



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NZE (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): I extend to you, Sir, my delegation's very sincere congratulations on your outstanding election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. You succeed Mr. Imre Hollai, a distinguished representative of Hungary, who guided the work of the thirty-seventh session so effectively.
2. In you, Mr. President, we recognize not only an astute statesman and an accomplished diplomat whose career testifies to his commitment to the causes of the poorest and weakest countries, but also the representative of Panama, that country friendly with mine whose actions at the international level always provide evidence of a fervent dedication to the guiding principles of international relations, in particular those of self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. There can be no doubt that under your wise guidance the thirty-eighth session will be a milestone for the Organization.
3. I take this opportunity also to say how happy my delegation is about the admission of Saint Christopher and Nevis as the 158th Member of the United Nations and to express again to its delegation the readiness of the People's Republic of the Congo to promote mutually advantageous co-operation between our two countries and our peoples.
4. Throughout this session eminent heads of State or Government, responding to the wish expressed at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, and by its Chairman, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, have spoken from this rostrum to draw the attention of the international community to the serious problems which are proliferating throughout the world. Many of those problems arise in Africa, and it is about them that I wish to express the concern of the People's Republic of the Congo.
5. Prominent among the frustrations which have dashed the hopes of the African peoples is the question of southern Africa. The solution of the problem of Namibia has been deliberately torpedoed by part of the Western contact group which has sided with South Africa by introducing into the negotiations with the South West Africa Peoples Organization [SWAPO] and the front-line States conditions which are totally extraneous to the spirit and letter of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).
6. The right to independence of the Namibian people is not merely peremptory, considering the special responsibility assumed by the United Nations in respect of that colonial Territory, but also an indispensable element for promoting lasting peace in southern Africa.
7. Thus there are no grounds for the establishment of any link between the presence or absence of Cuban troops

in Angola and the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations plan of action, or for any other false pre-conditions, such as the guarantee of the impartiality of this Organization, much less the guarantee of neutrality that the Republic of South Africa seeks to obtain from Namibia before the people of that country is allowed to exercise the full range of its inalienable rights.

8. Hence we are determined to continue to support any collective effort to resolve the situation in Namibia in order to secure the total withdrawal of South Africa from the whole of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and all the other offshore islands, as well as the unconditional withdrawal of the Pretoria troops from Angolan territory, part of which they occupy with, apparently, the complicity of certain Powers.

9. It is the guaranteed impunity which enables racist South Africa blithely to pursue its criminal policy of "rationalization of apartheid". To the frenetic establishment of bantustans it now wishes to add a bogus constitutional reform which would divide the majority of the people by conferring on Indians and Coloureds a dubious representation which it denies to the majority black population.

10. We hope that no effort will be spared to put an end to this masquerade, which has lasted all too long and the price of which is paid every day by the front-line States, in particular, Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

11. While the South African tragedy continues, defying all the principles of law and justice, another tragedy has arisen in the centre of Africa with the deterioration of the situation in Chad. There has been a lot of fuss and manoeuvring on this subject, giving the problem of Chad an international dimension and an ideological element for which the people of Chad have no use.

12. Last August, at Brazzaville, several heads of State and Government of central Africa, in the presence of Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, set down in a statement which was distributed in the Security Council¹ the basic principles for a solution to the tragedy of Chad. They proposed negotiations as basic action, recommending a cease-fire rather than the continuation of the fratricidal war, followed by the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Chad, and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Chad.

13. As has been stated by President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the Congo does not believe in a military solution to the problem or in the illusion that it is possible for one group alone to govern Chad. So far this has led only to a dangerous pendulum movement, arbitrarily favouring the periodic domination of one group by another, as the result, constantly called into question, of the use of arms. In our opinion, the only solution to this tragedy of the brother people of Chad lies in the reconciliation of the sons and daughters of that country in order to combine their efforts to bring about national reconstruction.

14. It is towards that end, and that end alone, that all efforts should be directed by those that claim to be the

friends of the people of Chad and guarantors of its security. For we believe the degree of concern for Chad is not measured by the amount of weapons and munitions supplied to that country for its self-destruction but by the quantity and quality of economic and human assistance granted, which is the only evidence of the respect and friendship felt for Chad and its proud and worthy people.

15. It is encouraging at this point to see already signs of the commitment of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to carry out its rightful task in respect of Chad with a view to restrict the tragic situation of that country and its people to its true dimensions.

16. Hence we can but support all efforts in that direction made by those who, at the international level, can truly contribute to the success of efforts to achieve the goal of national reconciliation, with strict respect for the sovereignty of the country and the dignity of its people.

17. Given the many affinities between the peoples of the Congo and Chad, my country expresses its willingness to participate in such action as far as it is able.

18. My delegation feels similar concern with regard to the situation in Western Sahara. Instead of providing excuses year after year for the worsening of the situation, the Moroccan Government should seek to create the best possible conditions for the organization of a fair and equitable referendum whereby the Saharan people could exercise their right to self-determination.

19. The OAU already has a committee whose mission is to monitor the implementation of OAU resolutions, in particular the one adopted at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [see A/38/312, annex].

20. Africans have a duty to ensure that this referendum is meaningful and to find an appropriate solution to this conflict which has recently threatened the very existence of the OAU. We also ask that the United Nations assist the OAU so as to ensure the full success of efforts to resolve the problem of Western Sahara.

21. As the years have passed, the crisis in the Middle East has reached its most critical state of tension. The absurdity of such a development is undoubtedly encouraged by two extremely negative factors. First, there is the refusal of Israel and those supporting it to recognize the Palestinian fact and to draw therefrom the necessary conclusions; secondly, there is the internal interference which, under the pretext of miracle solutions, merely further complicates the situation, which is viewed only from the point of view of spheres of influence and so-called vital interests.

22. Among the adverse consequences of this state of affairs are the continuing occupation by Israel of territories that do not belong to it; the alteration of the human and material structure of what should be the Palestinian homeland; the disorganization of Lebanon, whose sovereignty and the integrity have been flouted; and, finally, the massacres, the genocide and the desolation.

23. Since the question of Palestine is the central element of the overall situation in the Middle East my country endorses the conclusions of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September, and especially the appeal for an international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties concerned—in particular the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], as well as of all the great Powers which have any influence at all in the affairs of the region.

24. In order to guarantee the integrity and authority of such a conference the United Nations should sponsor it

through the Security Council, which has the necessary powers.

25. Is it not failure to use this pre-eminent instrument for promoting peace, which is the United Nations, that has led certain Powers—overestimating their capacity as peacemakers and blithely confusing might and wisdom, selfish ambitions and the general interest—to become more like aggressors at the very time when they think they are serving peace?

26. In this regard our questions are the same as those asked by the Secretary-General, who again this year, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], has highlighted the dangers of the growing disaffection of some States for the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations to which they have all subscribed.

27. Further evidence of this danger is given by the threats inherent in the situation in Central America. It is clear that as long as social peace is not encouraged in most of the countries in the region by a speedy response to the most elementary aspirations of the peoples concerned, and as long as the tragedy of the exploited social classes is analysed in terms of the cold war or ideological influences, we are right to fear a worsening of the situation and an extension of the conflicts, which the demonstrations of military power one sees in the region will do nothing to help resolve.

28. The initiatives and efforts of the Contadora Group are clear evidence of the ability of the countries of the region to resolve their differences themselves through dialogue and negotiation. To us those efforts testify to faithfulness to the basic principles of international law concerning mutual respect, non-interference and the non-use of force.

