



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

### AGENDA ITEM 8

#### Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee (continued)\*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will consider the third report of the General Committee [A/38/250/Add.2]. In paragraph 1 (a) and (b) of its report, the General Committee recommends to the Assembly the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Condemnation of nuclear war" and its allocation to the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

*It was so decided (decision 38/402).*

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In paragraph 2 (a) and (b), the General Committee recommends the inclusion of an additional item entitled "Nuclear-weapon freeze" and its allocation to the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation also?

*It was so decided.*

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (continued)

3. Mr. ROGERS (Belize): Belize appears before the Assembly of the representatives of the world's peoples at the beginning of its third year as an independent nation of the Americas. Our independence was achieved through the struggle of our people and the support of the countries represented here. We are responding to the challenge to create a new society based on the structures of democracy that have worked so well for us, and with respect for the principles of international behaviour that have ensured the survival of the United Nations for so many years.

4. As a Central American and Caribbean nation, we rejoice at the election of Mr. Jorge Illueca, the Vice-President of Panama, to preside over the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The people of Belize and the people of Panama have a long tradition of association and friendship, and our Governments have forged a relationship of trust, understanding and mutual support that could be a model for regional co-operation.

5. We pay a tribute to the high quality of leadership displayed by Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, who presided over the thirty-seventh session.

6. We rejoice at the accession to independence of our brother Caribbean State of Saint Christopher and Nevis

as we welcome yet another member of the Latin American and Caribbean family to the congress of the world.

7. Belize is a small, developing country struggling with its own problems of underdevelopment and nation-building, in the midst of a region suffering the wider consequences of the processes of change, in a world whose chances of survival are lessened progressively with the accelerated development of the increasingly more frightening and more lethal technology of destruction.

8. Even before Belize became independent, we were a founding member of the Caribbean Free Trade Association and later of the Caribbean Community. We are also members of the Commonwealth, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and various other regional and international organizations. We have beneficial ties of friendship and co-operation with most of the nations of Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. We are recognized by all the nations of the world—except one, Guatemala. It is the unfounded claims to our land by this larger neighbour that prevent good and friendly relations with the Republic of Guatemala and present an obstacle to the full realization of our potential for development and for the betterment of the lot of our peoples.

9. To those who claim our land and cause us needless worry we hold out the hand of friendship. We ask that they respect and recognize our right to determine our future as a nation, free and sovereign, within the land and sea boundaries of Belize, which existed even before the independence of Central America.

10. Guatemala has never possessed any rights over Belize, neither before we became independent nor now that we are independent. It is this intransigence in refusing to recognize the reality of an independent Belize that prevents us from living in peace and co-operation as neighbours should. This reality means that only the representatives of the Belizean people can speak for the nation of Belize. Belize is always willing to enter into peaceful dialogue with Guatemala to work out means of living together in peace and harmony.

11. Persistence in this attitude on Guatemala's part constitutes a threat to peace in the only remaining peaceful part of Central America, a continent afflicted by the violence of strife. We share the anguish of the peoples of the continent and we wish for better times for them and for us. Yet we recognize that Central America is experiencing today the groaning and yearning for a new liberation, after centuries of power and economic imbalances that have left us a doleful legacy of poverty, inequality and unfulfilled expectations.

12. Although Belize shares the history of the region, we have worked hard to spare our people much of the agony of the present crisis. But as the crisis in our region deepens no country is spared the effects. In our own country, refugees from neighbouring States continuously cross our borders in search of a safe haven of peace and stability from the ravages and destruction caused by civil war. Motivated by our human duty, we accept our brother Central Americans in our midst, we make a place for them in our society. Refugees are not isolated in camps

\*Resumed from the 21st meeting.

and insulated from the mainstream of Belizean society. Our integrative approach is to involve them in the life and the work of the community, to help them contribute to food production and give them some hope for tomorrow. None of us abandons hope that some day they will be able to return to their own lands and their own homes. However, a large influx of new people inevitably causes severe strains on the limited infrastructure of any developing country; and in Belize the strains are placed mostly on areas where we can least afford to be weakened: in employment, in medical and health facilities, in the school system and in housing. If we are to continue and cope effectively with this situation, Belize will require more positive assistance from international agencies.

13. Steps toward peace and political and economic stability in Central America cannot be made by force and military might. Violence does not solve problems. My delegation feels that a political and negotiated solution is the best way to reduce tension and to give back to the people of the region some hope that they can resume a normal life. In this we support the work of the Contadora Group in its difficult task of restoring peace and prosperity to our region.

14. Because our foreign policy promotes non-violence and the peaceful means of settling disputes, we condemn the use of violence, especially the despicable type of violence which killed innocent victims in the commercial airliner destroyed by a military Power. My delegation made our position clear in a letter to the President of the Security Council in September<sup>1</sup> and we reiterate it today.

15. Great rhetoric is expended in the quest for international peace while those with the capacity to ensure a durable peace rush headlong into building up their arsenals for war.

16. The foreign policy of the Government of Belize coincides with the policies of the Non-Aligned Movement. These policies guide us with regard to our legitimate right and aspiration to be free from relations of subordination and dependence and to shape our own destiny according to our own national aims and objectives. They also inform our conduct of international affairs, where the basic rules are respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, non-violence and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

17. With regard to the situation in the Falkland Islands, Belize continues to maintain its well-known policy based on the principles of self-determination, the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

18. Belize once more reaffirms its support for our sister Latin American and Caribbean nation of Guyana in its efforts to consolidate its independence and sovereignty and to preserve its territorial integrity in the face of a claim on its territory by its larger neighbour. We note the involvement of the Secretary-General in the search for a peaceful and just settlement of the controversy and join him in urging the maintenance of the most favourable climate for the effective application of the Geneva Agreement.<sup>2</sup>

19. We in Belize cannot ignore the fact that justice and fundamental rights are still being denied to many of the world's peoples. As a nation whose people have historic links with the continent of Africa, we in Belize cannot ignore the suffering of the black majority in southern Africa, where the racist Pretoria rulers cynically pursue their policy of *apartheid* on the one hand, while on the other hand herding ethnic majorities into bantustans, in mockery of the Africans' real need for freedom and

independence. We cannot accept that the independence of Namibia continues to be delayed for reasons totally unrelated to the liberation of that Territory.

