113. Sheikh ALHEGELAN (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish at the outset to convey to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. That election was indeed a wise decision and testifies to your great competence for this post. I cannot fail to pay a tribute to the outgoing President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Kittani, and to express to him my country's very great appreciation of his untiring efforts in presiding over the proceedings of the General Assembly. I also thank him sincerely for his successful presidency of that session. It gives me great pleasure, too, to express on behalf of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia our sincere congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election as Secretary-General. We wish to express to him our hopes for his success in strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization so that it can achieve the purposes and principles of the Charter.

114. The thirty-seventh session has opened in an atmosphere of tension and anxiety. International conflicts and crises are becoming all the more complex and interlinked, and the factors that divide nations outweigh those that bring them together. The agenda of the Assembly is replete with complex problems that involve a genuine danger to international peace and security. A careful consideration of the international situation reveals to us clearly that the gap between our aspirations to a peaceful world, where relations between peoples are based on right and justice, and the actual situation, dominated by criteria of force, the policies of hegemony and attempts to impose *faits accomplis*, still exists and has indeed probably widened.

115. International relations at present are characterized by grave indications of cold war. Polarization breeds instability in the world and détente, which marked relations between East and West in the last decade, has turned into confrontation, with unforeseeable consequences.

Mr. Türkmen (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

116. There is an escalation in the arms race. The use and threat of force and terrorism have become dominant characteristics in international relations. On the other hand, the continued stagnation of the North-South dialogue and the resultant widening of the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries have resulted in a further deterioration of

the international situation, which has dashed the hope of establishing a more stable world. In short, the world is sliding back to the old system based on zones of political and economic influence based on hegemony, domination and dependence. There is no doubt that this is a source of anxiety and fear. Hence we must muster all our resources to tackle this grave situation.

117. Is it not ironical that man, who in this age has been able to achieve incredible progress in science and technology, is unable to solve some of the problems that he himself has caused? Is that not enough to make us intensify our efforts to face these challenges and seek ways of ensuring stability, peace and security for the international community and of protecting the interests of peoples and nations? It is not enough simply to draw attention to international crises and problems. In order to solve and eliminate them it is necessary, after taking objective stock of the international situation, to put forward practical concepts and positive ideas which will enable the international community to face the dangers that confront it.

118. As pointed out by His Majesty King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz in his address to the Saudi people last August, we in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,

“... work on the comprehensive international scene within the framework of the United Nations, its agencies and organs. We abide by its Charter, support its efforts and fight any abnormal action aimed at weakening it and restricting the force of international law with a view to replacing it by the force of arms and the language of terrorism. Our actions have effectively reflected and will continue to reflect our sense of commitment to the international community, as one family, no matter what the difference in interests, and our belief in the principles of peace based on right and justice. We believe that international security and political stability are linked to economic justice.”

119. Proceeding from that premise, we believe that the following conditions must be fulfilled in order to erect a solid edifice of relations between States through which it will be possible to reduce international tension and overcome many of the dangers that threaten international peace and security.

120. First, we join those who insist on the need for reform of the present political system and believe that in this respect the following must be taken into account.

121. One of the main things that encourages nations to try to acquire zones of influence and to adopt a policy of force to solve problems is that they do not accept the rule of law or respect moral and ethical principles. Therefore if such States really want to maintain peace and stability in the world and ensure prosperity, progress, wealth and well-being for the peoples, they must scrupulously observe moral principles and be guided by them in the labyrinthine complexities of contemporary international relations. In this respect, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia offers its experience to the international community as its contribution to ensuring stability and peace and eliminating the problems that jeopardize the very existence and survival of nations.

122. As pointed out by His Majesty King Fahd,

“Saudi Arabia is one of the Islamic nations and was created so that the law of God would be respected and God has honoured it by allowing it to serve as His house of worship and the sanctuary of His Prophet. Thus its responsibility was increased, its policy became set and its duties expanded. It performs those duties on the international scene by respecting God’s way of wisdom and morality. Islam is a religion of mercy, of mind and of strength; it fights terrorism and overcomes disorder, weakness and humiliation.”

123. The United Nations is the principal body for the promotion of freedom, peace, justice, security and international co-operation. Therefore we must make available to it all that it needs to face the challenges that confront it. It should become an effective instrument for promoting world peace and economic and social progress for all. If the Organization is to continue as an effective instrument of peace, the peoples of the world should place their trust in it, and our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter should be beyond discussion or doubt.

124. The arms race and the magnitude of the resulting expenditure has increased tension in the world, and that has forced many countries, and especially the least developed, to devote a great portion of their limited resources to defence, at the expense of their progress and economic and social development. We hope that the efforts which the international community expects the Organization to exert and the positive role that it can play in this respect will lead to concrete progress which will protect humanity from the dangers which threaten it and will spare the developing countries the conflicts and struggles for influence that have become a danger to humanity in general.

125. Secondly, one of the important goals of our contemporary world and for the future is the establishment of a new and more equitable international economic order which will meet the aspirations of the peoples of the world to higher standards of living and a better life. In order to establish such a system we must grapple with the many important economic subjects that demand our attention.

126. The agenda includes many subjects and issues of extreme importance as regards international economic co-operation for development. Therefore we deem it important that the launching of a new round of global negotiations be accelerated in a serious attempt to improve the economic performance and increase the efficiency of international co-operation for development.

127. It is regrettable that the General Assembly’s efforts aimed at the launching of a new round of global economic negotiations have been hampered by the existence of differences over certain procedural questions which we had earnestly hoped would be solved in the light of the conclusions of the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, which was held at Cancún in 1981, for the establishment of confidence between developed and developing countries. We also maintain that real efforts should be exerted to achieve the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and to support in every way

FAO, WFC, the International Fund for Agricultural Development and WFP in their efforts to overcome world food problems in general and to increase food and agricultural aid to Africa.

128. I should also like to stress the importance of economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries. In Saudi Arabia we consider it to be complementary to but not a substitute for co-operation between developed and developing countries. The international community should pay careful attention to this.

129. Thirdly, world peace, security and stability are affected by a number of international problems at present afflicting the international community. If we really want to maintain international peace and security and to make progress, well-being and prosperity available to the countries and peoples of the world, we must, intensify international efforts and work tirelessly to find rapid and equitable solutions for those problems. These problems increase and worsen with the passing of time and increasingly threaten world peace and security.

130. In South Africa, the racist régime continues to enforce a policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* against the vast majority of that country's population. That violates the most elementary international norms and humanitarian principles. While we support the people of South Africa, we call on the international community to exert the necessary pressure on the States which support the racist South African régime in order to put an end to it and to force the régime to submit to the will of the international community. South Africa must cease its invidious practices, immediately halt launching attacks on neighbouring African countries, put an end to its occupation of Namibia and comply with relevant United Nations resolutions.

131. We further call on the international community to take a firm stand against the aggressive attitude manifested in the present co-operation between South Africa and Israel, especially in the nuclear field, and in their joint nuclear tests in particular. That poses a direct threat to the peoples of Africa, to the Arab nations and to the rest of the peoples of the world.

132. One of the most serious problems facing the international community and requiring an effective, urgent solution, is that of Afghanistan. The continued foreign military interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan constitutes a flagrant violation by a super-Power of the sovereignty and independence of a small, non-aligned country. Today, after almost three years of Soviet interference in Afghanistan—coupled with continuous acts of aggression against the Afghan people, against mosques and peaceful villages, bombardment with incendiary bombs, the use of chemical warfare, and violations of the most elementary principles of human rights—we once again urge the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan so that the fraternal Afghan people may regain its freedom and independence and have the final say in the choice of its leaders and representatives and so that it may exercise sovereignty over its own land.

133. The raging war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran is another problem which troubles us. Saudi Arabia is pained by that war, because it is

being waged between two Islamic countries. In this regard, we wish to express our hope that the Iranian Government will respond to Iraq's offers and to the missions of good offices of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, so that a just settlement may be achieved, thus ending the bloodshed and destruction, establishing a good-neighbourly policy. That solution would be based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and international law.

