



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): At the outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high office of the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your wide experience and diplomatic talents make you well-suited to confront the tasks that lie ahead of you. I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Kittani of Iraq, for the efficient and dedicated manner in which he handled the affairs of the last session of the General Assembly. We wish him well in his future pursuits and hope that the international community will continue to benefit from his wise and able guidance.

2. A host of critical issues continue to preoccupy the international community. Because of various factors, several of which the Secretary-General dealt with in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], the United Nations system, particularly the Security Council, was not always able to deal effectively with many such issues. For quite some time now many have felt the increasing inadequacy of the United Nations meaningfully to promote and maintain peace and security—the very objectives for which the United Nations itself was established. Hence, there is a very clear necessity to take steps to make the United Nations system more effective in dealing with international peace and security. It is important for the permanent members of the Security Council to take the leading role in bringing about the required changes. They must place on a higher footing the larger interests of mankind as a whole. My delegation hopes that those countries will come forward and bear the responsibilities that they have agreed to shoulder.

3. The news media worldwide, as well as most of the speakers who have preceded me here, have referred in glowing terms to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. We appreciate the frank approach taken by the Secretary-General. We are of the view that the proposals put forward by him should be given immediate and priority consideration. We accordingly welcome the proposal made by Sierra Leone for the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item on the issue of collective security [see A/37/241].

4. At this juncture, I should like also to take the opportunity warmly to congratulate the Secretary-General for the very admirable manner in which he has exercised his functions regarding the affairs of the

Organization despite serious constraints. During the course of the year he has dealt with some very difficult situations in a manner befitting his position and the powers vested in him. In moments of crisis he has displayed rare skill and diplomatic talent. My delegation, which has always had full confidence in him, now wishes him all success during his term at the helm of the Organization.

5. Many issues that confront us at this session have been on the General Assembly agenda since the inception of the Organization. In many such cases solutions continue to evade us. One issue is the crisis in the Middle East. The holocaust that has been visited upon Lebanon in recent months has appalled and shocked the consciences of all. The massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut was indiscriminate and merciless. Those who perpetrated this crime must be counted among the lowest ranks of criminals. We support a thorough investigation to expose the true nature of this ghastly deed.

6. My delegation was equally appalled at the heavy bombing of Beirut by Israel in order to annihilate the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. This action on the part of Israel caused the loss of countless civilian lives and the destruction of much valuable property. Israel cannot continue to resort to such use of force to settle disputes with its neighbours. Nor will Israel and its neighbours be able to achieve lasting and worthwhile peace in the absence of dialogue and negotiations. It is also the belief of my delegation that the crux of the problem in the Middle East is the question of Palestine. Israel and others cannot afford to ignore the legitimate and genuine cause of the people of Palestine. My delegation therefore fully supports the plea of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership, a plea that has resounded countless times in this Hall, for the self-determination of the people of Palestine. In order to achieve this goal Israel will have to withdraw its forces and its settlers from all territories occupied since the 1967 war.

7. Another war that has levied a heavy toll of life and property over the last two years is the one between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq. The appeals and the diplomatic efforts of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the Islamic group of countries have so far failed to bring this war of attrition to an end. This is an absolutely needless conflict, and the countries involved must, in their own interests, bring the war to a quick halt.

8. The Charter very explicitly calls upon all Members not to resort to the use of force in the settlement of disputes. However, during the course of the last few years several nations have attempted to settle their disputes by using force. Whether their cause is right or otherwise, the use of force in the settlement of

disputes cannot be justified. The international community should not permit anyone to gain through the use of force. Otherwise the safety and well-being of smaller and weaker nations will be constantly threatened. For instance, in South-West and South-East Asia, military might has been used to intervene in the internal affairs of weaker nations. On grounds of principle, we cannot endorse the presence of foreign troops in the countries of these regions. Such troops must be withdrawn and the sovereign, independent and truly non-aligned status of the countries concerned restored.

9. My delegation had hoped to see a sovereign independent Namibia by now. However, in spite of numerous resolutions of the United Nations, South Africa continues to occupy this international Territory. My delegation now hopes that the Western contact group will soon be able to conclude negotiations and ensure Namibia's independence within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

10. In South Africa itself, the despicable practice of *apartheid*, condemned by every nation in the world, still persists. The rights of the majority have been denied. The authorities in Pretoria must soon realize their folly and right the wrongs being done.

11. My delegation joins those who have expressed disappointment with the outcome of the second special session on disarmament. The consistent and high-pitched expression of fear of the dangers of the arms race, the tremendous diversion of resources and the massive rallies that we have witnessed have failed to move the leaders of the major countries of the world, particularly the two super-Powers.

12. Despite the serious obstacles that exist, we cannot and must not lose hope in our attempts to achieve general and complete disarmament. There must be a rethinking on the part of those countries that have held back progress in this regard. A way to maintain peace and security on this planet of ours, instead of threatening its destruction, must be found and established.