29. The Congo hopes that those principles will prevail in settling the question of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, in ending the blockade of which Cuba is a victim and in removing the pressures being applied against Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname. My country also hopes that the progress in the talks between Guyana and Venezuela, which has brought agreement on the procedure to be followed, will lead to a final solution to the border problem between those two countries.

30. I express similar wishes with regard to the situation in Asia, where we believe the main requirements for international peace and security are understanding between the great peoples of China and the Soviet Union and peaceful coexistence between the peoples of Indo-China and their neighbours.

31. By supporting the Secretary-General's efforts, the Soviet Union, China and other Powers can play an extremely positive role in creating a climate favourable to clearing up the misunderstandings in Afghanistan and those artificially sustained with regard to Kampuchea.

32. In our view, the international community has no choice but to assist all those peoples, which are linked by culture and history, to promote conditions favourable to the restoration of peace in this important region.

33. Only regional co-operation, particularly by those concerned, can reduce the constant danger of locking East and West in confrontation that is inherent in certain problems that are incorrectly viewed, such as the Korean question. For the peaceful settlement of this question, we see no alternative to the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Korean peninsula and the ending of manoeuvres intended to intimidate, in order to make possible a direct dialogue between the sons of the Korean homeland themselves.

34. If there remains one field in which the most insidious dangers are accumulating unceasingly, it is that of international economic relations.

35. Because of the acute manifestations of the crisis afflicting us, the end of which is scarcely in sight, uncertainty about the future is becoming a basic element in the lives of hundreds of millions of men and women throughout the world. The disruptions in the world economy are severe, and the panic, tension and aggression they engender in people who are deprived and driven to despair are threatening.

36. My delegation gives a cautious welcome to the first indications, albeit uncertain, of economic recovery seen in certain advanced capitalist countries. However, in the field we see no real change of policy. On the contrary, we are continuing to experience a growth in well-known recessionary factors, particularly in the developing countries, as is borne out by the World Bank in its most recent reports.

37. The shocking selfishness of the rich countries remains the unshakable basis on which many developed countries believe they should perpetuate their own anachronistic views of the international economic order. This attitude was recently highlighted by the disappointing failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, at a time when there is hesitation with regard to the launching of global negotiations.

38. There is no need to give further proof of the pains that some developed countries are taking to resist any change intended to give our planet a little more solidarity.

39. In stressing in its conclusions the need to adjust and strengthen relations between North and South, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was only expressing the conviction of the developing countries in this respect. My delegation repeats this appeal, while requesting those developed countries that are tempted to abuse their positions of power to resolve to lift the outdated protectionist barriers which are paralyzing the sound development of trade and uncontrollably perpetuating bottlenecks that have the most adverse consequences.

40. It is certainly the clever transnational corporations that take advantage of this situation, just as it is the imperialist States that hasten to indulge all forms of economic aggression, blackmail and other coercive practices against the weakest countries in order to maintain and increase their profits.

41. But our countries will not rest until we see put into effect, in the name of equity and solidarity, the just proposals made in many national and international forums to establish improved structures and rules that can protect the fortunes of everyone in all circumstances.

42. The strategy formulated at New Delhi gave pride of place to the speedy convening of an international conference on monetary and financial matters, with universal participation, to examine the possibility of reforming the international system in these fields. Once again the ball is in the developed countries' court.

43. We intend to do everything in our power to see that there is, as an indispensable way to improve the present situation stronger and more extensive co-operation between the developing countries in order to reach the goal of collective self-reliance, without which the resources and energies of the third world will always experience a fate unworthy of the capabilities of the human genius.

44. The complexity of the problems and the meagre progress made in solving them appear clearly to have

given rise to lethargy and alarming scepticism which sorely test the creative imagination of mankind and the effectiveness of the machinery for the settlement of conflicts and the easing of tensions.

45. Thus it is that in the sphere of disarmament the dialogue of the deaf engaged in by the nuclear super-Powers has led to a genuine headlong rush reflected today in the allocation of more than \$750 billion to weapons, to the disturbing popularization of a theory holding that a limited nuclear war is possible and, worse, to the frenzied militarization of outer space.

46. This absurd diversion of energy, determination and intelligence to irrational ends is often carried out, unfortunately, without the agreement of the peoples themselves, for inadequate mobilization holds them further and further away from the things which most basically concern their destiny.

47. But what is taken into account in the pursuit of these hasty policies are the selfish interests of the military-industrial oligarchies, which are ready to sacrifice even the happiness of mankind and the social progress of millions of human beings throughout the world to guarantee their positions—their hollow positions—of domination.

48. The present cold war is unique in that some have, with some justice, called it "the third world war". The generalized insecurity it has caused comprises both the "hot" wars which are scattered throughout the world—and especially in the third world—which serve the ends of those who stir them up, and the state of poverty which marks the end of the twentieth century—paradoxically given the astonishing scientific feats of the age.

49. Justice and well-being remain basic needs, access to which should be denied to no country, no people, no race, and neither sex.

50. It is towards that end that efforts should be directed, and the shape of the international community's activities should be redefined by giving fresh impetus to the United Nations. I am convinced that there is no way to stave off the risks of the irrevocable other than by all of us together devoting our efforts to bringing about understanding among all the peoples of the world. To this end, the United Nations offers the machinery and the ways and means to fulfil this plan. All together, let us devote our generosity and our enthusiasm to bringing about the success of this noble cause.

51. Mr. AL-THAWR (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to express to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic and myself on your election to the presidency of this session. I am confident of your ability to carry out the great task which has been entrusted to you, for your political expertise and wisdom are well-known.

52. I wish also to express our appreciation and thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, who fulfilled his responsibilities brilliantly. I cannot fail to pay a tribute to the valuable and unstinting efforts made by the Secretary-General in the service of the Organization and its purposes. He has been discharging his complex duties with great skill and ability, and we wish him continued success.

53. My delegation and I are pleased to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership in the international Organization.

54. Each year when we ascend this rostrum we are filled with hope that we will be able to realize many of our aspirations for justice, stability and prosperity before the following session. Most regrettably, however, realities

limit our legitimate aspirations to the realm of mere thinking and optimism.

55. The present international situation is grave, characterized by proliferating hotbeds of tension brought about by recourse to force in the settlement of international disputes and by the escalation of the cold war between the two super-Powers, with its attendant feverish and frightening arms race.

56. These developments constitute a retreat from the provisions and norms of international law, but at the same time they serve to emphasize the importance of the role of the United Nations and its growing value as the best framework for dialogue and discussion aimed at resolving the problems which affect the prosperity, security and stability of our peoples. When we review our individual and common concerns in these periodic meetings, we are reaffirming the soundness of the philosophy which serves as the foundation of the Organization, and we are embodying the firm desire of our peoples to achieve greater understanding and co-operation in our world which is marked both by growing interdependence and a diversity of outlook.

57. There is no doubt that the Organization's prestige will be tested severely if the United Nations is limited merely to adopting resolutions and recommendations without possessing the means to implement them.

58. My country esteems highly the numerous achievements of the United Nations in various fields, and it also realizes the importance of the role of the Organization in the present international circumstances.

59. We wish to express our support for the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*ibid.*] in its entirety and for the stress it lays on enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations through co-operation among its bodies and Members, so that it will be enabled to play its role for maintaining and consolidating the peace that we seek and the justice we desire and the prosperity we wish to achieve.