134. One of the gravest problems threatening international peace and security, one which is prejudicing stability and prosperity, not only in the Middle East but throughout the world, stems from Israel's continuing aggression and its terrible racist settlements policy. Israel's continuing defiance and its aggression constitute a most dangerous factor in the Palestinian issue, which is an important issue for all those who believe in the right of every people to self-determination and the right to expression of free will. When we speak of Israeli aggression, we do not describe it merely as aggression against a secure people settled in its own homeland, or as usurpation of that people's territory and property, or as disregard for all human ideals, or as a flagrant violation of and challenge to the resolutions of the Organization. We describe it as aggression against the Charter of the United Nations and all the ethical and humanitarian principles enshrined therein.

135. I do not wish to go into the history of the Palestinian question, which stretches back over 34 years. We in Saudi Arabia consider this our primary cause, but it has rightly become the cause of the whole world. It has absorbed more of the efforts of the Organization than any other issue. Despite recognition by most of the countries and peoples of the world of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its own territory, and despite the fact that the international community has come increasingly to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, Israel persists in its aggressive policy and its imperialist settlement policy on the land of Palestine.

136. By means of its policy of physically liquidating the Palestinian people, and its attempts to distort the history of Palestine and destroy its religious and cultural institutions, as well as to bring about changes in the demographic pattern there, Israel is attempting to put an end to Palestinian identity, with no respect either for international public opinion or for the United Nations.

137. If Palestine is our primary cause, the Holy City of Jerusalem is its essence. In this connection, Saudi Arabia, on its own behalf and on behalf of the Islamic countries which are members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, reaffirms its determination to preserve the Islamic Arab character of Jerusalem and to return the Holy City to Arab sovereignty, under which it was always a meeting place for all believers in the three revealed religions and a place of hope, tolerance and coexistence for the followers of the various religions.

138. Israel persists in following a policy of force and aggression, and it does not confine its aggression against the Palestinian people to occupied Palestine. It goes far beyond that territory to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring Arab countries. The flagrant and barbaric act of aggression against the fraternal people of Lebanon, and all the consequent massacres, which constitute a source of shame for all of humanity, are a violation of the principles and norms of international law and signal a return to the law of the jungle. They are a setback for the principles and ideals which the international community has observed, enshrined and safeguarded.

139. Israel's use, in its barbaric aggression against Lebanon, of the most destructive and deadly weapons against civilians—women, children and the aged—does not merely reveal Israel's malicious, aggressive, terrorist and evil nature; it also lays responsibility at the door of the countries that supply Israel with weapons. Sophisticated weaponry flows to Israel under the fallacy, which has been spread throughout the Western world and of which Israel has been able to convince the highest-level politicians, that it is needed for Israel to secure its safety. But that is a very dangerous policy and Israel's arsenal and nuclear capability have become a direct threat to world peace and security.

140. Israel's theory of security is the most dangerous and aggressive that has been seen in our era. It is no less dangerous than the Nazi and Fascist theories which dragged the world into a destructive war. Today in the Middle East, the Zionists are trying to apply the same theories as the Nazis applied in Europe before the Second World War.

141. The barbaric acts committed by Israel in west Beirut, to which thousands of Palestinian refugees—women, children and the aged—have fallen victim in the Shatila and Sabra camps, are but further confirmation of Israel's aggressive nature and criminal character. These massacres of innocent and defenceless civilians were not only aimed at the Palestinian and Lebanese people, but are a shameful stigma for humanity itself. They have given the lie to Israel's calumny and its fallacious claims that Israeli troops entered west Beirut to maintain peace and security. For it has been proved beyond doubt that this flagrant act of aggression was aimed at liquidating the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

142. We call on the international community to support Lebanon, to assist it in regaining its sovereignty and securing the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli invading forces from its territory, and to take all necessary measures against Israel so that it will be unable to pursue the policy of hegemony and force that it has tried to impose in the Middle East. The international community should be no less courageous than the voices heard in Israel itself in denouncing Israel's aggressive practices in Lebanon and requesting that they leave. The absence of international deterrence and the abuse of the veto in the Security Council encouraged Israel to persist in its arrogance and to depend on force to achieve its expansionist aims and ambitions. We call on all countries, especially those which support the Zionist entity and provide it with political, military and economic help,

to stop that help forthwith so as to put an end to Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East.

143. Israel should not be allowed to continue its unlawful acts with impunity. It is time for the international community to go beyond the stage of condemnation and take effective measures to stop such conduct. Those who blatantly support the Zionist entity encourage the most hateful and dangerous theories against humanity and its rights and support aggression and expansion.

144. The Arab world is eager to maintain the principles of peace, stability, right and justice. We wish to live in peace on our territory and to have equal and proper relations in order to achieve those goals, and to choose our friends and enemies on these noble principles. Thus the Israeli aggression which seeks to impose hegemony in the area is met by a genuine trend in the Arab countries, seeking the consolidation of stability and peace in the Middle East and the world as a whole.

145. The Arab position is based on the principles adopted at the Arab summit conferences, especially the Twelfth Conference held in Fez last month, the resolutions of which have confirmed that the Arabs seek to achieve right, peace and justice and to exert every effort to maintain a peace which is just and comprehensive in the Middle East in compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

146. The resolutions of the Fez Summit Conference reaffirmed the Arab will for peace based on justice because it took into account the true situation in the area and that involved the principles and bases which could be an objective starting point for establishing a just and lasting peace. Among those principles is the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its own territory and under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative. This is in accordance with the principles of right and justice and the resolutions of the United Nations. Thus at a time when the Arab countries reaffirm by resolutions adopted at Fez their will to establish peace based on justice, Israel proves, through its conduct, that it does not wish peace but rather seeks more expansion and more occupation of territory. It has become clear that Israel is not the party that seeks security. Those who look for security are the Arabs.

147. Peace will not be achieved as long as there is a people suffering oppression, occupation, humiliation, racism, imperialism and other forms of domination. History has taught us that the people who have been deprived of their basic rights have stood resolutely in defence of those rights. That resistance has taken different shapes and forms. Genuine peace in the Middle East will not be established unless there is a complete recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State, and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab occupied countries, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. There will not be genuine peace in the Middle East so long as Israel persists in violating the simplest principles of human rights in the occupied territories and in Lebanon. Peace will not be realized so long as Israel adheres to its expansionist designs and racist policy.

148. Last, but not least, finding a comprehensive and just solution to the Palestinian question will be a starting point for the solution of many international problems which pose a danger to international peace and security. If such a solution is not reached, then international tension and a deterioration of the situation in an unpredictable way will be a constant source of danger.

149. If we want to keep the world away from the edge of the abyss and from the policies of extremism, force and aggression, then wisdom and reason should prevail in all our conduct and we should also observe all the principles and bases that can lessen international tension and overcome many of the dangers to international peace and security to which I have referred. We should co-operate to find a solution for all international problems and conflicts, in order to establish an international community which enjoys stability, progress, peace and security.

150. Mr. AL-ALAWI ABDULLA (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to convey sincere congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session and to express our best wishes to him and to the officers of the Assembly for success in directing the work of the Assembly towards the achievement of our goals. I should like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the great efforts made by the former President, Mr. Kitani, during the thirty-sixth session and of the skilful manner in which he conducted its work and that of the General Assembly throughout its successive sessions and meetings this year.

151. The election of the new Secretary-General has been a source of pleasure to us, considering his outstanding position and wide experience in the work of the Organization as well as the respect and appreciation he has enjoyed for the tasks he has performed. While expressing our congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election by acclamation to his post, we should like to express our conviction that he is worthy of this universal trust and to wish him success in his important work and in realizing the hope that he may achieve the important tasks entrusted to him.

152. In reviewing the international situation and events since the previous session, we must unfortunately conclude that the picture is gloomy. Most of the problems which we discussed are becoming increasingly complicated. The views and hopes which we expressed have to a great extent not been realized. Many resolutions have been neither respected nor implemented. Our hopes for establishing good international relations based on the principles of the Charter and international law are still far from being achieved, and the United Nations—as the Secretary-General indicated in his report on the work of the Organization—has not been able to play its effective and decisive role as envisaged in the Charter, thus frustrating the hope that the Organization would be capable of maintaining peace and security and serving as a forum for negotiations. We must endeavour to put an end to this deviation from the Charter, to adhere to it and to its principles, and to revive the concepts contained in it, which requires making a collective effort towards establishing peace, thereby strengthening the

ability of the United Nations to perform its basic function.

