



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Nze (Congo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. OULD MINNIH (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure to extend congratulations, on behalf of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, to the President on his unanimous election to guide this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. This honour is undoubtedly due to his personal qualities as a statesman and diplomat, and is also a tribute to his country, Hungary. In discharging these high functions he may be assured of the availability of our delegation and its constant desire to co-operate with him. I should also like to thank his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the exemplary way, displaying constant tact and objectivity, in which he conducted the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and the subsequent special sessions.

2. To the Secretary-General the Mauritanian delegation and I personally would like to extend the sincere expression of our esteem. The report on the work of the Organization which he has submitted [A/37/1] bears witness to his great qualities of courage, frankness and far-sightedness.

3. The picture of our universe today is a terrifying one. It is not worthy of mankind which has come of age and should therefore be united and be responsible. What is our verdict? Admittedly, there has been agreement on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, but with the abstention of the majority of the developed countries, in defiance of our ideology; it has proved impossible to make even a timid first step towards the global negotiations; there has been a general reduction in aid and development; the special session on disarmament ended in a notable failure which may have sinister consequences; the conflicts in Palestine and the Middle East, in southern Africa and Western Sahara; have developed in a most dangerous way; localized conflicts have continued in the Gulf, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, and other centres of tension have emerged.

4. In several respects the international situation before us is even more gloomy and alarming than what we faced just a year ago. We are all too familiar with the disastrous effects of the crisis which for some years has been characteristic of international economic

relations for the developing countries. They include imported inflation, a sharp rise in interest rates, with a disastrous effect on the debt burden, an unprecedented fall in commodity prices, and increasingly restricted access to capital markets.

5. The conclusions in the *World Economic Survey, 1981-1982*¹ clearly show that the recession in the industrialized countries, far from receding has broadened and extended to all groups of countries. That study also concluded that the decline in general economic growth was more widespread in 1981 than at any other time since the Second World War. Thus world trade has remained in a state of stagnation for the second consecutive year. In the field of aid for development we have seen a considerable decrease in the share of this aid allocated through multilateral channels.

6. The practical measures which were drawn up at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna in 1979, and the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi in 1981, have remained a dead letter through the lack of funds. In a word, the development process in the world has come to a halt, as the Committee for Development Planning pointed out in its most recent report.²

7. Everything indicates that the implementation of the aims of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] is in a state of disarray. Such a finding makes even clearer the urgent need to seek just and equitable global solutions for the serious problems which threaten all parts of the international community.

8. The proposal by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries for the launching of global negotiations on co-operation and development, which has been before us for three years now, is, in our opinion, both methodologically speaking, and because of its context, the only effective way to bring about such solutions. While welcoming the positive attitude of most of the developed countries towards the most recent proposals made by the Group of 77, we cannot disguise our disappointment at seeing that these proposals have encountered stubborn resistance from those who, for good or bad reasons, still refuse to recognize the wisdom, the moderation, the practical and pragmatic nature of the formula proposed.

9. The interdependence of national economies, and the repercussions of policies of a particular country or region on the world economy, no longer need to be demonstrated. Fully aware of this reality, and in view of the fact that the North-South dialogue seems to be more and more bogged down in the meanderings

of procedure, the developing countries have conceived and implemented an outline for multifarious co-operation among themselves. In this connection, we are very pleased that the application of the great Caracas Plan of Action³ seems to be along the right lines. Economic co-operation among the developing countries, however, should in no case be regarded as an alternative to North-South co-operation. Nor should it serve as a pretext for the developed countries to shirk their responsibilities.

10. After a decade of hard work, negotiations on the law of the sea have finally been completed and have resulted in the conclusion of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,⁴ which was adopted here this year. Major hopes are now placed in this Convention which, because of the patience which has been shown and the mutual concessions which have been made during its drafting, is an encouraging example of what global negotiations can be, if the self-same determination to succeed and the necessary political will were to motivate the great Powers concerned.

11. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania attaches particular interest to the action of the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the fields of food and agriculture. This interest arises from the predominance in our economy of activities linked with the rural sector, which employs approximately 80 per cent of our population, and which therefore is given absolute priority, and is absorbing an ever-growing share of the financial resources of the country. Faithful to the spirit of the Lagos Plan,⁵ which made food self-sufficiency a *sine qua non* for any viable development, my country has drawn up, and is trying to implement, with the help of friendly countries and international institutions, a national policy based essentially on an increase in production.

12. The relative improvement which has been observed this year in the world food situation, because of the abundant harvests in certain developed countries, should not blind us to another reality which is even more grievous, and that is that in a number of developing countries food production has increased much more slowly than the demand for these products. Similarly, we favour the proposal which was put forward at the last session of the World Food Council that a food reserve stock should be set up belonging to the developing countries, with the aim of, *inter alia*, stabilizing the grain market. Finally, in this connection I should like to recall that the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, of which my country is a member, has just drawn up a programme, in co-operation with FAO, designed to set up a cereal reserve for the Sahelian region.

13. In my diagnosis I have referred to the causes of the deterioration in the international economic situation and the considerable decline in aid for development which is channelled through multilateral institutions. No institution has suffered more from the general lack of support for the multilateral system of financing than the International Development Association and UNDP. The attitude of the donor countries is particularly regrettable, since it is precisely the action of these two bodies which is most in

harmony with and best adapted to the development efforts of the third world.

14. The reconstitution of the International Development Association resources at previously agreed levels is therefore an immediate and imperative need. The financial situation of UNDP is all the more disquieting, since this is the most important multilateral programme of the United Nations system. The stagnation of UNDP resources in 1980 and their decline in 1981 will, according to all projections, have a disastrous impact on the economies of developing countries, where the programme plays a vital financing and technical assistance role. However, we have no doubt that, aware of the extreme seriousness of the consequences of such a situation not only for the developing countries but also for the international community as a whole, those who are financially able to do so will spare no effort or measure to bring UNDP out of this crisis. In this connection the forthcoming pledging conference for operational activities will undoubtedly provide a test of political will.

15. I do not wish to conclude my country's statement on economic problems without referring briefly to the disturbing aspect of the phenomenon of desertification in our national territory and our efforts to try to limit its catastrophic effects. In my country, after many years of drought, encroachment of the desert is taking on increasingly alarming proportions. Thus, the fertile areas of our national territory have been reduced considerably because of the disastrous results of a persisting drought. Consequently, grain production has decreased from 100,000 to 26,000 tons. Of the 108 million hectares which comprise our territory 15 million had been classified as non-desert territory, of which 93 per cent have now been desertification in the course of the last 20 years. In order to face up to such a situation, the Mauritanian authorities have adopted severe regulations for protecting the fauna and flora and, in 1981 set up a National Committee to combat desertification and declared a National Arbor Day.

16. Of course, in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, we are relying first and foremost on the sense of sacrifice of our people and its willingness to pursue faithfully the goals we have set for ourselves. Nevertheless, the financial and technical means required for achieving this national programme satisfactorily are well beyond our own possibilities.

17. In this connection we have benefited from the valued assistance of friendly countries and certain international organizations. I avail myself of this opportunity to express our gratitude to these friends—too numerous to be mentioned by name here—who have demonstrated to us their constant readiness to provide valuable assistance. Our appreciation also goes to the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office, which has in our country played a primary role in our national mobilization for the struggle against the phenomenon of desertification and other natural disasters.

18. At a time when all hopes for optimism have been dashed by international economic relations that are characterized by the growing gap between the rich and poor countries and by the obvious lack of political will to establish the new international economic order

in the near future, the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held from 7 June to 9 July this year, further heightened our disappointment and frustration in this field which is so vital for the security, if not the survival, of our species. The fact that the session proved unsuccessful should not, however, deflect us from the objectives pursued by our peoples for genuine and progressive disarmament both in the nuclear field and in conventional weapons. This vital objective would not only ensure preservation of mankind's many gains but also make available for the economic and social progress of all peoples the enormous financial resources at present devoted to the machinery of death and destruction which is linked to the industrial infrastructure and the environment.

19. Still in this area, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania would like to see the creation of denuclearized zones in Africa and the Middle East. We should particularly like to draw attention to the policies of nuclear armament of Israel and South Africa and the growing co-operation between these two racist entities.

20. Our country supports the demands of the coastal countries of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean for these two regions to be transformed into zones of peace.

21. In 1981 we stated in this Hall that as far as the Zionist entity was concerned the whole world was wrong and Israel alone was right. Despite our long experience of the practices, falsifications and bad faith of the Zionist usurper, we did not think that we would be so accurate. Israel's suicidal folly, its arrogance, its contempt for international legality and the impunity it continues to enjoy have strengthened its régime in the little heed it pays to international public opinion, particularly the United Nations, which is the conscience and repository of the values of mankind and its aspirations for peace and justice.

22. We shall not review the tragic events which were visited upon our Lebanese and Palestinian brothers in Lebanon. Nor shall we go into the details of the long suffering of innocent populations, witnessed by all mankind that remained powerless but whose indignation was aroused, and which ended with the indescribable massacres of our brothers in Shatila and Sabra.

23. We should simply like to recall the facts which confirm the striking resemblance between the methods of the Nazi murderers and those of an entity which claims to be the successor of the victims of the holocausts and pogroms. Indeed, in the Middle East, the Zionist entity is emulating the Fascist régimes of days gone by and applying, in all their horror, the universally condemned practices of nazism in the form of so-called preventive wars of aggression; the crossing of international boundaries under the pretext of defence; the methodical destruction and the siege of the capital of a sovereign country and the indiscriminate blockade imposed on civilian populations through collective punishment; the blind massacre of civilian populations by the thousands and the bringing about of general insecurity in the name of security for its own citizens; and the genocide of an entire people both on its usurped land in all its havens of refuge.

24. This is an occasion to pay a tribute to the courage of the fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and to bow our heads in memory of all the martyrs of the Palestinian resistance.

25. Israel's disproportionate deployment of brute force, its rejection of all moral codes and its arrogant display of racial contempt and religious fanaticism have demonstrated to the entire membership of the Organization the real purposes of the entity whose ideology can easily be mistaken for exacerbated chauvinism, the oppression of others and the denial of their rights. Israel's stubborn refusal to bring about peace in the Middle East unless it be on its own conditions by legalizing its hegemony in the region, which is the consistent policy of zionism, is today the subject of universal condemnation. The pursuit of the plan undertaken half a century ago for the physical elimination of the Palestinian people and the usurpation of its land shows that the goal of Zionist implantation is to blot out all traces of its crime by a "final solution" of sorry memory.

26. It goes without saying that neither the Arab nation, the victim of this ongoing aggressor, nor the international community as a whole can accept this diktat on the part of the Zionist entity and the repeated challenges to any global consensus and the relevant resolutions that have time and again been adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

27. As has always been the case, genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East and real security for all must necessarily be based upon the unconditional and complete withdrawal of Israeli occupying forces from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Al Quds and the recovery by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, of its inalienable rights, particularly its sacred right to set up its own sovereign State on the land of its ancestors.

28. Any other approach would be to reward arrogance, aggression and blackmail in that region and would engender a new cycle of violence that would endanger the stability of the entire Middle East and peace throughout the world. Despite the desire for peace which has undeniably been shown on a number of occasions by the Arab nation, the Zionist enemy persists in its constant refusal to envisage any policies which do not endorse its own tremendous territorial appetite and its determination to annex permanently the Syrian Golan Heights and the Palestinian territories, as well as its senseless dream of exercising tutelage over the destinies of the peoples of the Arab east.

29. As we said last year, the Organization must take the enforcement measures contained in the Charter and make Israel abide by the rules of international law and our repeated decisions. It is for the United States of America, which gives Israel massive military and financial aid and sustained political assistance, to assume the very special responsibilities conferred upon it as a permanent member of the Security Council, and fulfil as soon as possible the weighty duty which derives from its dual role as a friend and ally of the Zionist entity, by exerting the

necessary pressure on Israel to ensure that it abides by the rules of ethics and international legality.

30. We should like to reiterate to our brother people of Lebanon the expression of our solidarity with it in achieving its objectives—to liberate its homeland, preserve its territorial integrity and bring about the unity of its people in the context of the global strategy of the whole Arab nation. We appeal to friendly and fraternal States and to the international community as a whole to redouble their efforts to ensure that Lebanon receives all necessary support in reconstructing its country and ensuring the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from its soil.

31. In southern Africa, another area of major concern for our country, we deplore the delay in Namibia's liberation and the increased aggressiveness of the South African régime, both inside the country, and also outside where it is directed against the front-line States. The Namibian problem remains unchanged. In the opinion of our delegation, the only realistic basis for re-establishing international legality and ending the usurpation of that Territory is Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

32. We take note of the fact that the contact group of Western States has reaffirmed its commitment concerning the expeditious implementation of that resolution so that the Namibian people can exercise its right to self-determination. While welcoming the praiseworthy efforts made by the five Western countries in order to bring about a friendly settlement of the Namibian crisis, we cannot share either their optimism or all their concerns. Indeed, it is not at all obvious to the free peoples of Africa that there is any real desire in Pretoria to resolve the existing conflict peacefully, legally and democratically. Furthermore, while we respect the rights of all the ethnic communities in Namibia, we refuse to recognize that the minority which is of European origin has special exclusive rights, and, in particular, an exaggerated right of veto.

33. So far as the principle of security is concerned, we are amazed that the only concerns which seem to prevail in certain Western circles relate to South Africa's security, like the security of Israel. In our opinion, this is putting the cart before the horse. In the eyes of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania the security that is being denied and violated is that of the African people. Our country would like once again to reaffirm that the only conceivable security for all is in the speedy establishment of the State of Namibia by the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in full association with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole legitimate representative of the people of the Territory. Within the frontiers of South Africa, and despite the so-called improvement in racial segregation—as if there could be such a thing—the *apartheid* régime remains fundamentally as it always has been—contemptuous, inhumane, exploitative and repulsive.

34. This is, an occasion to pay a well-deserved tribute to our brothers in the African National Congress [ANC] who, by their passive and active opposition to this barbaric régime, have reinforced the faith of

the oppressed millions in the possibility of a multi-racial and egalitarian South African society.

35. *Apartheid*, following the same path as zionism, applies its criminal laws against African patriots and outside the country acts as the policeman by its almost permanent occupation of a part of the sister Republic of Angola and its periodic incursions against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and the other countries in southern Africa. This is an opportunity to express our solidarity with those brother countries, victims of the indescribable acts of aggression perpetrated by the racist régime of South Africa. We also reaffirm our total commitment to stand side by side with these front-line countries.

36. Quite apart from these anachronistic attempts at colonization, in the Arab east and in southern Africa in the twilight of classical colonialism, new embers of tension have begun to smoulder in recent years in various parts of the world. Of all those armed conflicts, which for the people and Government of Mauritania are subjects of deep concern, that in Western Sahara is the one which most closely affects my country. Indeed, for practically seven years now Western Sahara has been fighting a difficult war to ensure national survival and to be able to give expression to its inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

37. We make an urgent appeal that this ruinous and useless war should be brought to an end, a war which has pitted against each other two fraternal peoples, which is taking place very close to our frontiers, and which entails the certain danger of engulfing the whole region and leading to an international conflict. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which sees the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to the Organization of African Unity [OAU] as a positive factor, will give its sincere support to any practical solutions accepted by the two parties concerned, the Moroccans and the Sahraouis, which could put an end to their fratricidal confrontation.

38. Nevertheless, as we have repeatedly stated, our country remains convinced that the only possible means of achieving genuine peace, then the necessary reconciliation, and finally a natural co-operation, requires the opening of a constructive dialogue directed to beginning the direct negotiations which are an indispensable prerequisite to the conclusion of a peace agreement. As we see it, that agreement should lead eventually to the self-determination and complete independence of the Sahraoui people, thus removing any obstacles and constraints of an administrative or military nature. That would remove the final obstacle to the building of a fraternal, egalitarian and closely united Arab Maghreb.

39. This cursory survey of the burning problems in our continent reminds us that Africa, which in the past suffered the terrible exploitation of its human and material resources, and which is now the target of imperialist appetites and intervention, needs, more than ever before, the cohesion of all the countries which make it up.

40. The OAU, which was created in 1963 and is based on the common aspiration of our peoples to achieve fully political and economic liberation of all

its members and of all colonial territories, will, in spite of everything, be able to preserve its essential unity and its firm faith in its charter and its fundamental principles.

41. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a country ideally suited to meetings and exchanges among all the members of the African family, is firmly convinced that our continental organization will once again surmount its temporary difficulties by closing ranks, while at the same time avoiding the sacrifice of the most sacred principles of pan-Africanism, namely, the equal right that all enjoy to self-determination and their inalienable right to national independence.

42. In the Gulf area, two countries that are both members, as are we of the Islamic Ummah and the non-aligned movement, have been confronting each other for more than two years in a devastating war, at enormous cost both in human lives and in the destruction of a valuable economic infrastructure. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania would like to reiterate its heartfelt appeal for the cessation of hostilities between our brothers in Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran and for negotiations to be opened between them to reach a permanent solution to their differences.

43. Another equally unfortunate conflict is continuing in Afghanistan as a result of the invasion of that country in violation of its sovereignty. Once again, we appeal for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the national territory of Afghanistan and for respect for the sovereignty of that country, for the integrity of its national territory and for the sovereign right of its people to seek their own progress in accordance with their historic heritage and their socio-cultural values.

44. The same is true with regard to the Khmer nation, which has also been the victim of invasion and prolonged military occupation. In this connection, we would like to welcome the constitution of a national front under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and we appeal for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the national territory of Democratic Kampuchea.

45. We reaffirm our adherence to the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea of July 1981⁶ and to all the resolutions of the Organization calling for respect for the sovereignty of Kampuchea and for an end to foreign interference in its internal affairs and respect for its people's sovereign right to organize their own national life in a democratic manner without any outside interference.

46. In general terms, we condemn the claims of Powers, whether large, medium-sized or small, to arrogate to themselves the right to modify by force the régime of a neighbouring country if they judge it to be hostile.

47. A secure world of nations joined together in independence and solidarity and determined to shoulder the noble responsibility incumbent on mankind cannot, obviously, live by the anachronisms of the past and by social and political injustice. There can be no other way to satisfy the rights of peoples to national differentiation and the realization of their aspirations to freedom and progress, than by banishing all hegemonistic trends. There can be no other way to

achieve the rights of every man to a life in dignity than through the triumph of fundamental freedoms. There can be no other way to redress on a global scale of all the damaging economic relations that result from subjection or from structural imbalances than by setting up an equitable world economy.

48. A world for tomorrow, one that man can live in—all men, equally—must be built on justice and equality or it cannot be built at all. Let us liberate those peoples still under domination, the victims of those who would deny them their identity and their right to a homeland and a name. Let us destroy the barriers that prevent men from achieving their dream of a life worthy of being lived in freedom and from satisfying their basic social and cultural needs. Let us put an end to the unjust heritage of an outrageous colonialism and to the further deprivations caused by an ill-adapted world economy suitable neither to equity nor to the aspirations and interests of all men, in North and South alike.

49. Let us, in other words, work devotedly to ensure the emergence of a new international order worthy of this end of the twentieth century that should witness the triumph of a united civilization brought together not around the values of a single continent or spiritual family, but imbued with a common heritage rich in its very diversity.