60. The question of the Palestinian people has been for more than three decades a blow to man's ethics and ideals, and it continues to be so. The situation in the Middle East is an embodiment of the ever-widening gap between our goals and aspirations on the one hand and the painful reality of international relations on the other hand. There we see Israel escalating its aggression against the Arab States and occupying part of Lebanon by force, thanks to its having found in one of the super-Powers an ally which stands behind its aggressive expansionist designs and protects it from all international pressure and sanctions for its unceasing crimes.

61. The present design to divide Lebanon is but one in a series in the unceasing Zionist plot against the integrity and future of the Arab nation. The clear role now being played by the United States in support of Israel in the implementation of this aggressive design provides ample evidence that the Zionist invasion of Lebanon would not have happened without co-ordination with the White House and would not have continued had not the United States desired that it should.

62. While the Tel Aviv Government has decided to occupy the southern part of Lebanon without regard for international laws and norms or for the resolutions of this Organization, the intervention by force of the United States of America in the internal conflict in this helpless State in support of one part of its population against another represents, in our view, a serious development in the policy of Washington in the area, the consequences and implications of which should not be underestimated

either for the security of the area or for the relationship between the United States and the States of the area.

63. It is clear that the United States is now moving from the position of supporter of Israel in its aggressive and expansionist approach to that of ally and accomplice in all the actions of the Zionist State. This is in complete contradiction with the responsibility of the United States as a permanent member of the Security Council and in direct opposition to the wider interests of Washington in the region.

64. We in the Yemen Arab Republic view with profound concern this position taken by the United States. We call on the American Administration to reconsider the strategic alliance that exists at present with the racist Tel Aviv Government, and to stop the unconditional military, economic and diplomatic support for that Government that has always played a major role in the implementation of the aggressive Zionist design.

65. We also call for the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory in implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. We proclaim our full support for the Lebanese people, which has displayed such steadfastness in resisting occupation and any agreement with the Zionist enemy that is detrimental to its sovereignty and independence, harms the security and stability of any Arab country, limits the role of Arab Lebanon and compromises its national commitments, as set forth in the relevant instruments, treaties and resolutions of the Arab summit.

66. No one can doubt that the tragic situation in Lebanon and the emergence of other hotbeds of tension in the area are but ramifications and side-effects of the main question, that of Palestine, which is the core of what is known as the question of the Middle East.

67. The increasing Israeli aggressive expansion in the area confirms something we realized long ago and have warned against on more than one occasion, that the Zionist entity, in view of its aggressive and expansionist nature and the racist mentality of its leaders, represents the most serious source of tension and aggression in the area.

68. Experience proves this, because Israel has waged a succession of aggressive wars against its neighbours on the pretext of protecting the 1948 frontiers. Having occupied the remainder of Palestine by force in 1967, its forces last year ravaged Lebanon, in order to divert international public opinion from the reality of the Zionist occupation of the Palestinian territories and the Syrian Golan Heights to a new situation whereby Israel would be able to achieve its expansionist ambitions and impose its hegemony on the whole area.

69. Things have gone so far that the leaders of Tel Aviv can publicly state their intention to annex the West Bank and Gaza. This is because of the absolute support given by the United States to guarantee Israeli military superiority in the region.

70. There has recently been a stepping up of Israel's arbitrary practices against the population of the occupied Arab territories, where crimes of murder, torture, mass detention and confiscation of property are committed by the occupying forces with a view to depopulating those territories and establishing more Zionist settlements therein.

71. It is indeed regrettable that the United States recently opposed a draft resolution, otherwise unanimously accepted by the members of the Security Council, confirming the illegality of the Israeli settler practices in the Arab occupied territories. This demonstrates a blind

bias in favour of the aggressive Tel Aviv Government which is in contradiction with the moral and political responsibilities of the United States, as well as with its previously declared position on the issue. It is clear that this is one of the chief factors encouraging the Government of Israel publicly to state its intention to establish more Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories and to launch a media campaign in preparation for the final annexation of those territories.

72. If the continuance of the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the denial of the rights of the Arab Palestinian people are the crux of the problem of the Middle East, the obstacles to the solution of this problem are in the intransigence of the leaders of Israel and their adherence to the policy of expansion and settlement, coupled with the inability of this Organization to ensure compliance with its resolutions and the will of the international community because of the position of the United States and its absolute support for Israel.

73. Despite that, scores of resolutions adopted by the Organization have reaffirmed the rights of the Arab Palestinian people, including its inalienable right to return to its territory, to exercise its right of self-determination and to establish its own State on its national soil under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Moreover, the continuous struggle of the people of Palestine under PLO leadership has proved the impossibility of establishing a lasting peace in the area without taking into account the rights and demands of the Palestinian Arab people.

74. The participation of the great majority of the Members of this Organization in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held from 29 August to 7 September at Geneva, was a clear manifestation of solidarity with the struggling people of Palestine. The decisions of the Conference² expressed the general support for that people's inalienable and legitimate rights.

75. As an international rally advocating right and justice, the Conference revealed the isolation of those States that failed to shoulder their responsibilities and confined themselves to participating in the work of the Conference as observers. That position represents a denial of the noble principles of freedom, independence and justice which their peoples were the first to uphold and advocate in the march of mankind in this epoch.

76. Separate attempts to find a partial solution to the conflict in the Middle East have been futile. Similarly, attempts to prevent the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, from participating in these efforts are also futile and unjust and are not really aimed at reaching an equitable and authentic solution to the problem.

77. My country, which has genuinely supported the Palestinian people, as proved by the blood spilt by the Yemeni martyrs in that just cause, reaffirms that any settlement that ignores the PLO and does not confirm the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its rights to return, to self-determination and to establish its own independent State on its national soil, would be unjust and doomed to failure, because these are the criteria on which the Arab position with regard to the Camp David agreements is based and they will determine our position concerning all future efforts.

78. The Arab States have left no stone unturned in the quest for peace in the Middle East. They proved their genuine desire for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict when the Arab leaders unanimously agreed, at their summit conference at Fez last year, on a plan for a peaceful solution,³ which was welcomed by

all States and all international and regional organizations that advocate law, justice, and peace.

79. The return by the great Powers to the policy of the cold war and rivalry in acquiring spheres of influence, intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the use of force for the settlement of international disputes are to us sources of both concern and sorrow. There is no doubt that the injection of elements of confrontation and dispute between the East and the West into the regional conflict entails serious risks that may have ominous consequences. Moreover, the failure so far to achieve any significant progress in the negotiations on curbing the arms race, and the intensification of that feverish and alarming race the expenditures on which are more than \$800 billion per year, leads us to reiterate that this could bring humanity to the point of no return where its destiny might well depend on some accidental occurrence.

80. The Yemen Arab Republic, which like many other States views all this with profound concern, would welcome any initiative conducive to achieving international détente and curbing the arms race.

81. Proceeding from that premise, we associate ourselves with those who have appealed sincerely to the Soviet Union and the United States to continue their ongoing negotiations on curbing the arms race and to achieve specific results and adopt effective and practical measures in this regard as a prelude to the general and complete elimination of nuclear weapons, so that our peoples may have a secure future existence and in order to release the resources wasted on the manufacture and purchase of arms for the settlement of the pressing economic problems affecting many countries of the world.

82. The call by the General Assembly to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace free from the rivalry and military presence of the great Powers is an authentic expression of the interest of the peoples of the region in security, prosperity and stability.