13. The outcome of nine years of negotiations on the law of the sea was a laudable achievement of the United Nations. It was also a step towards the setting up of the new international economic order. Many potential disputes will now be prevented because of the provisions contained in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.¹ It is true that not all countries were able to ensure the full coverage of their each and every interest. The land-locked countries, for instance, have had to be satisfied with very little, to put it bluntly. They have withheld many reservations in the larger interest. In view of this, it was disheartening that a few countries which, in fact, had gained substantially, did not see fit to permit the Convention to be approved by consensus.

14. Earlier speakers have all pointed to the dire situation of the international economy. The worst consequences of this state of affairs continue to be shouldered by the non-oil-exporting developing countries. Millions upon millions in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America live in practically total deprivation. Though efforts have been made to tackle this problem, they have simply been

too little or too late, though well intentioned. What is required to deal effectively with such a situation is an increased flow of resources to these underdeveloped areas and a restructuring of the international economic system. We therefore continue to stress that the present economic order is unfair, unjust and incapable of treating the difficulties that confront it. The longer we delay the launching of the global negotiations and the establishment of the new international economic order, the longer it will take to achieve our goals. My delegation urges those developed countries which have so far failed to endorse the launching of the global negotiations to do so without further delay.

15. My delegation attaches considerable importance to every facet of international economic co-operation. The developing countries, and especially the 31 least developed among them, require a steady input of financial and technical resources to enable them to create the necessary basis for sustained social and economic advancement. Without such sustained and predictable resource flows the least developed countries will not be able to overcome the structural imbalances, lack of basic infrastructure and the poverty that presently characterize their economies. The resources given thus far to the least developed countries, through both multilateral and bilateral sources, though inadequate, have had a beneficial impact on their economies. A detailed analysis of the conditions in these countries and their requirements for assistance was taken up at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in 1981. Serious efforts are now under way to implement the Substantial New Programme of Action² that emerged at the Conference. UNDP, UNCTAD and the World Bank have moved, in close co-operation with the least developed countries, to arrange the aid consultative group meetings between potential donor countries and recipient countries. My delegation would like to urge all donors, and particularly the developed countries, to come forth and increase their assistance in keeping with the decisions of the Paris Conference.

16. In this context, we were heartened by the statements of several countries, including the one delivered on behalf of the European Economic Community by the Foreign Minister of Denmark at the 8th meeting of the Assembly. Those assurances and the actions being taken will keep up the momentum generated in Paris towards implementing the Substantial New Programme of Action.

17. In spite of those developments, my delegation has nevertheless been perturbed by the serious decline in real terms in multilateral assistance in general. As members of the UNDP Governing Council, we have particularly observed the serious lack of resources that will confront UNDP in the Third Indicative Planning Figures Cycle. Many least developed countries have come to rely to a major extent on UNDP, UNICEF and other similar assistance for undertaking projects and programmes crucial to their socio-economic development. A deterioration in this type of assistance would definitely jeopardize their plans and programmes. We therefore once again call upon the international community, and particularly the developed countries, to reinvigorate their assistance through UNDP and other multilateral agencies.

18. The developing countries are now very aware of the benefits of economic and technical co-operation among themselves. The basis for such co-operation has been clearly laid down in the Caracas Programme of Action,³ which was finalized in 1981, and in the programmes outlined by the non-aligned movement.

19. In our region of South Asia, seven countries—Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and my own, Bhutan—are in the process of gradually but steadily laying the foundations for enhancing socio-economic co-operation. The initial encounters among these countries have revealed that without co-operation many important and crucial problems of the region cannot adequately be dealt with. Co-operation is required urgently to improve the region's transport, communications and other infrastructural facilities. Health, population, the environment and agriculture are other areas in which the region could profit from increased co-operation. The countries of South Asia, which had either been cut off from or which have been averse to each other because of colonial and other historical factors also need to understand each other's cultural and religious heritage. They must also respect and recognize each other's genuine and legitimate aspirations as sovereign members in joint pursuit of furthering the well-being of their peoples. The fact that all the countries that have joined the South Asian forum are members of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the Group of 77 creates a common ground among them to come together. Bhutan attaches considerable importance to this emerging venture of co-operation in South Asia and we are confident that the other countries in this venture will do all in their power to make it a success and to put South Asia on a new path of peace, prosperity and progress.

20. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm the strong commitment of the Kingdom of Bhutan to the principles and purposes of the Charter. We must take all action necessary to strengthen the Organization, which is universal in character and holds the only hope of mankind for peace and prosperity.

21. Mr. GERVIL YAMBALA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): It is a tradition at the United Nations for its Members to gather at the General Assembly to reflect upon the manner in which they plan to shoulder the responsibilities incumbent upon them in guiding the fate of mankind. However, there is no doubt that such collective reflection can bear fruit only if it is pursued in the light of the goals that have been set. This session, more than any other, is of great importance for the Central African Republic in appreciating the efforts the Organization has made in carrying out its mission.