50. We will thereby have undoubtedly laid the groundwork for a new equilibrium that will be more fair, more realistic, more peaceful, more stable and more human. Indeed, we will have opened the way towards the realization of one of the noblest wishes of the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations, who stated, three years after one of the most fearsome catastrophes of all time, their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

51. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security and Minister of Reform Institutions of Mauritius. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Anerood Jugnauth and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

52. Mr. JUGNAUTH (Mauritius): I bring to the General Assembly and to the United Nations the greetings of the people of Mauritius and of their newly elected Government. I wish to convey to the President my warmest congratulations on his election to preside over our deliberations. I am confident that under his wise and able leadership the Assembly will, in the superior interests of mankind, give concrete shape to the aspirations of the peoples of the world. I seize this opportunity to express to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, our warmest appreciation for the highly impressive manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the previous session of the Assembly.

53. It is indeed a moment of intense emotion for me to address the Assembly for the first time in my capacity as the head of a new Government overwhelmingly mandated by the people of Mauritius to take the destiny of the country firmly in hand, to make it play the role it should play in mankind's search for enduring peace in the world and to make it

contribute its share, however modest, to the eradication of all forms of injustice at home and abroad.

54. I wish here to record our appreciation of the work done by the Secretary-General. It takes great courage, Mr. Secretary-General, to undertake on behalf of humanity the difficult tasks that your office carries with it. The international community has seen you at work in the past year in some of the most trying situations, where your tact, your moderation and your perseverance have inspired universal admiration. The year ahead, unfortunately, does not promise to be any easier for you than the year that has elapsed. In your first report on the work of the Organization you have focused on the need for an urgent review of the United Nations and, in particular, of mechanisms set up for collective action for international peace and security. You have argued for a more forthright role for your office of Secretary-General and you envisage for the Security Council a kind of diplomatic early-warning system. Finally, you say you would like to see more concrete follow-up action to debate in the Assembly. Many of the proposals you have made could be put into effect immediately if the political will of Member States was galvanized for the purpose. You can therefore rest assured that my delegation will co-operate fully with your office and with the other Member States for an early implementation of any resolution arrived at in respect of the reorganization envisaged.

55. It is a matter of deep regret that the principle of the universality of United Nations membership does not yet actually prevail. Unilateral action and exclusive alliances have in fact not been disowned. Spheres of influence and considerations of balance of power, regrettably, continue to actuate the policies of many nations, despite the fact that they fail to produce the desired results. Added to this is the considerable and formidable interference in the internal affairs of many countries, the powerful making their presence felt in many ways, relentless in their endeavour to enlarge their spheres of influence. Countries like Mauritius, which have only recently acquired freedom, have a strong attachment to the United Nations and inevitably a special stake in its functioning. I have come here to reiterate my country's deep commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter.

56. I believe that we come here not to save face but to save and protect life. We come here not to deliver speeches only and then make our exist but to make action follow our words. We come here not as a matter of mere formality and to pay lip service to the ideals of peace and justice but to show how serious we are in our intentions to work for the superior interests of the whole of mankind. We come here not out of selfish motives but to show how willing and prepared we are to forgo a little bit of our own ego for international good in a spirit of compromise, so that the world may live and the human race survive. We come here not to add to problems but to find solutions satisfactory to all parties. We come here because we believe in man and in all the inherent good there is in him which, if it prevails, will be the safety valve of the human race.

57. What is urgently needed is a unified view of the world's resources and the world's experience and of man's power of invention. The change we desire, the

change which must come, is one not of pace, quantity or manner but of the basic quality of what man is and can be. We all need to make earnest and well-considered efforts to subdue and check national ambitions and rivalries in the superior and wider interest of the preservation of civilization and the survival of humanity.

58. It is in the context of what I have just said that I invite representatives present here to bear in mind the human dimensions of the issues we shall be deliberating upon. The average man does not ask for much; he is not interested in leading a life of frivolous affluence and frenetic consumption. We are gathered here to give substance to the yearnings of the average man, to give voice to the wishes of the voiceless, for that is the primary responsibility of those who govern. The great tragedy of the present situation is that the world order as it now exists has been unable to satisfy the basic universal aspirations of man—dignity, peace and security.

59. In June the people of Mauritius gave an overwhelming mandate to those whom they perceived to be the champions of the dignity of man. We have given a solemn undertaking to our people to defend the oppressed and the weak and we will be true to that undertaking. It is equally in this spirit that we want to add our voice to that of this concert of nations in our denunciation of all forms of injustice and to work to better the lot of suffering mankind.

60. The major and continuing threat to the dignity of man comes from the prevailing economic order, characterized by built-in self-perpetuating inequality which results in an unjust distribution of the world's limited resources. Year by year the inequality grows, the injustice of the system becomes ethically more revolting and at the receiving end deprivation and misery become more unbearable. It is patent that this system cannot be allowed to continue. Change may be too gradual in the developing countries for our liking but we realize that it can come only out of patient dialogue. We are today faced with the Herculean task of restructuring an economic order which has been shaped by four centuries of colonialism. This cannot be done quickly, it cannot be done painlessly, but it has to be done and it will be done. The real question before us is whether we want to continue frittering away our energies in useless disagreements and quarrels or whether we want to look seriously into the future of mankind and act to make people really prosperous.

61. Both the rich and the poor nations have pressing unparalleled problems which cannot be solved independently. The present crisis is a crisis of international structures. The present system needs fundamental institutional reforms, based upon the recognition of a common interest and upon mutual concern in an increasingly interdependent world. New vitality and urgency have to be imparted to the North-South dialogue. The very survival of both developing and developed countries depends on the success of this dialogue. We have to moderate the shrillness of the demands made, as well as the obdurate arrogance with which those demands have so far been rejected. I believe that we have in the Lomé Convention⁷ given the world a small but significant example of what co-operative North-South relations could be like.

62. My Government also calls upon the members of the international community to direct its efforts to the equally important transformation of the international order relating to the oceans. The traditional legal order in that field has been eroded by technological and political developments and must be replaced by a new legal order which would permit the exploitation of the ocean space—the largest and most valuable region of our planet—in the interests of all mankind. After many years of intense and very complex negotiations, in which over 150 States have regularly participated, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has produced a Convention which ought to be hailed as a triumph for mankind in laying the foundation for international co-operation in the use of the oceans.

63. All the major industrialized Powers played a very active role in the shaping of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,⁴ which largely reflects their interests, concerns and preoccupations. It is on account of this that we fail to appreciate the attempt being made by certain major Powers to scuttle the Convention by their decision to opt for a mini-treaty among like-minded States, a mini-treaty which inevitably will create new areas of tension in international relations likely to lead to a situation which endangers international peace and security.

64. We call upon all States to sign the Convention in order to make the concept of the common heritage of mankind a reality. The Convention on the Law of the Sea should be treated as a special convention and we urge the major industrialized States to forgo their fears about the precedent-setting nature of this Convention. All States should embark on this enterprise in a spirit of trust and good will.

65. Quite apart from its determination to work with other countries of the third world for the elimination of the poverty curtain that divides our planet into a world of the affluent and a world of the poor, Mauritius militates against the equally pernicious division of the world into two hostile camps dominated by the so-called super-Powers, which, in their pursuit of world domination, threaten the security of States the only concern of which is the social and economic development of their people, free from external interference. Mauritius is committed to a policy of active and determined non-alignment. We intend jealously to protect and guard our hard-won independence; we intend to condemn unequivocally all aggression, all forms of imperialism and all hegemonistic ambitions. We aspire to a world of true interdependence of genuinely free and equal States, whose relations are based on co-operation rather than on confrontation.

66. The Government of Mauritius, in pursuit of its policy of strict non-alignment and in conformity with General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, will work with other peace-loving members of the international community for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. During the years which have elapsed since the adoption of the resolution, we have witnessed the expansion of the Ocean's geopolitical dimensions and the conversion of this intended zone of peace into a zone of war and mobilization for war, with all the attendant dangers for the countries of the region. The Ocean has gradually expanded beyond its own

waters; it is now linked to the States of South-East Asia and to developments in West Asia and the Middle East. The so-called modest communications facility in Diego García has been converted into the formidable and horrendous nuclear base which threatens the security of all Indian Ocean States, and there has been a scramble to secure port facilities along the so-called arc of crisis, that is, the Horn of Africa, the Arabian peninsula and the vital Persian Gulf area.

67. With the alarming increase in a foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean, the fervent hope of the States of the region for the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean has receded. Mauritius and the other States of the region are not hoodwinked by the tactics and ploys adopted by some States, which are designed primarily to cause confusion, postpone indefinitely the holding of that Conference and create a smoke-screen to hide their warlike designs. We solemnly appeal to all the members of the international community to give their full support to the United Nations so that the Conference on the Indian Ocean can take place in the very near future. We also call upon the foreign military Powers present in the Indian Ocean to exercise mutual restraint and to initiate a gradual and balanced withdrawal of their forces from the region, which would then be open exclusively to commercial navigation. It is our conviction that the security of the sea lanes in the Ocean can best be protected by the States of the region.

68. At this juncture I should like to dwell on an issue which affects the vital interests of Mauritius; I mean the Mauritian claim of sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, which was excised by the then colonial Power from the territory of Mauritius in contravention of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2066 (XX). This dismemberment of Mauritian territory, the violation of our territorial integrity, has been made all the more unacceptable by the fact that one of the islands of that very Archipelago, Diego García, is now a full-fledged nuclear base, which poses a constant threat to the security of Mauritius and to that of all the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, the very Ocean declared to be a zone of peace by this Assembly in 1971.

69. I solemnly appeal to the peace-loving Members of the Organization to extend all their support to the legitimate Mauritian claim of sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago. In helping Mauritius to regain its national heritage, the United Nations will be living up to its own principles and proclaiming loud and clear that it expects its resolutions to be implemented by its Members. As the Diego García issue involves two fundamental principles of the United Nations, namely respect by the administering Power for the territorial integrity of its colony, and the right of peoples to live in peace and security, I venture to say that the return of the archipelago to Mauritius will bring the Organization the respect that is so indispensable to its continued existence.

70. Times are bad, very bad. The world economy in fact teeters on the brink of a depression that could be wider and deeper than that of the 1930s. For the weakest national economies, and therefore for hundreds of millions of people, little short of catastrophe looms. Such a situation, wherein the world is perilously poised on the brink of an economic

precipice, is not conducive to peace. An extended recession, excessive interest rates, highly unstable exchange rates, widespread protectionism—all these constitute threats to peace in a world of inescapable interdependence. Our political and economic systems should provide conceptual space for the reality of an interdependent world economy. Regrettably, the search for the world economic recovery that is so desperately needed remains stalled and we drift towards the abyss of economic disaster.

71. As far as Mauritius is concerned, we shall participate fully in the North-South dialogue and, indeed, have great expectations of progress resulting from that dialogue, but we believe that much can also be achieved through South-South co-operation. The island States of the south-west Indian Ocean are actively engaged in promoting co-operation at the regional level. We hope in the near future to set up an Indian Ocean commission which will provide the institutional framework for co-operation among the States of the region. It is no mean measure of our firm belief in the concept of an interdependent world economy that we are already looking beyond the immediate present to the day when the grouping of the south-west Indian Ocean States can be associated with other regional groupings.

72. Violations of human rights constitute another serious threat to the dignity of man. In too many countries do people live under constant threat of arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearance and execution after trials that are a travesty of civilized norms of justice. We unequivocally condemn all violations of human rights wherever they occur, under whatever social or political system they occur.

73. We have a special abhorrence for *apartheid*. A system so inhuman, so immoral, would be unimaginable but for the shameful fact that it exists. This odious system of institutionalized racism will eternally tarnish the claim of our epoch to a place of honour in the history of civilization. We have a duty to our brothers in South Africa. We also owe it to ourselves to eliminate all vestiges of this iniquitous system; otherwise the judgement which posterity will pass on our times will be indeed very harsh, and deservedly so.

74. We believe that freedom is indivisible, that peace is indivisible. One of the first foreign policy decisions of my Government was formally to recognize ANC. Mauritius will stand by ANC in its hard struggle to secure the emancipation of the people of South Africa; ANC can depend on the unflinching support of the people and Government of Mauritius.

75. We shall give the same unconditional support to SWAPO in its struggle for the decolonization of Namibia. It is unacceptable that the Republic of South Africa should continue in its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the basic tenets of international law and of international opinion. This defiance has to be opposed by united and determined action. We should not permit economic considerations to hinder our action when the basic norms of universal morality are being trampled upon, and we should vigorously condemn the tactics adopted by the South African régime, tactics designed to modify the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Mauritius,

moreover, sees no linkage between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and demands that the South African régime should no longer be allowed to invoke such a linkage to delay the accession of the Namibian people to independence.

76. We in Africa will, we hope, soon be rid of the last vestiges of colonialism, and the emancipation of the South African people will inevitably be accomplished in the near future. Racist domination in southern Africa is the major, immediate problem we face, but it is by no means our only problem.

77. I should like to impress upon the Assembly that the African peoples want to dispel the image that the African continent is only a rich source of raw materials and nothing more; nor is it fertile ground for the manoeuvres of outside Powers and it is now determined not to tolerate such manoeuvres. Africa calls upon all outside Powers to keep out and to let Africans get on with solving their problems. Naturally, the genuine and objective assistance of well-meaning countries in the solution of these problems is not to be ignored, provided there are no sinister ulterior motives. We in Africa are in urgent need of technology, of capital, of know-how. We welcome the transfer of technology, but we shall not tolerate conflicts and rivalries which are alien to our culture and mode of life encroaching on our continent. Our problems, both economic and social, call for the concerted, sustained effort of all of Africa. Our greatest challenge is the maintenance of African unity and the consolidation of our independence.

78. I come now to an area relatively distant from Mauritius. The issue at stake, however, is close to the heart of every Mauritian. The PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people has our unreserved support; our identification with the Palestinian cause is total. We believe that peace in the Middle East will remain elusive until Palestinian aspirations are fulfilled. Mauritius has studied the various peace proposals with great attention and we are ready to give our backing to any peace plan put forward that is acceptable to the PLO.

79. We call upon all those who can do so to bring pressure to bear on Israel to stop forthwith its aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Prospects of peace in the area suffered a severe setback with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the unspeakable, cold-blooded carnage of innocent civilians in Beirut.

80. The fratricidal war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran drags on, to the satisfaction of those who would wish to see the third world in a perpetual state of turmoil and underdevelopment. We call upon both parties to the conflict to cease hostilities and to stop the death and destruction this war is inflicting on the peoples of Iran and Iraq.

81. This war has led to the postponement of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. This postponement comes at a time when our movement is faced with problems requiring immediate solutions. Afghanistan, a member of the movement finds itself under foreign occupation for the third year. It is imperative that foreign forces withdraw from Afghanistan, that all foreign inter-

ference in its internal affairs cease and that its non-aligned status be restored.

82. The conflicts, the inequalities and the injustices of the world scene could easily lead us to be disheartened at the precarious state of the world. But we cannot allow ourselves to be disheartened, for that would be an abdication of our responsibilities towards our children and towards posterity. An important aspect of my Government's socialist creed is faith in the innate goodness of man. Man fights the forces of evil and darkness, conscious that, however long and arduous the struggle may be, the victory of good over evil is assured.

83. I believe that the Charter is the concrete embodiment of one of the instances where good has triumphed against tremendous divisive odds. The Charter is our yardstick by which are judged the acts of nations. I can assure the Assembly that my Government's actions find their inspiration in the Charter.

84. The world has always faced one crisis or another, but today's crisis is deeper and more far-reaching. No thinking, sensitive and right-minded nation can remain silent. But it is not enough merely to speak out: we should speak out when the occasion for speaking out comes, but, above all, we should act, because the occasion for action is here and now.

85. On behalf of the people of Mauritius and on behalf of their newly elected Government, I pledge our continuing and unflinching support for the United Nations and our respect for its Charter.

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security and Minister of Reform Institutions of Mauritius for the important statement he has just made.

87. Mr. WHITEMAN (Grenada): The delegation of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada wishes to join all those delegations which have extended their congratulations and best wishes to Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. The success of this session will be measured by the yardstick of the Assembly's ability to steer us back to the paths of brotherhood, international understanding and peace. The experience, wisdom and diplomatic skills of the one who guides the deliberations of the Assembly will constitute a critical factor in achieving any measure of success. Mr. Hollai's unanimous election is not only a deserved tribute to his widely acclaimed talents as a diplomat but also an acknowledgement by the international community of the invaluable contribution made by his country, the socialist Hungarian People's Republic, in favour of peace, justice and social progress. We are confident that his distinguished record makes him eminently qualified for his challenging task. My delegation also wishes to express its sincere appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Hollai's predecessor, Mr. Kittani of Iraq, met the daily demands of his office, with courage, even-handedness and an air of quiet and effective diplomacy.

88. My delegation further takes this opportunity to say a special word of greeting to the Secretary-General

on the occasion of the first regular session of the General Assembly since he assumed office. The elevation of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar to that important position has been and always will be a source of great pride and satisfaction to us, the peoples of that part of the third world that the renowned statesman, scholar and freedom fighter, José Martí, called "our America". After a mere few months in exercise of his functions it is already appropriate to take note of his untiring efforts in furthering the cause of peace and the objectives of the United Nations. For this we express to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation.

89. This session is taking place at a critical moment in the history of our planet and of mankind. It is a time when there are dangers born of a deep-seated international economic malaise, with threatening storm-clouds resulting from the dangerous arms race and, above all, from the cruelty and callousness which come from man's apparent inhumanity to his brother and his neighbour, which threaten to engulf the world and annihilate us and our vaunted civilization. Exactly one year ago, in my address to the Assembly at the 33rd meeting of the thirty-sixth session, I expressed dismay, as did other delegations, at the frightening state of international relations. Today, 12 months later, this session is being held with the global situation not less but more alarming than ever.

90. Today the United Nations has become, in more ways than one, mankind's hope for survival and social advancement. The Organization must not only channel and accelerate the search for peace but also preside over the ushering in of a world economic ordering of resources which will allow the poor and the weak to live, not merely survive. But, in addition, the Organization, by the very ideals enshrined in the Charter, by its noble concept of economic and social development seen in the outreach of its specialized agencies and bodies such as UNDP and UNESCO, provides guidance for each individual political authority represented in this Hall and appeals to aspects of the internal policy of every Member State.

91. We in Grenada are not only conscious of the relevance to our experience of the declarations on the rights of man and of society, for these, after all, are a product of the collective wisdom of the representatives of mankind assembled here; we are not merely aware of the evolution within the United Nations specialized agencies of a preference for development geared towards the satisfaction of people's needs and people's aspirations; our entire revolutionary political process, which triumphed in March 1979, focuses on such pronouncements and our developmental model is constructed on the foundations of people-oriented programmes and activities. The internal achievements of three and a half years of the People's Revolutionary Government bear ample testimony to this fact.

92. We are engaged in an experiment in popular and participatory democracy where the people gather in their localities, as do their delegates at the zonal and national level, to discuss, debate and make their own proposals on every aspect of government policy, including the national budget. There is freedom of expression for all our people based on a law guaranteeing democratic ownership and control of the news

media. We have made rapid strides towards guaranteeing in practice employment for every man and woman able and willing to work. Also, we are moving towards the point where Grenada can provide free and modern health services for all its citizens, ample food and nutrition for all, adequate and decent housing for all, and ensure the extension of the basic amenities of modern living to everyone. There is free education up to the secondary school level, and our national literacy campaign and adult education programme are aimed at wiping out illiteracy and raising the educational standard of every worker and peasant to sixth-grade level by 1990, in accordance with the objectives and programmes set by UNESCO.