83. My country, which has consistently rejected the idea of any foreign military presence in the area of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, whatever its source or form, fully supports the General Assembly resolution and looks forward to participating in a successful Conference on the Indian Ocean in Sri Lanka next year. We consider the preparations by the great Powers to participate in the proceedings of the Conference to be a positive indication that augurs well.

84. My country, which firmly believes in regional co-operation among neighbouring countries and has always called for continuous dialogue and understanding between the nations and peoples and for settling differences by peaceful means, is greatly concerned about the maintenance of security and stability in the Horn of Africa. It calls for the settlement of the problems among the States of the area through negotiation and dialogue so that they may apply themselves to dealing with questions of development, prevent any foreign intervention in their affairs and avoid being dragged into the conflict between the great Powers.

85. The Iraqi-Iranian war is entering its fourth year. This is a source of both worry and sorrow, especially after the efforts that have been made at mediation. We cannot fail to repeat our appeal for the immediate ending of this ill-fated war and a response by the neighbours and brothers in religion in Iran, to all the efforts made for reconciliation and a just settlement that safeguards the legitimate rights of the two parties to the conflict.

86. We shall welcome all peace initiatives in response to the mediation efforts and we call on all States, especially those with influence, to continue these serious efforts in order to end this war, which is not in the interest of any of the parties to the conflict either now or in the long run.

87. We also regret that a solution has not yet been found for the question of Afghanistan. We feel that it is right for the Afghan people to have the opportunity to determine its own destiny and to choose the form of régime it will have according to its own will and in a manner acceptable to it without any outside pressure. As a first stage, all forms of intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan should cease, and the refugees should return to their homeland.

88. As regards the Korean question, my country supports the continuance of serious dialogue between the Governments of North and South Korea for the reunification of Korea on a sound democratic basis, free from outside intervention.

89. The development of the situation in Cyprus deepens our conviction concerning the need to work for a solution agreed upon by the two communities as a prelude to the reunification of the island in a manner that ensures for all equality of rights and duties, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

90. Furthermore, the present developments in Central America affect not only the security and prosperity of the peoples of the Americas, but international peace and security as well. The Yemen Arab Republic views with concern what is taking place in that area. It believes that it is necessary to respect the sovereignty and independence of States of the area, not to interfere in their internal affairs and to give the peoples the opportunity to forge their own future in accordance with their will and ambitions, free from any foreign pressures or tutelage.

91. Man's achievements in this century in the efforts to eliminate all forms of colonialism and racism constitute a bright chapter in modern history, marred only by the continuing racist colonialism and foreign occupation in Namibia and Palestine. The alliance between the two racist Governments of Pretoria and Tel Aviv is clearly aimed at uniting their efforts to suppress the national liberation movements in Palestine and Namibia and to stifle the ambitions and aspirations of the peoples of the two countries and their right to freedom, independence and self-determination.

92. We also view with profound concern the increasing co-operation between the racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv in the manufacture of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, since this constitutes provocation and a threat to the stability and security of the Arab and African States. We call on the countries that provide those two régimes with the material and the potential for the manufacture of nuclear weapons to stop their dealings with those régimes, and at the same time we call on the Arab and African States to increase their vigilance and their co-operation and to close their ranks in order to frustrate the aggressive designs of the two racist régimes.

93. Our people, which is proud of its long-standing struggle and its rejection of all forms of foreign domination, oppression, and tutelage, has firmly and unconditionally supported the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and independence, under the leadership of SWAPO.

94. There is no other way to stamp out the racist occupation of Namibia except by imposing effective

sanctions against the Government of Pretoria in order to compel it to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which constitutes the best framework for a settlement of the problem of Namibia. The prevarications of the Government of South Africa over withdrawing from Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolutions render the Western countries dealing with Pretoria especially accountable for not bringing effective pressure to bear on the Government of South Africa to compel it to end its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia.

95. Proud of being free from the polarization and rivalry between the big Powers, my country is committed to and adheres to the policy of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and its principles and objectives. The success of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 7 to 12 March 1983 at New Delhi and in which my country was privileged to participate, has made a tangible contribution to consolidating the unity and solidarity of its members and co-ordinating their efforts to reduce international tension, protect the rights of peoples to sovereignty and national independence and to establish a new just and equitable system of international economic relations. The Non-Aligned Movement has proved to be one of the corner-stones of international stability and security.

96. Economically the international situation is no better than it is politically, with steady deterioration. The present crisis afflicting the world economy is not a cyclical phenomenon but the result of structural maladjustments underlying all aspects of the international economic system. The continuation of this situation will lead to more economic deterioration and directly affect the question of peace and stability in our interdependent world.

97. Our main goal should be the acceleration of the development of the developing countries, giving special attention to the least developed among them. The adoption by the General Assembly of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] has been of some help in improving the course of international economic co-operation and accelerating the development of the developing countries in the context of the international community's search for a new international economic order. However, the setbacks in international economic co-operation and the frustrating results with respect to the global negotiations are not a source of satisfaction.

98. We believe that the problems of development and economic co-operation require urgent action and the crystallization of a strong political will that can help to achieve effective progress that takes account of all sides and can produce abundantly prosperity and well-being for everyone. The position of certain countries—foremost among them the developed countries—and their failure to participate seriously in solving the world economic crisis, as well as their espousal of such short-sighted economic policies towards the developing countries as the reduction of official development assistance, the imposition of tariff and non-tariff barriers on the products of the developing countries and the raising of obstacles to the transfer of technology, coupled with the phenomena of inflation, fluctuating exchange rates and higher interest rates, have all helped to deepen the world economic crisis and aggravate its serious effects on the developing countries and their development plans.

99. The discouraging picture of our world today is a source of justified pessimism for many. The problems

caused by the deterioration of the international economic crisis and the worsening economic situation of many developing countries are multiplying, with a resulting heightening of tension in international relations.

100. The results of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held from 6 June to 2 July 1983 at Belgrade, are not adequate for the serious situation in the developing countries, which are suffering from lower growth rates, increasing foreign debts, a reduction in their terms of trade with developed countries and the record decline of earnings from their exports, which consist mainly of primary commodities. Although the results of the UNCTAD session did not measure up to the requirements of the international economy and the aspirations of the developing countries, in particular the least developed countries, the resolutions adopted at the session, and a serious commitment to implement them, could constitute important steps towards beginning to solve the problems of the developing countries and enabling them to take measures to achieve their economic and social development. The commitment of most developed countries to freeze protectionist measures and gradually reduce restrictions on imports from the developing countries will perhaps enable the latter to increase their participation in international production and trade. The consensus reached on a number of questions before the sixth session could also represent a useful step and an encouraging indicator for the continuation of dialogue.

101. In this respect we wish to recall the decisions of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries,⁴ which were reaffirmed at Belgrade. In these decisions most developed countries undertook to raise the level of their official development assistance to 0.7 per cent and made a commitment to allocate 15 per cent of their official development assistance to the least developed countries and to double that figure by 1985.

102. My country, the Yemen Arab Republic, which at this time is celebrating the twenty-first anniversary of the glorious September revolution, is now passing through a shining period of its history when democratic practices have become part of the daily life of everyone at all levels, through the People's General Congress and in pursuance of the spirit and the letter of the national charter, the intellectual inspiration for the march of our people towards reconstruction, progress and unity.

103. What is significant is that all the genuine national forces have taken part in drafting the charter in a democratic atmosphere unprecedented in our country. This would not have happened without the determination of the political leadership, led by Colonel Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and Secretary-General of the People's General Congress, who embodied the true spirit of democracy and of the national charter when he stood before the representatives of the people and proclaimed that, in keeping with the provisions of the constitution, he would not stand for re-election for a second term at the end of his first term of office. This deepened the great esteem of the people for him and their insistence on re-electing him to guide the march towards the next stage.