153. The list of problems before the Assembly at this session is, as usual, diverse, complicated and long, but we believe that such a list should not lead us to despair or make us give up endeavours towards the achievement of what we believe is right and fair. We have no alternative but to continue our efforts and co-operation towards achieving the objectives that we set ourselves, including in particular the establishment of peace based on justice.

154. As at previous sessions, the Middle East problem, whose central issue is the Palestinian question, is the most urgent problem before us. We all know that the main obstacle to the solution of this problem is not the lack of efforts exerted within and outside the United Nations to solve it, but, first and foremost, the continued Israeli defiance of the will of the international community, Israel's flouting of the very principles governing the Organization.

155. This defiance of international public opinion and flouting of the Charter and resolutions is a serious matter, and the time has come to deal with it. Otherwise, the law of the jungle will prevail in international relations, and the remnant of confidence and hope of finding a peaceful solution to this problem, based on the principles of international law and justice, will collapse. This will also weaken the Organization's ability to find peaceful and just solutions to the disputes brought before it, as the Secretary-General stressed in his report.

156. The Sultanate of Oman is an advocate of peace, and the people of our region, who have suffered war and instability for a long time, look forward to an era of security and stability. The peace that we seek is a peace based on justice and on the principles adopted by the Organization. We seek a just and lasting peace that would put an end to the tragedy of the Palestinian people and would realize their legitimate rights to return to their home and to self-determination. That is why we have supported, and continue to support, all the efforts aimed at establishing peace in the region. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, in which we participated, laid the basis and provided the guidelines for a peaceful and just solution to the Middle East problem. Furthermore, the eight principles representing the Arab framework for solving this problem do not depart, in general or in details, from the principles that have already been approved by the United Nations.

157. The recent initiative of Mr. Reagan, the President of the United States of America, directed to solving the Middle East problem contains positive points that might contribute to the efforts being made to settle this problem.

158. The peace initiative of the Arab States and President Reagan's initiative create together a climate conducive to finding a permanent and just settlement to the problem. We should take advantage of it and develop it, and the negative attitude of Israel should not be allowed to undermine our efforts. However, the Israeli persistence in frustrating all international efforts and rejecting all proposals put forward for solving the problem have led States to believe in the inevitability of the use of force in solving political

problems involving Member States. This is a very serious matter.

159. The Israeli aggression against the Arab sister State of Lebanon, resulting in the occupation of Lebanese territories and violation of Lebanon's sovereignty, demonstrates to the whole world that Israel believes only in the use of force, and not in peace. Therefore, the international community must once again censure these brutal actions and demand that Israel withdraw its forces from Lebanon immediately, and, further, that it assist the Lebanese people to realize their hopes of stability and security.

160. On 20 September 1982 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oman issued the following statement about the events in Lebanon:

"The Sultanate strongly denounces the barbaric massacres which have been committed and are being committed by Israel against unarmed Palestinian refugees, men, women and children, in the Sabra and Shatila camps in west Beirut.

"These genocidal massacres are a flagrant violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. They are a dangerous development, since they have contravened the spirit of peace and escalated tension and instability in the area. They recall the mass slaughter of Palestinians committed at Deir Yassin and Kafr Qasem by the Israeli authorities in 1948.

"Israel's invasion of west Beirut and its massacre of defenceless Palestinian refugees, old men, women and children, were part of a policy of aggression and expansion which the Israeli occupation authorities were implementing, with civilians as their victims. Their actions have defied all human values and international mores.

"Oman calls on the leaders of the world and the States which were responsible for the evacuation of the Palestinian fighters from west Beirut, as well as the international public and international and humanitarian organizations, to shoulder their responsibilities fully at this crucial stage so as to stop the inhuman slaughter of Palestinian refugees."

161. The withdrawal of Israel from the whole of Lebanon should be carried out immediately in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. We express our hope that the return of the multinational peace-keeping force to Lebanon after supervising the departure of the Palestinian fighters will help the Lebanese Government exercise sovereignty over the whole of Lebanon.

162. The continuance of military conflict between the two neighbouring States of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran is a source of concern and instability for the entire Gulf region and represents a threat to all the peoples there, and indeed to world peace and security, since it involves innumerable dangers and is exhausting the greater part of the natural and human resources of those two States, resources which could be channelled into economic and social development.

163. We cannot but associate ourselves with those who have called for an immediate end to such human and economic waste and urge that a peaceful settlement between the two sister States be brought about as quickly as possible.

164. We welcomed the declaration by Iraq, within the framework of the League of Arab States, that it would withdraw its forces from Iranian territory to the international boundaries and was ready to enter into negotiations to end the war. On the same principle and in the interest of peace and stability in the Gulf region, we urge the sister State of Iran to stop the war and move towards a peace which will take account of the legitimate rights of all the people.

165. Despite the numerous United Nations resolutions demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the reiteration of the same demand by the Islamic Conference and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at New Delhi, and the insistence on respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, Soviet troops continue to occupy Moslem non-aligned Afghanistan in complete disregard of the resolutions of the United Nations and other international and regional organizations concerned with this matter.

166. We call once again from this rostrum for a cessation of the Soviet aggression and the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops so as to enable the sister State of Afghanistan to regain control over its destiny and to choose its own political, economic and social system without any foreign interference or coercion.

167. In the context of the problem of western Asia we cannot ignore the deteriorating situation in the adjacent region of South-East Asia, namely, the continued occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops. In this connection, we hope that at this session the Assembly will stress the need to respect the Charter and the principles embodied in it and the need to find a speedy and peaceful political solution based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and the non-use of force, as well as the necessity for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, so that the Kampuchean people may determine their own destiny free from foreign interference and this region may enjoy peace.

168. Oman has a historical relationship with many of the countries and peoples of the African continent. We therefore share the aspirations of the peoples of the continent and their hope for a solution to the grave problems in southern Africa, particularly that of Namibia. We join the Africans in denouncing racial discrimination and we call for further efforts within and outside the United Nations to ensure that the aspirations of the African people to freedom and stability are fulfilled.

169. Because of its geographical position the Sultanate of Oman is directly concerned with events in the Horn of Africa. It regrets the continued attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the region. It condemns the acts of aggression against the Somali sister State and demands an end to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of that region lest it should fall victim to foreign expansionism and attempts to propagate social systems imported from abroad, foisting them upon the people of the area with a view to exploiting their resources.

170. Our concern with events in the Horn of Africa is closely associated with the security and safety of

the coastal States of the Indian Ocean. The Sultanate of Oman, as one of those countries, is concerned for the security of this area and is therefore in favour of declaring it a zone of peace. It calls for an end to the competition between the super-Powers to establish spheres of influence in the region. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, Oman is anxious to promote the efforts to arrange for the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which is scheduled to be held in Colombo in 1983, so that the goal of making the Indian Ocean region a demilitarized zone of peace may be achieved without further delay.

171. My delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the adoption by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [*resolution 36/103, annex*]. It hopes that this Declaration, which emphasizes respect for this important principle, will be complied with, thus guaranteeing the right of all peoples to shape their own destinies and choose their systems of government without any outside intervention, pressure or threat.

172. Oman, like other peaceful States, attached great hopes and importance to the second special session devoted to disarmament. We had entertained the hope that the negotiations and deliberations conducted during that session would be successful; but, as we all know, failure to reconcile the different points of view made it impossible to reach consensus on the major items on the agenda of that session, in spite of the preparatory meetings. We entertained the hope that the second special session would put into effect the Final Act of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], which was adopted by consensus in 1978. In paragraph 126 of the document the Members of the Organization reaffirmed:

“their determination to work for general and complete disarmament and to make further collective efforts aimed at strengthening peace and international security; eliminating the threat of war, particularly nuclear war; implementing practical measures aimed at halting and reversing the arms race; strengthening the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes; and reducing military expenses and utilizing the resources thus released in a manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples and to improve the economic conditions of the developing countries.”

173. The failure of the negotiations at the second special session and the subsequent disappointment to many parties are deplorable and regrettable. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that the responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament is a basic one which emanates, as we indicated earlier, from its purposes and principles: to establish the bases of peace and to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations must urgently continue to assume this responsibility fully, without hesitation or despair. It is also imperative to mobilize the collective will to replace doubt with confidence, so that we can achieve positive results in this domain.