20. While recognizing Israel's right to exist as a State, we cannot ignore the plight of the Palestinian people, who are deprived of the exercise of their right to their own homeland on their own territory.

21. We cannot condone a situation that forces the Lebanese people to live in daily fear for their safety, in a virtual state of siege.

22. We join in the universal appeal to the non-aligned States of Iran and Iraq to put an end to war and move positively towards an honourable, just and enduring peace through negotiation.

23. We reiterate the call for a political settlement in Afghanistan, on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

24. Belize has signed and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in an effort to contribute to the effectiveness of this most important breakthrough in international co-operation for the benefit of mankind. We urge those countries which have not yet done so to sign this historic agreement.

25. While we are deeply concerned over the tensions and confrontations that exist in our region and in other parts of the world, the people of Belize are acutely aware of their own role in advancing the work of continuing creation. To that end we have set as our highest priority the task of putting our own house in order. We do this through the democratic process of our independence Constitution. We put emphasis on obedience to the laws of God and the laws of our nation and we are mindful that by faithfully doing our human duty we guarantee to others their human rights. Every small effort we make in our societies to improve the condition of our citizens has a positive effect on the global effort to realize a fundamental transformation of international structures, to ensure a better life for all the inhabitants of our one world, the planet earth.

26. Economic conditions among our developing countries continue to be subject to the economic fortunes of the developed world in an imbalanced and inequitable ratio. Declining export earnings, high interest rates and the resulting loss of foreign exchange availability have a disastrous effect on the economies of the poorer countries. Added to this, the protectionist policies followed by some developed countries and the many obstacles imposed on our countries to deny us access to international money markets deepen the already acute problems faced by many in the developing world. Much effort has been expended by the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and various other international and regional groupings of North-South and South-South configurations to come to grips with the solution of pressing problems of economic disparity, but to date no significant progress has been achieved.

27. Countries like Belize continue to hope that these efforts will result not only in academic discussion, but in positive action. In the mean time, we husband our resources and structure our development programmes to achieve the optimum benefits from our productive capacity.

28. We fully recognize the interrelation between our own national policies for development and the existing world situation. Our main export is sugar, an industry which employs some 25 per cent of our working population. With limited access to modest preferential markets,

we are forced to sell a significant proportion of our production at a downward fluctuating world market price that often requires increased production for smaller returns.

29. All of us have a stake in the reversal of the present economic situation. All of us stand to benefit from an early world economic recovery. All of us, developed and developing countries alike, have a reason to stimulate the process of international economic negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order. No one of us can solve these problems in isolation.

30. We have every confidence that the collective interests of the world community dictate the imperative need for it to join together in this task and avail itself of the tremendous capacity of the United Nations to institute the framework of global negotiations for the restructuring of international economic relations.

31. My delegation commends the valiant efforts of the Secretary-General to discharge the awesome functions of his high office. We share the concerns so lucidly expressed in his report on the work of the Organization, issued on 12 September 1983 [A/38/1]. It is only by ensuring that the United Nations remains the most effective instrument to provide peace, security, stability and justice for all that we can guard against the constant threat of extinction hanging over mankind.

32. But we are confident that where mankind faces the choice of creating or destroying, reason will prevail and life will be triumphant. This is the hope of the United Nations. This is the promise to our children.

33. Mr. MUBARAK (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to extend to you our sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Through you, we extend to the Government and people of Panama our congratulations on your assumption of this high office. My delegation is fully aware of your personal contribution as an able statesman and experienced diplomat to the activities of the United Nations system, and we are sure that your wisdom and ability will enable you to guide our deliberations successfully.

34. We also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General. We are confident that the lucid report he submitted to this session on ways of enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations and its various organs will be discussed with vigour and seriousness during the debate.

35. I wish also to express our gratitude to Mr. Imre Hollai, who presided over the thirty-seventh session with distinction.

36. We welcome warmly to the United Nations the State of Saint Christopher and Nevis. We are confident that its contribution will enrich the work and activities of the Organization and foster efforts towards international peace.

37. As we meet in yet another session, we must pause to assess our achievements and failures in the face of the great challenges and major issues that have confronted the international community during the past few years. We hope that this exercise will prove beneficial in our current deliberations.

38. It is clear that this session is taking place at a time when the international situation is very complex and in a climate characterized by numerous hotbeds of tension, war, instability, mutual mistrust, foreign intervention in the affairs of others and the use of force. All this lessens the chances of peaceful coexistence and constructive co-operation between all countries and peoples,

irrespective of their differing political and socio-economic systems.

39. One of the dangers facing our world is the acceleration of the arms race and the ever-increasing risk of nuclear war. Expenditure on nuclear and conventional armaments amounts to the astronomical figure of \$800 billion annually. It would be more appropriate to channel this sum towards efforts to ensure development, international economic co-operation and peace among nations. We regret to note that the goal of arms control is still beyond reach. On the contrary, the production of more precise and destructive nuclear and chemical weapons increases steadily. Moreover, the scope of the arms race has been extended to include outer space, jeopardizing the very existence of mankind and civilization.

40. In the face of these imminent dangers, my country once again states its conviction that international peace and security can be guaranteed only by implementing a system of collective security and only if the Security Council effectively shoulders its responsibilities, in accordance with the Charter. It is also necessary to ensure comprehensive disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, under effective international control. Specific measures should also be taken immediately, *inter alia*, to ensure adherence to a ban on the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances, and to conclude a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, coupled with specific safeguards by the nuclear Powers to ensure the security of non-nuclear States. The Sudan reaffirms its conviction that both Africa and the Middle East should remain zones free from nuclear weapons. We support all efforts aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and in that connection we hope that the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which has already been postponed several times, will be convened in the near future.

41. Although I have dwelled on the gloomy aspects of the current international situation, I must not neglect some positive developments that have taken place this year, in particular the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at New Delhi last March. That Conference, which is the largest forum of heads of State or Government, placed emphasis on the serious threats now facing international peace and security. The New Delhi message [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2] reaffirmed the positive role that the Non-Aligned Movement plays in fostering international stability and in the establishment of a new international economic order.

42. We have also witnessed the reinvigoration of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] through the convening of its nineteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Government last June at Addis Ababa after a two-year impasse. The holding of that Assembly was in itself an affirmation of the role of that important regional body in solving African disputes and therefore in strengthening the efforts of the international community for the maintenance of peace, security and international co-operation.