93. So the struggle goes on, the struggle to transform the society, to improve the unacceptably poor quality of life, and to achieve material and spiritual development and economic and social justice for all our people.

94. Our approach to the question of relations with the world around us involves a thrust compatible and in consonance with our political preference for genuinely democratic structures and people-oriented attitudes towards development. While we aim therefore, in the true spirit of the family of the United Nations, to build normal state-to-state relations with all peoples, some of the main pillars of the edifice of our foreign policy remains as follows: those of non-alignment, anti-imperialism and good neighbourliness; the struggle for world peace and security; the determination to support the struggle of those who are denied their sovereign right freely to choose their path to development; and full support for the demand for more democratically structured international financial institutions and a just and equitable ordering of the global economic system.

95. Grenada is aware that the absence of those elements within international relations inhibits its own growth. The rate of advancement of our small island nation, like other third world countries with special disadvantages, would be severely restricted if there were no peace or atmosphere of tranquillity and détente. In addition to strong moral and political considerations, our development is adversely affected to some degree if the peoples of Namibia and Palestine are denied the opportunity to release their energies and the resources available to them into the common pool of South-South co-operation. And development will remain a dream for Grenada unless a way can be found to usher in a new order of relations between our commodity prices and the prices of the goods we import.

96. The problems of Grenada reflect the present state of the international economic situation. In the first place, the expanding indebtedness of the developing countries cannot be over-emphasized. The current levels of this debt, along with the recent trends in the terms of trade and international interest rates, have become a nightmare to many countries in the developing world. For instance, the price now being fetched for cocoa, one of Grenada's basic exports, is half of what it was two years ago.

97. In many cases third world countries, especially small islands and small land-locked States, are attempting through even further external borrowing to cover the deficits in their external accounts, caused

partly by imported inflation, high energy costs and the openness of their economies.

98. This problem of external over-indebtedness is made worse by the rise of protectionism on the part of some developed countries. These protectionist trends are becoming stronger each day—as was evidenced in the struggle the third world was obliged to wage in negotiating the third multi-fibre agreement in December 1981. In our view, due to the interdependent nature of the world economy, it is necessary for the developed world to open up markets to the exports of the developing world. Prohibitive tariffs, subsidies which violate the principle of the international division of labour and quota restrictions on many commodities, including sugar, should be removed.

99. Another major problem is the power and dominance of the transnational corporations in the economies of developing countries. It is part of the neo-colonial legacy left to developing countries from years of colonial and imperialist domination.

100. It is within the context of this unjust international economic order that my Government sees the need for the reopening of global negotiations. My Government is convinced that only through the early adoption of proposals for a new international economic order can there be a framework of principles to solve these complex and vexing problems which now affect the international economic system.

101. In our opinion, the failure of the global negotiations so far stems from the intractable position taken by a few developed countries, particularly that of a major country. These countries are firmly opposed to any structural transformation of the present inequitable international economic system, and are only prepared to allow marginal reforms that gradually incorporate selected countries chosen solely on the basis of political considerations.

102. The continued resistance to negotiations by certain developed countries is a strategy to perpetuate and increase the economic dependence of the developing world. My delegation echoes the call of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, held at New Delhi to the Group of 77 to remain firm with regard to its agreement on the basic objectives of the global negotiations. In this regard, my Government welcomes and is greatly encouraged by the fact that a number of countries have achieved or are approaching the level of economic assistance to the developing world laid down as a target by the United Nations. We are also heartened by the recent decision of the Government of France to increase its volume of aid to the developing world in spite of the global economic crisis and, beginning in January 1983, to extend its development aid programme to include Caribbean countries for the first time.

103. The demand for a new international economic order must also have as one of its objectives the reform of the two most important monetary institutions for the developing world—the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank. In order that these institutions may provide greater and more effective flows of finance there is a need for a change in the content of their programmes and the quantum of fund resources made available under current quota

policies generally applied to small island and small land-locked economies. There is an urgent need for a reappraisal and restructuring by the Fund in three basic areas; liquidity and balance-of-payments support, the indices of conditionality, and the nature and phasing of adjustment over both the short and medium term.

104. On the issue of the reform of the World Bank, the People's Revolutionary Government has taken note of the several areas of the Bank's operations where action has been taken or is under way to implement reform. However, there is one important area of World Bank reform where no action has yet been taken. That is the desire for fairness in the criteria and mechanics for the allocation of assistance by the World Bank and the International Development Association to developing countries and efficiency in the disbursement of such assistance. The Brandt Commission's recommendations⁸ on this matter indicate that the present concentration of staff—95 per cent of whom work in Washington at the Bank's headquarters—tends to make the World Bank remote from the problems and attitudes in borrowing countries. In addition, the Bank's articles of agreement anticipated a decentralization of its activities, but that has not yet happened. This decentralization would, among other things, have enabled the Bank to attract and retain a wider range of staff from developing countries.

105. The People's Revolutionary Government is firmly convinced that only a reform of IMF and the World Bank along the lines just mentioned can assist the developing countries, including small island and small land-locked States, in their struggle to overcome external indebtedness.

106. In order to allow for stability and economic growth in most developing countries and to ensure that transfers of appropriate technology can be implemented successfully, it is necessary that the level of development assistance be greatly increased. That can be done through a reformed World Bank and IMF. Indeed, the economies of some developing countries are threatened with total collapse unless there are greater development assistance flows.

107. In our opinion, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea can be a catalyst for peace, serving to eliminate potential conflicts between neighbouring States. We view it also, of course, as providing a welcome opportunity for economic development through the exploitation of our marine resources. The Grenada delegation is therefore happy that the Convention has been adopted and will be a signatory to it in the near future.

108. With respect to South-South co-operation the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada recognizes that despite the potential, progress has been slow. This is not surprising, however, given the dependent nature of the relationship between developed and developing countries. There is an urgent need, for instance, to address the problem of air and sea transport facilities necessary for realizing the goals of greater South-South trade and co-operation.

109. The High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at

Caracas in 1981, did, however, begin the process of defining more relevant concepts and operative measures, including the creation of an institutional framework that would permit developing countries to carry forward the programme for economic co-operation among developing countries with greater dynamism than in the past. With proper follow-up action this goal could be realized.

110. Even as much of the international community continues to suffer from the debilitating economic crisis, it is being further pauperized and deprived of the benefits of much of its economic and other resources by the persistent squandering of massive sums on sophisticated armaments which threaten the world and its peoples with extinction. Over the past few years, mankind has been forced to listen to gruesome accounts of the production of increasing quantities of monstrous weapons, and has been constrained to contemplate, in apparent helplessness, its own destruction. In this frightening context, Grenada appeals to the nuclear Powers to reverse the present trend of nuclear proliferation and to begin the process of meaningful arms control and arms reduction.

111. Grenada sees no logic in the concepts of nuclear first strike or limited nuclear war. Such formulations are inherently contradictory, if not reckless, and suggest a willingness on the part of one nuclear Power to experiment with its nuclear toys. Therefore, Grenada applauds the bold undertaking by the Soviet Union at the second special session on disarmament not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We recognize the positive impact of that obligation and call upon other nuclear States to respond in like manner, in the interest of preserving world peace. Once again, Grenada calls for the purposeful ratification of the SALT II agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Grenada is resolutely committed to the process of lessening international tension and the promotion of world peace and disarmament. As a result, Grenada will support any serious proposal from any quarter aimed at bringing an end to the arms race and achieving world peace and social progress.

112. The world has just witnessed the worst episode of carnage and genocide since the Nazi era. This shameless act of cruelty comes as a direct result of the irresponsible arming of Zionist Israel. The extent of United States economic and military support to Israel is irrefutable. Since June of this year, the sovereign territory of Lebanon has been the testing ground for all sorts of American and Israeli arms, to the detriment of thousands of human lives and of Lebanese cities and villages. As the world witnessed this despicable act of genocide and plunder, and was enraged thereby, the United States shrugged its international responsibility and failed to restrain its Zionist ally. In short, the two had become one in the exercise of the so-called strategic alliance.

113. Of course, the massacre of hundreds of innocent, helpless Palestinian refugees in their beds is an integral part of that scenario and cannot be divorced from it. In this regard, Grenada joins the international outcry against such butchery. We solemnly condemn Israel for its invasion of Lebanon and the death and suffering

it has meted out to the Lebanese and Palestinian people.

114. Grenada is staunch in the belief that the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon must be respected and demands the withdrawal of the Zionist occupation forces. We sincerely hope that the Lebanese people will move towards national reconciliation and address themselves to the honourable task of national reconstruction. Accordingly, Grenada calls upon the international community to render all possible assistance to the people of Lebanon at this critical time.

115. It is well known that the Middle East conflict derives from the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland. Therefore, the conflict situation existing in that region can be resolved only through the settlement of the Palestinian question. Grenada urges an expeditious settlement of this matter in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions.

116. We recognize the signal importance of the peace proposals put forward by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference in September [see A/37/696]. These proposals represent a reasonable basis for a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Grenada is proud to give them its total support. At the same time, Grenada cannot accept in their entirety the proposals submitted on 1 September by the United States President, Ronald Reagan, on the issue, since they offer no solution to the key issue of the creation of an independent Palestinian State. This plan also seeks to marginalize if not negate the role and importance of the PLO and is, therefore, untenable and manifestly short-sighted.

117. The United Nations has recognized the PLO as the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people. Unfortunately, the State of Israel and its powerful patron do not respect this decision. However, it must now be clear to such forces that the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut and its dispersal throughout the Arab world do not amount to its defeat. In reality, the blood of the Palestinian martyrs and patriots serves as a fertilizer that nourishes their just cause. Grenada wishes to reaffirm its resolute solidarity with the PLO and the Arab people of Palestine and condemns most vehemently the atrocities committed against these people. We also reject the expansionist and oppressive policies pursued by the Begin-Sharon régime in the occupied territories.

118. War continues in the Gulf area much to the detriment of the peoples of that part of the world and to the apparent delight of imperialism. We call upon Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran to cease hostilities, settle their disputes through peaceful means and properly direct their resources to the task of national reconstruction.

119. It is well known that the inhabitants of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are shaping a new society through various democratic structures. We categorically dismiss the imperialist-sponsored "Kampuchea Coalition Government in Exile" as an unmasked attempt to hide the bloody hand of the Pol Pot clique and to give legitimacy to their counter-revolutionary activities. Grenada reiterates its support for the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

120. The situation in the Korean peninsula continues to be a threat to world peace. Grenada urges the speedy reunification of Korea. We also demand the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from the peninsula.

121. Grenada is hopeful that a meaningful political settlement will be achieved in Cyprus without further delay and that the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity will be fully restored and respected.

122. Similarly, we support the call for self-determination for the people of East Timor.

123. It is clear that some members of the so-called contact group on Namibia have lost all contact with reality and have resorted to dilatory tactics in the negotiations for independence for Namibia. The unique electoral device of one man-two votes as posited by the contact group is clearly inimical to the interests of SWAPO and has been rightly rejected by the front-line States. The improper intervention into the negotiation process by the United States, through its irrelevant demand for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a pre-condition for the granting of independence to Namibia, is largely responsible for the present impasse. The United States position is also inconsistent with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and is an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Angola.

124. Besides, South Africa has been covertly preparing to alter the internal Namibian constitution and administration, in an attempt to erode SWAPO's support and delay the granting of independence to Namibia by ignoring demands for elections supervised by the United Nations. The treacherous incursions into Angola at critical points in the negotiating process must be interpreted in this context.

125. Grenada emphasizes its resolute support for SWAPO and stresses the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and full independence. Grenada further calls upon the United Nations to take expeditious action to bring about independence for Namibia, since it is clear that the negotiations are at a standstill.

126. The situation in southern Africa is characterized by South Africa's determination to destabilize regional States through economic pressure and sabotage, direct military intervention and the sponsoring of mercenaries. The experience of States like Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and Seychelles attests to this truth. Grenada urges southern African States to strengthen the structures of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. At the same time, we emphatically denounce South Africa's repeated attacks on these States, its support for disruptive groups and bandits and its policy of economic destabilization.

127. In South Africa itself, the monstrous *apartheid* system has been better armed and, no doubt, is more firmly entrenched—for the time being. Our black brothers and sisters are held in veritable concentration camps. Black workers are paid starvation wages for long hours of hard labour. Their trade unions are outlawed and their dedicated leaders are hounded like beasts. Yet, when we hear homilies about the rights of trade unions and the importance of upholding workers' democracy, the South African abuses are never high-

lighted. Faced with this difficult situation, ANC continues to be the vanguard for the liberation of the oppressed in South Africa. Grenada pledges its continued support for ANC and our brothers and sisters of South Africa in their struggle for human rights and majority rule.

128. The issue of Western Sahara has led to unfortunate developments within the OAU which directly threaten to compromise its future. Grenada respectfully urges its African brothers and sisters to resolve speedily the dispute over Western Sahara. We reaffirm our support for the POLISARIO Front and the Government and the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic in their just struggle for self-determination, national independence and sovereignty.

129. The yearning of third world peoples for peace and stability has given increasing popularity to the concept of regional zones of peace. Parallel to our own struggle in the Caribbean and Central American region, our brothers whose shores are washed by the Indian Ocean have been calling for their region to be recognized as a zone of peace.

130. Conscious of the warmongering tactics of certain imperialist elements in that part of the world, Grenada hails the determined efforts of the Governments and the peoples of Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, India, Democratic Yemen, Mauritius, Madagascar and Seychelles in this direction. We fully support their common demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Indian Ocean; the non-introduction and non-deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; the cessation of military manoeuvres by the allies of South Africa and Israel; and the right of States to be free from the threat of invasion by mercenaries.

131. This vexing question of mercenary activity continues to threaten the peace and stability of a number of poor, developing countries, as evidenced by recent attempts by imperialist-backed mercenaries to overthrow the Seychelles Government. Despite limited attempts by some countries to deal with this problem at the national level, the international community lacks effective and comprehensive machinery for this purpose.

132. Grenada and other countries of the hemisphere are particularly conscious of this problem, since the likelihood of mercenary invasion in our region, backed by certain imperialist State entities, is quite real.

133. We once more register our support for the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries. However, we note the inability of that Committee to complete its assignment thus far. Once more we urge that the work be expedited so that effective measures can be taken to outlaw the recruitment, training, assembly, transit, financing and use of mercenaries. The situation is one of urgency.

134. In the Latin American and Caribbean region, the militaristic policy of the largest Power in the hemisphere seems aimed at determining all issues on the basis of brute force and ruthless economic might—hence the threats to Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada. The continued economic blockade and

military threats against Cuba; the ever-increasing threats against Nicaragua, including the training and use of mercenaries from bases in neighbouring States; the attempts to destabilize the revolutionary process in our own country, Grenada; the illegal and provocative violation of our air space—all of these militaristic postures display an amazing and unfortunate lack of understanding on the part of the United States. We condemn and deplore all efforts to pursue militaristic policies and policies of confrontation in the Latin American and Caribbean region.

135. With respect to the so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative, it is our view that this constitutes an attempt to sow the seeds of divisiveness, and thus extend hegemony over countries in the region. The “donor country” seeks by its so-called gifts to hold an entire region to ransom by making a mockery of the concept of ideological pluralism subscribed to by CARICOM member States and by the United Nations system. This exposes the utter contempt with which it views the sovereign and independent processes of the developing countries of the region.

136. Grenada is seeking its own path to development and exercising its sovereign right to find its own solutions to the problems which have for centuries confronted its people. We therefore reject the arrogant condescension of those who seek to dictate rather than discuss, to isolate those with whom they disagree and to attempt to make pawns of sovereign, independent peoples.

137. We insist on the inalienable right of every country, irrespective of its size, to be master of its destiny. Recent events in Western Europe have clearly shown that, in the interests of development, countries will defend their sovereign right to conduct business wherever they wish.

138. Intent on seeking an improved quality of life for its people, and concerned about the integral development of the Caribbean region, Grenada repeats the call for the Caribbean to be declared a zone of peace, independence and development. This proposal was first accepted in 1979 at the La Paz meeting of the Organization of American States. At the seventh meeting of the Standing Committee of Foreign Ministers of Caricom in March this year, Grenada reiterated that call. The Caribbean must not be a zone of militarism, tension and confrontation.

139. Grenada issues a strong call for negotiations between Argentina and the United Kingdom to resolve the issue of the Malvinas Islands. Only through genuine negotiations held under the auspices of the United Nations can there be a satisfactory solution to the problem. The sad issue of the Malvinas provides one of these inadvertent lessons of history which developing countries would do well to note. In the final analysis our interests lie in recognizing our own unity in diversity, in recognizing the need of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean to create mechanisms for dealing with problems peculiar to us.

140. Grenada wishes to reiterate that one of the firm principles on which its foreign policy is based is anti-colonialism. Therefore we declare once more our unswerving support for the people of Puerto Rico in their just struggle to attain self-determination and independence. We issue yet another call for the

elimination of this cancer of colonialism from the Caribbean. We also express our very deep concern over events in Central America, where scores of people have lost their lives or have been forced to flee their homeland in search of peace. In the light of Israel's present deplorable role in the international arena, we further express our profound concern at the presence of Israeli military advisers in Central America.

141. We also wish to express our unshakeable solidarity with our Chilean brothers and sisters who are heroically resisting a brutal régime and many of whom have been driven from their homeland to languish in exile.

142. My Government wishes to express its total support for the struggling people of El Salvador. It is our conviction that justice and peace will ultimately triumph in that long-suffering country.

143. Once more we wish to declare our unstinting support for the independent Caribbean nations of Belize and Guyana in their determination to preserve full territorial integrity. We call on all parties concerned to resort to measures as outlined in the Charter of the United Nations to find a peaceful solution to the disputes; any other approach to solving these disputes will be counterproductive and catastrophic.

144. We reaffirm our full support for the just claim of Bolivia to regain its access to the sea. We recognize that that country's development is seriously impeded by a lack of such facilities.

145. I now turn to an issue of increasing urgency on the international scene, one that affects my country most intimately. It is the question of the special problems of small island and small land-locked developing States. For three years, including twice before in this forum, Grenada, supported by others within that category, has called the attention of the international community, and in particular the richer and more technologically advanced nations, to the peculiar circumstances and needs occasioned by the phenomenon of smallness. Addressing the Assembly at the 27th meeting of the thirty-fourth session, our Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, called for smallness to be recognized as a new dimension in economic relations and urged a heightened awareness of the inherent handicaps.

146. Last year, at the 33rd meeting of the thirty-sixth session, we went further. My delegation, in an effort to sensitize the international community to these issues, enumerated the economic and social consequences of smallness in the present world economic system and elaborated in addition a minimum programme for ongoing assistance to those States.

147. Last year also, at the meetings of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Australia and the General Assembly of the Organization of American States in Saint Lucia, my country continued its appeal to the international community for special consideration in the face of these characteristic developmental problems of this group of countries, namely, small States.