104. We consider that the broadening of the base of democratic participation and the adoption of the national charter, as well as the political programme of action, are the most important accomplishments of the past few years in our internal policy. In the economic field, the attainment of the first five-year plan, and later the second five-year-plan, is a successful achievement in which we take pride and which is clearly reflected in the improved standard of living of our people.

105. In the same measure that our political leadership is interested in achieving more in the field of comprehensive development, it spares no effort, in co-operation with the political leadership in the southern part of the nation, to overcome the fragmentation and division left by British imperialism in the south and by the Imamate rule in the north, a matter which provides more propitious opportunities and greater and better potential for a united and prosperous Yemen to secure permanently security and stability in the area. The meetings of the Yemeni Council, under the chairmanship of the two leaders of the nation, held at the capital city of San'a in the middle of September, give a fresh and strong impetus for accomplishing the Yemeni unity which is the first goal of our people.

106. The foreign policy of our country proceeds from our understanding completely the unity of aim and destiny of the Arab nation. Therefore it makes painstaking and concerted efforts for the unity of the Arab ranks with a view to uniting potentials and abilities for the service of our common goals, with a genuine desire for non-intervention in the internal affairs of others and separating itself from blocs and axes whose effects are detrimental.

107. Moreover, the bonds of faith and the Islamic heritage that link us to the other Islamic countries impel us to contribute effectively to reinforcing collective action through our membership in the Organization of the Islamic Conference in such a way as to serve our common goals in fruitful co-operation in all fields and to defend things sacred to Islam and to participate in building the edifice of contemporary human civilization.

108. Our foreign policy is based on clear and principled foundations reflected by our constant position concerning various international issues. This is also embodied in our growing bilateral relations with friendly fraternal countries. Because of our commitment to the principle of non-alignment, our country has pursued an open-door policy with any country regardless of the social or economic philosophy of the régime of that country and on the basis of non-intervention and mutual respect.

109. We are truly proud of the widening of the circle of our friends and the good fruits that we picked through the relations of friendship, understanding and co-operation.

110. My country was afflicted, as the Assembly knows, with an enormous earthquake in December of last year, which led to the destruction of many towns and villages and economic facilities. More than 300,000 people are living in tents. But because of the will of our people and the co-operation of our brothers and friends, we were able to rescue and find refuge, albeit temporary, for those people who were victims of the earthquake, and we have started reconstruction of the affected areas and to renew their economy.

111. However, this will require enormous expenditures that go beyond our own abilities. But we are sure that we will be able to reconstruct because of the resolve of our people and the co-operation of brothers and friends, despite the fact that directing a great part of our limited financial resources for this purpose will affect our development plan.

112. On this occasion we offer our profound thanks to the United Nations for its efforts, through many of the specialized agencies, in the relief operations after the earthquake catastrophe. We also offer special thanks and gratitude to all the friendly and fraternal countries and organizations that gave us a helping hand during the first

phase of our continual efforts to overcome the effects of that disaster.

113. I have the great honour, in conclusion, to convey the greetings of the Yemen Arab Republic, both its leadership and people, to all the countries of the world which love peace and which are participating in this session, so that understanding, justice and peace may prevail for the happiness and good of mankind.

114. Mr. QIONIBARAVI (Fiji): Mr. President, it gives me much pleasure to add my delegation's congratulations to the many you have already received on your election as President. We are confident that, with your well-known diplomatic skills and experience, the work of this session will be successfully concluded.

115. I should also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, who presided over the thirty-seventh session with distinction.

116. The efforts of the Secretary General to make the United Nations a more effective instrument of peace are to be commended. His report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1] merits serious consideration by us all.

117. This session of the General Assembly is convening against the backdrop of severe crises in international relations. The conflict in the Middle East, the continued armed interventions in the Asian region, the crisis in Central America and conflicts in various parts of Africa pose grave threats to international peace. The heightening of tensions between East and West, the stagnation of the North-South dialogue and the disarmament process and the prevalence of human rights violations and acts of terror provide further causes for alarm and insecurity. All these issues urgently need solutions, and my delegation hopes that at this session sincere and renewed efforts will be made to strengthen international co-operation and the Organization's various organs so that it can respond effectively to settle disputes and defuse the various crises which threaten world peace and security.

118. My country is far removed from the centres of conflict and is in a region that has thankfully enjoyed peace. However, despite the distance and the peace that we enjoy, we are not insensitive to the plight and sufferings of the victims of conflicts elsewhere in the world. Nor are we unmindful of our international responsibility for positive and tangible action in the quest for peace. Indeed, it was Fiji's commitment to peace that led us to our direct involvement in the United Nations efforts to bring peace and stability in Lebanon. It is regrettable that this past year has witnessed no progress at all towards a durable solution in Lebanon.

119. But the question of Lebanon is part of the overall problem of the Middle East. My Government acknowledges the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State in this war-torn region, including Israel. At the same time, we support the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a homeland. To this end, my Government believes that the essential elements for a peaceful solution are already embraced in the various United Nations resolutions and peace plans. These elements provide sufficient basis for dialogue and can pave the way for a negotiated and durable solution which has defied us for decades. But for that to succeed, courage, imagination, understanding and flexibility are required for all sides.

120. Regrettably, peace has been absent for many years from parts of Asia. We fully share the international concern over foreign interventions in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Such interventions continue to violate the sovereignty of their victims. In both cases, the

international community has taken an unequivocal stand and laid the basis for a peaceful political solution of these problems. Only through the unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces and the elimination of all forms of outside intervention can peace be attained.

121. The unresolved Korean question still constitutes a potentially dangerous situation in the region. We believe that peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiation between North and South Korea, without interference from any outside Power.

122. May I, at this juncture, express my delegation's strong condemnation of the brutal act of terrorism that resulted in the tragic death of several eminent South Korean leaders over the weekend. I extend my Government's deep sympathy to the people and Government of Korea on this tragic loss.

123. Fiji shares the concern expressed from this rostrum at the world economic situation. Whilst it is true that there have been signs of recovery in some of the developed countries, the desperate situation in many developing countries finds no immediate hope of relief. It is clear that more needs to be done to ensure that the recovery will be vigorous and durable. More is yet required if the benefits of the recovery are to be transmitted to developing countries. But for this to happen requires some major changes in the international monetary system to make it more responsive to the needs of developing countries. To this end, we support the call for a conference of the Bretton Woods type to re-examine the world monetary system.

124. It is to be regretted that past efforts to solve the economic crisis through global negotiations have not made any significant headway. Amid this gloom, there is at least a glimmer of hope. Negotiations involving nearly half of the States Members of the Organization began last Thursday in Luxembourg on a successor to the second Lomé Convention between the European Economic Community and African, Caribbean and Pacific States. The Convention is a model for economic relationships between developed and developing countries, and my delegation believes that an extension of the spirit of that Convention to the global economic scene can make a positive contribution to the North-South relationship.

125. The world economic crisis has affected the economies of small island States in my part of the region particularly harshly. At the same time, it has brought into sharp focus the very peculiar problems facing small island States that need to be addressed urgently.

126. Island States have many unique developmental problems that appear paradoxical at first sight. The social indicators point to solid, positive achievements: higher life expectancy, higher school enrolment, declining fertility rates and better health services. These positive achievements tend to obscure the natural disadvantages that place a real burden on island States in developing their economies.