43. There is no need to emphasize the real threats posed by the situation in the Middle East to the peace and security not only of the peoples of the region but of the world at large. In the absence of a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian problem, which is at the core of the Middle East question, the situation has continued to deteriorate. Israel has continued its occupation of Arab territories and persisted in changing their identity, repressing their populations and denying the Palestinian people its natural and legitimate rights as enshrined in the

Charter of the United Nations and affirmed in the various resolutions adopted since the birth of the Organization.

44. At the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, the Arab States reaffirmed their commitment to peaceful solutions based on justice for all countries and peoples of the region. They thus offered a historic opportunity to ensure peace in one of the world's most sensitive and important regions. Regrettably, Israel elected to reject peace, continuing its disregard of all peace initiatives.

45. The international community has declared on many occasions and in various forums—most recently at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held last summer at Geneva—that a peaceful and lasting solution of the Middle East question cannot be attained without total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the exercise by the Palestinian people, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], of their legitimate and inalienable rights, including their right to the establishment of their own independent State. These conditions remain the solid basis for a peace based on justice, and not imposed by the force of arms.

46. Continued Israeli defiance of the will of the international community will lead to a new confrontation unless Israel is compelled, especially by its friends, to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and to put an end to its aggression and its occupation and annexation of the lands of others by force of arms. The question of Palestine and the Middle East will remain the acid test of the credibility of the Organization, which represents the aspirations of all nations to peace and security based on law, justice and respect for the legitimate rights of others.

47. Israel's designs have extended to Lebanon. That sister country was subjected to brutal Israeli aggression, which aggravated the problems of the region and constituted an attempt to destroy the unique social and political fabric of that country. In this connection we demand the unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon in accordance with Security Council resolutions, which would permit the restoration of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, without any external interference. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to commend the recent efforts which culminated in a cease-fire agreement. We hope this agreement will be followed by the implementation of effective measures to ensure the maintenance of peace and stability.

48. The serious situation in southern Africa, perpetuated by the racist régime in Pretoria, has continued to arouse anxiety and concern in all countries and peoples around the world. The racist authorities have persisted in their policy of *apartheid*, a policy that has on many occasions been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity, most recently at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held last August at Geneva.

49. The Government and people of the Sudan condemn the South African régime's *apartheid* policies practised against the majority of the population of South Africa, its aggression against neighbouring African States and its determination to maintain *apartheid* by force, including nuclear force. The Democratic Republic of the Sudan further warns against the racist régime's manoeuvres and its policy of so-called gradual change, granting limited constitutional rights to the "Coloured" population. Sudan will continue its unequivocal support for the freedom fighters in South Africa until freedom, equality and independence are achieved.

50. In Namibia, racist South Africa is still obstructing implementation of the peace plan endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That régime's objective is to prolong its occupation of the region and its exploitation of its natural resources, in complete disregard of the will of the international community, which continues to see the Namibian question as one of its most important concerns.

51. The international community has followed with great attention recent developments relating to the question of Namibia, including the consultations held recently between the Secretary-General and parties concerned, in accordance with Security Council resolution 532 (1983) of last May. We appreciate that effort, and following its completion we deem it necessary that the Security Council commence the implementation of the peace plan according to an agreed timetable which would be binding on South Africa and which would not involve extraneous issues such as linkage of the independence of Namibia with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Independence is one of Namibia's basic legitimate rights and it should not be subject to conditions or compromises. It is a right that calls for urgent international action to exert pressure on the Government of South Africa to enable the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its sole legitimate representative.

52. One of the African questions that are a source of concern to us is the question of Chad. The Sudan has followed the development of events in fraternal Chad with much anxiety, because of the close links that exist between our two peoples and the inevitable impact on us of whatever takes place in Chad. Since the Sudan has adopted the policy of good-neighbourliness and non-intervention in the affairs of others as a cardinal principle of its foreign policy, it is only natural that we have been greatly concerned over the aggression against Chad, an aggression that violates that principle and threatens the sovereignty and independence of a Member State of this Organization.

53. The international community followed closely the deliberations in the Security Council on Chad's complaint of attempts to overthrow and replace a legitimate Government that is recognized by the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU. It is truly regrettable that the Security Council, which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, was not able to discharge its responsibilities despite the fact that the aggression against Chad was a flagrant violation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that country. That failure not only undermines the credibility of the Security Council, but also arouses the fears of many countries that do not possess the necessary power to deter foreign aggression. It will also encourage similar adventures unless a deterrent is found to preserve the independence, unity and territorial integrity of weaker countries.

54. The Sudan supports the efforts of the OAU to assist the Government of Chad, whose legitimacy was confirmed at the nineteenth session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government. We hope that, with the support of the OAU and of the international community, the legitimate Government of Chad will be able to settle its internal problems without any foreign intervention and to direct its efforts to problems of reconstruction.

55. With regard to the question of Western Sahara, we hope that the climate of reconciliation in North Africa will lead to the re-establishment of stability and security

in that region and to the settlement of the issue through a referendum among the Saharan people. This would certainly bring about a peaceful and lasting settlement that would avoid bloodshed and improve relations among the States of that region.

56. The people and Government of the Sudan still follow with the utmost sadness and concern the more than three-year-old war between Iraq and Iran, a war that has defied all the international attempts to halt it and to resolve peacefully the conflict between the two neighbouring Moslem countries. It is regrettable that several Iraqi initiatives intended to halt the war have not elicited a positive response from Iran. Hoping that United Nations and other efforts will succeed in halting the war and peacefully settling the conflict, we call again on Iran to accept those peace initiatives in order to end the war, so that the human and material resources of the two countries may be utilized for the benefit of their peoples and of humanity at large.

57. The Sudan firmly believes that international conflicts should be settled peacefully through dialogue and negotiation, and without resorting to the use of force or aggression. As a result of this conviction, we have called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea, to enable those peoples to enjoy their basic and inalienable rights to liberty and self-determination. We have also called for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between North and South Korea and between the two communities in Cyprus, through dialogue and in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of their peoples, without any foreign intervention.

58. In Central America and the Caribbean we hope that current efforts, particularly those of the Contadora Group, will culminate in a successful, peaceful settlement enabling the countries of that region to realize the aspirations of their peoples to progress and prosperity.