148. More recently, at the meetings in London and Toronto of Commonwealth Finance Ministers and the World Bank and IMF, respectively, Grenada and other

members of this specially disadvantaged group raised again this pressing and critically important issue. We have taken the initiative and are strongly convinced, in the light of the current international economic situation to which I earlier referred, that there is a need for a special working conference in 1983, involving the United Nations and its development agencies and the major international financial institutions, like the World Bank, to examine the economic problems of this group of countries and to make practical recommendations for their solution. Out of that conference should come an international action programme with a specific time-table for implementation. For example, consider the matter of hurricanes and other natural disasters which frequently devastate the economies of small States in one blow. Often international relief, always so deeply appreciated, takes months to arrive—hence the need for a rapidly deployable rehabilitation scheme for such contingencies. Therefore, we appeal to all our brothers and sisters in small island and small land-locked developing States and also the international community for support on this vital matter, since any improvement in our economic situation must have a positive effect on the wider global community.

149. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its commitment to the noble principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Even in the face of the crisis in international relations, we are steadfast in the belief that the United Nations system constitutes the ultimate guarantee for peace and international security. For our part we wish once again to express our willingness to engage in dialogue at any level whatever with a view to promoting regional peace and co-operation, thereby contributing to the construction of a more just and peaceful world.

150. Mr. ADJIBADE (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): We have gathered together here, as we do every year at this time, in the supreme body of the United Nations system, the General Assembly, to think about and exchange views on the important problems which concern the international community as well as our respective States.

151. First of all, I should like to discharge a most pleasant duty—to extend our warm congratulations to Mr. Hollai, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, and express the great satisfaction we feel about his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We regard his unanimous election as a tribute to his great merits and outstanding qualities as a statesman and seasoned diplomat and at the same time as eloquent testimony to the respect in which the international community holds his country, the Hungarian People's Republic, for its active participation in our common task of peace and co-operation among all nations. Our delegation is convinced that under his enlightened leadership our deliberations will lead us to important decisions that will help to bring about concrete action designed to establish a new international order based on principles of justice and solidarity among peoples and for the maintenance of international peace and security. Our delegation would also like to take this opportunity to express its gratitude and admiration for the masterly way in which his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, of Iraq, guided our work and the good will he dis-

played during the thirty-sixth regular session of the Assembly as well as the second special session devoted to disarmament and the seventh emergency special session, on the question of Palestine. We would also like to express once again to the Secretary-General the appreciation of our country, the People's Republic of Benin, for the thought he is giving to ways to make the working of the United Nations system more effective and to enable it fully to shoulder its responsibilities in the face of the serious problems facing the world. We would also like to take this opportunity to welcome the action the Secretary-General has taken with vigour and determination since his election in dealing resolutely with the delicate task of making the voice of the United Nations heard amidst the clamour of passions and injustices of every kind.

152. The international situation is extremely distressing. The world is in a state of crisis at all levels—political, economic, cultural and social—and we feel powerless when we see that, despite our efforts, the resolutions and recommendations we have managed to adopt in this Hall have not had the results we had hoped for in settling the grave problems with which we and mankind as a whole are faced.

153. The self-same problems thus re-emerge in a more acute form. The serious events that have recently shaken the world and that continue to persist show the extent to which the international situation has deteriorated. Indeed, we are witnessing a sudden increased level of tension in the sensitive areas of the world that defies reason, and the exacerbation of conflicts is moving the world swiftly towards an explosion fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

154. We are extremely concerned—how could we not be?—when we note that some Powers employ force with disconcerting ease as a means of settling disputes. Flouting international rules and conventions, those colonialist, imperialist, expansionist, racist Powers have systematized their irregular, illegal, immoral, amoral practices. Armed aggression, military intervention, the occupation of the territories of other States, the use of mercenaries and open interference in the internal affairs of other independent States have become their favourite means of imposing their domination and of achieving the triumph of their selfish and hegemonistic interests, to the detriment of the rights of other peoples.

155. With the exception of the problems connected with general and complete disarmament and periodic crises, the majority of the world's political problems are centred in Africa, Latin America and Asia. The agenda of the present session of the General Assembly, like the agendas of preceding sessions, merely reflects this situation. Hence, the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin believes that the poor countries, which an unjust international economic system continues to make poorer with each passing day, are the very same countries as are being subjected to the most despicable policies and in which situations that no longer exist in the northern hemisphere have become everyday practice, although their peoples seek only to live in peace and understanding with others in an international community in which rules of conduct are respected.

156. In Africa, we must once again stress the importance of the problems of Namibia, Western Sahara and *apartheid*. It is not our intention to go back over the origin of those questions; rather, we wish to emphasize that the efforts of the Organization are being flouted by a coalition of powerful States blinded by sordid short-term interests, to the detriment of justice and the protection of the vital interests of the African peoples.

157. The situation in southern Africa can be explained only on those bases, and we have no hesitation in saying that the key to the solution of the Namibian problem, for instance, like that of the *apartheid* of the racist South African régime, is being held by those Powers friendly to the white racists of South Africa. In that region, where the voice of reason has been stilled and where relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 435 (1978), have been flouted by an oligarchy of criminals and racists, the oppressed populations have been constrained to resort to the only solution still open to them, namely, armed struggle. It is time for the reactionary supporters of colonialism and racism in Pretoria to realize that there can be no peace, stability or security in southern Africa as long as Namibia has not regained its true independence and as long as the abhorrent system of *apartheid* has not been completely eradicated. It is time for the Pretoria clique to abandon the easy resort to delaying tactics and temporising and to fall into line with the course of history by participating in the process of negotiations on Namibia's independence.

158. That is why our country, the People's Republic of Benin, has supported and will continue to support the Namibian people and its leaders, SWAPO, headed by our brother Sam Nujoma, until the achievement of total victory and independence without any political or territorial restriction. For the same reason we categorically reject the claim that there is a link between the presence of Cuban forces in the People's Republic of Angola and the process of decolonization of Namibia.

159. Likewise, the South African combatants struggling for the establishment of equality, justice and the eradication of racism in their homeland have always enjoyed the support of the People's Republic of Benin and deserve a greater degree of support from the Organization. In this connection the People's Republic of Benin has always advocated and will continue to call for the cessation of the organized murder of South African nationalists and for the liberation of Nelson Mandela and all the South African patriots and nationalists imprisoned or arrested by the Pretoria clique for having spoken out loudly against a system of government founded on racial discrimination and for having taken vigorous action to put an end to the anachronism and the scourge of our century, *apartheid*, denounced and condemned by the international community.

160. Caught up in the spiral of a policy which seems to embody human folly those who practise *apartheid* attempt to export to countries of the region the violence and desolation which they inflict every day upon the people of many districts which for them are nothing but Bantustans. States Members the United Nations are daily attacked by South Africa, and with

impunity. Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe are constantly diverted from their task of national reconstruction and development in order to defend themselves against an enemy financed by and under the protection of international imperialism. In the face of these intolerable acts of the so-called South African Republic, the Organization must make greater efforts to prevent its decisions from being cynically flouted and treated with derision. We owe it to ourselves to condemn the acts of aggression and destabilization perpetrated by the South African racists against Angola and the front-line States, and we must also disapprove of the use of mercenaries, a particular scourge of our century.

161. The international community must remain firmly behind SWAPO and support its just struggle for self-determination, national liberation and independence of a united and prosperous Namibia. The Security Council must take all necessary measures to ensure respect for its resolutions and decisions. It must consider undertaking global sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, including an oil embargo, against South Africa, to make it see reason. Resolution 435 (1978) remains the basis for the settlement of the problem of Namibia, and any other approach must be rejected.

162. In the same context we deplore the paralysis of the Committee of the Security Council established under its resolution 421 (1977), entrusted with the supervision of the mandatory embargo on arms for South Africa. Our delegation hopes that the report of the Committee,⁹ which is at present before the Council for discussion, will be adopted in order to strengthen the means of surveillance of the mandatory arms embargo.

163. We must with the same determination consider the situation in Western Sahara, which we mention with sorrow because the colonial invasion in this case is African and does not come from outside. The United Nations, in co-operation with the OAU, has adopted bold resolutions aimed at achieving the self-determination of the martyred Sahraoui people. Our country condemns the obstructionism and the refusal of frank and open collaboration displayed by the invader in the face of all the constructive proposals designed to find a solution to the illegal occupation of the territory of another country, an occupation which threatens the peace and security of the region, with increasing risks of internationalizing the conflict.

164. The People's Republic of Benin supports the just cause of the Sahraoui people and condemns most strongly the colonialist and expansionist policy which continues to deprive that courageous people of the exercise of its inalienable rights. The People's Republic of Benin reaffirms its solidarity with the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic in its heroic struggle against foreign occupation. The desire to restore peace in the region demands that the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and the Kingdom of Morocco consider forthwith the ways and means of bringing an end to that conflict.

165. Regarding the situation in the Middle East, no one should underestimate the dangers of the tension in the region. The aggression perpetrated by Israel in its invasion of Beirut and its policy of genocide

against the Palestinians constitute a characteristic aspect of the policy of global zionism of the Tel Aviv authorities in the Middle East. The stubbornness of the Zionists of Tel Aviv in pursuing this policy of aggression, occupation and extermination is encouraged by the unconditional and massive support of international imperialism, which provides them with logistic support, the arms and the finance—which is no secret to anyone. The barbaric aggression and genocide perpetrated by Israel, such as the recent massacres of Sabra and Shatila, deserve nothing but scorn, indignation and strong and unequivocal condemnation.

166. Israel must withdraw its occupation forces forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanese territory and all Arab territories occupied since 1967. Israel must return to the strict practice of international morality for the right to one's own life does not imply the right to exterminate others.

167. The Palestinian people have the right to a national life, a country with recognized, secure and guaranteed boundaries and their own territorial entity. The People's Republic of Benin will always join in bilateral and multilateral efforts effectively to achieve that objective.

168. The international community must become increasingly aware of the grave situation in the Middle East and find the means to make the Zionist aggressors understand that they are placing international peace and security at risk, for peace in the Middle East necessarily involves the proper settlement of the Palestinian problem. The People's Republic of Benin condemns the Zionist policy in the Middle East and supports the struggle of the Palestinian people and their right to their own homeland. The People's Republic of Benin reaffirms its political and diplomatic support for the PLO, the sole representative of the oppressed people of Palestine.

169. By the same token we should like to reaffirm our support for the people of Cyprus in their legitimate struggle for the reunification and integrity of their territory, for peace between the two communities, and against foreign interference.

170. In Asia, although the echo of gun fire seems to have diminished lately, political and military tension is nevertheless high. Hence our delegation stresses its condemnation of all imperialist manoeuvres in that region designed to revive those crises that the determination of the peoples involved is gradually resolving. The Kampuchean and Afghan peoples alone have the right to choose their own political systems and we condemn any interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. The peoples of those two countries must be left free to decide their destiny, and threats to their security and foreign occupation must cease. This is a *sine qua non* of real peace in the region.

171. The People's Republic of Benin has recognized and will continue to recognize the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and supports all its efforts to achieve the political unification of the country and oppose foreign aggression and interference by international imperialist factions.

172. The people of Korea aspire to peace and to the peaceful reunification of their homeland free from

foreign interference. This is the feeling in both the south and the north of the peninsula. The People's Republic of Benin welcomes the efforts of the North Korean authorities to bring about the peaceful reunification of the great Korean country. In order to achieve this objective the Korean people must be free to decide their future. Thus we call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the peninsula. This is the only way to ensure a definitive and viable settlement of the Korean crisis. The People's Republic of Benin affirms its firm and unswerving support for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its valiant efforts to put an end to the artificial and arbitrary division of Korea by the satisfaction of the legitimate aspiration of the entire Korean people, that is, independent and peaceful reunification and the establishment of the Confederated Republic of Koryo.

173. We also support the people of East Timor in their legitimate struggle for freedom.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) took the Chair.

174. The People's Republic of Benin supports those peoples in Central America and the Caribbean that are courageously extricating their countries from the grip of international imperialism and striving to take their destiny into their own hands. All peoples aspiring to independence in that region should be able freely to express their views on their future. In this context, my delegation believes that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations must be borne in mind and respected by all. Blackmail and military plots of all kinds are constantly used to ensure the failure of the revolutionary experience of the countries of the region. The heroic resistance of the Latin American peoples, whose political maturity grows stronger every day, deserves our full admiration and support. Peoples that cherish peace and justice must continue to support the peaceful cause of independence and freedom of Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada and others.

175. The Indian Ocean has become an area of competition where the great military Powers are building their own gigantic arsenals for a possible future confrontation. Gigantic observation, control and communications complexes rise above the peaceful waters of that immense Ocean and there are huge stocks of the most modern and sophisticated weapons on those floating bases. All these means of destruction stockpiled on that Ocean constitute a threat to international peace and to the security of the coastal States. The People's Republic of Benin, concerned at this race to militarize the Indian Ocean, reaffirms its support for all measures and decisions aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. In this context, the bold proposals of the President, Didier Ratsiraka, of Madagascar should be accepted and given concrete form.

176. The subject of the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean brings us to the problem of disarmament. It is by now no secret that when we bear in mind mankind's problems of life and survival the exorbitant expenses involved in the arms race are truly scandalous, if not utter madness: \$450 billion are spent on it each year, when \$20 billion would suffice for development assistance. Apart from the fact that this accumulation of increasingly dangerous equipment heightens the risk of general confrontation, it is also a heavy burden for

the major Powers that prompts them to shirk their international responsibilities. We in the People's Republic of Benin are convinced that this arms race threatens not only the survival of mankind but also the economic development of the world. For the limitation or complete elimination of the arms race would enable the Powers which now engage in that arms race to channel more money into development assistance and the improvement of the living standards of their own citizens.

177. My delegation regrets that at the second special session devoted to disarmament the General Assembly failed to make any progress, despite the many proposals from all sides. The Organization must continue its efforts to achieve general disarmament, which at this time of chronic economic crisis could permit the enormous financial resources that are today squandered on destruction and death to be reallocated to the fulfilment of the noble ideals of preserving life and promoting international peace and security.

178. We make a most urgent appeal to the conscience of both the Soviet and American peoples to induce their respective Governments to engage in sincere and decisive negotiations to put an end to the arms race and to achieve a balanced arms reduction so as to release large quantities of resources which could then be devoted to the promotion of the well-being of peoples and to assistance to developing countries.

179. Those, in our opinion, are the main political concerns of the international community. They are not new, and the Organization has continually been adopting resolutions to deal with them. But we must note that a great number of Member States flout United Nations decisions to such an extent that we must wonder whether the Organization would not gain from a restructuring—particularly the Security Council. It must be recalled that the Charter not only stipulates rights: it imposes duties upon States, as well. Legally adopted decisions must be implemented. At this juncture we should like to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General for his commendable efforts to preserve international peace and security.

180. The critical situation in the world is not only political in nature; it is also economic. Indeed, the international economic situation gives us growing cause for concern. The persistence of this economic crisis, which has lasted more than a decade and continues to deteriorate, brings to light a long-term structural phenomenon: monetary upheaval, galloping inflation, constantly soaring interest rates, unbearable instability in the balance of payments, and increased indebtedness are its main characteristics; they have harmful effects upon the economies of the developing countries.

181. The development of those countries is seriously handicapped by that situation. Their investment capacity is reduced. The acute deterioration in the terms of trade dangerously decreases their expected export revenues. Their production effort is affected and economic stagnation is compounded by social stagnation because of the increase in unemployment.

182. Until recently we have devoted our efforts only to the external manifestations of this economic crisis and have attempted to solve them with stop-gap measures, but to no great avail. Is not the fundamental

question really the problem of development itself and the establishment of new relations in the system of co-operation among nations based on international solidarity, justice and equity?

183. Since the holding of the special sessions devoted to the problem of development and to the establishment of a new international economic order, and the various North-South dialogues in Paris, followed by the global negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations and the Cancún meeting, there has certainly been an evolution, in terms of vocabulary, if not of ideas. But the facts have changed little. The intransigence of certain rich countries blindly attached to the privileges and advantages they have unjustly acquired prevents the appeal for solidarity from being heard and in no way fosters the establishment of a new international economic order.

184. The failure to restructure international economic life has resulted in a continuing, alarming deterioration of the world economy, which is not likely to reduce international political tension, since the economically weaker countries have come to realize that the economically stronger countries have deliberately been contributing to keeping them in the status of marginal States. If we truly want to strive for international peace and security, it is clear that this intolerable situation cannot be allowed to go on much longer.

185. International co-operation is obviously adversely affected by the situation. Indeed, we note a deteriorating spirit of multilateral co-operation, the principal cause of the stagnation in international negotiations. There is also a discernible disproportionate indebtedness in the developing countries.

186. How can those developing countries honour their foreign debt commitments, which amount to hundreds of billions of dollars, when we know that they are undergoing an economic recession which seriously affects their budgets, when we know that their populations are suffering hunger, malnutrition and disease, when we know that 25 per cent of the proceeds from their meagre exports is sacrificed to pay the interest on the various loans needed for their investments in the public sector? The gap, the imbalance, between the rich countries and the poor countries is continually increasing.

187. The rich countries alone monopolize 70 per cent of the revenues from world trade, 80 per cent of industrial activities and 90 per cent of technology. They are doing all they can to block the process of co-operation through the selfish practice of protectionist measures; we have seen an emerging and growing tendency towards selectivity in aid, accompanied by its progressive decline.

188. Rather than accepting the idea of global negotiations, which, in our view, could improve the chances of emerging from the present economic stagnation and promote justice among nations, the countries of the North are clinging to palliatives, to caricatures of solutions, which hardly conceal their desire to maintain their long-standing domination and economic exploitation of our countries.

189. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin believes that the present economic crisis is extremely serious and deserves our full attention, and that no

viable and lasting solution can be found without understanding among all parties, and without a spirit of solidarity. It would be pointless to think that a national or sectoral search for solutions could solve the problems.

190. Only global negotiations, bringing together both developed and developing countries, are likely to improve the situation, in the framework of the establishment of a new international economic order.

191. In the short term, we believe that the developed countries must try to reach the level of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product in aid devoted to the development programmes of the economically weak countries. Multilateral assistance must be revived; in that connection the rebuilding of the financial resources of institutions such as the International Development Association is of high priority, and there is an urgent need for a far-reaching reform of international assistance machinery and the establishment of a code of conduct for transnational corporations, which must cease to plunder the wealth of the host countries with impunity.

192. It is appropriate now to bring to the attention of the international community the inadequacy of the resources of UNDP and the great needs of the countries that benefit from its assistance. The People's Republic of Benin associates itself with the appeals launched from this rostrum that UNDP be granted the necessary means, to enable it to carry out successfully its activities for the benefit of the developing countries.

193. Our country, the People's Republic of Benin, suffers the consequences of the economic crisis all the more intensely not only because it is among the least-developed countries, but also because the consequences of the armed aggression to which it was victim are still being felt.

194. My country thanks the United Nations for the programme of special economic assistance established at that time and for the measures which are to be taken by the Assembly at the present session to complete the achievement of the goals of that programme. It also thanks all the States which have contributed to the implementation of that programme to assist the people of Benin.

195. That demonstration of solidarity constitutes support for our country at a time when it is making enormous sacrifices to build the foundations of its economic development. A round-table of the partners in Benin's development will be held in June 1983 at Cotonou. We earnestly hope that the States which have been invited and the United Nations bodies concerned will respond positively and massively to our appeal for broad participation. My delegation would be grateful to the Secretary-General for any steps he might take to that end.

196. We thank the Secretary-General in advance, and through him, Mr. Farah, the Under-Secretary-General, who personally worked to establish the special programme for the benefit of the People's Republic of Benin. His report, which will be considered at this session by the Second Committee, will make it possible to continue efforts for effective

international assistance in support of the development effort of the courageous people of Benin.