127. The disadvantages faced by small islands are many and include an open economy with a strong dependence on imported goods and services, small population, limited land size, a low level of economic opportunity, isolation from the major markets and proneness to natural disasters.

128. In addition to these problems, many island States are fragmented and scattered over vast expanses of ocean. Their fragmentation, combined with smallness and remoteness, effectively hampers development. These factors are a strong disincentive to overseas investment.

They limit the involvement of lending agencies, whose operations are not geared to economies the size of the island State in the first place. They increase the problem of transportation and the problem of aggregating exports to achieve economies in marketing. The Government is forced to provide services, often at extremely high cost, in such situations.

129. A factor contributing to the high cost of providing services has external causes in the high interest rates imposed by lending agencies. The insistence on gross domestic product as a factor in lending by international banking institutions means that Fiji and any other countries which are registering modest achievements in their development efforts must pay the same interest rates as the developed industrialized economies. Such a policy is absurd. The application of those rules to countries with narrow-based economies in the predicament I have referred to needs to be re-examined.

130. For island States to participate meaningfully and effectively in North-South or South-South co-operation, it is critical that problems peculiar to them be taken into account appropriately and urgently by the world community.

131. When we reflect upon some of the significant achievements of the United Nations, the success in the field of decolonization springs to mind. The admission of Saint Christopher and Nevis to the United Nations at the opening of this session affirms yet again the solid achievement in that field.

132. I take this opportunity to congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on attaining its independence and to welcome it as a full Member of the United Nations.

133. There are, however, some territories still under colonial domination, and the United Nations decolonization efforts must continue. The biggest challenge in the field of decolonization before the United Nations today is in southern Africa, where the repugnant policy of *apartheid* continues unabated and where colonialism still persists.

134. My delegation continues to believe that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, endorsed in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), constitutes the universally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. It is a matter of deep concern that extraneous issues, in particular the policy of linkage espoused by South Africa, continue to impede the implementation of the United Nations plan.

135. In the South Pacific, the leaders of the South Pacific Forum have kept the process of decolonization in New Caledonia under close review. The determination of the Administering Authority to introduce important reforms in that Territory is an important step forward. A further significant development is the willingness on the part of the Administering Authority to move to an act of self-determination in which the option of independence is included. These encouraging developments augur well for the political evolution of New Caledonia and are to be welcomed.

136. The international situation concerning disarmament efforts has not improved. Political tensions punctuated by military conflicts in almost all of the five continents continuously fuel an arms race and increase the risk of nuclear war.

137. Time has witnessed dramatic increases in the world resources devoted to military arms and research, justified, we are told, by the argument that such spending has the attainment of peace and security as its overall objective. This argument is fallacious. Instead of

producing a safer and more secure world, increased military spending has only created increased insecurity.

138. The question of international security is as much our concern as it is that of the super-Powers. In this age of nuclear weapons and nuclear-weapon capabilities, security is the sum total of co-operation among all nations. Nuclear-weapon States therefore cannot ignore the concern of others whose future and that of their peoples are closely intertwined with that of the nuclear-weapon States.

139. In stressing the need for co-operation, especially among nuclear-weapon States, my Government looks to the ongoing strategic arms reduction talks [START] in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union as the most important forum in which the two super-Powers can show the political will to achieve disarmament by halting new developments and making substantial reductions in their nuclear weaponry.

140. Yet for many of us the road to a comprehensive programme of nuclear disarmament properly begins with a nuclear-weapon freeze. In our view, a freeze on nuclear arms would not only constitute an important first step in a disarmament process but would at the same time provide a favourable environment for negotiations such as START to be conducted in good faith and mutual trust. The structure and scope of such a nuclear arms freeze, we believe, should embrace a comprehensive nuclear-weapons-test ban, the complete cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, a ban on all further deployment of nuclear weapons, and the complete cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes.

141. My Government attaches great importance and urgency to the conclusion of a test-ban treaty. A comprehensive nuclear test ban within the overall objective of nuclear disarmament would contribute effectively towards controlling both horizontal and vertical proliferation. We therefore urge Member States, especially nuclear-weapon States, to respond positively to the proposal of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

142. Further, in respect of a comprehensive test ban on nuclear weapons, Fiji associates itself fully with the other countries of the South Pacific in their opposition to, and condemnation of, the continued nuclear-weapon testing in our region by one of the major Powers.

143. Apart from the primary concern over the danger nuclear weapons and their use pose for the future of mankind, my Government is equally concerned with the effects of other aspects of nuclear weapons and energy on the environment generally. Proposals by some Pacific-rim countries for the dumping and storage of nuclear waste on coral atolls and the sea-bed of the Pacific Ocean is viewed with grave concern and a great deal of dismay and trepidation by my Government and its people. The inherent danger such schemes pose for the peoples of the Pacific who derive their livelihood from the sea is reflected in the adoption by all the Governments of the South Pacific Forum of a reaffirmation of their long-standing opposition to the dumping and storage of nuclear waste in the Pacific area.

144. The impasse in launching global negotiations and the consequent formulation of interim strategies for international economic negotiations is a matter of great concern for us all. But there has been considerable success in at least one area in the global negotiations, that of regulating international behaviour in the use of the oceans. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, opened for signature on 10 December 1982, represents a significant achievement in global negotiations

and provides an example of what can be achieved if there is a political will to do so.

145. Now that the Convention has been adopted, its understanding and appreciation and, more importantly, its implementation should be underscored. It is as vital to the third world countries in the expansion of their national jurisdiction as it is to the industrialized nations in the exploration and exploitation of sea resources. We urge all Member States who have not ratified the Convention to do so and to work together towards its success.

146. In this respect, my Government requests that the Secretary-General be authorized to provide all the essential information concerning the Convention and, at the same time, to provide such assistance as is necessary to small developing countries in the development of their resources.

147. In small oceanic nations like Fiji, we place the greatest emphasis on the importance of the sea. It is for this reason that we were the first to ratify the Convention. We live with and by the sea. The sea constitutes one of our most vital resources. For many of us in the Pacific Islands, the development of the resources of our seas offers the only real hope for our economic well-being.

148. Mr. MAESO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to express our satisfaction at seeing you preside over the work of the thirty-eighth session. We are quite certain that with your experience and vast knowledge of the Organization you will wisely and skillfully discharge your functions.

149. We also wish to thank your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for his work in the last session.

150. We also welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis as a new member of the Organization. It is a country also belonging to the family of Latin American nations.

151. Before beginning my address, I should like to express our sympathy to the victims of the attack against government officials of the Republic of Korea. We extend our condolences to them. This deed demonstrates the state of violence in the world and deserves the most emphatic condemnation.

152. Uruguay comes to this session of the General Assembly to renew its commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The efforts made by the Organization and the activities of the various organs of the system to attain faithfully all their noble goals, therefore, merit our firm support.

153. We must observe, unfortunately, that many centres of conflict and political tension persist and contribute, in one fashion or another, to keeping the world in an unstable and dangerous state of affairs. Given this uncertain situation in which the peace and security of mankind are at stake, we cannot permit procrastination or omissions, for the United Nations has a vital role to play to prevent conflicts and to contribute to the peaceful solution of disputes.

154. Today, more than ever before, we must do our utmost to attain peace, through the full implementation of the principles of international law.