59. As we review developments in the international economic sphere over the past year, we cannot help but feel more disappointment as we witness the passing of yet another year during which the international community was unable to deal with the serious threat to all countries posed by the devastating international economic crisis. Our disappointment is aggravated by two factors. First, the expected economic recovery, which alone was supposed to be sufficient to resolve international economic problems in general, and the problems of the developing countries in particular, did not prove capable of doing so. Secondly, although last year there was a serious effort on the part of the developing countries, at the New Delhi summit meeting and at the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, at Buenos Aires, to express their perception of the crisis and to propose clear, realistic and flexible ways of resolving it, the response of the developed countries, as reflected in the results of the Summit of Industrialized Nations, held at Williamsburg, and at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, did not match the genuine and praiseworthy efforts of the developing countries, at a time when the international community fully realized the depth and seriousness of the economic crisis and the threat it poses to the prosperity of all nations and recognized that the developing countries in general, and the least developed in particular, are more vulnerable to the impact of the crisis and less capable of withstanding its devastating effects and making the necessary adjustments to cushion them. We had hoped that international recognition of the seriousness of the crisis would provide a sufficient impetus to evolve ways of defusing the crisis through an independent and co-operative international effort addressing all aspects of

that crisis, in other words, through the global negotiations proposed a few years ago by the developing countries and accepted by the developed countries, but nevertheless not yet launched.

60. The Sudan, like other developing countries, and the least developed in particular, suffers the negative impact of the devastating international economic crisis. To mitigate the effects of the crisis the Sudan adopted, on the one hand, the strategy of self-reliance and, on the other, the policy of bilateral, regional and international economic co-operation.

61. In evolving the strategy of self-reliance, the Sudan endeavours to utilize local capabilities and resources to implement its economic and social development plans and to broaden the base of political and economic participation through the adoption of decentralization and regional government. In the context of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, the Sudan endeavours to strengthen bilateral and regional relations through joint ministerial commissions, regional and interregional groupings within the Lagos Plan of Action<sup>3</sup> and the Caracas Programme of Action.<sup>4</sup> The best example in this context is the programme of integration between the Sudanese and Egyptian peoples, crowned recently by the adoption of an integration charter between these two brotherly countries, which represents a firm and promising step towards wider regional co-operation open to the countries of the Arab and African regions, as well as to all developing countries.

62. Besides the negative effects of the international economic crisis, the Sudan, like some other African countries, suffers the heavy burden of the incessant and increasing influx of refugees, swallowing up a large portion of local resources and efforts. The Sudan managed, through its own efforts and with the assistance of friendly nations and governmental and non-governmental organizations, to provide assistance to refugees in its territory as a humanitarian and moral duty. But we still believe that a permanent solution to the refugee problem can only be achieved through voluntary repatriation and mainly through treatment of the political and other root causes of the problem, as highlighted by the Secretary-General in his annual report to this session of the Assembly. Until such a lasting solution to the refugee problem is achieved, we hope international support to host countries, particularly in Africa, will continue. In this respect, we also hope that international participation in the forthcoming Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, scheduled to be held in the near future, will be commensurate with the needs of African refugees and host countries.

63. The urgent issues that abound in the agenda of this session, the international climate in which it is taking place, and the attendance of a large number of heads of State or Government give a special distinction to it. This should, therefore, be a timely occasion for the international community to renew its commitment to the Charter of the United Nations in deeds, not words, and to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and its organs, particularly the Security Council. Only then can we achieve international peace and security and promote international co-operation in other fields.

64. In conclusion, let us hope that this session—through the fruitful results that can be achieved—will be a landmark in the history of international endeavours.

65. Mr. ASAMOAH (Ghana): It is an honour for me, and my very great pleasure, to extend to you, Mr. President, the sincere congratulations of my delegation, as well as those of the Government and people of Ghana, on your election to the high office of the presidency of the

thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your long experience in international affairs and diplomacy will ensure that our debates and deliberations throughout this session will come to a fruitful and successful conclusion. It is not just the people of Ghana but also a great number of peoples around the world represented here who hold your country in great respect and admiration. By electing you to the presidency of the General Assembly, therefore, we are paying homage not only to you personally but also to your great country, Panama, with which my country enjoys the most cordial and friendly relations.

66. Your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, also deserves our commendation and congratulations for his high standard of performance and achievement during his term of office at the last session of the Assembly.

67. I must also pay tribute to the Secretary-General who, in the face of mounting odds, has not relented in his efforts and has displayed great courage, foresight and sensitivity in trying to return our troubled world to minimal peace and stability. The Government and people of Ghana are deeply appreciative of his achievements in all fields of endeavour in which the United Nations has been allowed by Member States to play a role or have a say.

68. The Ghana delegation is very pleased to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis, which became independent only a few weeks ago, into the United Nations family. Saint Christopher and Nevis has played an important role in the social transformation of the Caribbean. On behalf of my Government, I congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on its accession to independence and wish to assure it that Ghana is ready to co-operate with the new State in its effort to achieve the objectives that are common to our two countries.

69. It is indeed disturbing and disappointing that the international political scene has hardly shown any sign of improvement since the last session. Nearly every region of the world is engulfed in war or faces the threat of war. Instead of embracing the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, we are witnessing a return to the "might is right" syndrome. There are unabashed displays of military brinkmanship or gunboat diplomacy where the conference table and dialogue would have assured greater prospects for peace and security.

70. These signs are ominous, as they represent a most serious and depressing deterioration in the international security situation. They are evident everywhere—in Africa, in the Middle East, in Asia and in Central America. In all these areas one war or another is raging. The champions of injustice, oppression, colonialism, exploitation, racial bigotry and imperialism have taken up arms against the forces of progress, human dignity and freedom.

71. On our continent, Africa, the spotlight has again been focused on Chad, where non-African Powers, including a super-Power, have intervened in the internal affairs of that country, thereby robbing the OAU of the opportunity to find a peaceful solution to the long-lasting problem that, unfortunately, is tearing that country apart.

72. For more than 20 years the unfortunate people of Chad, except for brief and uneasy interludes, have seen nothing but fratricidal war and continued destruction of their country, fanned by outside Powers seeking to maintain their so-called spheres of influence. The dramas we are witnessing in Chad and other parts of Africa, and indeed in the other oppressed and brutally treated regions of the world, are a blatant and arrogant manipulation of

unsuspecting peoples to serve the national interests of others. The people of Chad are victims of big-Power commitment to the acquisition of spheres of influence.