22. I am also very pleased, Mr. President, to convey to you and, through you, to the Assembly, the wishes for complete success from General André Kolingba, President of the Military Committee of National Reconstruction and head of State, who, together with the people of the Central African Republic, has a profound trust and renewed faith in the Organization. It also gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation it is my honour to head, on your important election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

Your great personal qualities will, I am certain, lead to the success of our work.

23. I should like to address my sincere congratulations to the outgoing President, Mr. Kittani, for the dynamism, competence and efficiency with which he guided the previous session of the Assembly.

24. It gives me pleasure to renew my congratulations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and to assure him that the Central African Republic stands ready to support the efforts he is undertaking with fervour, conviction and courage in the daily accomplishment of his tasks.

25. Lastly, my country wishes to express its appreciation to the former Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his devotion to the cause of the United Nations during his term of office.

26. Although States with different social and political systems may experience certain problems in coexisting within the United Nations, it is none the less true that such diversity clearly testifies to the vitality of the Organization. And although some of those problems, by their very nature, often constitute an outright challenge, the imperatives of the well-being of mankind demand from us a concerted search for ways and means of strengthening the Organization's capacity to act. To that end, the United Nations should not only be an instrument for making the international political climate more healthy, it should be, above all, an instrument for economic and social development. That twofold wish which, in the view of my delegation, lies at the core of our concerns and forms the framework of United Nations doctrine, has inspired the two themes of the message I have been entrusted to deliver to the Assembly for its consideration.

27. Created at the outset as an instrument for improving the international political climate, born as it was of the common will of States that cherish peace and justice, the Organization has unfortunately been constant prey to the harsh daily reality of intolerance and violence. In many parts of the world, particularly in southern Africa, the Middle East, South-East Asia and Latin America, the emergence of conflicts creates hotbeds of tension whose persistence is inimical to peaceful and fraternal coexistence.

28. Some people even today, 22 years after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) continue the struggle for their human dignity and freedom. The distressing situation which prevails in southern Africa is a clear example of this.

29. In this connection, my delegation believes that the accession to sovereignty of territories still under colonial and racist domination can only promote the universality of the Organization. Therefore, the improvement of the political climate requires, first, the elimination of all forms of domination now existing in the world, which today are considered to be contrary to international morality. That is why the Central African Republic believes that Namibia should as soon as possible—and why should this not be in 1983—accede to independence in accordance with the spirit and letter of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

30. In Lebanon and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), in a period of less than four months this year, the international community witnessed and remained

powerless in the face of a tragedy most of whose victims were innocent people. In one case there was aggression by force in an attempt to thwart the aspirations of a people, in flagrant violation of international rules; in the other case there was an express refusal to have recourse to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

31. In the case of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), my country appeals to the good sense of the interested parties to begin direct negotiations, if necessary with the participation and the good offices of the Secretary-General.

32. Recent events in the Middle East can be described by only one word, horror. The massacres at Sabra and Shatila, despicable acts directed at women, children and the elderly, constitute nothing less than the crime of genocide, which no country that supports the ideals of the United Nations can tolerate. I wish to reiterate from this rostrum my country's condemnation of that abject act which compounds other attempts by the State of Israel to contain the just struggle of the Palestinian people, through the PLO, for self-determination. The life of wandering forced on that people cannot continue. That is why my country continues to support Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as the basis for an acceptable solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

33. Because the United Nations has been paralysed and unable to act in that region at this critical stage, it has become more urgent than ever, as suggested in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, to strengthen the capacity of the Organization to accomplish its mission. The Central African Republic considers that it is necessary to restore to the Security Council its role as the guarantor of international peace and security and, furthermore, to reconsider the mechanics that govern its operation, because the important changes that have occurred on the international scene since the San Francisco Conference, call for the establishment of a balance in the decision-making process of that organ.

34. Improvement of the international climate, as I have said, means, in the final analysis, the maintenance of world peace and security.

35. The United Nations, through the organ competent in that area, is frequently called upon in the case of a threat to peace. The unsatisfactory results of sessions devoted to disarmament reduce the chances of consolidating and preserving peace. States continue to devote enormous sums to armaments, while two thirds of the people of the world live in poverty. The struggle for world supremacy, which is called hegemonism, is pursued inexorably, leading to the research into, manufacture, and qualitative and quantitative stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. This phenomenon, added to everything covered by the key word "deterrence", seriously compromises peace and security in many regions of the world. That is why the Central African Republic encourages all new initiatives designed to curb the arms race and help to improve the international climate.

36. Although a sovereign State may freely choose a given system, certain Powers continue to interfere in their internal affairs, using the weapons of blackmail

and threat. Are we to infer from that that the principles which govern international relations need be observed and applied only by the weak countries? That is the question my delegation wishes to put to the Assembly.