174. In this connection I should like to reiterate what the President of the second special session of the

Assembly said. We should be ignoring reality if we failed to observe that this session is being convened at a turning point of the greatest concern in the field of international relations. Doubt, conflict, an increasing sense of insecurity and a tendency to resort to force still prevail.

175. It is imperative that the international community now look seriously into the fabric of relations among States in order to restore the role of the principles of international law and respect for the Charter of the United Nations, for it will be impossible to achieve progress in the field of disarmament without the fundamental elements of confidence and respect.

176. Like many other countries of the world, my country is aware of the increasing importance of establishing a new international economic order based on a fair balance between the prices of raw materials and manufactured products, taking into account the needs of developing countries and the need to accelerate their development. That is why my country continues to support the decisions taken by the Group of 77 and the efforts made by the Group in this connection ever since the beginning of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session [*resolution 34/138*]. We should like to emphasize that it is not possible to find any solution to such problems except on the basis of a common, universally accepted approach to the current global economic problems involving all States, and through agreed solutions regarded as permanent and fair by all.

177. Since then, to our regret, my delegation has not seen any positive development in the global economic negotiations. On the contrary, it has witnessed a clear general deterioration in the economic situation in many countries of the world, and particularly in the developing countries. The obvious decline in the developing countries' terms of trade, the large increase in the cost of capital, inadequate demand for those countries' exports, frequent resort to the policy of protectionism, continued application of stringent and unfavourable terms for the transfer of technology to those countries—all this has weighed heavily on the economies of developing countries, disrupted their economic growth and led to a sharp increase in their balance-of-payments deficit and foreign indebtedness.

178. Like any other developing country, the Sultanate of Oman feels the need for such international economic co-operation and considers it imperative that the developed countries increase their aid to the developing countries in order to raise the level of development in those countries, relieve their foreign indebtedness, and demonstrate increased flexibility and seriousness in the negotiations on the subject. The Sultanate of Oman feels that the international community is more than ever in duty bound to find a solution to the present economic crisis by devoting every effort to achieving the objectives and goals set forth in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. We hope that we shall soon witness positive results in this direction in response to the efforts of the Secretary-General.

179. Oman participated in the adoption of the final text of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, in New York on 30 April, in spite of the fact

that the final text did not include proposals and views put forward by Oman during the deliberations of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea during the past few years. We did so out of our belief that the Convention, in general, is fair to all and would put an end to the chaotic situation with respect to the seas—particularly as to exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed—in a way that would serve the interests of humanity at large without prejudice to the basic rights of the coastal States.

180. We hope that the States which could not, for one reason or another, vote in favour of the Convention will reconsider their positions, because that Convention is the outcome of long and continuous efforts exerted over the last 10 years, and it would be a waste of these efforts not to adopt it. Otherwise, States will resort to their former practices without any binding legal restraint defining their rights and obligations under the law of the sea.

181. Finally, I should like, with reference to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization to express my appreciation of his account of the situation in the world in general, and at the United Nations in particular. It merits attention far beyond that given to previous reports. It clearly and realistically reflects our feelings, especially with respect to the developing countries which, more than all the others, need to see that the United Nations receives the necessary support to enable it to fulfil the effective and decisive role clearly envisaged for it in the Charter. We hope this report will receive the attention it deserves and that at the current session the Assembly will explore effective means of eliminating the points of weakness in the work of the Organization, particularly during the last years, so that it may regain the importance accorded it by the peoples of the world at its inception.

182. We renew the pledge we made in the Preamble to the Charter for a serious endeavour to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, reaffirm our belief in fundamental human rights, in the equality of the rights of men and women, as well as of nations, large and small, and we renew our commitment to the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

183. Mr. JORGE (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure to begin by extending to the President on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, our most heartfelt congratulations on his election at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to express our great satisfaction at seeing preside over this august Assembly, a distinguished representative of a socialist country, the People's Republic of Hungary, with which we maintain excellent relations of friendship, solidarity and co-operation. We wish him every success in the exercise of his lofty responsibilities. May I also reaffirm to Mr. Kittani, our deep appreciation for the dignified and clear-sighted manner in which he acquitted himself of his mandate during the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly. May I further reiterate to the Secretary-General our most sincere appreciation for his tireless efforts in seeking the most appropriate solutions to the grave problems which the international community faces.

184. The thirty-seventh session is being held at a very critical time, since the international situation has deteriorated seriously to the point of gravely threatening the survival of a certain number of peoples.

185. Every year we all come to participate in the annual session of the General Assembly; a torrent of speeches is heard, support for the noble principles of freedom, peace, justice, democracy, solidarity, development and co-operation is reaffirmed by every one of us, but, unfortunately, the application of these ideas stops for some among us as soon as we leave the United Nations Headquarters.

186. Repeatedly, and from this very rostrum, we have expressed our profound concern because of the progressive deterioration in the international situation and because of its disastrous consequences for all of mankind. We cannot, nor should we conceal our great anguish at seeing the impotence, the resignation or the abdication of the competent international bodies when faced with the proliferation of hotbeds of tension, which are deliberately and dangerously kindled by imperialist Powers, and in particular by the present United States Administration.

187. No one here should ignore the causes and agents which are responsible for so sombre a picture. We wonder how long peoples and Governments which love peace and justice will have to wait for the adequate existing United Nations organs firmly to shoulder their responsibilities and take really effective measures—which are available to them—with respect to the Governments of certain Western Powers, in order to put an end to: the flagrant violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter; continuance of colonial wars, and the promoting of aggressions of every kind, directly or indirectly against States which adopt independent and progressive positions; the economic plundering of underdeveloped countries and the persistent prevention of a gradual reduction in the ever-widening gap between the rich developed countries, and the poor underdeveloped countries; the imposition of military bases in every corner of the world, generally maintained against the will of the peoples; the insistence on hampering the serious efforts made by the socialist countries and progressive and democratic forces to achieve détente, general and complete disarmament, the global prohibition of the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, including the neutron bomb; the accelerated rise of military budgets and expenditures stimulated by an escalation in the arms race, so that these astronomical amounts of money might be judiciously devoted to the economic and social development of the underdeveloped countries; and the systematic manoeuvres designed to counter the establishment of a new international economic order, as advocated by the movement of non-aligned countries.

188. Faced with this alarming situation, which obviously endangers the future of peoples, and faced with the growing tragedy endured by millions of human beings, who are still deprived of their freedom and the right to choose their own destiny, lacking in the ways and means to fight against servitude, humiliation, tyranny, wretchedness, famine, ignorance and disease, we feel compelled to repeat, who bears the grave responsibility, in the first place, for such a

deterioration in the international situation? As we see it, it is the present United States Administration, and certain of its allies and agents, or preferred instruments which bear this responsibility: the racist and Fascist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

189. We see it this way because of the firm conviction of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola that no country that was socialist, progressive or loved peace and justice has taken or will take initiatives to promote hotbeds of tension, to unleash a nuclear war or use other weapons of mass destruction, because the survival of mankind, international peace and security, the independence of peoples and peaceful coexistence are for them a primary principle and objective.

190. World problems which seriously affect peace, security, development, freedom and independence require considerable efforts from the international community as a whole and a global response that has due regard for the fact that each people has the right freely to choose its own political, economic, social and cultural system, without intimidation or pressures; that it is the right of every people to be in charge of its own national riches and to exploit them for its own benefit; that it is the right of every people to reject any form of subordination to and dependence on any source, and any interference or pressure, political, economic or military.

191. There is no denying that in the present situation détente, general and complete disarmament, the nuclear threat and the arms race are the major concerns of countries that love peace and justice. In this respect, may we recall that the position of Angola has been clearly defined once again during the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, so we need not repeat it here.

192. Since the People's Republic of Angola is a geopolitical component of the African continent, it is legitimate for the Government of Angola to give primary attention to African problems, in particular to those of southern Africa, in view of the grave implications for the region and for the world.

193. For some 20 years many relevant resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement, recognizing, on the one hand, the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence and, on the other hand, denouncing or firmly condemning the illegal occupation of Namibia by the criminal South African régime.