73. We believe that, if interference from outside forces ceased, this would contribute to the solution of the problem of Chad. Accordingly we address an earnest appeal to all outside Powers to withdraw their forces, advisers and instructors and other manifestations of their presence from Chad. A negotiated solution satisfactory to the different factions in Chad is the only viable policy. In the interest of the suffering people of Chad we call on the warring factions to enter into peaceful negotiations aimed at resolving their differences.

74. Western Sahara is another area which continues to give us great cause for concern. There too we find that foreign super-Power interference has kept the fires of war burning for several years now, thereby discouraging the peaceful settlement of the dispute. We wish, in respect of the situation in Western Sahara, to repeat the OAU's call for an immediate cease-fire and negotiations between Morocco and POLISARIO<sup>5</sup> leading to a referendum to be organized under the auspices of the OAU and with the assistance of the United Nations.

75. Elsewhere in Africa, in South Africa and Namibia the majority black population continues to be held captive by the racist régime of *apartheid*, a most brutal, gruesome and oppressive system of colonial and racial subjugation.

76. One of the *apartheid* régime's most recent exercises in terrorism against the black people of South Africa has been the cold-blooded murder of three valiant and heroic freedom fighters, sentenced to death under the cruel and unjust laws of Pretoria for attempting to advance the cause of freedom, justice and human dignity for their country and people. Impervious to all international appeals for clemency, the racist régime of South Africa callously executed, on 9 June, those valiant African National Congress [ANC] militants.

77. These and other acts that form part of the South African régime's brutal and repressive tactics are matched only by its hypocrisy and deviousness. The so-called power-sharing arrangement designed to confer limited and largely meaningless political power on the Asian and Coloured populations, while denying the majority black people any participation in the political process, must be seen for what it is—a gigantic political fraud. This is the case also in Namibia, where the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is being undermined by South African intransigence and the injection into the equation of the global strategic interests of a super-Power. The linkage of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola to the Namibian problem inevitably delays Namibian independence. While the virtues of the linkage theory are being extolled, military pressures against Angola are being intensified in such a way as to make the presence of Cuban troops in Angola even more necessary. How serious, then, is South Africa in negotiating a settlement of the Namibian problem? Who cannot see that South Africa and its friends would prefer Jonas Savimbi at Luanda to the present régime, whose commitment to true freedom for the Angolans is not compatible with their interests? Who cannot see that a policy of support for Savimbi is a policy in favour of the perpetuation of *apartheid* and neo-colonialism? The theory according to which liberation movements are seen as instruments of communist expansion is very much alive today and it coincides with deepening cold-war rhetoric.

78. For as long as *apartheid* exists, for as long as Namibian independence is frustrated, so must the liberation struggle continue. Where reason fails force is the

answer. We in Ghana are, therefore, pledged to provide all possible assistance to the freedom fighters of southern Africa until victory is achieved.

*Mr. Pradhan (Bhutan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

79. Anyone can foresee the conflagration to which the southern African situation will give rise if the present conditions persist. We in Ghana are willing, if the situation so demands, to follow the internationalist revolutionary duty of fighting alongside the freedom fighters and those front-line States facing the menace of *apartheid*.

80. Perhaps the pursuit of spheres of influence and global strategic interests is an inevitable consequence of the world situation. What we in Ghana refuse to accept as inevitable is the manner in which some of us in Africa aid the realization of these concepts. This is a manifestation of the degree of psychological havoc imperialism wrought on Africa. In Chad, Western Sahara, the Horn of Africa and southern Africa we see the mentality that makes possible the manipulation of our peoples by external forces. Without the likes of Savimbi, Africa would not be such a playground for external Powers. It is not enough to blame imperialism for the woes of Africa. Africans must blame themselves also for allowing imperialism to manipulate them. Our suffering masses deserve better. Independence, which means freedom of choice, must not be allowed to remain a slogan behind which imperialism lurks to mastermind the exploitation of the continent.

81. The tragedy of Africa is even more magnified in the Middle East. While the world is being treated to a treatise on a homeland for the Jews and secure and defensible borders, on an ever-expanding scale, for Israel, the Palestinians are being massacred and scattered. They are denied a homeland or secure borders. The expansionism of Israel is made possible by a steady flow of sophisticated and deadly weapons. Unfortunately, in the face of all this the Arab world remains a theatre of division and intrigue promoted by imperialism. Surely in such a situation the recognition of Palestinian rights will remain a mirage and the hapless people of the region will continue to be victims of circumstances over which they have no control.

82. Ghana will continue to play its modest role through the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon for as long as is necessary in the maintenance of what peace and security is possible in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East. What we would, however, prefer to see is a serious attempt to effect a comprehensive settlement that would mean peace and security for the people of the region. Such a settlement must take account of the legitimate interests of the Palestinians and of the State of Israel.

83. Elsewhere in the region, we are distressed to find that the destructive armed conflict between Iran and Iraq continues unabated. The continuing war constitutes a profound disappointment for the Non-Aligned Movement, whose solidarity has been sorely tested by the conflict. The mind-boggling cost of this unnecessary war does an injustice to the economic cause of the third world, and we once again appeal to Iraq and Iran to put down their arms and seek a peaceful and negotiated solution to their differences.

84. No less disheartening is the conflict in Afghanistan. There, as elsewhere, the people are victims of super-Power rivalry and the theory of global strategic interests. We wish to reaffirm our position that there can be no peace in Afghanistan unless and until all external forces are withdrawn. The people of Afghanistan are entitled to exist without fear of the subversion of their

independence or of the violation of their territory. They must be allowed the freedom to organize their society according to their choice. This also goes for Kampuchea.

85. The Central American conflict is emerging as the gravest threat to world peace after the Middle East. The peoples' search for social justice has suddenly been confronted with the strategic interests of outside Powers. A social revolution in El Salvador is thereby transformed into a hotbed of international conflict and ideological rhetoric. Consequently forces of social progress in Nicaragua and elsewhere in the region have come under extreme and provocative military and economic pressures.

86. The danger exists that the lessons of history may be lost on us. A people's yearning for social justice and independence can never be suppressed. It can be delayed, but it eventually finds expression, often in a more violent form, the longer it is delayed. We can only be dismayed at what the conflict in this region means for the suffering masses. It is our hope that there is a genuine desire on the part of all those involved in this conflict to seek a peaceful settlement that is consistent with the aspirations of the masses for social justice. In this regard it is our hope that the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring all countries in the region to the negotiating table will succeed.