197. We should also like to express our gratitude to Mr. Bradford Morse and, through him, to Mr. Doo Kingue, for UNDP assistance in organizing the round-table which is provided for in our 10-year social and economic development programme.

198. We should like also to reiterate the gratitude of the People's Republic of Benin to all the friendly countries and organizations which have tangibly demonstrated their solidarity with the people of Benin, who have been stricken by the recent floods in the south of our country.

199. The People's Republic of Benin, which is among the least-developed countries, is waging a courageous national struggle for economic development. The People's Republic of Benin, its people, its party, its Government and its President, Mathieu Kerekou, hope that our appeal from this rostrum will not be a voice crying in the wilderness. We rely on international solidarity and co-operation for the success of the round-table planned in our country and for the achievement of the objectives of our programme of special economic assistance.

200. Despite the accusations of ineffectiveness so often levelled at the United Nations, the Organization is an indispensable instrument for the protection of peace and security. Thus, it is the historic duty of Member States to overcome their national selfishness to make the Organization better able to function by granting it means commensurate with its purposes and its universality. Member States must act to ensure that the United Nations is not merely a gadget to gratify their selfishness; rather, we must turn it into a real tool, operating full time in the service of peace, freedom, justice and the development of the people. Member States, large and small, rich or poor, must resolve to turn the United Nations into a real centre of consultation and action to promote understanding and co-operation among peoples and to bring about peaceful coexistence between States with different political systems.

201. May that thought inspire the representatives at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly to guarantee the success of the Assembly, a success to which the delegation of Benin pledges itself to contribute by means of dynamic and constructive participation.

202. Ready for the revolution! The struggle continues!

203. Mr. ROGERS (Belize): The delegation of the newly independent Central American and Caribbean nation of Belize has listened with great interest to the various statements made in the general debate during the past two weeks. We have heard Presidents and Prime Ministers, heads of governments and Ministers for Foreign Affairs from rich and powerful nations, poorer and less powerful States, and even the poorest and least powerful among us, relate their perceptions of the state of the world today, their blueprints for a better world, and even their anguish and agony at their inability to mandate the necessary changes. One perception is clear to our delegation: it is that we are witnessing in the world today a crisis situation of a

political and economic nature almost unparalleled in the history of the Organization. But in the face of this bleak prognosis, the delegation of Belize shares the optimism of our distinguished Secretary-General that "we now have potentially better means to solve many of the major problems facing humanity than ever before" [A/37/I, p. 1].

204. In recognition of this great potential of the United Nations to be an instrument for the preservation of peace, stability and security in these troubled times, one of the first acts of independent statehood made by the Government of Belize on Independence Day, 21 September 1981, was to apply for membership of the United Nations.

205. The delegation of Belize is pleased to be able to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. You represent a country, Hungary, that has been steadfast in its support of Belize's right to exist as an independent nation on its own territory—for which Belizeans will always be grateful. We also pay a tribute to Mr. Kittani of Iraq for his mastery as President of the thirty-sixth session. He presided when Belize was first admitted to the Organization and we hold him in high esteem. The delegation of Belize also takes this opportunity to congratulate our brother Latin American, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, on his appointment as Secretary-General. His clear-minded and level-headed approach to the job, as evidenced in his first report on the work of the Organization, encourages us to believe that he will be able to prod the Organization on to achieve its lofty goals.

206. We in Belize share with the Secretary-General his profound concern for the need to strengthen to the fullest the mechanisms of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security. Our path to freedom and independence, with the co-operation and support of the United Nations, is an example of the value of concerted action by peace-loving nations. It is therefore of vital importance to Belize, and indeed to most countries, that the system of collective security continue to be given practical and effective application.

207. Our foreign policy is rooted in certain cardinal principles of international behaviour: non-intervention in the internal affairs of States; the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination; and the strict observance of the non-use of force in the settlement of international disputes. Most of the conflicts, injustices and tension that beset us today spring from flagrant and continuing disregard of these important rules.

208. The barbarity of Sabra and Shatila that fills the world with revulsion should not be the price exacted from the Palestinian people for their legitimate right to live in their own State within secure boundaries. Our delegation puts on record Belize's condemnation and revulsion at the cold-blooded massacre of innocent civilians in Lebanon. We record our support for the right of the people of Palestine to determine their own destiny and to establish their own homeland in their own State within defined and secure boundaries. We also support the right of Israel to exist as a State with its security guaranteed.

209. The constant attacks on the humanity of the black peoples of southern Africa by Pretoria's racist *apartheid* régime and its continued occupation of Namibia and harassment of neighbouring African States are affronts to civilized conscience. We record our condemnation of the *apartheid* policies of the racist régime of South Africa, and our support for the right of the black majority in southern Africa to determine the governance of their territory.

210. The senseless war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, military conflict in the South Atlantic, turmoil and destabilization in Central America and the Caribbean—the list goes on. All of those are possible because we ignore the norms of international behaviour to which we all pay lip service.

211. We support the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions concerning Afghanistan with full respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of that country.

212. Belize also endorses the position of the non-aligned movement in respect of Western Sahara and appeals to the parties to initiate negotiations in order to obtain a fair and lasting solution of the conflict in Western Sahara in accordance with the principles of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the decisions of the OAU and the principles of the non-aligned movement.

213. We look forward to the solution of the problem of the people of East Timor with due regard to the principle of self-determination.

214. The outbreak of hostilities earlier this year in the South Atlantic between Argentina and the United Kingdom was a cause of grave concern to Belize. Consistent with our principles, we unequivocally reject the use of force in attempting to settle this dispute. Belize calls for a formal end to hostilities and for the negotiation of a peaceful settlement in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and with the participation and good offices of the Secretary-General.

215. War, and the consequences of war, must always remind us that the use of force is never a permanent solution to a dispute.

216. In our own region of Central America and the Caribbean, the struggle for peace and freedom and the struggle for development are clearly linked. The social unrest and tension in this part of the world are, in many ways, products of a long history of exploitation and abuses of human rights, aggravated by external pressures and disregard of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference.

217. Although we in Belize have embarked on policies and practices designed to prevent exploitation and abuse, we are not unaffected by the problems of the region. It is incumbent on us to strive resolutely for regional harmony based on mutual respect, and for the elementary democratic right of a people to shape their own destiny.

218. In this context, Belize welcomes the initiative of President López Portillo of Mexico and President Herrera Campins of Venezuela to bring peace to the region by way of a political solution. We also endorse the decision of the non-aligned movement

to convene an extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, from 10 to 14 January 1983.

219. Because Belize shares the view that direct dialogue among democratic countries is an appropriate mechanism for reviewing the situation in their region, and seeking solutions to common problems, the Prime Minister of Belize, Mr. George Price, met in San José, Costa Rica, on 4 October with representatives of Colombia, El Salvador, the United States of America, Honduras, Jamaica, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic.

220. Belize subscribed to the final declaration of San José which stressed support for the principles of representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy, and concern about the serious deterioration of the present international economic order and international financial system.

221. The San José meeting declared its conviction that in order to promote regional peace and stability, it is necessary to support domestic political understanding that will lead to the establishment of democratic, pluralistic and participatory systems. Such understanding would lead to absolute respect for delimited and demarcated borders in accordance with existing treaties, compliance with which is the proper way to prevent border disputes and incidents, observing, whenever applicable, traditional lines of jurisdiction.

222. The meeting in San José also declared respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States, rejection of threats or the use of force to settle conflicts, a halt to the arms race, and the elimination, on the basis of full and effective reciprocity, of the external factors which hamper the consolidation of a stable and lasting peace.

223. Belize, for its part, continues to extend the hand of friendship, and an attitude of good neighbourliness to the Republic of Guatemala. As two sovereign nations, which must inevitably live together with shared borders, we are optimistic that, together, we can work out areas of co-operation for our mutual benefit. We stand ready to take steps to resolve, peacefully, a controversy born in another century. Belize must, however, insist on respect for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-aligned character.

224. The refusal, to date, of the Republic of Guatemala to recognize the reality of Belize within its long-established and traditional borders, is in open defiance of—and shows a contemptuous disregard for—the overwhelming support we have received from States Members of the United Nations. For the Republic of Guatemala to assert that they have “legitimate rights over the territory of Belize” is to reveal a blatant expansionist policy devoid of any legal, historical, or political merit.

225. No part of the territory that is Belize has ever been possessed or occupied by Guatemala. Belize belongs to the Belizeans. The peace-loving and democratic people of Belize know this. Our other neighbours in Central America and the Caribbean affirm it. The world, through the United Nations,

recognizes the sovereign, independent nation of Belize.

226. We reiterate our commitment to find a peaceful resolution of differences with the Republic of Guatemala for the mutual benefit of our two peoples. But the territorial integrity of Belize cannot be sacrificed as a "quick fix" solution. Rather, we seek a permanent and lasting peace with all our neighbours—a peace based on mutual trust and respect, conducive to the continuing development of all our peoples.

227. In this same spirit Belize supports our sister Caribbean Latin American nation of Guyana in its efforts to preserve its territorial integrity, and calls on the parties to seek a peaceful solution through an acceptable international forum.

228. If there has emerged one clear consensus in international thinking today, it is that the world is plunging into economic disorder; that the international financial system urgently requires overhauling.

229. More and more men and women who want to work cannot find jobs. Trade is slowing down to a trickle. Commodity prices are falling rapidly. Exchange rates are unstable and the level of investments is very low. These conditions cause havoc among the poorer nations. Added to this, cruel protective trade barriers deny us a market for our products. The costs of servicing external debts keep soaring, and speculation runs rampant and uncontrolled in the financial markets.

230. In the face of all this, is it any wonder then that the economic struggle for poor countries like Belize is one of sheer survival?

231. The richer, developed and industrialized countries are not encouraging the development of the exports of the developing countries, by their refusal to pay just prices for our commodities, which in the long run would lead to a healthy expansion of international trade for the benefit of all. Instead, they prefer to finance the imports of the third world with loans on exorbitant terms. We are now reaping the bitter harvest of this unenlightened policy.

232. Many third world countries had a higher rate of growth, but it was artificial, because it resulted in an unprecedented increase in their debt burdens. The inevitable consequences now affect us all. Even those countries which had the courage to practice good husbandry and fiscal responsibility are victims of this unjust economic system, which has created the phenomenon of a liquidity crisis and a slow-down in investments. In a situation such as this, no one can win; all will suffer. And because of our vulnerability, the small, poor, developing countries suffer most. Common sense and simple equity demand a change. The cry for a new international economic order can only be stifled at the risk of total economic chaos.

233. We appeal to the industrialized world to implement bold and effective initiatives to strengthen the economic recovery efforts of our countries. We recognize the co-operation of the United States Government in approving President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative, and hope that the measure is a first step in a wider economic co-operation effort. We also applaud the economic co-operation and assistance

efforts by the Nassau Group of countries in this hemisphere—Canada, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela.

234. Belize notes with great satisfaction that after 14 years of difficult negotiation the United Nations has finally adopted the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This Convention, which has attracted almost universal support, is perhaps the single most important example in recent times of the possibilities for co-operation in an enterprise designed for a better future. It gives us hope that we shall find other formulas for co-operation in other spheres of human endeavour. And what better place to devise such formulas than the United Nations?

235. The delegation of Belize feels that the Charter of the United Nations holds the key to the mechanisms to create a better world. The will to use the machinery of the Charter must be consciously strengthened. For this reason, we support the recommendation of the Secretary-General that a meeting of the Security Council be held at the highest level "to make a serious effort to reinforce the protective and preemptive ring of collective security which should be our common shelter and the most important task of the United Nations" [A/37/1, p. 4]. Indeed, the United Nations remains the last best hope for mankind.

236. Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, I should like first of all to congratulate you and the noble country you represent on the occasion of your well-deserved election as President of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are certain that, given your diplomatic skill, wisdom and even-handedness, you will provide excellent leadership for the work before us. Also, we wish to congratulate Mr. Kittani for the skill and tact with which he presided over the tasks of the sessions of the General Assembly held throughout this particularly difficult year. We extend special recognition to the Secretary-General for his outstanding efforts in the short, yet troubled, period in which he has held his post.

237. In this general discussion, it is customary to review the most important developments on the international scene. Year after year, we deplore—almost ritualistically—new and old problems that threaten international peace and security. But this year, a new and exceedingly grave threat has aggravated the situation. I refer specifically to the threat to world peace and security represented by the fatalistic resignation by ever-growing numbers of people and, in particular, by Governments, in the face of genocide, hunger and misery, and even in the face of the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

238. Confronted with the most tense and fragile international situation since 1945, at this session the General Assembly is called upon to reflect most profoundly. The persistence of old sources of tension and the emergence of new ones, in addition to symptoms that the current structures for maintaining stability are becoming worn out, lead us to the inescapable conclusion that the pre-conditions for peace do not exist. Indeed, there can be no peace if the vast majority of the inhabitants of this planet are without bread, education, decent housing, security and political rights. There can be no peace without justice.

There can be no peace while certain countries cling to outmoded systems of domination and dependence and stubbornly endeavour to prevent third world countries at all costs from adopting measures they consider imperative and necessary to overcome underdevelopment and want in the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence. Peace is impossible, so long as the powerful maintain their arrogant stance of demanding that developing countries act in accordance with imperial interests and in detriment to the interests of their own peoples.

239. How can there be peace when 40 per cent of the third world population is denied the right to read and write? How can there be peace when the vast majority of mankind is struggling to overcome hunger and misery, while a tiny minority invests enormous resources in weapons to be used against those demanding justice?

240. How can we not acknowledge that we are facing the most serious economic crisis since the great depression of the 1930s, with world per capita income not making the slightest advance since 1981 and with the prospect of a decline in 1982? How can there be peace while countries and entire continents are fighting not simply for economic growth but for mere survival? Our countries are calling for a new economic order wherein the developed countries do not correct their own problems of stagnation, inflation and unemployment at the expense of the developing world.

241. In this setting Latin America has felt the need to lay the groundwork for a strategy for independence and security. At the eighth regular meeting of the Council of the Latin American Economic System, held this past August in Caracas, our countries reasserted the sovereign right of all nations to adopt their own path in the economic, social and political fields in peace and free from pressure, aggression and external threats.

242. In Managua, the seventeenth Regional Conference for Latin America of FAO also urged the creation of security machinery in terms of foodstuffs in order to decrease the vulnerability of Latin American and Caribbean nations with regard to one or several industrialized countries. And, in Toronto, on the occasion of the Joint Meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, our country, on behalf of Latin America, the Philippines and Spain, voiced its opposition to intervention by certain institutions in the system of economic organization of countries in need of assistance. Warning was given of the dangers involved in the setting of more and more conditions, in the rising cost of credit and in the threat contained in the questioning of the very importance of international co-operation.

243. With regard to international co-operation, we wish to go on record as voicing concern at the tendency of some developed countries not to abide by the commitments that they have undertaken *vis-à-vis* UNDP, thus making the progress of important projects already under way much more difficult.

244. Just as indicative of the current indifference to mankind's vital interests is the impudence of those that try to hide the consequences of nuclear conflict. Illogically, they try to make us believe that such a conflict could be confined to a given geographical

area. It has reached the point where the world's most formidable military Power is proclaiming that there are issues more important than peace and that force is a legitimate instrument in attaining its objectives of domination and political hegemony.

245. This reckless policy of the current United States Administration has made its own citizens and the peoples of the world contemplate the danger of a nuclear confrontation. In this context, it should not surprise us that the anti-nuclear movement has attained such massive and broad dimensions—even in the United States itself—although this outcry, as has unfortunately become the rule, is not reflected in decisions of Governments, as evidenced by the paltry results of the recent second special session devoted to disarmament.

246. Just a few months ago Latin America suffered colonialist military aggression by an extracontinental Power, which threatens the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a sister nation. We refer, of course, to the British invasion of the Malvinas Islands, the true origin of which can be found in the United Kingdom's stubborn attempt to perpetuate an anachronistic colonial situation on our continent. The aggression against the Republic of Argentina was possible only thanks to the military, economic and political support that the United States supplied to the aggressor nation—support which astonished Latin Americans, support that unmasked the United States conception of the reciprocal defence treaties and the true motives that led the United States to sign them.

247. In numerous General Assembly resolutions and resolutions of other United Nations bodies it has been said in clear-cut terms that the Malvinas issue is a colonial one that must be resolved. Twenty Latin American foreign ministers requested that this situation be discussed at this session of the Assembly, because they wanted to make it absolutely clear that the cause of the Malvinas Islands is also the cause of Latin America, and that a resumption of negotiations leading to a peaceful resolution of the conflict on the basis of United Nations resolutions is imperative.

248. The principle of solidarity compels us to unite with our African brothers and sisters in the defence of Namibia's right to independence. We reject all the manoeuvres aimed at creating a puppet Government in Namibia. We demand full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the recognition of SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the heroic people of Namibia. We denounce the campaign launched by the Reagan Administration to deprive Angola of its inalienable right of self-defence and to the assistance it needs to repel South Africa's attacks. We are certain that neither this policy of black-mail nor the stationing of thousands of racist troops along Angola's frontier, nor the attempts to destabilize the front-line States, especially Mozambique, nor the use of mercenaries to overthrow Governments, as happened in Seychelles, can weaken the clear determination of those peoples to defend their sovereignty and to ensure sovereignty for Namibia.

249. We condemn the aggressive policy of the racist régime of South Africa against neighbouring States, a policy which is the logical outgrowth of its own criminal *apartheid* system. We reaffirm what our non-

aligned movement has stated on numerous occasions, namely, that there can be no peace, stability and security in southern Africa until the oppressive and illegal *apartheid* régime is totally eradicated. We are as one in solidarity with the labour leaders imprisoned and condemned to death by the diabolical racist régime, in flagrant violation of the most elementary human rights. The United Nations must step up its campaign to prevent them from being executed and to win their release.

250. The entire world has witnessed the brutal aggression of which the Republic of Lebanon has been the victim, and in which atrocities comparable only to the "final solution" policy pursued by the Nazi régime were committed. It is appropriate to recall, in such circumstances, that Hitler's Germany started that catastrophe with its policy of territorial expansionism, which was followed by the mass extermination of human beings, and that one of its principal victims was the Jewish people itself. Today, to the world's consternation, the leaders of those who survived genocide and the concentration camps are to be found promoting acts of genocide and building concentration camps with the objective of exterminating the heroic Palestinian people.

251. The horrors which have occurred in the Palestinian refugee camps, the indiscriminate massacring of the civilian population of Beirut and the denial of people's most elementary legal rights led the Government Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua to break the only remaining link we still had with Israel, that is, the fiction of diplomatic relations, all genuine ties having been severed upon the triumph of our Revolution. It was the least Nicaragua could do to express its categorical repudiation and total non-recognition of the Zionist régime and at the same time its militant support for the Palestinian combatants and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, and the long-suffering people of Lebanon.

252. We feel it necessary to denounce, moreover, the open complicity of a great Power in the barbarism unleashed by the Zionist forces in Lebanon. That Power gave the Zionist régime its full political, military and economic support, thus ensuring that the crimes committed would go unpunished and, which is even more shameful, systematically blocked the Security Council's efforts to restore peace, proclaiming that it alone was capable of controlling the monster which it had itself encouraged and which it had always defended.