155. Our country is deeply committed to this goal and has reiterated our steadfast confidence in the peaceful settlement of disputes, in moderation and in constructive dialogue, inspired by respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

156. We have come to the Assembly deeply disturbed at the extremely difficult times that mankind is going through, a time of deep crisis in supreme spiritual values, a time of economic crisis, of distrust and lack of

understanding between States, bringing in their train difficulties and confrontations which affect international relations more every day and endanger peaceful coexistence between nations—the supreme purpose of the Organization.

157. It is vital, therefore, for each Government and each representative to help produce the political will necessary to resolve the serious questions with which we are concerned. I shall deal next with the main factors of those questions, for it is only through political will that we are able to meet the just aspirations of our peoples.

158. In this connection, we must emphasize, in the first place, the grave situation of the international economy. This situation has a world-wide impact, but it has the most serious effect on the developing countries—not merely because of the temporary difficulties, however grave they may be, but because our countries seem to be immersed in a protracted crisis in which various factors work together to hamper our possibilities. I am referring in particular to external debt servicing, to the protectionism practised by the industrialized countries, to the fall in the prices of export commodities and to the drastic reduction in development financing, both public and private, as well as to the high interest rates in the international financial market.

159. In that context, it is hard to imagine how our countries can find the resources to finance new projects and to modernize our industries, when there is a reduction in the flow of investments and when our exports cannot be placed in the protected markets of the developed world, at the same time that our financial obligations are increasing.

160. In describing the present situation—leaving aside exercises in economic abstractions or in the performance of variables in mathematical models—we must bear in mind the very serious social and human condition, inseparable from the crisis which affects us all.

161. That is the harsh reality besetting us; it calls for solutions and answers. That is why the understandable frustration at sterile efforts must be replaced by a renewed impetus to seek solutions within the international community.

162. The more than limited results of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should be grounds for deep reflection. There can be no doubt but that all countries, developed and developing, have a sovereign right to direct and administer their economies and to foster their progress as each sees fit. But it is also clear that the developed countries, given their weight and impact, have a primary responsibility in the present situation and in the possibilities to correct it.

163. These circumstances should not lead, however, to confrontation or a dialectical showdown, since we know that in an interdependent world we all need each other, but it is essential that we test out together new paths in order to explore new prospects for real and effective co-operation.

164. The search for new paths must be carried out urgently, with sharp imagination and full awareness of the responsibility of the present grave crisis, the solution of which, in terms of trade and in more dramatic terms of external debt financing, makes a real commitment absolutely vital.

165. The industrialized countries can no longer ignore the evidence that their own well-being and prosperity as well as their prospects for progress and peaceful development are indissolubly linked to the purchasing power of the developing countries. Therefore, the international community, in particular the developed countries, must

bear in mind that the progressive and accelerating financial and economic strangulation of the developing countries that we are now witnessing will without any doubt sweep along the industrialized countries, whose standards of living and, consequently, political and social stability will inevitably be affected, placing the world in a situation of generalized chaos. Should that happen, there will be no solution in time to prevent suffering by all the peoples of the world.

Mr. Nzeyimana (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

166. The past 40 years have provided a wealth of evidence that armed conflicts have ceased to be the exclusive province of the nations with real might in terms of armaments. Development has ceased to be a guarantee of peace; it cannot be unless it is universalized. Hence, an enormous responsibility will be borne by those who, able to contribute to eliminating differences, instead increase them. Similarly, there will be inevitable consequences for all who take irresponsibly protectionist stands, believing that by generating greater wealth for themselves they will promote in others the meekness and resignation of poverty.

167. In that connection, Uruguay wishes once again to emphasize two matters that are closely linked and that are of the greatest significance. I have in mind the production and marketing of foodstuffs, on the one hand, and malnutrition and hunger, on the other.

168. It is clear that until restrictions and disparities in the marketing of agricultural products and foodstuffs are eliminated, the productive capacity of the developing countries will be limited, with tragic consequences in regard to food supply.

169. My country hopes that this crucial matter, affecting the larger part of mankind, will be tackled with determination. In this connection, we firmly call for the elimination of protectionist mechanisms and export subsidies used by the industrialized countries.

170. It is obvious that it is the nations with the greatest possibilities and economic power that, using various means and mechanisms, are currently practising the greatest protectionism and providing the largest subsidies for their exports. To the extent that this situation persists, there will be an ever-increasing gap between the rich and the poor countries, with the inevitable consequence of internal conflicts with international implications.

171. Unless the developed world plays a real, positive role in this respect, prospects for the growth of the other countries will be non-existent in real terms and the world economy will continue to go through crisis and confrontation.

172. The difficulties facing the developing countries in financing their external indebtedness are notorious. If in the final analysis the only real way to meet our financial obligations is through exporting our products, the urgency of the present circumstances requires the adoption of special, imaginative solutions in keeping with the gravity of the situation. Among these could be an increase in special drawing rights, the renegotiation of external debt with favourable rates of interest and repayment terms and the necessary co-operation by financial organizations, public and private, operating in the international sphere.

173. Progress in those areas could make possible new breakthroughs in other areas, within the context of a constructive global dialogue, in tune with the reality of a world economy that is becoming increasingly interdependent and integrated. In this connection, my country supports the efforts to launch the global negotiations in

which the elimination of barriers to trade in foodstuffs will necessarily have to be faced.

174. Multilateral co-operation for development within the framework of the United Nations is of course not immune to the difficulties besetting the international economy. Nevertheless, the agreement reached on the institutional aspects of science and technology for development shows that progress can be made if we work with good will to preserve and perfect the multilateral instruments for co-operation that have been created through so much effort.

175. Against the background of the serious international economic situation the increase in nuclear and highly sophisticated conventional weapons looms menacingly. It is clear that this phenomenon, negative from the economic and security angle, cannot be disassociated from the existing international tensions and conflicts. It is wishful thinking to imagine really effective disarmament if that is not preceded and accompanied by measures to re-establish confidence and to create an atmosphere of dialogue and understanding.

176. In this context, direct negotiations between the parties should lead to gradual, mutual and verifiable disarmament with the necessary guarantees.

177. Uruguay firmly supports United Nations efforts for disarmament, especially the efforts directed towards a comprehensive programme.

178. Likewise, the creation of denuclearized zones, following the example set for Latin America by the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁵ would be a positive and practical step worthy of our every encouragement.

179. As I said at the beginning of the statement, Uruguay is completely at one with the need to mobilize the political will required to reach real solutions. If we believe we will attain such results by simply talking, if every period of tranquillity is interpreted as weakness that can be exploited to pursue a destabilizing armaments policy, we shall not be able to translate into reality the demands of our peoples. That can be attained only with the clear and uniform conviction that peace is the essential and supreme good. Inevitably, all efforts must be aimed at reaching this inescapable goal, leaving aside rhetoric and dialectics.

180. The question of the Malvinas Islands occupies a significant place among the matters deserving the attention of the international community. My country has taken a clear and well-defined position on the substance of the question, the legitimate rights of the Argentine Republic to sovereignty over the islands.

181. Twenty years ago, the Uruguayan delegation stated the need for a negotiated solution. Today we reiterate that position based on international law. It is therefore necessary, as we requested at the thirty-seventh session and as was approved by an overwhelming majority, that this dispute be placed firmly in the framework of negotiations within the United Nations and with the participation of the Secretary-General.

182. It is necessary to avoid military preparations and to set aside all the factors which could provoke confrontation. Uruguay once again reiterates its fervent appeal for a search for peaceful and worthy solutions and again expresses its readiness to co-operate with other nations to this end. The United Nations can and must play a proper role in the creation of a legal and political framework that will make such solutions possible.