87. The signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, in December 1982, marked the beginning of the regulation, in a legitimate manner, of a new international legal régime to govern the uses of oceans. One significant aspect of the Convention is the provision on the concept of the "common heritage of mankind". Since the sea, the sea-bed and the ocean floor all constitute a common heritage of mankind, it is the obligation of members of the international community to come together under the Convention so as to exploit peacefully the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor for the advantage of all peoples. The concept of the common heritage of mankind offers a chance for reducing rivalry and conflict, and it merits extension to other fields such as outer space. We hope it will commend itself to those who because of their present technological superiority are not inclined to see its value. The world must have learned by now the lessons of a free-for-all policy, whether in the acquisition of colonial territories or spheres of influence, or in the pursuit of material advantage or superiority in the field of armaments.

88. Since the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, in 1978, the arms race has continued and intensified. The well-being of the peoples of the world is being sacrificed for the arms race. Statistics show that, in a world full of illiteracy, hunger and malnutrition, squalor and deadly diseases, over 700,000 scientists and engineers are engaged in research and development for military purposes; at least 5 million workers are directly engaged in the production of weapons and other specialized military equipment; global expenditures on military research and development are over \$35 billion, or approximately one quarter of all research expenditures; and between 5 and 6 per cent of the total global consumption of petroleum is used for military purposes. Can a world faced with a universal slow-down of socio-economic development and performance afford to continue military expenditure on such a scale?

89. We firmly hold the view that the world would be a better place to live in, and some, if not all, of the present social upheavals would be avoided, if present-day resources for military purposes were released for the constructive cause of human development and progress. The qualitative and quantitative escalation in arms production, especially nuclear arms, has now reached a

senseless level which is particularly injurious to the economic interests of developing countries. The Ghana delegation therefore joins in the call on the super-Powers to make a serious effort to reduce their massive military expenditures, eliminate weapons of mass destruction and save the world and mankind from possible destruction.

90. The state of the world economy continues to give cause for grave concern. Most countries of the world, and certainly all developing countries, continue to face serious economic problems that are subverting their very existence. Despite the emerging signs of economic recovery in the United States, and more positive indicators in some other advanced Western economies, there are serious questions about the extent and the durability of the so-called economic upturn or recovery. With the budget deficits of the United States at record levels, and interest rates beginning to rise again, there is a clear possibility that the signs of recovery will be a short-lived phenomenon. If this should happen, then developing countries will have to endure a more protracted period of stagnation and economic deterioration.

91. For developing countries as a group, and for those of Africa in particular, there are hardly any signs of an economic upturn. Indeed, given the peripheral and dependent position assigned to raw material exporters in the world economy, it is hardly surprising that signs of recovery in the advanced economies have yet to be reflected in the developing countries.

92. Countries such as my own continue to suffer a dramatic fall in their export earnings, rapidly deteriorating terms of trade, severe balance-of-payments crises, chronic debt-servicing problems, dwindling access to capital, catastrophic gaps between government revenue and expenditure, and, in many cases, serious declines in local food production. As if this catalogue of woes were not enough, some developing countries, Ghana included, have experienced natural disasters, such as severe drought and forest fires, which have further worsened an already bad situation.

93. Ghana, together with other developing countries, has endeavoured to confront its economic problems with courage and a sense of pragmatism. Far-reaching measures aimed at correcting past mistakes have been taken. Public expenditures have been drastically reduced, exchange rates adjusted, development plans painstakingly scaled down and imports reduced to items essential to national economic survival. These measures have entailed grave political risks for our Government, but in a spirit of realism and resoluteness, they have been implemented. It is therefore with a sense of deep frustration that one listens to the constant refrain from the leaders of the industrialized countries that developing countries must put their economic house in order before their recovery can be assured. The fact of the matter is that in many instances developing countries have carried out, or are in the process of carrying out, all or most of the measures that are feasible in terms of structural adjustments, but their efforts are not being complemented by structural changes in the world economy which only the industrialized countries can make feasible. The continuing insensitivity of the industrialized countries to the equitable demands of the third world is appalling.

94. It is regrettable that the major international conferences of the past year which have focused on economic questions have failed to result in any meaningful steps to improve the dismal situation of non-oil-exporting developing countries. In November 1982, at the ministerial-level meeting of the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, hardly any serious attention was given to the concerns of developing

countries. At the Summit of Industrialized Nations, held at Williamsburg by the seven leading Western industrialized States, there was a failure to give the crisis facing developing countries the attention it deserved. This was followed by a disappointing outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in June 1983. Our hopes for some serious effort at relieving developing countries of their onerous debt problem, for some advances towards the implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, for the finalization of the code of conduct for the transfer of technology, and for a cut-back on protectionism were totally frustrated. To cap it all, there has been a noticeable decrease in lending to developing countries. The least that should be done is to increase the resources of IMF, and Ghana welcomes recent moves in that direction even if they are only a small step in a long journey.

95. Ghana believes that sustained economic recovery in the industrialized countries is not possible unless there is a corresponding improvement in the economies of the third world.

96. We believe there is a massive failure of vision and of political will on the part of the leadership of at least some of the industrialized countries. There is an urgent need for all developing countries to continue and step up diplomatic and political pressure on the industrialized countries for action on the international economic situation.

97. Ghana has been a firm supporter of the role of the United Nations in multilateral economic affairs. We have been supportive because of our perception that the United Nations provides a unique and indispensable global perspective and forum for addressing the complex problems of the global economy. It is therefore with deep misgivings and serious concern that my country watches the gradual erosion of commitment to multilateral forums for solving the problems of the world economy. This dwindling of support is prevalent in the industrialized countries and constitutes a grave threat to the viability and effectiveness of the international system. We therefore join with other developing countries that are members of the Group of 77 in calling upon the industrialized countries not to go back on their obligations and responsibilities as members of the family of nations.

98. In the face of the attitude of the industrialized countries, co-operation among the developing countries takes on a greater significance. Ghana intends to work assiduously with other third world countries not to let this concept remain an empty slogan. Our salvation lies in this.