253. Those events demonstrate clearly that the problem of the Middle East can be resolved only by recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to set up their own State. The international community must step up its efforts to prevent the policy of force and *faits accomplis* practised by Israel from prevailing in that area of the world, a policy which could have the fatal corollary of the physical extermination of the Palestinian people. Equally evident is the fact that the Middle East crisis will be capable of solution only when the United States abandons its policy of protecting those guilty of crime, terrorism and genocide and stops thwarting United Nations efforts, in particular those of the

Secretary-General and the Security Council, to carry out the mandate set forth in the Charter.

254. Speaking as a member of the non-aligned movement and as a revolutionary nation, we wish to voice our solidarity with all the countries and peoples fighting to win or to preserve their independence: with the people of Cyprus, seeking to exercise their right to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation; with Grenada and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, defending their sovereignty against imperialism; with the sister Republic of Cuba demanding the return of illegally occupied Guantánamo—and we condemn in the strongest possible terms the blockade and constant threats against that country. We join the brother people and Government of Panama in their just demand that the Torrijos-Carter treaties be implemented.

255. We rejoice with the people of Bolivia over their nation's return to legality and democracy. We extend our solidarity to the people of Puerto Rico and support their right to independence and self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), recalling the fact that the problem facing the Puerto Rican people but that it is, rather, a matter that concerns Latin America, to which Puerto Rico is an undeniable part. We support the Korean people's just struggle for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their nation free from foreign intervention.

256. Nicaragua reaffirms its support of the appeal issued by the non-aligned movement with regard to Western Sahara for the parties concerned to enter into negotiations immediately in order to reach a just and lasting solution—that conflict in keeping with the provisions of resolution 1514 (XV) and the principles of our movement, with the decisions adopted by the OAU and with the principles of the Charter.

257. We welcome the efforts made by the States of South-East Asia to begin a dialogue leading to the re-establishment of peace and stability in that region. We welcome as well the positions and appeals with regard to South-West Asia adopted by the non-aligned movement at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi.

258. The worsening of the international situation cannot be separated from the grave crisis affecting the Organization. That is why we welcome the frankness with which the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization acknowledges that the United Nations is being ignored by some countries, and we support the recommendations he makes aimed at strengthening the Organization and, in particular, at strengthening the authority of the Security Council to prevent conflicts and revitalize the system of international security. In this connection, it is worth stressing that the use of the veto to thwart the condemnation of terror, aggression and genocide must no longer be tolerated, so that being in Washington's good graces is not interpreted as a green light to violate the fundamental principles of the Charter and the most basic norms of law.

259. It should be a matter of profound concern to the international community that a permanent member of the Security Council tends to turn increasingly to the veto in detriment to the just proposals for peace advanced, with a lofty sense of responsibility,

by Governments in the most troubled regions of the world. In specific terms, we wish to refer to the Reagan Administration's decision to veto the draft resolution regarding Central America submitted by Panama and Guyana¹⁰ on 2 April of this year, a draft resolution that confined itself simply to reaffirming the illegality of the use of force or the threat of force in relations between States and that called for dialogue between all parties concerned.

260. Nicaragua believes there is no justification whatsoever for the Reagan Administration's attitude towards our country and the Central American region. We deem it absurd to portray us as a threat to the United States for having chosen, in the exercise of our sovereign rights, an independent political path within the framework of the most scrupulous non-alignment. It is even more absurd to try to blame Nicaragua for all the problems Central American countries are enduring, problems whose origins and true causes can be found solely and exclusively in the constant postponement of appropriate solutions. This is a situation the peoples of Central America seem unwilling to go on tolerating indefinitely, despite the fact that the United States continues to oppose any changes that might result in greater independence for the States of Central America.

261. We have stressed—and we do so here once again—that the Nicaraguan Government genuinely desires an understanding with the United States that would make it possible substantially to improve the relations between our two States on the basis of mutual respect, non-intervention in internal affairs and, above all, on the basis of sovereign equality, independence and self-determination—principles that constitute the foundation of peace and stability in the world and that are found throughout the Charter.

262. Guided by our unshakeable devotion to peace, we have presented to the Reagan Administration a number of different approaches for initiating dialogue, reiterating time and again our invitation to hold high-level meetings between representatives of our States in the hope of avoiding the putting into effect of the threats of the use of force against Nicaragua.

263. Unfortunately, the response of the United States Government to date has been to attempt to impose upon us its rigid East-West outlook, a combination of economic pressures, accusations and threats culminating in the financing of covert destabilizing activities and the open use of its territory for the training of counter-revolutionary forces and for the preparation of actions of a criminal nature against Nicaragua. The financial and organizational assistance the Reagan Administration is lending the enemies of our people has led to an increase in terrorist acts and armed assaults on our national territory and to a substantial increase in the weaponry, personnel and organization provided to the counter-revolutionary forces. Those forces have been supplied with sophisticated means of warfare used solely by professional armies—such as those found in the wake of the evidenced blowing up and sabotaging of two strategic bridges near the border with Honduras and as evidenced by the use of armed aircraft in attempts to destroy our only oil refinery and the fuel stores located at the port of Corinto on the Pacific coast. To round out this distressing picture, we cannot avoid

mentioning the presence of United States warships in our territorial waters, the overflights of spy planes and the holding of joint military manoeuvres with the Honduran army near our borders.

264. Guided by our firm determination to consolidate peace in our region, our Government has taken part in and promoted the search for solutions which would permit an understanding among the Central American countries, to which we are united by bonds so strong that no foreign Power, no matter how powerful it may be, could ever permanently impair them.

265. In this regard I should like to recall the far-reaching importance which the meeting of foreign ministers, held in San José, Costa Rica, on 14 and 15 March 1980, had for Central American unity. As the Declaration adopted at the meeting puts it, it was motivated by the conviction that direct and frank dialogue between the countries of the Central American isthmus was the best way to review the regional situation in the political, economic and social fields, as the most appropriate means of adopting positions to benefit the peoples of Central America. The first point in the 1980 San José Declaration affirms that the peaceful and harmonious coexistence of the States in the region requires respect for the different political systems, for the right to self-determination and the right to resolve internal affairs in accordance with each nation's historical development.

266. Another important agreement adopted at that meeting was the inclusion of the sister republic of Panama as an integral part of Central America, along with the institutionalization of the meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the area, which are to be held regularly three times a year.

267. More recently, during my visit to Tegucigalpa in April of this year the Honduran Minister for External Relations, Edgardo Paz Barnica, informed me that he would immediately call a meeting of the foreign ministers of the region—an initiative which Nicaragua welcomed without delay or reservations. I committed myself to attending, and to supporting the inclusion in the agenda of that meeting of the six points contained in a peace proposal which the Foreign Minister of Honduras said he wanted to submit for consideration to the foreign ministers of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama.

268. Surprisingly, six months after that conversation—in other words, in this month of October—bypassing the still-valid agreements of the Declaration of Central American Foreign Ministers of 1980, another meeting of Foreign Ministers was called, also in Costa Rica, promoted by the United States, from which certain Central American States were excluded. This exclusion violated the agreements adopted previously by the region's Foreign Ministers, hence this meeting can be regarded only as an unimportant and marginal event in terms of its content, and as going against our peoples' genuine interests of peace, stability and development.

269. Central America, for the reasons we have already outlined, finds itself in the midst of great political upheavals, exacerbated by grave economic problems. Nevertheless, as pointed out in the joint letter sent by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela

to the Co-ordinator of the Nicaraguan Government Junta of National Reconstruction, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, and to the President of Honduras, Roberto Suazo Córdoba, it is undeniable that the most critical situation facing the region, the most serious problem, is the dangerous deterioration of relations between Honduras and Nicaragua, which could result in a conflict of unforeseeable proportions.

270. The attitude adopted by the United States Government, which must be denounced, has decisively influenced powerful sectors of the Honduran army, which are providing ample assistance to the counter-revolutionary forces, permitting the use of Honduran territory as a base for military operations to attack towns and posts along the Nicaraguan border, as well as the supply of weapons, infrastructure, and logistical support, tolerating the provocations and attacks by soldiers of that country's army, and are even going so far as to sign specific agreements with the United States on the basis of which the United States Government has increased its military aid to Honduras, financing the reconstruction of airports and military bases, multiplying the number of its advisers, and reserving the right to use these and other bases and military infrastructure in Honduras. It is obvious that this policy is giving rise to a dangerous spiral of war in Central America. It encourages the most aggressive sectors of Honduras and other countries of the region, who recklessly brag in public about their military ability to defeat Nicaragua and openly call for foreign intervention against our country.

271. These military preparations, which amount to a prelude to the much-advertised assault on Nicaragua, were recently denounced by the former Commander of the Honduran Public Security Force, Colonel Leónidas Torres Arias, and this week by the Mayor of Puerto Lempira, Marcial Colemann, who told news agencies that an unprecedented invasion of Nicaragua was approaching and that Puerto Lempira, his own city, would be the organizational centre for the invasion. He reported that the counter-revolutionaries there were being supplied by a Hercules aircraft of the United States Air Force. He also stated that there was a warehouse in Puerto Lempira which was full of weapons that local residents could see, and that there was evidence of counter-revolutionary camps from which a silent invasion of our country had already begun.

272. Notwithstanding these irrefutable facts, an elaborate diplomatic and propaganda campaign is under way to defame Nicaragua and portray us as a country opposed to all dialogue, when the truth is that it is the people of Nicaragua who are being attacked and it is Honduras that systematically refuses to take part in a dialogue at the highest level to find solutions to bilateral problems. It is possible that this reluctance stems from a recognition of the fact that our problems with Honduras—a brother nation with which we have close-knit ties—are really problems with the United States, since the Reagan Administration conscious of how absurd and counter-productive a direct confrontation with Nicaragua would be—the United States so big and we so small—has chosen Honduras as the ideal country from which to attack us, with the foolish aim of destabilizing us and overthrowing our Government. It forgets that this objective

is impossible to attain in the light of our people's monolithic unity and our determination to defend and consolidate the achievements we have gained at such a high cost.

273. From September of last year to September of this year our country has endured approximately 100 attacks from Honduras. We have detected some 23 infiltrations of counter-revolutionary military groups and units. There have been 10 violations of and incidents in our territorial waters. All of that has left a painful toll of more than 150 Nicaraguans killed, 50 missing and incalculable material damage, which forced our Government at one point to evacuate the civilian population in the frontier region, which had become a veritable scorched-earth battlefield.

274. Within the framework of its many peace initiatives, Nicaragua promoted the meeting between the heads of State of Honduras and Nicaragua, held at the El Guasaule border post on 13 May 1981; we have repeatedly requested a meeting between the army leaders of both States, something agreed to at El Guasaule; this past April I travelled to Tegucigalpa to talk with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Paz Barnica, and present him with a seven-point peace plan, later rejected by Honduras down to the last detail; we worked for the meeting between the chiefs of staff of the respective armed forces, held this past May at the La Fraternidad border post—as a result of the agreements obtained at the La Fraternidad meeting, the only meeting that has actually been held was between the heads of the naval forces of our countries in the port of Corinto.

275. The rapid deterioration of the situation along the border and the systematic refusal of Honduras to offer the viable solutions urgently needed in accordance with the existing situation led Nicaragua to make yet another effort and on 6 August we extended an invitation to the President of Honduras to meet in Managua with the Co-ordinator of the Government Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua. It was made known unofficially that such a meeting would require a prior meeting of Foreign Ministers. On 24 August I sent an invitation to the Honduran Minister for External Relations for us to meet in Managua in early September, an invitation I renewed on 4 October, asking him to set the date. The Honduran response to both invitations was that an excessive work-load made any commitments impossible now. Under these circumstances, the Governments of Mexico and Venezuela launched their very worthwhile peace initiative, which Nicaragua immediately welcomed and which we were most pleased to accept, but which Honduras has, unfortunately, rejected on the grounds of having matters of a higher priority to deal with at present.

276. Fully aware of the delicate situation existing in Central America, Nicaragua has redoubled its efforts and will continue to do all that is humanly possible in order to obtain a peaceful settlement, through dialogue, of the matter of the critical relations with the United States and Honduras, as we have turned the struggle for peace into the guiding principle of all we do in the political realm. Nicaragua seeks only to live in peace, to move forward with the process of our material and spiritual reconstruction within

the most absolute respect for the principles of the Charter and of non-alignment.

277. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate, in which 143 statements were made. This number alone testifies to the interest Member States show towards the activities of the United Nations. We heard addresses from a number of heads of State or Government. It is my sincere conviction that the policy statements made in the general debate reflecting the multiplicity of views and approaches inherent in an Organization like the United Nations will help the General Assembly accomplish its task in the months to come. I should like to take this opportunity to express once again my sincere thanks and gratitude to all the speakers who were kind enough to make generous references to my country and to me personally in the course of their interventions.

278. I now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by representatives from their seats.

279. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): My delegation has asked to speak in exercise of its right of reply to answer the unfounded and slanderous charges and insinuations made by certain delegations during the general debate with regard to the so-called question of East Timor. We were not surprised by the fact that as in the past the same delegations have repeated the same well-worn allegations against my Government. Nor were we surprised to see those delegations once again resorting to the same standard fare of contorted argumentation and wilful misrepresentation of the actual prevailing situation in East Timor.

280. One would be tempted to dismiss this annual exercise as unworthy of further comment. However, by persisting in their campaign for the benefit and in the self-serving interest of a few self-styled East Timorese exiles, who were long ago rejected and exposed by the people of East Timor for what they really are, those delegations do harm to the real interest of the East Timorese people as a whole and we cannot therefore remain silent.

281. The distinguished Prime Minister of Portugal, in his statement before the Assembly, stated in passing that Portugal seven years ago "ceased to be able to carry out its responsibilities as administering Power" [14th meeting, para. 22] in East Timor. The honourable Prime Minister apparently found it unimportant to explain why that had happened. As the record shows, Portugal did cease to carry out those responsibilities because it abandoned East Timor in a most irresponsible manner in August 1975. It did so after having allowed the situation in the Territory to deteriorate to the point of civil war by instigating the party of its own creation, FRETILIN, to seize power and to start a reign of terror against its political opponents, while providing the arms to enable it to do so. In this way, Portugal utterly mishandled the decolonization process in East Timor. By abandoning the Territory, Portugal in effect relinquished its responsibility as the administering Power and even

FRETILIN underscored this at the time by announcing its own unilateral declaration of independence. It is quite ironic, therefore, that after having acted in this way in 1975, the Portuguese Government should now claim to feel a strong sense of "national and moral duty" towards East Timor and should still want to be regarded as the administering Power.

282. We wish that this exalted sense of moral duty and responsibility had been present seven years ago. If that had been the case, it would have saved thousands of East Timorese from the deaths and suffering that resulted from the civil war. Thus, by its own actions, Portugal has in our view forfeited any moral right to be considered the administering Power and we do not cease to be surprised that even among our fellow members of the non-aligned movement there are still a few who would like to turn the clock back and return East Timor to its former colonial master. The irreversible fact of the matter is that the process of decolonization in East Timor was completed when the overwhelming majority of East Timorese decided to attain independence, through integration with Indonesia, on the basis of and in full compliance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV).

283. We are also intrigued by the reference made by the Portuguese Prime Minister to violations of "cultural identity" to which the East Timorese are allegedly being subjected because of their integration with Indonesia. We wonder whether by these references it is being suggested that the East Timorese cultural identity should be Portuguese. Or are we to infer that the East Timorese cultural identity is rooted in the Portuguese language? If this is the implication, are we then to accept it as a justification for a kind of cultural imperialism as an unavoidable residue of past colonialism?

284. Some of the speakers also referred to so-called FRETILIN as a "vanguard organization and legitimate representative of the people of East Timor". Some even go so far as to accord it the distinction of being a "national liberation movement". This is a preposterous proposition and, in the view of my delegation, an affront to all genuine liberation movements in the world, which truly have that status.

285. The so-called FRETILIN was created in 1974 after the Portuguese revolution of the same year. FRETILIN never fought against Portuguese colonialism; its leaders have been nothing more than the favourite collaborators of the Portuguese colonial régime, and its armed members have consisted mainly of former colonial soliders. And, if there is still any lingering doubt as to the true origins and status of FRETILIN, the events of 1975 whereby the Portuguese colonial administration openly aided and encouraged FRETILIN to seize power by force of arms rather than through democratic methods should provide ample evidence to dispel those doubts. FRETILIN was only one of five parties existing in East Timor at that time. The other four parties were APODETI, the UDT, KOTA and TRABALHISTA. By Portugal's own admission, UDT was clearly the largest of the five. Hence, together with the other three parties, it convincingly represented the overwhelming majority of the population and was in actual control of the Territory when, in May 1976, the people expressed the

will to achieve independence through integration in the exercise of their right to self-determination.

286. As a country and people which has actually fought a revolutionary war of independence, as a country and people which has had a national liberation movement that struggled for scores of years against colonialism, as a country and people which has consistently supported genuine independence movements all over the world, Indonesia, I believe, has some experience in distinguishing between authentic liberation movements and pseudo-revolutionaries who are nothing more than disguised collaborators of colonial régimes. We would have hoped that those remaining few supporters of FRETILIN among our brothers in the non-aligned movement would also be able to distinguish between the two.

287. It was alleged during the general debate that "Indonesia never fought against Portugal". If by this we are to understand that Indonesia never took up arms against Portugal, this is, of course, true. But, as the record shows, Indonesia has opposed Portuguese colonialism in East Timor and elsewhere, just as it has opposed other colonial Powers in all forums of the world and supported all genuine liberation movements. The fact that we never took up arms against Portugal in the case of East Timor only demonstrates that Indonesia never harboured expansionist or territorial ambitions as regards East Timor. In fact when, following the 1974 revolution in Portugal, the new Government initiated the process of decolonization in East Timor, my Government whole-heartedly welcomed this and in various ways extended its good will and co-operation as regards the successful completion of that process. The subsequent tragic developments in East Timor were therefore not of our making, and no amount of convoluted arguments and misrepresentations can remove the responsibility that Portugal and FRETILIN must bear for the violent events that transpired in East Timor in 1975. This chronology of events should also go a long way in showing that Indonesia's only role was in responding to the expressions of the true will of the people of East Timor.

288. In addition, we can only describe as reprehensible the malicious and utterly false portrayal of current conditions in the province. It is apparent that the references to East Timor that we have heard in the general debate are nothing less than an attempt to involve Member States in the continuing campaign of slander and disinformation by Indonesia's detractors and opponents, who are intent upon discrediting its policies and the real achievements in the development of East Timor. Today, as Indonesians, the people of the province of East Timor, together with their national Government and with the assistance of friendly countries, as well as of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Catholic Relief Services, UNICEF and UNHCR, are working to overcome the legacy of 400 years of backwardness and colonial exploitation.

289. None the less, those few delegations have tried to create the false impression that East Timor today is famine-stricken and subjected to major military operations against the civilian population and to a massive denial of human rights.

290. At the risk of being repetitive, I wish—

291. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the representative of Indonesia, but his 10 minutes are up.

292. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): May I be allowed just one minute, Mr. President?

293. The PRESIDENT: Please be as brief as possible, because your time is up.

294. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): At the risk of being repetitive, I wish to state only that there is no famine in East Timor, nor is there any danger of one in the future. There are no major military operations against the civilian population or even against FRETILIN, because there is no more FRETILIN in East Timor.