183. My country, as a member of the family of Latin American nations, is particularly affected by the scale of suffering afflicting many human beings because of the persistence of tension and violence in Central America.

184. Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which was adopted unanimously, traced a path for resolving the tragic crisis situation in that region. In that legal and political framework, Uruguay firmly supports the efforts of the Contadora Group to find satisfactory solutions. Of particular importance are the basic principles set forth by the Group to that effect, which are in keeping with international law. It is to be hoped that this work will continue, reaching a stage of practicalities in order to consolidate peace, which is the goal of our collective efforts.

185. My country is always prepared to co-operate constructively at both the regional and international world levels to attain this goal, to rescue Central America from global tensions and conflicts and from outside interference.

186. We should also note that, unfortunately, no progress has been made in the Middle East situation. The valuable peace initiatives taken in 1982 and the encouraging talks held in 1983 by various parties have not produced tangible results, and there now seems to be general uncertainty as to the future.

187. However, it is useful to recall in this connection that it was the United Nations which managed to produce a set of solution-oriented principles, and those principles are still fully valid.

188. We therefore believe that any solution must take into account, *inter alia*, the following considerations.

189. A negotiated solution is needed which will provide for the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to exist within secure and internationally recognized frontiers, with justice and security for all peoples. It must at the same time ensure recognition and exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish their own form of political organization. Also, the time factor is of essential importance in attaining a just and equitable solution.

190. Hence, as we stated at the thirty-seventh session, our country "will firmly support any action designed to bring about peace in the Middle East. . . . It should be brought about through agreements negotiated among the parties involved without violence and with justice . . . in accordance with international law and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council." [12th meeting, para. 271.]

191. The situation in Lebanon is deeply disturbing. Uruguay, which has close ties with that country for so many reasons, would like to take this opportunity to reiterate its firm support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and self-determination of Lebanon. The authority of its Government must be consolidated and extended throughout the territory. Foreign armed forces, whether of a regular or irregular character, must be all withdrawn, except for those which the Lebanese Government freely requests to remain, and for the period specified. We trust that the United Nations, in co-operation with the Lebanese Government, will be able to play an active role in the vast political, social and humanitarian enterprise ahead.

192. The Security Council has dealt with the question of Namibia on many occasions. The General Assembly, for its part, has supplemented those decisions with solid support for Namibian independence. It is therefore very regrettable that there is still no sign of real progress in implementing the decisions of the United Nations. There can be no doubt that the occupation of Namibia should cease as soon as possible and that, under an interim United Nations administration, the people of Namibia

must freely choose its own future and build up its own political organization.

193. Similarly, United Nations bodies and the international community have repeatedly condemned *apartheid* and called for an end to it.

194. Uruguay most strongly opposes the *apartheid* régime and all forms of racism and discrimination. *Apartheid* is basically contrary to the philosophy and institutions of the Uruguayan people, in addition to being a violation of international norms.

195. This unvarying position of my country is reflected in its being a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex] and in the fact that we were the first State to accept the competence of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to receive individual complaints.

196. The Uruguayan delegation is ready to co-operate with other like-minded delegations in the search for international means, in accordance with the Charter, of bringing about the speediest compliance with resolutions relating to these questions adopted by the Organization.

197. In this context we should emphasize the importance we attach to the attainment of a peaceful solution to the question of the unification of Korea, arrived at independently through direct negotiations and dialogue between the two Koreas. This could help establish lasting peace in the area, based on mutual understanding.

198. We sincerely hope that the international community will make a positive contribution to the resolution of this problem. In this connection, we support the activities of the Secretary-General, including the use of his good offices to bring about the resumption of the essential dialogue between South Korea and North Korea.

199. The magnitude of the outstanding questions and the limited progress that has been made, not to mention the outright setbacks, undoubtedly give rise to feelings of frustration. However, we should not become discouraged.

200. Despite the difficulties, the United Nations continues to provide an irreplaceable forum for world dialogue. It is the most important centre for organizing multilateral co-operation, and within its framework there are important contacts and negotiations that should be encouraged. The reasons that gave life to the Organization and the goals set for it continue to be essential for the peoples of the United Nations: namely, preserving peace and promoting economic and social progress.

201. That is why Uruguay firmly supports the plan put forward by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization⁶ to the previous session and the new approaches in this year's report [A/38/1]. We also welcome the valuable considerations and suggestions put forward by other countries.

202. Uruguay has transmitted to the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization some comments intended essentially to suggest procedural means for more expeditious action by the Security Council in critical situations and to support the full development of the powers of the Secretary-General, whose role should be enhanced with the whole-hearted support of the Member States.

203. I emphasize that my country fully shares the view that has evolved about the need to strengthen the Organization and to make it more effective. This trend should be continued and deepened. My delegation will co-operate at all times with the efforts to attain that goal.

204. The efforts to rationalize the Organization's budget and expenditures without at the same time paralyzing programmes of real benefit to our peoples are worth mentioning as a major practical consideration. They imply consideration of co-ordination with the other bodies and agencies within the system.

205. Before concluding, I should like to make some brief comments about the situation in my country. These remarks are to give the international community some information and are not intended as any kind of justification. My country obviously could not escape the grave difficulties arising from the international recession.

206. Faced with this crisis, the Government took the measures which it deemed the most appropriate to deal with the present situation with the means at our disposal, despite protectionist barriers and other adverse factors to which I referred when speaking about the international economy.

207. We are convinced that we have been doing everything possible, and we have made progress during these very difficult times. We have had to make sacrifices and do without certain things, but we have done so with confidence and faith in the future.

208. At the same time, now that the scourges that devastated our country in the past, with a violence incompatible with the naturally peaceful spirit of our people, have been neutralized, Uruguay is advancing firmly and with determination along the path back to true democracy, in keeping with the feelings of the Uruguayan people and Government.

209. Despite temporary procedural difficulties, the Government has prepared, and is keeping to, an institutional schedule, some important stages of which have already been completed, such as the reorganization of political parties and the election of their officers by popular vote. The schedule, recently reaffirmed, provides for the holding of general elections in November 1984 and the transfer of power in March 1985 to those elected.

210. This is the path on which the Government has embarked with unswerving determination, a path that leads, with peace and moderation, towards the institutionalization of full democracy, in keeping with our secular, civic traditions and with the consent and understanding of the Uruguayan people.

211. The Government will maintain its firm determined and genuine commitment to reinstitutionalize the country.

212. In concluding by offering a summary of the international situation, I must recognize, realistically, the existence of divergences, divisions and even outright conflicts within the international community. This situation is often the reason for lack of action by United Nations organs.

213. In this respect, as I said at the beginning of my statement, no real progress will be possible without the political will and collective determination of Member States to act in all matters in accordance with the Charter.

214. We must make a renewed commitment to work together in common endeavours, acting with full respect for the sovereign right of each State to direct its own destiny without outside interference, without attempts by some to exercise hegemony over others and without patronizing lessons which would be as unacceptable as they would be inappropriate.

215. It is necessary to speak frankly and sincerely. It is imperative to maintain an open dialogue and to work in a constructive spirit. It is essential to reaffirm our faith in law and in the United Nations. It is essential to make a supreme effort with courage and dedication to continue our progress, overcoming scepticism and current difficulties.

216. Only thus shall we meet the crucial challenge of the hour and fulfil the mandate of our peoples, building a future of peace and happiness for all mankind.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15936.

² See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21).

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

⁴ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8).

⁵ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

⁶ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.*