99. I should like before ending this address to take the opportunity of putting on record Ghana's sincere appreciation for the help and assistance it received from Member States early this year when it was faced with a sudden influx of more than 1 million of its nationals who were obliged to return home from Nigeria. Ghana is also grateful to Member States for subsequently approving resolution 1983/44 at the recent second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, aimed at providing further economic assistance to Ghana for various projects designed to rehabilitate and resettle the returnees, on a more permanent basis. The burden of rehabilitating these returnees, which we fully accept, has proved beyond the capacity of our fragile economy, and we would welcome any assistance to discharge this obligation. We are grateful to Governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals around the world who, in a spirit of charity and human solidarity, responded generously to our

appeal for help during the moments of crisis. We hope that they will again assist in completely overcoming this unforeseen human tragedy.

100. I have tried in my brief statement to mirror the concerns and worries which Ghana shares with the rest of the world with regard to the deteriorating economic and political conditions of the world. I wish I could have painted a more hopeful and optimistic picture. None the less, despite this gloomy and foreboding world outlook, it is gratifying to note that the United Nations continues to exist as a forum for resolving conflicts.

*Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.*

101. To avert disaster, the world today requires statesmanship of an unusually high order, and a firm commitment to the peaceful solution of conflicts. We also desperately need, on the part of the leadership in the industrialized countries, a more sophisticated and sympathetic understanding of the interdependence of all countries and national economies. In all this we are confident that the United Nations still provides the best and, indeed, the only hope for solving the problems of mankind.

102. We wish, therefore, to appeal once again to Member States to co-operate in all areas to give the United Nations a chance to work for the peace and security of the world, for the progress and well-being of mankind as a whole, and for the development and welfare of the third world in particular, where most of the conflicts and frustrations of mankind are now concentrated.

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the head of Government of the Republic of Suriname, Commander-in-Chief Lieutenant-Colonel Desiré D. Bouterse. I have pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

104. Mr. BOUTERSE (Suriname): It is my foremost duty to extend to you on behalf of my Government and people, and on my personal behalf, warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Panama and Suriname entertain excellent relations and we gratefully remember that in the beginning of this year—a period which was crucial for my country—you personally received a delegation from Suriname and counselled us as a statesman and a friend. We shall never forget this. Your recognized statesmanship assures us of positive results at this session in the interest of peace and harmony.

105. May I at the same time pay tribute to Mr. Imre Hollai, who provided the thirty-seventh session with effective leadership.

106. We also wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General. His efficient stewardship of the United Nations and his skilful analysis and handling of several crisis situations deserve unqualified admiration.

107. As a member of the Latin American region, we take particular pleasure in welcoming Saint Christopher and Nevis to the family of nations. It is our hope that this new Member of the Organization will be successful in achieving its goals as an independent State.

108. Speaking on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Suriname at the general debate, I do so with feelings of both satisfaction and dismay. It is a source of satisfaction for the Government of my country to have the opportunity to address this august gathering of nations, to expound our view on the present state of affairs in relations among States, and to enlighten the members of the family of nations on developments in my country.

109. The mere convening of the General Assembly and the maximum attendance and participation of its Members, in spite of the strained relationship between individual States, create a renewed sense of hope for the effectiveness of the Organization as the main instrument for the maintenance of international peace.

110. By the same token, we are dismayed by the fact that, in spite of the presence of the Organization on the international scene for almost four decades, its lofty goal of creating an international order based on respect for international law and the peaceful settlement of disputes seems today to be as elusive as ever.

111. It is common knowledge, however, that this failure is not to be attributed primarily to institutional shortcomings of the Organization, but rather to the lack of the political will of its Members to use the Organization in the way envisaged by its founders and in the spirit in which it was conceived in the aftermath of a disastrous global conflict.

112. As the years have elapsed, there has been a growing tendency to lose sight of the goals and purposes of the Organization and the important role it was meant to play in the shaping of a world community based on human dignity, respect for the sovereignty of States, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. As a result, the world has not been spared conflicts during these decades, and all of them have borne the potential of erupting into a global disaster.

113. Favouring all efforts to strengthen the authority of the United Nations through institutional changes, my Government holds the view that such changes will be successful only if paralleled by a change of attitude on the part of its Members. In this respect, we cannot cease emphasizing that the role of the Security Council is to give effect to the system of collective security which the Charter provides for and for which there is no substitute if a peaceful and just world community is to be achieved. More specifically, we once again call upon the permanent members of the Security Council, which have been entrusted with special responsibilities, to live up to their duty.

114. The peril under which the world has lived for many years is as manifest today as it was one year ago when we met in this Hall. The use of force in international relations is threatening to become the instrument for the settlement of disputes among States and for the consolidation of the practice of powerful States of imposing their will on weaker nations.

115. In addition to the use of naked force against other States, we have come to witness a disquieting increase in the use of economic force against vulnerable nations, for the sole purpose of subjugating them to the economic and political interests of other States. Third world countries, like my own, with their fragile economies, which are the result of centuries of colonial exploitation, are becoming increasingly victimized by this practice, which moreover confronts them with almost insurmountable problems in fostering an economic development that takes account first and foremost of the interests of their peoples.

116. Undertaking this momentous task of generating economic development for the benefit of our peoples in a world order that is still characterized by an undemocratic distribution of political and economic power, therefore, requires courage and determination. It is almost four years since the people of my country undertook this task. During the past year we have continued to make steady progress in creating the conditions that are to secure the genuine and balanced development of

our people—and this in spite of malicious opposition originating primarily from, and fed by, forces outside the country and fostered by a persistent denial of the legitimate aspirations of our people. These malicious activities manifest themselves in various forms of political, economic and military interference in the internal affairs of the country. It is these activities that pulled our country into an abyss of darkness at the end of last year.

117. From our traditional peacefulness as a people it can be understood how deeply afflicted we have been. It is this tradition of peacefulness and the national urge for reconciliation, as well as the awareness that our revolution is a just struggle, which at this stage have brought us together in greater unity than ever before and with a stronger determination than ever before to continue to realize the goals of liberation and progress which we set ourselves at the start of our revolution on 25 February 1980.

118. The objectives of our internal development process merely reflect the goals and aspirations of the underprivileged nations of the world, and the process in our country aims at achieving at the national level what the nations of the world are striving for at the global level—namely, a just society.

119. Our experience has been that there is a growing general appreciation that in our efforts to reach these goals we have been led by the spirit of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Therefore any attempt to attach controversial labels to the authentic process for the genuine economic liberation of our country from foreign interests will always remain fruitless.