37. Between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, in Western Sahara, in Democratic Kampuchea and in Afghanistan armed conflicts persist which threaten peace in those regions of the world. Nevertheless, the Charter commits nations to settling their differences by peaceful means. We firmly believe in the virtues of dialogue and appeal urgently to the various protagonists in these conflicts to resort to it.

38. With regard to the Korean problem, the North-South joint communiqué of 1972⁴ advocates direct negotiations between the two parties, free of all foreign interference. That historic document, constitutes in the view of my delegation, a valuable basis on which to seek a just and lasting solution. The Central African Republic welcomes the strenuous efforts made by the parties to the conflict to lay the basis for the constructive, fruitful dialogue which is so sincerely desired so that the question of their simultaneous admission to the United Nations can be considered again, without prejudice to the principle of reunification, in keeping with the wishes of their peoples.

39. The present international situation gives no cause for optimism because the world political order is being challenged by another factor: the unequal development of the members of the international community. This is the second part of my message.

40. The United Nations should devote itself increasingly to the economic and social development of Member States. Indeed, how can we not be moved by the problems caused by the world economic crisis, which is seriously affecting third world countries? These include: increasing balance-of-payments imbalances, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade; the excessive burden of their foreign debts; the insecurity of their food supplies; and the disorganization of the present monetary system. All these factors, which indicate the interdependence of States, should lead the "haves" to seek more actively, together with the "have nots", new bases for a restructuring of international economic relations.

41. On the contrary, however, we are witnessing a very marked re-emergence of protectionism, which seriously penalizes the countries of the South. The illusion born of the concept of the transfer of technology in turn compounds their disillusionment. That is why we believe that the "have" States, in a spirit of solidarity, should facilitate and support the United Nations in its efforts to establish a new international economic order.

42. These efforts clearly demonstrate the will of the Organization, which is now engaged in "economic decolonization". This will is reflected in the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] and the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries.²

43. The Central African Republic, which falls within the category of least developed countries, would like

to see the "have" countries devote more effort and sacrifice to the implementation of those measures, in order to establish co-operation between them and the developing countries, to the mutual advantage of their respective peoples.

44. As the Assembly is aware, there was a change of régime in the Central African Republic on 1 September 1981. It should be recalled that the National Army took power following dark years during which the country was on the verge of ruin and security and peace were increasingly threatened. As stated recently by the head of State, General André Kolingba, the Military Committee of National Reconstruction set for itself four goals: the creation of conditions of general mobilization through a resumption of work; the reorganization of the State finances; the restoration of a climate of confidence and guarantees of the security of property and person; and economic recovery.

45. The highest priority was given to the correction of economic and financial imbalances. We therefore reduced the budget deficit of the State by almost 30 per cent as compared with that of previous years. That result was obtained as a result of very severe limitations on certain expenditures, a re-ordering in the area of earnings, a campaign to combat fraud and the financial sacrifices of State officials.

46. The reassurance of investors by restoring a climate of confidence is one of the policies guiding the actions of the Military Committee for National Reconstruction intended to bring about conditions for the economic recovery of the Central African Republic.

47. The plan requires that other demands be met, including food self-sufficiency and growth through increased productive investments, both public and private. However, our present financial situation does not yet enable us to tackle by our own efforts alone other vital tasks, such as the reconstruction of our road system and the creation of social and educational structures. The co-operation of the international community, which we hope will be increased, remains essential in that regard.

48. Thus the accomplishment of the mission that the Military Committee of National Reconstruction has set for itself has not been easy and continues to be limited in terms of time and of objectives. To achieve the necessary results, the Military Committee of National Reconstruction has only one weapon: dialogue, based on the concept the Central African people has of the real democracy that results from listening to the questions in the hearts of the people. The Central African Government has a dynamic view of democracy, which must take account of the developmental aspects of the life of a people capable of reconstructing its national unity, which is a prerequisite for development.

49. As a land-locked country, the Central African Republic has been subjected to serious constraints. The Convention that has just been adopted as a result of the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea could make it possible for us to be provided with the necessary trade facilities. That is the fervent hope of my country.

50. We wish to welcome once again resolutions 35/87 of 5 December 1980 and 36/206 of 17 December 1981, in which the General Assembly calls upon all Member States, the specialized agencies and other economic and financial organizations to contribute generously to the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of the Central African Republic, whose economic situation remains a matter of concern.

51. On behalf of the Central African people, the Military Committee of National Reconstruction and its President, General André Kolingba, I wish to thank from this rostrum all the States and institutions which, in spite of their own difficulties, have shown a generosity which we very much appreciate. My country is convinced that this international solidarity, which is based on human awareness, will continue to increase.

52. The Central African Republic hopes, and indeed is convinced, that the Member States, in spite of this period of adversity that the world is experiencing, will make the contributions necessary to make the Organization an instrument for the improvement of the international political environment and of economic and social development. The Secretary-General's report, with the spirit of which we fully agree and to whose author we pay a tribute, is important because it concurs in that idea. The unity and harmony of the international community will certainly benefit from it.