194. Directly confronted with threats, aggression and armed invasion by the racist and terrorist Pretoria régime since 1975, the People's Republic of Angola expects from the international community a decisive commitment in line with the requirements of our time, so that the problem of Namibia may be finally settled and so that the people of Angola may, for its part, be able to expel the racist invaders, to respond to future aggression and to ensure the defence of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

195. What is the situation today? As we all know, the contact group submitted to SWAPO, the front-line States and to Nigeria in October 1981 a plan of action that includes three phases; first, the adoption

by the end of January of 1982 of the so-called constitutional principles by the concerned and interested parties, principles which are to be included in the future constitution of Namibia; secondly, approval by the end of March by the Security Council of the composition and size of the United Nations troop contingent, and resolution of the question of the United Nations "impartiality" raised by the Pretoria régime; thirdly, implementation, starting in April, of the United Nations plan in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), containing four fundamental aspects: a cease-fire; the gradual reduction of South African troops to 1,500 men; stationing of United Nations troops in Namibia; and free and fair elections.

196. Since the first meetings with the contact group—and quite outside its framework and mission—the United States delegation has asked for bilateral contacts with the Angolan authorities and has begun to try to link the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola to the negotiating process for the independence of Namibia. This has always been firmly rejected by the Government of Angola, in view of the absurdity of such a linkage which, in fact, ill conceals the obsession or paranoia of the United States Administration about the stationing of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola.

197. In view of the deadlock in the negotiations on the first phase, because of the electoral system proposed by the contact group, and since the presence of Cuban forces in the People's Republic of Angola has become the subject of a slanderous and hostile campaign by the United States Administration which is shamelessly seeking at all costs to link that presence to the process of the independence of Namibia—directly, or through the racist South African régime, which has become its sounding board—as an additional means of preventing the implementation of the resolutions which the United Nations has already adopted, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Cuba, on behalf of their respective Governments, prepared and signed a joint declaration on 4 February 1982, with which all the Members of this international body are fully familiar.

198. It is therefore fitting to recall that, at the end of the month of August 1981, at a lunch offered to the foreign press accredited in South Africa, and at the very moment when a large-scale aggression was being perpetrated against the People's Republic of Angola, the South African Prime Minister declared that the Cubans represent no threat to South Africa and that South Africa does not regard the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola as a prior condition to the peaceful solution of the Namibian question.

199. Nevertheless, it is surprising but significant that a certain number of those who express their concern about the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola show no such concern in respect of the illegal occupation for more than a year of a part of the territory of Angola by the racist and Fascist South African troops. What moral can be drawn from that?

200. And yet, in the course of these last nine months, the South African army has carried out 580 reconnaissance flights, 18 air bombardments, 96 landings of troops from helicopters and several sabotage and reprisal actions against the civilian population. The Angolan armed forces have suffered 31 dead, 65 wounded and 38 missing, while the enemy forces have suffered 39 dead. Seven South African aircraft and three helicopters have been shot down.

201. Thus we believe that the following positions of principle must be borne in mind.

202. First, the joint Angolan-Cuban declaration states solemnly and unambiguously that the intention is gradually to withdraw the Cuban internationalist forces stationed on Angolan territory.

203. Secondly, on 23 April 1976, a month after expelling the South African troops, the Angolan and Cuban Governments agreed on a programme progressively to reduce those forces and, in less than a year, the Cuban military contingent was reduced by more than one third. Towards the middle of 1979 the two Governments once again decided to implement another programme for the gradual reduction of the Cuban forces. Nevertheless, those two programmes had to be suspended at a certain point because of the growing number and scope of South African armed aggression against the provinces of Cunene and Huila. It should be emphasized that the Angolan and Cuban Governments spontaneously took the initiative to implement those programmes. No Government—including that of the United States of America—and no international organization dared to propose or demand that we do so. How is one then to understand the sickly insistence of the United States Administration on this subject and its inability to realize that such an attitude is a gross and inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign country?

204. Thirdly, in that same joint declaration we stated that when the Governments of Angola and Cuba so decide, the withdrawal of Cuban forces stationed on Angolan territory will be carried out by a sovereign decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola when there is no further possibility of aggression or armed invasion and, in that connection, the Government of Cuba reiterated that it will unreservedly respect any decision taken by the sovereign Government of the People's Republic of Angola concerning the withdrawal of those forces. Once again we solemnly reaffirm before the Assembly what our intentions are.

205. Furthermore, in the course of these last three months, American representatives in the contact group have been making a very special effort to spread optimism about the results already achieved in the negotiations that have been going on in New York since the month of June. In fact that is a false and ill-intentioned optimism. It is false, because the electoral system has not yet been defined, the final composition of the United Nations forces has not yet been decided, and the cease-fire between SWAPO and the Pretoria régime, which will constitute the essential point of departure for the implementation of the United Nations plan, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), seem to us to be far from being anticipated

or applied. It is ill-intentioned in that the American Administration has started a manoeuvre to attribute to the People's Republic of Angola responsibility for the delay of, or even for preventing, a swift and adequate solution of the process of independence for Namibia owing to the position of the Government of Angola regarding linkage and the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces. In point of fact, this manoeuvre constitutes an escape hatch for those who are or will be the ones really responsible for such a situation.

206. Thus, since the position of the Government of Angola is a legitimate one the heads of State and Government of the front-line States meeting at Lusaka on 4 September 1982:

“... noted with indignation that a new element has been introduced by the United States of America in seeking to link the negotiations for the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In this respect, the Summit emphasized without any ambiguity the importance of separating the decolonization process of Namibia from the stationing of Cuban forces in Angola. The insistence on maintaining this linkage is contrary to the spirit and the letter of [Security Council] resolution 435 (1978) and can only hamper the negotiating process. Furthermore, this insistence constitutes interference in Angola's internal affairs. In this context, they expressed their complete support for the Angolan position on the question, which is clearly defined in the joint declaration of the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Cuba, of 4 February 1982. Accordingly, they rejected any attempt to make the People's Republic of Angola responsible for any delay in the prompt conclusion of the negotiations on the independence of Namibia. They strongly condemned the aggression and invasion of Angola by South African forces and demanded that the Pretoria régime cease all acts of aggression and withdraw its troops from Angola.”

207. A similar position was taken during the Third Conference of Heads of State of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, which was held in the capital of Cape Verde on 21 and 22 September 1982.

208. May I be allowed to remind the Assembly of the enormous sacrifices which the heroic people of Angola has already made and the extremely high price it is paying in thousands of lost human lives and material damage amounting to more than \$7.5 billion.

Mr. Traoré (Mali), Vice-President, took the Chair.

209. I should like once again to remind the Assembly of the proposal made at the thirty-first session [84th meeting] by the Angolan Government for consideration by the General Assembly, that an international fund for the national reconstruction of Angola be established, amounting to approximately \$300 million. It is sad to note that so just a proposal has not received the least attention from this world body, despite the fact that in its resolution 475 (1980) the Security Council requested “Member States urgently to extend all necessary assistance to the People's

Republic of Angola and the other front-line States," and called for "the payment by South Africa of full and adequate compensation to the People's Republic of Angola for the damage to life and property resulting from these acts of aggression." May we renew our hopes that this bitter cry will be heard?

210. Everyone knows that in South Africa the internal situation is progressively deteriorating as the conflicts within the hideous *apartheid* régime and the ruling party grow worse, and the valiant fighters of the African National Congress [ANC] steadfastly and heroically carry out political and military actions; their efforts are recognized even by the Pretoria régime, and this has led to an escalation of threats and aggression, as well as an increasing use of mercenary forces and bandit groups—trained, financed, organized and commanded by South Africa—against the People's Republic of Mozambique. It has also led to acts of aggression perpetrated against the Republics of Zimbabwe and Zambia and the Kingdom of Lesotho. All States Members of the United Nations should firmly condemn these actions and should stand in active solidarity with the ANC and the front-line States.

211. With regard to Western Sahara, we reiterate our unflinching solidarity with the heroic Sahraoui people, which, under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, the POLISARIO Front, is victoriously pursuing its armed struggle against Moroccan occupation to recover full independence and territorial integrity. We welcome the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to the OAU, and we reiterate our conviction that there must be direct negotiations between the two conflicting parties in the search for a political solution.