295. Finally, my delegation categorically rejects the allegations concerning East Timor and regards them as serious interference into the internal affairs of Indonesia, in direct violation of Article 2 paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations.

296. Mr. WHYTE (United Kingdom): The representative of Malta referred yesterday [32nd meeting] to the problem of remnants of war, in relation in particular to Valletta harbour. This matter was dealt with fully in the reply given by Sir Anthony Parsons at the thirty-sixth session [30th meeting].

297. The British Government has always been willing to discuss such problems bilaterally, and this is unchanged. Talk of pre-conditions is out of place. So is the reference to a supposed universal principle.

298. The British Government has repeatedly indicated that, while under no legal obligation to clear unexploded ordnance or wrecks from Maltese waters, much of it the direct result of wartime Axis attack, it will examine what assistance it might be possible to offer in the context of specific harbour development plans where it can be shown that wrecks or unexploded ordnance constitute hindrance to such plans. This offer remains open.

299. A number of people in this Hall may have noticed that we in Britain did go to quite extraordinary lengths recently to raise from the waters of Portsmouth harbour the flagship of King Henry VIII, which sank over 400 years ago. But I assure representatives that that was entirely exceptional. Our approach to the problems of Valletta harbour reflects normal practice in Britain, where wrecks are left undisturbed unless they are a demonstrable hindrance to navigation.

300. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation does not usually exercise its right of reply in order to develop its arguments; indeed, in my 20 years' experience of the United Nations, this is but the second time that I have personally made use of this right, and I do so this time to highlight the inaccuracies, omissions and false representations in the statement made by the representative of the Kingdom of Morocco at the 30th meeting.

301. The representative of the Kingdom of Morocco spoke of the multiple manoeuvres that have hampered the process envisaged to put an end to the conflict in Western Sahara, mentioning resolutions of the OAU and General Assembly decision 36/406 but ignoring Assembly resolution 36/46.

302. Coming from the Moroccan delegation such an omission can certainly not be called a manoeuvre.

303. We joined in the Nairobi consensus, but we constantly maintained that for the consensus to be viable Morocco had to withdraw its administration of Western Sahara and end its military occupation of that Territory. But in the interest of African unity we did not absolutely insist on those conditions on the understanding that if the consensus was not implemented, we would withdraw the concession to which we had agreed temporarily, but in good faith of course—the good faith which is indispensable in the normal conduct of international relations, but which was singularly lacking on the Moroccan side when it identified the parties to the conflict before the OAU Implementation Committee, which met at Nairobi in February this year.

304. Who, then, broke up the consensus of the eighteenth session of the OAU Assembly? Those who suppressed their demands, or those who pigheadedly insisted on the OAU stating—in the face of all evidence—that there is no conflict between Morocco and the POLISARIO Front? Manipulation and the sowing of confusion are raised to a fine art when you claim to be facing up to a conflict with a party you choose to ignore, a party which, indeed, you use verbal magic to dematerialize.

305. The representative of the Kingdom of Morocco wished to resolve peremptorily—not to say superficially—the present crisis facing the OAU and the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to that organization, an admission which was called a masquerade although it was brought about by the sovereign will of 26 states expressed as early as 1980 at the seventeenth session of the OAU Assembly at Freetown, Sierra Leone. As to masquerades, the Moroccan side should know what it is all about since the Green March, the consultations of the rump Djemaa and the so-called Nairobi initiative, which was quickly repudiated as soon as the undeniable consequences ceased to be to the taste of the Moroccan leaders.

306. At the 24th meeting we said that the crisis of the OAU did not and could not date from the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to that organization. To be specific: the crisis dates from the moment at which one OAU member infringed one of the principles set out in article III of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, signed at Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963 by 31 out of the 32 States there represented—for reasons well known to those who were at Addis Ababa at that time.

307. Morocco bears the responsibility for the crisis, for, in the matter of Western Sahara, it perverted the principle of unreserved devotion to the cause of the total emancipation of African Territories which are not yet independent. To crown all its manoeuvres over recent years, Morocco refused to negotiate, as it had solemnly promised to do. It is not surprising that to exonerate itself—or to try to exonerate itself—the Moroccan side deemed it proper to say that Madagascar, along with other countries, was among the most fervent and zealous architects of the crisis.

308. We have stopped counting the falsifications. As we cannot expect the Moroccan delegation to agree with us on this point, we understand—and here we

refer to what we said on 8 October last—that the Moroccan delegation does not believe that Africa is determined to overcome this crisis, that it thinks that we will not attain our goals, and that it is not even necessary to defy those who are banking on the temporary disunity of Africa. That was the opposite of all our declared principles, but clearly, to the Moroccan delegation, our declarations of principle can only be false.

309. We do not claim to be the sole defenders of the OAU, or the sole repositories of truth, wisdom and the will of the majority, but at least we have had the courage—whether at the ministerial level or at the level of the heads of States who met at Tripoli in July and August last—to appeal for the fulfilment of the essential objectives of African unity. It is well known that Morocco's reply was a blunt refusal.

310. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): To my very great surprise, the Foreign Minister of Sweden chose to speak of my country in discourteous terms that it certainly does not deserve.

311. For the moment there is, of course, a military régime in Turkey, but not a militarist one, as the Swedish Foreign Minister chooses to believe.

312. I shall recall a few facts. In September 1980 the parliamentary institutions as established by the 1961 Constitution were totally paralysed. Parliament found itself absolutely incapable of legislating, or even electing a new President of the Republic. Excessively weak and completely unstable Governments were no longer able to bring to bear the authority of the Republic and respect for law and order. Just before the intervention by the armed forces, the number of victims of terrorism amounted to nearly 30 per day. Terrorism by the extreme left was the tool of those who were fomenting a fairly transparent plot to dismantle and abolish the democratic national republic. Terrorism by the extreme right, carried out in reaction to this, threatened to cause the outbreak of religious differences, in violation of the principle of the unity of the nation and the State.

313. It was in those conditions of extreme crisis that the Turkish armed forces deemed it their duty to take power and to embark on a massive rehabilitation effort. Such rehabilitation did indeed require minimal—I repeat: minimal—and temporary restrictions in political and trade union life, but in general they allowed great leeway for free criticism and the right of expression. Those who are brought before the courts—legally constituted courts moreover—are nothing but terrorists of the extreme left and the extreme right, and their closest accomplices. It must not be forgotten that there are some 30,000 terrorists of both camps in my country. That will, perhaps, make it easier to see and understand the difficulties facing the forces of order and the judiciary.

314. Faithful to their democratic tradition, the Turkish armed forces promised a prompt return to a normal democratic régime. Turkey will very soon have a new democratic Constitution; the drafting is nearly complete. Next year new general elections will take place. At that time, the Foreign Minister of Sweden will undoubtedly regret having used such inappropriate language and will have learned—at least one hopes so—that Turkey is not a country sinking gradually

into the most implacable totalitarianism, but a country being reborn into the full light of democracy.

315. Such allegations stem from a complete and shocking ignorance of the true situation in my country and from ideological and political prejudice which distorts objective, impartial and realistic judgement. We regret that the Swedish Minister has fallen a victim to that, not because he used unjust words—therefore of little importance—but because this incident will certainly deal a blow to the traditional friendship that exists between Turkey and Sweden.

316. In conclusion, I should like to tell him that his Government has no right to take the part of a so-called dispenser of justice in matters relating to democracy; true and sincere democrats are not only the products of the North of Europe, where politicians tend somewhat facetiously to believe in the worth of exporting their own concepts as if they were valid in other countries which are developing in very different circumstances; men of good will who cherish their democratic ideals exist in other countries also, including my country, and they are fighting to strengthen the concepts and institutions of democracy and human rights in the face of misunderstanding and ignorance that politicians such as he evince.

317. The Turkish democrats of which the most prominent are to be found in the members of the armed forces of my country, have no lessons to learn from the Foreign Minister of Sweden or from any foreigner, whoever he may be.

318. Let the inveterate sceptics and apprentice lawyers wait and see; in particular, let them learn to see.

319. Mr. MARTINI URDANETA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the 26th meeting the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guyana delivered a speech that we deplore. What he said has contributed nothing towards a practical, peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the territorial dispute between Venezuela and Guyana. He confined himself to rhetorical and false allegations about Venezuela's aggression and its intentions, allegations that are disproved by the very history and tradition of Venezuela and its endeavours to find a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

320. The facts are so clear that they cannot be denied: the United Kingdom recognized Venezuela's right to the Essequibo River as its boundary, but subsequently committed an act of territorial plunder, displaying its imperialist appetite, as reflected in an arbitration farce in 1899, the outcome of an understanding among the former colonial Powers.

321. The acknowledgement that a territorial controversy exists as a result of these developments, together with the commitment to find a practical and satisfactory settlement of this matter, are enshrined in an international agreement signed at Geneva on 17 February 1966, the parties to which are Venezuela, Guyana and the United Kingdom. Ever since 1966 a number of different governments from different parties have followed one another at the helm of our democracy. All of them have agreed to respect this instrument and have shown their readiness to abide by its provisions,

as the Foreign Minister of Venezuela stated to the General Assembly [*5th meeting*].

322. Over the last 16 years the Government of Venezuela has insisted in its representations to the Government of Guyana that it comply with the obligation to negotiate, as laid down in the Geneva Agreement, to find a satisfactory solution for a practical settlement of the dispute. Over that period the Government of Guyana, for its part, has systematically side-stepped compliance with that commitment and has confined itself to the defamation and slander of Venezuela, calling it an aggressor, a charge disproved by the facts, which confirm our unwavering position as a peace-loving country which respects its commitments and its international obligations.

323. The Government of Venezuela has noted with concern the statements of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana, wherein we find reiterated those long-standing accusations coupled, nevertheless, with proposals supposedly reflecting the Geneva Agreement. To that end, one or another of three international bodies has been proposed as an alternative participant, possibly to assume the role envisaged in article IV of that Agreement, which includes indicating to the parties a means of settling peacefully the present territorial disputes. That proposal has caused the Government of Venezuela concern. Through the bilateral relations as reflected in the Geneva Agreement, and through proper diplomatic channels, the Government of Venezuela had in fact already proposed to Guyana that that task be entrusted directly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, his intervention having been explicitly envisaged in the Agreement.

324. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana, instead of abiding by that approach, has put forward a counter-proposal in the context of a speech delivered in an unacceptable tone. The Government of Venezuela notwithstanding its serious reservations over the proffering of such proposals under these circumstances, has studied the proposals most carefully. For obvious reasons, it will not respond to them on this occasion, but, firmly resolved to settle the dispute in accordance with the Geneva Agreement, will again resort to the regular diplomatic channels, abandoned unilaterally by the Government of Guyana.

325. We invite the Government of Guyana to adopt a position more in keeping with its international duties, its responsibilities as a developing country, its commitments under the Charter, and, above all, with the obligations that it assumed under the Geneva Agreement. We invite Guyana to show evidence of good will, and seriousness of purpose in dealing with this delicate issue. We invite Guyana to join with us in resolving the problems inherited from British colonialism, and in seeking a satisfactory solution in terms of a practical settlement of the territorial dispute outstanding that would prove acceptable to both sides.

326. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): I must take strong exception to the diatribe delivered this evening by the representative of Nicaragua and to the earlier parody of it by Grenada. In 1981 in the general debate the representative of Nicaragua charged that the United States was preparing to invade Nicaragua. In the Security Council during March

1982 Nicaragua again made these charges. Today we have been subjected yet again to the same baseless allegations that the United States is the aggressor, prepared to intervene in Nicaragua and in the affairs of other Central American countries. Of course there has been no such intervention by the United States in Nicaragua. The United States constitutes no threat to the sovereignty and independence of States in that region, or in any other region. In contrast to Nicaragua's current friends in the world, the United States occupies no foreign country, has invaded no foreign country, and is repressing no foreign people. Why then is it necessary for Nicaragua to repeat these baseless allegations against the United States as being responsible for all problems and disasters, both man-made or natural, that face Nicaragua? Why does the Sandinist anthem still describe the United States as the enemy of mankind?

327. The answer is quite straightforward. The Sandinist leaders—like other strong men before them who have grabbed power by force of arms—live in fear that they, too, will soon fall victim to violence and intrigue. By constantly repeating accusations against the United States, the Sandinist régime falls into the usual pattern of totalitarian states, that of accusing others of precisely its own crimes.

328. One month before taking power, the Sandinists promised free elections once the revolution had taken place. In August 1980, they postponed elections for five years until 1985. Less than a week ago, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the Junta co-ordinator, said in Managua: "we have seriously promised elections for 1985 but—but—it depends on the political and economic situation of the country". Despite our high hopes and despite the high hopes of the Nicaraguan people, those elections are unlikely to be held under the Sandinist régime, and everyone knows it. In contrast to El Salvador where free elections were held on 28 March in which 92 per cent of the electorate voted, three years of revolution have not brought the ballot to Nicaragua. In the meantime, disillusionment is spreading with what the former Commandante of the Sandinist revolution, Eden Pastora, described as the "governmental calamity" in Nicaragua.

329. It was Eden Pastora, once known as Commander Zero, who first captured the world's attention in August 1978 when he led the guerrilla force which seized the legislative palace in downtown Managua. He described the current situation in Nicaragua in a press statement of 15 April 1982:

"In the jails they beat the counter-revolutionaries together with the Marxist revolutionaries, these latter punished for the grave crime of interpreting Marx from a different point of view than the comrades in power. With sadness I have seen in my people the reign of unease, of anguish, of fear, and of the bitterness of frustration and personal insecurity, with our Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians persecuted, jailed and assassinated, without a press or radio which could denounce to the world this régime of terror which rules on the Atlantic Coast and in all of Nicaragua through the feared 'state security'."

330. The charges made today by the representative of Nicaragua are no more than camouflage for the

massive buildup of military force in his country and the simultaneous deterioration of the economy and basic human rights in Nicaragua. Nicaragua is expanding the small 6,000-man army of the Somoza era to a 25,000-man fighting force and has now augmented the feared militia to 50,000 men. Two thousand Cuban troops are also in Nicaragua in addition to about 6,000 Cuban advisors. Nicaraguans outside the government speak of these forces as an army of occupation and the Cubans may well be needed to keep the Sandinist régime in control. This is quite standard fare. Totalitarian régimes often need outside "comrade" forces to keep themselves in power, whether in Eastern Europe, Africa or Central America.

331. The massive military buildup—far in excess of any defence need—is, of course, used to destabilize El Salvador and other neighbouring countries of Central America. The timing of resupply operations to Nicaragua through Cuba and with the full acquiescence of the Soviet Union is closely co-ordinated with fighting in surrounding countries and large military deliveries have been detected prior to each new surge in fighting. An extensive arms supply network established throughout Central America by Cuba and Nicaragua serves to funnel sophisticated military supplies to terrorists and guerrillas in Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador. Efforts to destabilize a country like Costa Rica, without an armed force of its own, are particularly disturbing. Three accredited diplomats of the Nicaraguan Embassy were even expelled for involvement in a 3 July terrorist bombing in San José. Police investigation later proved that the bombing was planned and directed from the Nicaraguan Embassy itself.

332. These same arms have been used to brutalize and evacuate Indian villages along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border and other towns in northeastern Nicaragua which have been regularly attacked and burned by the Sandinist army. Many of these villages have been destroyed and are now entirely deserted. Eye witnesses have reported the strafing of civilians by Sandinist military units. Furthermore, the Sandinist military has blocked relief supplies such as shipments of food and medicine to these areas, arguing that such aid may be diverted to exile groups.

333. As Nicaragua's scarce resources have been squandered for Soviet T-54 tanks and AK-47 rifles, as well as maintenance of such huge forces, its economy predictably has collapsed. The Nicaraguan córdoba is no longer even exchanged for dollars on the foreign market. It stands beside the rouble as an unwanted, non-convertible currency of a régime in economic straits.

334. Three years after coming to power, Nicaragua's Sandinist Government is still struggling to return the economy to pre-revolutionary production levels. Commander Zero described the situation in August as follows: "We have more poor people, no less corruption, more foreign debt, less infrastructure, fewer liberties. At least in the time of Somoza we had the liberty to fight."

335. In human rights, the record of the Sandinist régime is equally appalling. As mentioned, those in the United Nations and elsewhere who concentrate on

countries like El Salvador, while finding no wrong in Nicaragua, undermine the entire human rights movement. I have already referred to the Sandinist depredations against Nicaragua's Indian population, at least 12,000 of whom have been forced to flee to Honduras. Three thousand non-Indian refugees have also had to flee since April. Since the state of emergency imposed on 15 March, violations of human rights have increased and more than 200 people are under arrest. The Government of Nicaragua has intensified intimidation of political opponents. It has recently mounted a campaign against freedom of religion in Nicaragua. More than 20 Protestant churches have been taken over by the Government, and stone-throwing Sandinist mobs have prevented the Catholic Bishop of Managua from celebrating Mass. On 12 August, Father Bismark Carballo, spokesman for the Catholic hierarchy and head of Catholic Radio, was beaten and stripped by Sandinist police, and then paraded naked in front of jeering crowds as government photographers and cameramen recorded the scene. Carballo was subsequently taken to jail, where he was interrogated for six hours, all the time naked.

336. The Sandinist régime did not have to take this course. The new Government could have accepted the United States offer of friendship, for we extended the hand of hemispheric friendship as warmly as possible, in as many ways as possible. During its first 18 months in power, the régime of Nicaragua received more aid from the United States than from any other Government on earth.

337. The decision to maintain themselves in power by fear, by false threats of United States intervention and by hostility toward my country was a cynical calculation of the Sandinist leadership. It was their choice, not ours.

338. The result of such deception has been economic chaos and sacrifice of human rights and hopes for a better life among Nicaraguans. We are saddened by these developments, truly saddened.

339. Mr. NATORF (Poland): Addressing the Assembly on 27 September [*ibid.*], Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski, stated that the Polish delegation had come to the present session as intent as ever on making a constructive contribution to the Assembly's proceedings. In his statement my Foreign Minister also presented before this body authoritative information on developments in Poland. He expounded our view of the origins of the critical situation, the persisting difficulties, and outlined prospects for the crisis to be overcome. He did so out of good will, since the matters in question are within the exclusive competence of the Polish authorities, which decide them in their own sovereign way.

340. We have reason to conclude that the Polish statement has been received with adequate understanding on the part of most delegations. Regrettably, some speakers, though few in number, saw fit to present their own estimation of the situation in Poland, distorting both the origins of our problems and the nature of developments.

341. It is not our intention to enter into polemics on matters within Poland's sole jurisdiction. It would be beneath our dignity to respond, in particular to

sporadic instances of ill will or sheer propagandist slogans as, for example, contained in some parts of the British statement. Their underlying motives seem to us morally hypocritical and contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; thus, we firmly reject them.

342. We could have also expected a less primitive interpretation of the Polish problems on the part of the delegation of neighbouring Sweden.

343. To those who might have been guided by ill-conceived concern over developments in Poland we wish to make the following statements.

344. First, several speakers repeated evaluations with which we had been familiar for months. They did not even trouble to take account of the positive changes which have occurred in Poland this year. They also turned a blind eye to the efforts, by both the authorities and the public at large, designed to improve the situation and consistently to implement reforms and they disregarded the future plans of the Government of Poland, notably those to foster the cause of national accord. It is true that we still have difficulties. It is also true, and this is understood by everyone guided by good will, that we need some time to overcome the present difficulties and achieve our goals.