53. Mr. da LUZ (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*):* I have great pleasure, Sir, on behalf of the Government of Cape Verde, in carrying out the pleasant duty of extending to you our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your well-known statesmanlike qualities and your experience in the diplomatic arena are an earnest of the positive role which we are confident you will play during your term of office. We wish to express to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, our great appreciation of the manner in which he carried out the onerous duties involved in guiding the proceedings of the thirty-sixth session, which dealt with problems crucial to the future of the world. We should like to take this opportunity also to wish Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar every success in the performance of his difficult task and to express to him our appreciation of the efforts he has made since taking office to reduce world tension, strengthen the credibility of the Organization and consolidate its foundations.

54. The decades which followed the founding of the United Nations may be described as decades of struggle for the application of one of its fundamental principles: the right to self-determination and independence of colonized countries and peoples. It has been a titanic struggle, on the scale of whole continents, a struggle of whose results the United Nations can well be proud.

55. The present international situation, marked by a proliferation of sources of tension and armed confrontation and also by a gradual return to force as the primary instrument in international relations, contains elements which pose a threat to peace and

* Mr. da Luz spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

impede the economic and social development of peoples. The refusal to accept the inexorable evolution of international relations towards the strengthening of the links of economic interdependence between the various parts of the world and between different social and political systems is undeniably the outcome of the perpetuation of that situation. This interdependence, which presupposes a global effort to overcome the existing condition of crisis, cannot be said to be compatible with the specific interests of a particular country or group of countries. More than ever before the moral conscience of the peoples of the world demands that relations of domination be replaced once and for all by relations of co-operation, force by dialogue and the risk of confrontation by stability, security in international relations and, finally, peace.

56. The Government of Cape Verde, for its part, is sparing no effort to ensure the achievement of these objectives, not only because they are in keeping with the wishes of the people of Cape Verde but also because it is convinced that to do so is in the interests of the whole of mankind and in accord with humanity's aspirations. The Government of Cape Verde therefore bases its actions on stubborn defence of the principles of non-alignment and the Charter, the search for fruitful co-operation with all peace-loving nations and States which respect international law, the promotion of domestic economic and social development and the defence of all its prerogatives of sovereignty and independence of thought and action.

57. The African continent, which over the past few decades has gradually found its way back to sovereignty and independence, is today in the grip of profound upheavals due to the delicate stage in the evolution of its society and the emancipation of its peoples. Those upheavals, while reflecting an unshakeable will for change and a persistent effort to meet the requirements of the times, are nevertheless accompanied by inhibitions and uncertainties, indicating the limits and weaknesses of this movement, which is on the rise, which is in progress now and which should allow Africa to develop its potential and guarantee its peoples the realization of their most legitimate aspirations.

58. The economic crisis, which is particularly affecting our continent, has made political instability more likely, and this undermines the basis of coordinated and integrated economic development at the regional and subregional levels. Situations of war or confrontation between States of the continent undermine confidence between our peoples, jeopardize African unity and facilitate external interference, threatening our sovereignty and independence, which were won at such cost.

59. Among the crucial problems affecting the southern part of the African continent, the question of Namibia and the persistence of *apartheid* in South Africa have an important place, because of their implications for Africa and for the world. In spite of the persistent efforts of the international community, reflected in the many Security Council resolutions and in the positions taken by the non-aligned movement and by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], Namibia continues to be occupied by South Africa. Recent initiatives to promote the application of

Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have encountered difficulties of all kinds, including delaying tactics by South Africa, intended not only to create conditions favourable to a conditional independence but also to destabilize neighbouring sovereign States. We hope that the current talks on the question will soon produce results, finally permitting the Namibian people to be masters of their own destiny and to occupy their proper place in the Assembly.

60. The independence of Namibia is the collective responsibility of all the States Members of the United Nations. We should therefore substantially increase our support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], for the valiant Namibian freedom fighters and for the front-line States—particularly the People's Republic of Angola, which has spared no effort and has shrunk from no sacrifice—so that our duty and responsibility towards the Namibian people shall not be thwarted by South Africa.

61. The final declaration of the recent conference of heads of State of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, held in Praia, Cape Verde, on 21 and 22 September this year, stated that making Namibia's independence conditional on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola constituted flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations and was contrary to the spirit and the letter of resolution 435 (1978). Similarly, destabilization measures taken against the front-line States, designed to deter them from giving decisive support to the liberation of Namibia, undeniably reflect a desire to perpetuate colonial domination over that Territory.

62. No one can any longer doubt that South Africa is directing, financing and materially supporting a large-scale destabilization operation against the whole southern region of the African continent, with particular emphasis on the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique. Since its independence in 1975 the People's Republic of Angola has never known peace. Its wish to bring about its development and its efforts to reconstruct the country have been systematically thwarted by the criminal actions of the troops of the South African racist régime, which have been invading and destroying that country on various pretexts.