212. With regard to the temporary difficulties now being experienced by the OAU, we consider that any problems that might affect us should be discussed by us alone, within our continental organization, and without any interference from outside Africa, as has been noted. The fact that the thirty-eighth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, held at Addis Ababa in February 1982, and the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at Tripoli, held in August 1982, were obstructed is a part of the strategy of American imperialism and some of its allies aimed at subjugating or paralyzing international bodies which play an active role in the struggle for the political and economic independence of peoples. We are absolutely convinced that this momentary crisis will soon be overcome.

213. We are deeply moved by the bloody events in Lebanon. The brutal armed invasion carried out by the racist and Fascist Tel Aviv régime, with the full and shameful connivance of the United States Administration and the inadmissible passivity of certain Arab States; the genocide of Palestinians and Lebanese in west Beirut; and the massacre, the carnage, at Sabra and Shatila: these can never be forgotten, and call for our strongest condemnation and an appropriate response in due course.

214. We are firmly convinced that the Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, will resume the fight after having, by their heroic resistance during the fierce battles of those 75 historic

days, won the respect and admiration of all those who stand with the peoples struggling for their independence. We reaffirm our unswerving solidarity with the Palestinian people and the PLO as they carry on their struggle to recover their usurped homeland and to establish an independent State there.

215. After seven years of Indonesian military occupation, the people of East Timor, under the leadership of its vanguard organization and legitimate representative, the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [FRETILIN], continues its heroic resistance, in spite of the lack of solidarity on the part of some countries of the non-aligned movement. Those countries should identify themselves with the struggle of the people of East Timor, out of respect for the fundamental principles of non-alignment.

216. The inability of the Indonesian army to stamp out the armed liberation struggle of the people of East Timor clearly shows that people's rejection of integration into or annexation by Indonesia of its homeland. The 35,000 Indonesian soldiers present there, recourse to helicopter-borne forces to try to destroy the fighting forces of FRETILIN, which control 70 per cent of the national territory, the terror and famine imposed on the people of East Timor—will all fail to thwart the nationalist feelings of that people or its resolve to fight. Yet more than 200,000 persons have been massacred by the troops of a self-styled non-aligned country which never fought against the former administering Power, Portugal, during the colonial period.

217. The Indonesian troops, and thus the Indonesian Government, are today carrying out an appalling genocide, through physical liquidation, cultural repression, deportation, and repopulation with thousands of Javanese citizens. But there are the beginnings of resistance in the Indonesian army against participating in operations aimed at eliminating the patriots of East Timor. This is proved by the recent refusal to act of two battalions, which are today isolated on one of the islands of the country.

218. It only needed Portugal to shirk its responsibilities towards the people of East Timor by not proceeding to the transfer of power to the FRETILIN leaders for Indonesia to invade and militarily occupy part of East Timor and the outskirts of the capital, where its military contingents had established themselves.

219. Ever since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly the Organization has been expressing deep concern over the situation obtaining in East Timor as a result of the intervention of Indonesian armed forces and has been requesting the Indonesian Government to withdraw without delay its forces from the Territory in order to enable the people of East Timor freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, as provided in General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX), Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976) once again call on the Indonesian Government to withdraw its forces from the Territory forthwith. Resolution 36/50, adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, reaffirms the same principles and makes the same requests. The Indonesian Government, however, shows no sign of willingness to respect United Nations decisions. It

is therefore imperative that States Members of the United Nations, in particular those which are members of the non-aligned movement, do not endorse the brutal annexation of East Timor to Indonesia, a country which does not even respect our resolutions.

220. Bearing in mind that the Government of Portugal seems to wish to resume its responsibilities as the former administering Power in order to bring the tragedy of the people of East Timor to the attention of the international community, we wish to express encouragement for the request of the Government of Portugal aimed at satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

221. With regard to developments in the situation in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and in the Republic of Cyprus, we reaffirm our active solidarity with those peoples in their respective causes and our support for the positions of their Governments in the quest for just and appropriate solutions.

222. With regard to Latin America, we reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Salvadorian people and with its legitimate representatives, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in their just struggles against the present régime in El Salvador, and we heartily welcome the victories they have already won.

223. We wish to reaffirm our solidarity with the Cuban people in their revolution. We support their efforts to overcome the consequences of the criminal economic boycott imposed by American imperialism, in flagrant violation of human rights, and we denounce the aggression and the threats against the Cuban people. We welcome also the revolutionary process of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada and their determination to face the serious threats that hang over them. We also reaffirm our active solidarity with the Puerto Rican people and denounce the imperialist manoeuvres which, by means of despicable political and economic pressures, have prevented the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico in the agenda.

224. No one is unaware of the fact that the Security Council and General Assembly as well as the OAU have already adopted several resolutions on mercenarism, condemning the activities of mercenaries, their recruitment and their use for the purpose of destabilizing actions in underdeveloped countries, particularly on the African continent. While it is true that a Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism in Africa has already been adopted by the OAU—and the People's Republic of Angola, which has suffered and continues to suffer the misdeeds of mercenaries, is proud of the important contribution it made to that Convention—it is imperative, none the less, for the General Assembly to adopt as soon as possible an international convention prohibiting the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries and the provision of transit facilities to them. Indeed, we hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, established under General Assembly reso-

lution 35/48, will fulfil its mandate and that such a convention will finally be adopted.

225. Next month the Angolan people will celebrate the seventh anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, under the dynamic and visionary leadership of Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the MPLA-Labour Party and President of the Republic. Important results have already been achieved in consolidating the Angolan revolutionary process, in setting up the structures of the party, in strengthening national unity and defence and in laying the foundations for a socialist society in the People's Republic of Angola.

226. Unfortunately, however, the Angolan Government has had to devote most of its human and material resources to the defence of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity, because of the continuous acts of aggression by the racist and Fascist régime of Pretoria. This has seriously affected the economic and social development we had planned, but if we are to attain that paramount goal the undeclared war against us must be brought to an end. We need peace, and we dare to hope that that peace so fervently desired by the Angolan people will be attained in the coming year.

227. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

228. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): I take great pleasure in congratulating, on behalf of my delegation, the President on his election to preside over this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that his qualities as an experienced diplomat and his deep faith in the principles and purposes of the Charter will enable him to direct the work of the Assembly successfully. I should also like to pay tribute to the President's predecessor, Mr. Kittani, of the fraternal country of Iraq, for the outstanding way in which he led the work of the last regular session as well as of the special sessions. I also take great pleasure in paying a particular tribute to the Secretary-General for his constant efforts to promote international peace and security. My delegation is pleased to express to him its appreciation of his struggle to preserve the principles of the Charter and to strengthen international solidarity for the progress and development of mankind.

229. The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is being held at a time when the international situation is steadily deteriorating. The harmful world conditions that we are experiencing encourage the super-Powers to acquire zones of influence and make their rivalries ever sharper. The super-Powers are using their economic, scientific and technological advances to achieve their objectives and designs.

230. In this atmosphere of constant tension we remain concerned and alarmed at the escalation of tension which is creating several flashpoints in many parts of the world, especially in the third world.

231. In spite of the constant efforts of the international community in the quest for peace, we are every day confronted with increasingly sophisticated wars, wars of attrition and of the annihilation of nations. Never before in history have there been so many wars in third world countries, with such great human, financial and material losses. It is as if by some master

plan they are intended to exchange the natural resources of developing countries and prevent them achieving their economic take-off.

232. It is an act of treason towards that part of mankind living in wretched circumstances to tolerate the useless waste of incredible quantities of financial, scientific, technological and human resources, when two thirds of the world's population are doomed to live in dire poverty, suffering grave economic difficulties and social imbalance. Moreover, there are a large number of refugees on all the continents, half of them in Africa. Those refugees often come to an environment where they still have to struggle to satisfy their most basic needs—food, medical care and shelter.

233. What human wisdom can allow for such waste, whose only purpose is the destruction of all the best that world civilization has been producing for the good of mankind? We cannot separate acts leading to the waste of such immense human and material wealth from those which are delaying the establishment of a new international economic order.

234. International economic relations are experiencing in our time a grave crisis, which is becoming an obstacle in negotiations between the rich and poor countries, a number of which—the least developed countries—are living in precarious conditions. It is up to us to exchange new ideas and co-ordinate our efforts with a view to striving together towards a better life.