345. Secondly, with complete disregard for truth, certain speakers attempted to depict Poland's internal situation as the cause of the failure of détente. Let me set the record straight. The processes of détente entered a critical phase long before December 1981. They started deteriorating for reasons and because of tendencies entirely divorced from developments in Poland. Suffice it to recall the successive decisions of the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, beginning as long ago as 1978, which produced a quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments. Suffice it to recall also the confrontational line of foreign policy based on strength, as openly demonstrated by the United States.

346. In the face of the allegations made in some statements, we wish to declare that it is precisely the other way round; the world situation would have been seriously aggravated had there been a major breach of social peace in Poland. The measures introduced on 13 December 1981 made it possible to avert that.

347. Thirdly, Poland has traditionally been and will remain an advocate of détente, international dialogue and co-operation. We are interested in the continuation and, indeed, the expansion of dialogue and co-operation on the basis of respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

348. A resumption of substantive and effective dialogue depends first and foremost on a bold look towards the future, instead of concentrating on the past and trading charges. Dialogue means willingness to understand one another and fully respect each other's sovereignty. It is high time to adopt such an attitude and seek avenues towards a gradual improvement of relations, rather than aggravate the situation, apply economic restrictions and make confrontational declarations.

349. Fourthly, the Poland of today is particularly in need of calm and understanding. It is hypocritical to express sorrow over developments in my country

and at the same time take political and economic steps which jeopardize our planned reforms and international stabilization. We have the right to expect that those Western Governments which have chosen to pursue a policy of pressuring Poland will display more realism and respect for their partner. This would be consonant with the spirit of the Charter and the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

350. I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to those delegations which in their statements in the general debate directly or indirectly showed their understanding of, and support for Poland.

351. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): In these last moments of the general debate I shall not allow myself to be dragged into a polemical argument with the representative of Madagascar.

352. I should like to stress, however, that while many delegations which share his view of events have shown considerable restraint regarding the admission of the so-called Saharoui Republic to the OAU, he had the audacity to affirm peremptorily a fact which never existed. That was what my delegation referred to when we recalled—briefly, I might say—the conditions in which an attempt was made to impose a group of mercenaries in the guise of a so-called republic. The packaging of the falsehood was perhaps attractive, but the quality of the merchandise he was offering was suspect. I understand his indignation even less in that in all intellectual honesty he could not have expected our applause.

353. Furthermore, the delegation of Benin, speaking a few moments ago, suggested that the Western Sahara conflict should be resolved by peaceful means. At this stage, I shall confine myself to reminding the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Benin that the ways and means which he appears still to be seeking were originally proposed by His Majesty the King of Morocco at the eighteenth session of the OAU Assembly at Nairobi in 1981. At that time, a consensus emerged with regard to the King's initiative, which advocated a cease-fire and the holding of a referendum. My delegation cannot understand why those that are appealing here for an end to the conflict should be impeding elsewhere the efforts on behalf of peace. Similarly, we cannot understand why the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Benin should prejudge the result of the referendum when it has not yet taken place.

354. My delegation ventures to hope that all those who show such indignation and set themselves up as verbal mercenaries will have the courage to beat their breasts; for, according to the Wise Men of Africa, that way reason lies.

355. Mr. QUIÑONES-AMÉZQUITA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to refer to the statement made by the representative of the territory of Belize.

356. Guatemala cannot recognize that an expansionist policy exists when all it is doing is defending what for centuries has been its own. Guatemala cannot recognize the independence of Belize because it maintains the thesis that there is an unresolved territorial dispute with Great Britain. Since when is defending what is one's own a policy of expansionism?

357. For centuries Guatemala has upheld the idea that the territory of Belize belongs to it, because it belonged formerly to Spain, the mother country, and became ours on our independence. For many centuries, however, this territory has been held by a country whose policy it has always been to impose its will by force. We have just witnessed that policy in the case of the South Atlantic conflict over the Malvinas.

358. We cannot accept the existence of independence while that dispute remains unresolved, a dispute which once again today was acknowledged to exist by the representative of Belize. But Guatemala once again expresses its hope for and faith in a peaceful settlement, as advocated and encouraged by the United Nations. We maintain our thesis even as we extend our hand to Great Britain and call for the settlement of this territorial dispute.

359. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Unfortunately, we must reply to what the Foreign Minister of our sister Republic, Nicaragua, has said, because of his reference to the meeting held at San José on 4 October 1982, to which our Foreign Minister and representatives of other countries in this Hall have referred.

360. We are disturbed because, despite the fact that we have repeatedly stated that the initiative of establishing a forum to bring together the democratic countries of our continent to discuss problems relating to peace in Central America and to foster dialogue and understanding came from our country—initially from our President on 8 May, when he took office and then from our Foreign Minister—the initiative for that meeting has been credited to another State.

361. In the light of the efforts that were necessary to convene that meeting, it is deplorable that our neighbours question our sincerity and good intentions. We feel that that challenges not only Costa Rica's integrity but also that of the other seven States—themselves the outgrowth of the will of their peoples—which signed the San José Declaration. Furthermore, the credentials for commitment to peace cannot be questioned when a State has voluntarily decided not to have an army.

362. We view this initiative as just one more step, which should be followed by many others in the difficult quest for peace and progress in Central America. We agree with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua that other forums—the forum of the Foreign Ministers of the isthmus, for example—should be used in future to ensure that the road to this goal will be as short as possible.

363. Mr. ORTEZ COLINDRES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of Honduras, I should like to exercise my right of reply in order to refer to some inexact comments made by the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, in which he specifically alluded to our country and Government. I do so in order that the Assembly may see the other side of the very complex problem of Central America, involving our two States.

364. First, the present Government of Honduras, for which I speak, is the outgrowth of a real example

of free democratic elections. The international community has acknowledged that. The President of Honduras, Roberto Suazo Córdova, was elected with the backing of more than 82 per cent of Honduran voters—unlike those holding power in Nicaragua, who, after the overthrow of the previous Government, pledged to hold free elections but who still show no signs of keeping that promise. In that, we are different.

365. Secondly, in the past we have always resolved our differences by juridical means, through constructive dialogue or the peaceful methods envisaged for the resolution of international disputes—methods for which we have striven and which is the basis of the peace plan submitted by our Government to the Organization of American States and the United Nations. The President of Honduras not only has just given an affirmative reply to the invitation to participate in the talks proposed by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, but, in addition, this week expressed an interest in discussing personally, at the head-of-State level, all our common problems with a view to entering into serious commitments to restore political stability and regional security.

366. Moreover, Honduras was one of the sponsors of the recent Foreign Ministers' meeting held in Costa Rica to establish a forum for peace in Central America.

367. Thirdly, the hostile attitude taken on this occasion by the Government of Nicaragua seems incompatible with its aspiration to become a member of the Security Council, the supreme body entrusted with ensuring respect for and implementation of the transcendental peace resolutions before the United Nations. Honduras cannot agree to Nicaragua's unilaterally judging our political behaviour and international conduct on the basis of alarmist claims, whereas our Government, along with other Governments in our part of the world, is making every effort, with all possible good faith, to strengthen peace in Central America.

368. Fourthly, I strongly reject the unfounded assertions that Honduras, a law-abiding and peace-loving State, is lending its territory for the launching of aggression against our sister Republic of Nicaragua, with which we have traditional ties of friendship. We emphatically repeat that Honduras will never serve as a launching platform for disturbing peace in Central America by means of violence. Never have our armed forces—which were the guarantors of a democratic election—interfered with our neighbours. Our armed forces intervened to repel minor border attacks—and they were all reported to the Security Council—in order to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity, in accordance with our constitutional duty.

369. Fifthly, it is, on the contrary, Honduras that is suffering the onslaughts of terrorism aimed at destabilizing our Government with the backing and support of Nicaraguan elements.

370. I wish to make it clear that our Government is guided by an independent foreign policy and hence will not accept patterns imposed upon it from abroad, but, with the backing of its people and armed forces will uphold its democratic institutions without ever resorting to the well-known expedient of fomenting international controversy so as to solidify its domestic position.

371. Mr. SYDER (Portugal): I listened very carefully to the statement of the representative of Indonesia, including his remarks about my country in relation to East Timor and to the statement of the Prime Minister of Portugal at this session on the same matter.

372. I shall be very brief because the item will be discussed in the Fourth Committee. The fact remains, however, that there is a situation of military aggression in East Timor, as has been stated in the Security Council, and an absence of the exercise of the right to self-determination by its people. Indeed it seems to us to be a very strange example of self-determination to invoke it and at the same time to justify it with the need for the maintenance of military occupation.

373. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): As usual, we of course listened with keen attention to the reply given by the representative of the United Kingdom and we shall, of course, transmit it to our authorities for careful attention. At this stage all I wish to say is that the contents of my Minister's statement were simply a collection of facts which any independent source would easily be able to verify, as indeed has already been done by the Special Representative of the Council of Europe, an eminent Swedish Member of Parliament.

374. In my day, I was always led to believe that the British were pragmatic, effective and not prone to delay. It seems, however, that in recent years the British have discovered that in special circumstances, benefit can accrue from deliberate delay. I would point out that that attitude is not to the benefit of its friends, nor is it in the interests of peace.

375. In the case of Malta, we ask for deeds rather than words, for action rather than gestures. Both the Mediterranean and the Latin American countries, as well as the world at large, have reason to regret the contemporary British tendency to deliberate obscurantism and procrastination. I might perhaps mention that the British High Commissioner in Malta occupies a prominent building overlooking the Grand Harbour. He can hardly fail to notice the constant dredging work that goes on in the harbour. Even were he to turn a Nelson's eye to those activities, he could hardly fail to hear of the tragic fatalities that periodically occur as a result of wartime bombs accidentally exploded because of the dredging, both in and outside the harbour. He is also at the receiving end of many detailed memoranda from my Foreign Minister, memoranda that have been met with a stone wall of silence, in marked contrast to his reply today.

376. We therefore hope that this time they mean what they say. I would stress in particular that modern-day navigation is not what it was in the days of the Great Armada. The modern-day requirements of a small island determined to achieve economic self-sufficiency without outside interference and without deliberate obstruction are quite different.

377. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): Like the delegation of Turkey, the United States delegation was shocked by the statement made today by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden. His discussion of Central America was the most appalling of all. He said "it is obvious that a foreign Power—the United States—plays a crucial role when it comes to keeping tottering dictatorships on their feet" [33rd meeting, para. 232].

378. The United States resents that statement. It is obnoxious and it is false. Need I remind the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs that the United States has been most deeply engaged in Central America in the country of El Salvador, where, on 28 March, free elections were held with an unprecedented 92 per cent of the electorate participating. Many in San Salvador and elsewhere waited in lines for up to 6 hours to vote. Those elections were observed by 200 foreign observers and 800 members of the international press. No accusations of fraud or electoral irregularity were brought to the attention of these observers by any of the participating parties in the elections. They were free elections which, as I remind the Assembly, are not exactly a symbol of "tottering dictatorships".

379. The Swedish Foreign Minister is obviously concerned with human rights. It would be most fascinating to have him explain how Sweden gives \$50 million this year, its second-highest amount of foreign aid, second only to that given to the United Republic of Tanzania, to none other than Viet Nam, a country that so palpably violates its own people's human rights that it has created almost a million boat people and other refugees, a country that so palpably violates other people's human rights that some 200,000 Vietnamese troops occupying Cambodia and 30,000 to 40,000 Vietnamese troops are occupying Laos. The Vietnamese are inflicting inhumane and illegal chemicals, like yellow rain, on many Cambodians and Laotians, particularly the Hmong people.

380. Finally, it would be nice to hear the Swedish Foreign Minister, in his view of foreign affairs as seen from Stockholm, mention the main topic of foreign affairs in Stockholm over the last several weeks, namely, the search for the mysterious sub or subs spying on or threatening Sweden. This latest escapade, which went without any mention whatsoever in the Foreign Minister's statement, comes roughly one year after Sweden discovered a nuclear-powered and, presumably, a nuclear-armed Soviet submarine, violating its territorial waters.

381. Mr. BENDANA RODRÍGUEZ (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In his prepared statement in exercise of his right of reply, the representative of the United States once again emitted what has become a characteristic litany of unfounded accusations that the Reagan Administration is wont to launch against our people and our nation. Once again, what has been evidenced is the brazen attitude with which the current Administration puts forth highly bizarre interpretations of matters that are within the exclusive purview of our Revolution.

382. As we have done on a number of occasions in the Assembly, we ask once again what trend such a litany of accusations is concealing and what moral qualifications those who seek to accuse us possess, representing as they do a Government that backed a dictatorship in our country for over 45 years. We will not go into each and every one of the accusations in detail, although there is ample room to seek clarification from the representative of the United States. With regard to elections, however, the Government of National Reconstruction has never blocked them; on the contrary, at the very moment of our Revolution's triumph, it announced that elections would

be held in 1985, preceded by a lengthy pre-electoral period.

383. The accusations about the United States repeatedly made by Nicaragua are, on the other hand, not unfounded. It is not Nicaragua but the State Department itself that acknowledged the presence of its naval vessels in our territorial waters. It is the State Department in Washington that acknowledged overflights of our territory by spy aircraft. It is the press of the United States itself that revealed the approval by the current Administration of \$19 million for the purpose of destabilizing Nicaragua. It is the spokesmen of the current Administration who have themselves publicly refused to eschew the use of force against Nicaragua. It is that very same Administration that last year vetoed a draft resolution submitted to the Security Council calling upon all parties in Central America to enter into dialogue and asking the United States not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, in our affairs.

384. Nor is it a figment of our imagination that military manoeuvres are being held by the United States Navy, together with the Honduran armed forces, but a few miles from our coasts. That has been amply proved. That is a matter of public record. Thus, we believe that the facts speak for themselves. The lives lost along our borders also bear eloquent and tragic witness to the fact that such acts of aggression are not the figments of our imagination.

385. In this connection, we recall to the representative of Honduras the very same statements made by the Ambassador of Honduras in Managua when it was a matter of proving a massacre in San Francisco del Norte, a place but a few miles from the border with Honduras, carried out by elements that had come from Honduran territory. Yet we have heard statements from both the representative of Honduras and the representative of the United States as to an alleged readiness to enter into a dialogue with our country. We praise them for this and hope that they will not confine themselves to mere words but will give concrete evidence, as Nicaragua has done on many occasions, that they want a high-level dialogue. We continue to hope for that.

386. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): A representative of the United States, while exercising the right of reply of his Government last night in the Assembly [32nd meeting], made remarks which have necessitated this brief response.

387. In the first place his pre-written statement, to the content of which strong exception is taken, had to do with everything but the statement of my Foreign Minister.

388. This may not be the first time we have seen the honour of the General Assembly and the dignity of a delegation become the targets of sorry diplomacy; nor is it the first time that the Assembly has been forced to hear an exceptionally loud outcry. Nothing less could be expected from the pre-programmed robots of capitalism.

389. There is ample reason to believe that those screams represent hatred, anger and pain: hatred against a small yet proud and valiant nation determined to refuse to submit to pressure from the god-

father of international crime; anger because, regardless of military and other superiority, the dirty image of this brilliant mockery of democracy stands vulnerable in the face of the honest judgement of the peoples of the world; and pain because, no matter how hard he tries, the helpless representative in question cannot wash from the hands of his masters the blood of hundreds of thousands of people in countless corners of the world who have become victims of aggression, plots and assassination; nor can he wipe from the memories of millions of people the miseries and anguish to which they are condemned as a result of the inhuman plunder and looting of their natural and human resources by imperialist institutions.

390. Secondly, it is only natural—to be more exact, a matter of pride—that a small, independent, non-aligned State such as Afghanistan can earn the hatred of the super-imperialist through revealing in the most frank manner the horrendous and inhuman face of that system. The representative of State hypocrisy, the credibility of which leaves far too much to be desired, has used precisely the language which could best describe the nature of the mainstream of international terrorism and plunder, namely, his own Administration.

391. If I tried to put on record the long list of the criminal acts of the United States imperialists against the peoples of the world, it might try the patience of the Assembly. It is, is it not, the United States that stands by the genocidal régimes of Tel Aviv, Pretoria and the Pol Pot clique? It is, is it not, the United States that has invaded countries of South-East Asia, that has maintained over half a million members of its military units in various countries, that keeps colonial hold of the territories of other peoples as military testing grounds and springboards for aggression, that has set up *coups d'état* against legal Governments and dispatched assassination squads to murder popular leaders of the third world countries?

392. In his statement the present representative of the United States referred to the present state of affairs in my country as "tragic". What is indeed a tragedy for him is a matter of rejoicing for my people: a steady march towards progress and justice, a final and definite blow to the illusion of imperialism that it could run Afghanistan through its agent, Hafizullah Amin, the Pol Pot of Afghanistan, and a permanent dissociation from the capitalist path of development—that is, in real terms, a tragedy for the United States representative.

393. The United States involvement in the hideous and subversive plots against my beloved fatherland is far too obvious to be swept under the rug. My delegation will be happy, should there be a need to do so, to present facts pertaining to the direct and indirect, covert and overt interference of the United States in the internal affairs of my country.

394. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation reserves the right to respond suitably to the provocative statement just made by the representative of the United States. For the time being we would merely recall to the representative of that country that the representative of a country which has dropped more than 15 million tons of bombs, the equivalent of 250 atomic bombs of

the kind dropped on Hiroshima, and more than 100,000 tons of toxic chemicals on Viet Nam has no right to shed crocodile tears here over the fate of the Vietnamese people, victims of the barbarism of successive United States Governments.

395. At the present time, not yet having digested its defeat, not yet having learned to respect the right of the Vietnamese people and other peoples of the world to decide their own fate, the United States representative arrogates to himself the right to teach a lesson to the representative of the Government of Sweden, a sovereign State, concerning its relations with Viet Nam.

396. The statements by many delegations in the general debate demonstrate that the imperialist policy pursued by the United States Government has been vehemently condemned throughout the world. It would be better for the United States representative if he thought about his own statements instead of slandering other countries.

397. Mr. KEAT CHHON (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): There is a Khmer saying to the effect that you cannot hide a dead elephant in a basket. The allegations of the representative of the Hanoi authorities cannot hide the truth of their aggression against Kampuchea, a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations.

398. Throughout the general debate, the Minister for Foreign Affairs—

399. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Viet Nam on a point of order.

400. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I through you ask the person who is sitting behind the nameplate of Democratic Kampuchea under which of the rules of procedure he is speaking?

401. The PRESIDENT: I invite the representative of Democratic Kampuchea to continue.

402. Mr. KEAT CHHON (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I reserve our right to reply to the representative of Viet Nam.

403. During the general debate the Foreign Ministers of more than half the countries represented here have denounced this aggression, condemned Viet Nam and the Hanoi authorities and demanded that those authorities completely withdraw their troops from Kampuchea. Bugged down in the battlefield of Kampuchea and completely isolated at the international level, the Vietnamese aggressors will never manage to deceive the international community. They will hear the clamour for justice in this forum as of 25 October.

The meeting rose at 8.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.II.C.1.

² *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1982, Supplement No. 5.*

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

⁵ See A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁶ *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

⁷ Second African-Caribbean-Pacific/European Economic Community Convention, signed at Lomé on 31 October 1979.

⁸ *North-South: a program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the

chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

⁹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14179.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982*, document S/14341.