63. We flatly reject the avowed encouragement of, and support for, the armed gangs that operate on Mozambique territory in order to create a climate of permanent instability. That action constitutes a flagrant violation of the most elementary norms governing coexistence between nations.

64. The inhuman system of *apartheid* is becoming ever more arrogant and aggressive. Acts repugnant to the conscience of mankind continue to be carried out under it, and it constitutes an intolerable defiance of the repeated decisions of, and constant appeals from, the United Nations system.

65. In North Africa a fratricidal war is still going on. Apart from its destruction of human life and property, it threatens, by its very scale, peace and security in the region. I am speaking of the conflict between the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and the Kingdom of Morocco. In spite of the difficulties in resolving the conflict within the framework

of the OAU, the need to bring about a cease-fire and to bring the two parties to the negotiating table, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations, has become urgent. The fact that the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic is today recognized by almost a third of the members of the international community shows the justice of its struggle and the international support enjoyed by the Sahraoui people.

66. The situation of the OAU today well illustrates the dangers now threatening international organizations which serve as instruments for the liberation and emancipation of peoples. The paralysis of and the explosive situation in the OAU are reflections of the deliberate offensive undertaken by forces which are counting on splitting Africa and thus weakening it, with the obvious goal of consolidating foreign interest in the continent, strengthening the *apartheid* régime and impeding the consolidation of the independence of African States.

67. However, we are convinced that the moves at present being undertaken will bring about a resumption of dialogue and the beginnings of a solution which would preserve the cohesiveness and effectiveness of our continental organization, because the survival of the OAU is without any doubt of capital importance for all the African States and peoples.

68. The problems that must be confronted by the OAU have a varying impact, but they also have an affect on the collective security of mankind and on other international organizations, including the United Nations itself.

69. We note with apprehension the undesirable tendency to relegate the United Nations to a secondary role in the resolution of conflicts and when it is a matter of defusing tensions which endanger world peace and security. Indeed, the resolutions and recommendations of the supreme organs of the Organization have been systematically ignored; instead, what we have seen are *faits accomplis* and the use of force. Acts of this kind impede the just and final settlement of conflicts by keeping them latent, and this in turn makes them chronic and periodically explosive. The United Nations and the principles on which it is founded are the fruit of the undeniable moral progress of mankind and therefore provide the appropriate and reliable framework for the just solutions of the conflicts which plague us.

70. The Secretary-General, in the thorough and courageous report on the work of the Organization, devoted a large part of his text to an assessment of the functioning of the Organization and the denunciation of situations and attitudes which reduce its effectiveness. His analysis should give considerable food for thought to all Member States which believe in the unique and irreplaceable role of the United Nations in the defence and promotion of international peace and security. For small countries like my own whose military capacity is merely symbolic compared with the vast destructive power accumulated by the great Powers, the effectiveness of and strict respect for international law and United Nations decisions are of vital importance, because our survival depends on recourse to dialogue to resolve conflicts between States.

71. In this sense, and in keeping with the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his report, my Government supports all initiatives designed to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations, which is the forum *par excellence* for concerted work and collective action for the maintenance of peace and security.

72. Over the past few months we have witnessed unprecedented exacerbation of the Middle East crisis because of the aggression against and occupation of Lebanese territory, as well as the massacre of civilians carried out by Israeli troops in a vain attempt to drown the Palestinian people in blood and crush their heroic resistance. We reaffirm our conviction that it will be possible to reach a final solution only when Israel withdraws from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and with the participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all the other parties concerned, in all negotiations on the solution of the Middle East problem.

73. We wish to pay a sincere tribute to the progressive forces in Lebanon and the freedom fighters of the PLO. Through their heroism and their sense of dignity they have increased the stature of the Arab nation and proved, with the blood of its martyrs, that peace in this region will be possible only when the Palestinian people are able to exercise their inalienable national rights, including the right to establish their own State.

74. The United Nations, in keeping with the initiatives of the non-aligned movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference in particular, should persist in its efforts to put an end to the Iraqi-Iranian war, promote the establishment of peace and bring stability to this area.

75. Similarly, in South-East Asia, efforts must be made to establish a climate of peace and good-neighbourliness.

76. In East Timor the occupying Power has not succeeded in stifling the aspirations of the Maubere people to independence and dignity. We remain convinced that the international community cannot tolerate a situation in which the *polity of fait accompli* is raised to the status of law, and will assist the heroic people of East Timor in its struggle for self-determination and independence, under the leadership of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [FRETILIN], its sole legitimate representative.

77. The international community, and in particular Portugal, as administering Power, should continue their efforts to mobilize all possible resources to ensure that the Indonesian occupation forces withdraw immediately from the Territory of East Timor. The international community should not tolerate a situation in which selfish interests and agreements replace honour, morality and law, thus denying by force of arms the political and cultural identity of a whole people which has proved that it is ready to make the supreme sacrifice to liberate its homeland.