235. After eight years of hard work the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea achieved its objective. The adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea constitutes a landmark in the history of mankind. The success of the Conference has enhanced the prestige and credibility of the United Nations, which can be an effective framework for dealing with all questions of vital importance to all States and the international community.

236. The political climate and security in the Indian Ocean area has gravely deteriorated recently. The littoral and hinterland States are worried about the increase in tension in the area, as a result of the rivalries of the great Powers. There is an extremely urgent need to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, pursuant to resolution 2832 (XXVI) of 12 December 1971. The situation of insecurity and instability prevailing in the Indian Ocean requires the speedy holding of the relevant conference in Colombo.

237. Since its independence the Republic of Djibouti has expressed its devotion to international peace and security. The objectives that it has set itself are national unity, equality and peace.

238. In accordance with our foreign policy, based on dialogue and co-operation, we have chosen to live in peace with our neighbours, with absolutely no interference or intervention. Our neutrality is reflected by a policy of non-alignment, good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence. We urge our neighbours to settle any disputes peacefully, for we remain convinced that peace and stability alone can guarantee the emancipation of peoples. Moreover, we urge all leaders in the Horn of Africa to struggle for the creation of the right

circumstances to foster tolerance, understanding and confidence among the peoples of the region.

239. We attach great importance to regional and interregional economic co-operation, and we are prepared to take an effective part in those efforts, in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Development of Africa¹ and the Charter of National Economic Action, adopted at Amman.

240. In spite of its economic difficulties and its meagre resources, the Republic of Djibouti takes in a considerable number of refugees. The situation has worsened because of the devastating consequences of a prolonged drought, which has displaced a third of our population who have lost all means of subsistence.

241. The Republic of Djibouti has embarked on comprehensive programmes of revitalization and modernization of existing sectors of the service economy as well as on the creation of a sound basis for a productive, diversified economy through the development of new sectors in industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries.

242. My Government, which has decided to use every means available to extricate itself from its socio-economic difficulties, appreciates the assistance and aid of friendly countries to help in achieving those objectives.

243. After 34 years of bloody wars, 34 years of sacrifices, 34 years of tireless and uninterrupted efforts, the international community has just reaffirmed its support for the Palestinian cause, by declaring that no just and lasting solution can be achieved without recognition of the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. It is with that in view that concrete proposals for an overall peaceful solution have been formulated.

244. Unfortunately these peace efforts are still pitted against the political ambitions of the Zionists, who wish to relegate the Palestinian cause to historical oblivion so as to promote their expansionist policy. The Zionists do not wish to accept or tolerate any talk of national rights for Palestinians; they wished to bury the natural aspirations of an entire people under the ruins of Beirut. In order to do that the Zionist war-lords unleashed the most devastating and the most bloody aggression against Lebanon, using the most sophisticated weaponry, with the avowed intention of annihilating the Palestinian people, of liquidating the PLO and destroying its organizational structure.

245. For more than two months Lebanon has been subjected to the most merciless destruction. Beirut, besieged, deprived of water, food, electricity and medicines, constantly bombarded from land, air and sea, has undergone an ordeal which no city has experienced since the Second World War.

246. During the first half of this century the Nazis, in their wanton campaign for racial superiority, arrogated to themselves the right to determine who should live and who should be deprived of life. They institutionalized terror and mass killing as means of achieving that goal.

247. In the second half of this century the Zionist neo-Nazis have espoused a similar concept, although

more limited in scope. They wish to eliminate the Palestinian people from the land where they have always lived. For the Zionists, Palestine was a land without any people awaiting the arrival of Jewish settlers to colonize it. History has been falsified; the physical characteristics, the demographic composition and the institutional structures of the occupied territories are being altered so as finally to leave no trace of the Palestinian heritage.

248. In spite of that and in defiance of the aims of the Zionist plan, the Palestinian reality asserts itself more each day, because the Palestinian people, under the aegis of the PLO, its sole, legitimate representative, has shown its unshakable determination to struggle for the life of its cause.

249. Strengthened by that determination, Arab Kings, Sovereigns and heads of State were at one in making it crystal clear to the world that just and lasting peace has always been their objective, an objective that Israel has rejected and continues to reject, wishing to deprive an entire people of its existence and of its identity.

250. In Fez, the Arab leaders agreed on concrete and realistic proposals aimed at restoring a just and lasting peace in the region. These proposals, contained in what is now called the "Fez Charter", have created a legal framework which, without the slightest doubt, has aroused hope in the international community, which is determined to find a solution to this painful problem.

251. As usual, Begin's response was to order the massacre of children, women and old people. Once again, in defiance of international public opinion, Israel has revealed its true face. Once again Begin dashed the hopes of all peace-loving countries and peoples by organizing the genocide at Shatila and Sabra. These Zionists have unfortunately made us relive a tragedy which history wished to bury at Nuremberg and which we thought had been removed from our memories for ever.

252. In the face of this situation which threatens international peace and security, in the face of this genocide which definitely could not have been carried out without the consent and support of a great Power, in the face of this holocaust of which the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples are the victims, we reaffirm that a just peace cannot be established without the recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, without the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the borders of Lebanon as well as from the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

253. Lebanon, whose only crime was to grant asylum to the Palestinians who, because of Zionist terrorism, had had to flee from their national land, must never again be the scene of these wars and massacres. The international community must help Lebanon to regain its sovereignty and its territorial integrity and in its reconstruction.

254. We note with deep concern the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war, in spite of the efforts made by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, by the non-aligned movement and by the United Nations.

255. We hail the positive initiative taken by the Iraqi Government in withdrawing its forces to the internationally recognized borders as a sign of a desire for peace and we appeal to these two countries to settle their dispute peacefully.

256. The situation in South Africa and in Namibia remains of concern. Tensions and confrontations will not be eliminated nor will peace be established in that region so long as *apartheid* is not dismantled and the black majority in South Africa is not liberated. *Apartheid* must be condemned without hesitation, and all political, diplomatic, moral and material means must be provided to the liberation fronts. The peoples of South Africa and of Namibia are entitled to use all means—including armed struggle—against the practices of segregation, racism and racial discrimination, genocide and exploitation.

257. We strongly denounce the policy of bantustanization being carried out by the Pretoria régime. We condemn also the criminal acts of terrorism and the acts of armed aggression against independent neighbouring countries. We state that the front-line countries have the legitimate right to protection against the repeated acts of intimidation and aggression perpetrated by the South African régime, whose sole purpose is to destabilize those States so as to weaken their moral and material efforts to assist the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements.

258. The Pretoria régime has clearly demonstrated its belligerence by accumulating armaments and other means of oppression, by acquiring a nuclear capability and by continuing its political, military, economic and cultural collaboration with Israel.

259. It is regrettable that South Africa, despite repeated appeals by the international community, continues to practise *apartheid* in defiance and flagrant violation of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

260. The question of Namibia remains unsolved because of the illegal occupation by the South African régime, which is denying the Namibian people the exercise of its inalienable rights to self-determination and independence, in spite of United Nations resolutions. This gravely threatens international peace and security.

261. Through its political, economic and military activities the racist Pretoria régime is trying to delay Namibia's accession to independence. The policy of collaboration with the *apartheid* régime of South Africa can only harm and betray the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people to obtain its freedom.

262. It is up to the United Nations to ensure that its decisions are respected by South Africa. The United Nations must alert the international community to South African manoeuvres designed to upset the peaceful initiatives under way for Namibian independence.