78. The persistence of other crisis situations in the world in no way contributes to the attainment of the noble goals of the Organization.

79. In Cyprus, we still await a solution which would preserve the rights of the two communities and the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of that non-aligned country.

80. In Afghanistan, respect for the right of the Afghan people freely to choose its own destiny should promote the restoration of stability and permit that people to continue its work of building a prosperous society.

81. The situation in the Indian Ocean region continues to arouse the greatest concern, particularly among the coastal countries. Everything possible should be done within the United Nations to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, in keeping with the aspirations of these countries and the wishes of the international community at large.

82. Similarly, the heroic Korean people has been persevering in its efforts to bring about the peaceful reunification of its country. To ensure the exercise of this legitimate right concrete measures must be taken, in accordance with the principles and recommendations of the non-aligned movement, in particular those concerning the replacement of the armistice agreement by a peace agreement, non-interference in internal affairs and the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Korean territory. We believe that these conditions must be met if the peaceful reunification of Korea is to be achieved and true national unity established.

83. In Central America there continue to persist alarming situations which contradict the most elementary norms of international law and constitute defiance of the objectives of the Charter.

84. The arms race, which is reactivating the policy of confrontation and tension, and which engendered the cold war, is undermining the principles laid down in the Charter and its noble ideals of peace, justice and progress. At its twelfth special session the General Assembly found that the development of the situation since 1978 had not met the hopes aroused at its tenth special session. Indeed the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*] remains largely unimplemented. Although some progress has been achieved in negotiations, we cannot but note that the arms race, and in particular the nuclear arms race, has assumed dangerous proportions, and military expenditures have increased considerably. We subscribe whole-heartedly to the conclusions of the twelfth special session on disarmament⁵ and support the comprehensive programme of disarmament drafted by the General Assembly at that session, which constitutes an important step towards general and complete disarmament under international control.

85. If they are to be lasting, international peace and security cannot be built upon the accumulation of arms; nor can they be maintained through the precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines based on strategic supremacy. We continue to believe that the creation of conditions favourable to disarmament and the strengthening of peaceful coexistence, together with a global development effort, are the key to the collective security of the world.

86. Cape Verde, whose foreign policy is based on non-alignment, will continue to work for the implementation of the principles proclaimed by the United Nations, an essential task of the present time that is the responsibility and indeed the duty of all States represented here.

87. The various elements of the international situation are so closely interconnected that a realistic analysis of the present situation must be global in nature. In any case, the concept of peace cannot possibly be dissociated from the equality of nations, the independence and sovereignty of all States and the right to the social and economic development of the world's peoples.

88. We cannot claim to be working for peace in the world as long as there are people living under subhuman conditions. It is in this context that we wish to express our concern at the evolution of the international economic situation marked by a generalized crisis which further exacerbates the present injustice of the international economic order. Inflation, high interest rates, protectionism, unemployment, the reduction and indeed the dislocation of economic growth and economic activities are all factors that have a dangerous impact on developing countries.

89. Although the present situation entails a serious risk of driving the international economic system towards uncontrollable imbalance, there are some who see in this an additional reason not to embark on genuine negotiations, sectorally or globally, with the developing countries and thus disregard the interdependence of the economies of the North and the South. Furthermore this fails to take account of the fact that collective security can be achieved only through an adequate response to the unjust situation created by current international economic relations and the persistence of a framework of economic relations dating from colonial times.

90. No one can remain indifferent to the international economic crisis—certainly not those who are suffering most severely from its effects and whose development has been severely thwarted by this crisis. That is why we note with apprehension the delay in opening global negotiations and implementing the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. The wish of the developing countries to start global negotiations in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/138, which was adopted by consensus, stems from the fact that for them these negotiations are by no means futile initiatives. On the contrary, they have to be reflected in tangible results, in an improvement of their standard of living, particularly with regard to food, health, education and culture and the restructuring of international economic relations.

91. Recently we had occasion to note with great concern the undermining of the conditions for the realization of the objectives of international economic co-operation for development. We should like to stress particularly the relative decline in the level of contributions to financial institutions within the United Nations system, especially UNDP, an agency that makes an important contribution to developing countries. In this regard we would recall the recent appeal made in the Final Declaration of the Foreign Min-

isters of the Group of 77 on the imperative need to make a firm start on the strengthening of multilateral economic co-operation.

92. Economic co-operation among developing countries is an important factor in international economic relations. This co-operation, which cannot be viewed as an alternative to North-South co-operation, was strengthened by the meetings in Arusha, Buenos Aires and, most recently, Caracas. We welcome the additional momentum given to this co-operation through the Caracas Programme of Action³ and at subsequent meetings.

93. One year ago we expressed the wish that the last scheduled session for negotiations on the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea should really be the final one. Today, after several years of difficult negotiation, the Conference has succeeded in adopting the Convention it drafted. The adoption of the Convention by a great majority of countries is an important victory for the international community and also represents an important step towards the establishment of a new legal régime governing the oceans.