263. We applaud the initiatives taken by SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, to facilitate the negotiations under way, as well as its constant readiness to take part in free and fair elections in Namibia in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

264. The Republic of Djibouti believes Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be the only acceptable basis for negotiations on Namibia's peaceful transition to freedom and independence. We sincerely hope that all the parties concerned will make a concerted co-operative effort to ensure implementation of that resolution.
265. As regards the issue of Western Sahara, my Government supports the efforts of the OAU to promote a just and lasting solution and also welcomes the measures taken to organize a referendum to enable the population of Western Sahara to express itself freely and democratically in the exercise of its right to self-determination.
266. Although we support the principle of self-determination for the Sahraoui people, we assert that the decision of the heads of State and Government of the OAU taken in Nairobi² is the only authentic one.
267. Without unity, Africa—beset as it is by economic difficulties and social instability—will remain a prey to foreign influences, political blackmail and economic exploitation. Lack of unity will lessen the ability of the independent countries of Africa to assist those which are still under the sway of colonization.
268. For a long time now Chad has continued to be the scene of fratricidal wars that have destroyed its human and material resources and endangered its unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We therefore urge all the forces concerned to enter into a constructive dialogue and to make a common endeavour. We believe that to be the only way that hostilities can be halted and order, peace and security restored. We hope that the United Nations and the OAU will work together to achieve that goal and will help in the reconstruction of Chad.
269. As regards Afghanistan, my Government expresses its great concern over the military occupation of that country despite the repeated appeals of the international community for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces. We reiterate our appeal for an immediate and total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan so as to enable its people to exercise its right to elect a government of its choice. We advocate an overall political solution based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.
270. The situation in Kampuchea is a problem of concern to my Government, which is firmly opposed to foreign armed intervention and to the presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea. The presence of foreign troops makes it impossible for the Kampuchean people to express its will through free elections. We therefore reaffirm the imperative need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.
271. With reference to the question of Korea, my Government firmly believes that inter-Korean negotiations constitute the only political means of solving all the problems that have arisen out of the political division of that country. The earliest possible resumption of the dialogue is essential to deal with the urgent need to reduce the climate of tension, renew mutual confidence and establish lasting peace in the Korean peninsula, which might finally lead to a solution acceptable to the Korean people.
272. We are convinced that the United Nations remains the most appropriate forum for voicing our ideas, because all of us here share the same concern and undertake the same efforts to preserve the noble ideals of the Charter. Indeed, to defend the Charter of the United Nations is to defend the cause for which millions of people have perished; it is to defend the cultural and political expression of human dignity.
273. Unfortunately, at the present time the world is beset by grave crises which, if not solved, could threaten peace and security. The crises are especially dangerous because they seriously diminish the United Nations system's ability to act; moreover, they challenge the ideals on which the Charter was based.
274. We have in mind here the Shatila and Sabra massacres; *apartheid*, which has been made into a political alternative; and the occupation of countries by force. Is not threatening and shooting innocent people in camps and treating people as subhuman the sort of thing that prompted the creation of the Organization on the morrow of the last world war?
275. In conclusion, I wish the Assembly every success at the thirty-seventh session. Members may be assured of my delegation's positive contribution. For my part, I remain convinced that all the nations represented here will fulfil their responsibility by responding to the hopes of the millions of people who are looking to us.
276. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Guyana, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.
277. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The Foreign Minister of Venezuela, in his address last Monday [5th meeting], tried at length to justify the claim which his country maintains against four fifths of Guyana's territory. I have asked to speak tonight to exercise my right of reply because that statement was replete with misrepresentation, inaccuracies and distortions.
278. My delegation has noted the Foreign Minister's indication of Venezuela's commitment to a peaceful solution to the controversy and the desire "to maintain and develop with the Guyanese people the closest relations of friendship, co-operation and solidarity" [*ibid.*, para. 104]. We have also noted his proud assertion that in its 172 years of independence Venezuela "has never had a single war, not even an armed encounter, with any of its neighbours" [*ibid.*, para. 102].
279. We in Guyana do not judge Venezuela's peaceful intention by what Venezuelans say; we judge it by what they do. Even as I speak now, Venezuela is in military occupation of territory belonging to Guyana. That territory was seized by force of arms in 1966. That act of aggression took place, moreover, a mere few months after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement, which committed the parties, Venezuela included, to the search for a peaceful settlement. What is particularly significant is that that aggression did not take place while the British were still in the colony; the Venezuelans waited until after the British left in order to occupy part of our territory.

280. The Venezuela we know is the Venezuela whose armed units repeatedly violate Guyana's sovereignty and territorial integrity—already this year we have had cause on two occasions to bring such violations to the attention of the Secretary-General. The Venezuela we know is the Venezuela that has written the World Bank objecting to construction of and investment in a major development activity in Guyana—our hydroelectric project. All this is done as a means of pressuring us into giving in to their territorial demands.

281. Those are merely a few of the numerous instances of military, political and economic pressures we face from Venezuela. How do we reconcile the Minister's pronouncements of peaceful intent and friendly relations with these acts of aggression? Yet the Minister accuses Guyana of creating an image of Venezuela as an aggressor country indifferent to laws, to justice and to the solidarity which should exist between countries which are struggling to develop. We do not need to create such an image when Venezuela itself is doing it so well. By its behaviour since 1966 Venezuela has created not only an image but the reality of an aggressor country. Venezuela's covetousness and its territorial ambitions towards Guyana are no secret. They are common knowledge. Only last week they attracted the attention of *The New York Times* on two successive days.

282. We were told that Venezuela's land borders with Colombia and Brazil were established by peaceful means. Venezuela's borders with Guyana were also established by peaceful means. Venezuela freely entered into an agreement in 1897 with the United Kingdom to submit their territorial controversy to international arbitration and agreed, by the terms of that agreement, to accept the arbitral award as a "full, final and perfect settlement". That award was handed down by unanimous agreement in 1899. On the basis thereof, Venezuelan and British commissioners co-operated between 1901 and 1905 to ensure that the boundary on the ground corresponded in every relevant detail with the terms of the 1899 award. It is that boundary that has given Guyana its present geographic form. It is that boundary that Venezuela accepted for more than half a century until the reassertion of its claim in the 1960s. By sending its troops across that border in 1966, the Venezuelans signalled an intention to pressure Guyana by military means into redrawing that boundary.

283. The Venezuelan Minister persists in describing the arbitration process of 1899 as "an unprecedented legal farce", and repeats his argument about the absence of Venezuelan judges or lawyers. Venezuela's representative at the hearings of the tribunal was chosen by the Venezuelan President. He had an opportunity to select a Venezuelan judge or lawyer but he considered that Venezuela's interests would best be represented by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. No Venezuelan at the time complained about this arrangement. So that when the Venezuelan Minister tells us that there were no Venezuelan judges or lawyers present at the tribunal, he is making a comment on nothing but the sovereign decision of his President at the time.

284. At any rate, is it not significant that the Venezuelans should come to the General Assembly and try to assert that the award of 1899 is a legal farce, while at the same time refusing our proposal, which we made under the Geneva Agreement, to seek a peaceful settlement through the International Court of Justice? In fact the entire controversy arose the moment Venezuela advanced the contention that the award was without legal effect. Yet Venezuela does not want to go to the Court. It requires little effort of the imagination to see why.

285. Venezuela has called into question the good faith of Guyana to seek a negotiated, peaceful solution. The Minister stated:

"The obligation for Venezuela and Guyana to negotiate their differences is not only a moral imperative, not only a duty under international law, but, in this specific case, a commitment freely entered into in the Agreement signed at Geneva on 17 February 1966." [*Ibid.*, para. 105.]

286. It is a matter of historical record that Guyana has always been willing to engage in dialogue with Venezuela on all matters relating to the promotion of understanding, co-operation and peace between our two neighbouring countries. It was in that spirit that the President of my country accepted an invitation last year to visit Venezuela. But any such diplomatic discussions must be a separate and distinct matter from that of selecting one of the means of peaceful settlement as required by the Geneva Agreement which our two countries signed in 1966.

287. Venezuela proposed negotiations, as was its sovereign right under the Agreement. Guyana, after the most careful consideration, proposed judicial settlement in accordance with its equally sovereign right. The Geneva Agreement gives no primacy whatsoever to negotiation. The choice of means has to be agreeable to both parties; it is not the unilateral decision of one or the other. Guyana therefore rejects any insinuations of a reluctance to negotiate.

288. I reiterate Guyana's commitment to a peaceful settlement with Venezuela and to a régime of peaceful, harmonious, good-neighbourly relations with Venezuela. We are a small, poor, militarily weak country. But we will not be bullied by Venezuela. We demand respect for our independence, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity.

289. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of Venezuela.

290. Mr. PÉREZ GUERRERO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have listened to the statement made by the representative of Guyana in exercise of his right of reply. We wish to reserve the right to speak in exercise of our right of reply at a later date.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/S-11/14, annex I.

² See A/36/534, annex II.