94. We believe that the Convention protects the interests of all countries and represents an instrument of justice, peace, development and co-operation among States. Despite the complexity of the subject-matter and of the various interests involved, the text of the Convention was negotiated by consensus and is the result of the balance that proved possible among the interests of each and every one. That is why we hope that all countries will be able to sign the Final Act and, if possible, sign the Convention itself at the session of the Conference that is scheduled for December.

95. We deplore any unilateral or multilateral initiative aimed at exploiting the resources of the sea-bed outside the framework negotiated at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

96. Cape Verde belongs to the group of least developed countries, which was the subject of the Conference held last September in Paris. At that Conference the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries was adopted.² We believe that the Conference was a significant stage in the difficult process of dialogue between the countries of the North and of the South, and we welcome the objectives set forth. The achievement of those objectives will be a response to the problems facing the least developed countries, whose economic situation has deteriorated in comparison not only with the rich countries but also with the developing countries.

97. We hope that the strengthening of selfish nationalism and the deterioration in international economic relations will not become serious obstacles to the implementation of the decisions of the Paris Conference.

98. Cape Verde, with the support of UNDP and pursuant to the decisions of the Paris Conference, organized a round table with its partners in development from 21 to 23 June, at Praia. This meeting helped not only to reconcile my country's needs with what its partners could offer, but also to explore proce-

dures making possible a tangible improvement in the effectiveness of official development assistance for Cape Verde.

99. The head of Government of the Republic of Cape Verde, in opening the discussions at the round table, established a framework for this work and described our concept of development, in the following terms:

"The option of development in independence and dignity is a strictly national option. We are sure that the people of Cape Verde alone can provide the driving force for their own progress and we are determined to take up our self-imposed task in a responsible and consistent manner.

"Nevertheless, in view of the scanty means available to us for remedying our difficult economic situation, it would be impossible for us to overcome our current problems and build a viable economy without the firm and programmed support of the international community.

"Accordingly, we do not perceive external aid merely as a means of alleviating the tragic burden of the colonial legacy, or mitigating the effects of recurring crises, or binding our wounds in emergencies. We see it, at the present stage of our economic and social development, as something stable, programmed and rationalised, adjusted to the imperatives, arising from the process of establishing viable productive structures for our country."

It is within this framework of mutual responsibility, not to say collective responsibility, that we believe that actions to permit our people to enjoy their right to food, education, health and justice should find their proper place.

100. Consequently Cape Verde attaches great importance to dialogue and co-operative efforts, with due respect for the choice of each of us in resolving problems connected with official development assistance which, in our view, must be predictable, guaranteed and adapted to the real needs and development options of our country.

101. We think that the international community should concern itself with improving the modalities of assistance, in order to facilitate disbursements and to make external aid a real support for the efforts of our peoples to transform the harsh circumstances they have to overcome. Apart from the adverse effects of the international economic situation, Cape Verde must also deal with a series of unfavourable circumstances, such as the lack of productive structures, and the existence of such natural handicaps as the fact of being an island with a mountainous terrain and, above all, drought, which this year again has left my country severely stricken and led to the loss of almost all our crops.

102. I should therefore like to take this opportunity to thank, on behalf of the Government and the people of Cape Verde, all those who continue to help relieve the heavy burden of underdevelopment inherited from the colonial period and worsened by natural catastrophes.

103. Cape Verde attaches particular importance to the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, of which the President of the Republic of Cape Verde, Mr. Aristides Pereira, is

the current Chairman. The efforts of the member countries of this Committee to fight against the scourge of drought are well known to the international community. Nevertheless, we must recognize that these efforts are not sufficient, in the light of the disastrous effects of natural catastrophes, particularly in terms of the steady deterioration of the soil of a group of countries which are regarded as among the most impoverished on our planet. Consequently we are confident that the international community will not neglect to strengthen its assistance to the peoples of the Sahel, who are involved in an arduous struggle to safeguard their food and their development.

104. Despite the deadly conflicts, endless crises and continuing supply threats afflicting mankind, we can see real progress in some areas. That fact, together with our confidence in man and in his capacity to overcome his weaknesses, give us the hope and the conviction that the international community will find ways and means of eliminating the nuclear threat, transforming the system of unjust relations which prevails today in the world, enabling the most impoverished to achieve their aspirations, and bringing about peace and progress with justice.

105. It is therefore a matter of urgency that the ability of the United Nations to take action be strengthened and that the implementation of its decisions and recommendations by all Member States be

assured. Relations among peoples, based on a new concept of moral, political and legal phenomena, will be increasingly in keeping with mankind's ambitions, will make a contribution to its emancipation and will guarantee the ever-growing role of the United Nations system.

106. In conclusion, we should like to express our hope that the work of this thirty-seventh session will fulfil the expectations of the international community, and especially of those whose right to live in freedom and dignity has been infringed.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

² *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

³ Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda items 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, document A/S-12/32.