120. The solid support and understanding that we have experienced on the continent, and the growing support and understanding that we are experiencing in the hemisphere and in the rest of the world, are important to overcoming the economic obstacles that are entailed in a process of liberation, in relation with which the accelerated realization of a new, functional democracy will be secured.

121. On the other hand, the continued denial of the legitimacy of the political and economic development process which our people has opted for unnecessarily stands in the way of the establishment of meaningful relations between nations in the interest of peace and development.

122. In that light, I cannot fail to make some observations with regard to our relations with the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The relationship between the two countries has been damaged by arbitrary and unilateral actions of the Dutch Government, actions that touch the very foundation of the structure of the international system and indeed, I venture to say, the very structure on which the United Nations is based. For the Organization is based on the honouring of agreements reached voluntarily between sovereign States. Not honouring treaties—action which the Kingdom of the Netherlands has taken towards the Republic of Suriname—might therefore eventually affect the very essence of the Organization. To be sure, our people has resolutely and irreversibly terminated the colonial relationship of domination and exploitation with the Netherlands, but our people has also reached out unmistakably towards that country to establish modern and lasting relations based on mutual respect and benefit. It would be deplorable if a lack of a sense of reality were to impede the establishment of that relationship.

123. As I stated before, the present world order is characterized by inequality between States and it cannot be denied that this unjust system lies at the root of the

many tensions between nations, with all their adverse influence on the international climate. Respect for sovereignty, the right of all peoples to self-determination in all its aspects and the principles of non-interference and non-intervention, which are so strongly advocated by the Non-Aligned Movement, to which my country belongs, should be the paramount and guiding principles governing relations among States. However, the powerful nations continue to display a disturbing inclination towards violation of those principles.

124. Our geographic situation makes us an integral part of both the Latin American and the Caribbean regions. We, therefore, fully share the anxieties of the peoples of those regions over the course of developments in Central America, where the turn of events deserves the close attention of the international community. The increase of tension in that region, which is due to the direct and indirect interference of outside Powers, has created a highly explosive situation with the potential for a serious and adverse impact on regional stability and international peace.

125. Increasingly, basic principles for the conduct of nations that are universally accepted and are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are violated by Members of the Organization. Our Government is of the opinion that the unnecessary display of naval force in that region by outside Powers cannot contribute in any way whatsoever to the solution of the problems in the region.

126. The unconcealed support by foreign Governments of subversive elements in order to destabilize legitimate and popularly supported Governments of other countries is another example of disregard of the duty of all States to refrain from interfering in the international affairs of other States.

127. It is to be expected that States under the threat of being the victims of these hostile activities will find it necessary to maintain expensive defence capabilities against the threat to their national sovereignty and independence, which will result in increasing instability. My Government deplores the fact that an incorrect judgement of the causes that lie at the root of the instability in the region has created tension, as a result of which the region is on the verge of becoming the scene of prolonged conflict between opposing Power blocs.

128. The state of chronic social injustice which characterizes some societies in Central America is clearly the main source of internal instability in different countries of this region. Clearly, therefore, the solution of the problems of the region calls for a thorough restructuring of the social and economic relations within the countries affected by this crisis. Moreover, the pouring of vast amounts of arms into the region seriously impairs the ardent efforts of the Contadora Group to promote regional stability through dialogue, in the Latin American tradition of the peaceful settlement of differences between States. My Government remains supportive of these valuable initiatives of the Group and calls upon all States to assist in its efforts.

129. The Caribbean area has not escaped the consequences of the increased tension in our region. The prolonged activities of large-scale naval squadrons in the Caribbean, extending to the southernmost flank of the area bordering on my country, is a source of deep concern to our Government. The desire of the peoples of the Caribbean to live in peace and tranquillity, as is essential for their economic and social development, has been expressed on various occasions. Turning the Caribbean region into another scene of super-Power rivalry would

only compound the problems of the States in the region, to the detriment of their peoples.

130. Among the many issues that figure on the agenda of this session there are some that offer disturbing illustrations of the failure of the international community, and the inability of the United Nations to deal effectively with situations even when these persist against all rules of international law and against humanity and the human conscience. A clear illustration is the situation in southern Africa. This area of the world is held captive in a reign of terror pursued by the racist régime of Pretoria, which remains unchecked by actions of the international community, causing deep suffering to the indigenous population in that country and in neighbouring States. Our Government expresses solidarity with the heroic freedom fighters in their struggle against the inhuman system of *apartheid*, and for their brethren in the neighbouring States who support them.

131. More than five years after the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), Namibia's independence is still withheld by Pretoria. We appreciate the renewed efforts by the Secretary-General to achieve the implementation of this resolution. In spite of the positive signs resulting from this initiative, we have to remain cautious regarding the intentions of Pretoria in the light of the experience with this Government in past years. Our Government remains committed to its support for the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom, independence and sovereignty.

132. The Middle East is embroiled in another cycle of violence unfolding on the territory of Lebanon. The current crisis in Lebanon is a direct result of the war waged in that country against the Palestinian people in another attempt to suppress its call for justice. It is clear, however, that violence cannot eradicate the legitimate aspiration of a people and its determination to live as a nation.

133. It is a fact that the Middle East will remain an area of turmoil and human suffering in the absence of a just settlement of the Palestinian question.

134. I have more than once stressed in my statement the significance that our Government attributes to the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. Therefore violation of this principle, wherever it occurs, remains a matter of concern for our Government. Consequently, we continue to support the efforts of the United Nations to end the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and call on all nations to respect the independence and right to self-determination of these two non-aligned States.

135. The solution of the problems of the few hotbeds of tension to which I have confined myself and of the numerous other conflicts that threaten the future of our planet seems to remain out of our reach. The United Nations is expected to play an instrumental role in the search for their solution. The extent to which it will be successful largely depends on the international atmosphere. However, the international atmosphere, poisoned as it is at present by distrust among nations and growing hegemonistic tendencies, offers little hope for appreciable success.

136. In this respect we can refer to the fate of one of the major preoccupations of the Organization: the promotion of disarmament. The arms buildup is continuing at its usual pace. Far from disregarding the danger inherent in this activity for our physical survival, we are most disturbed by its heavy toll on the resources of our

planet, particularly when the world economy is experiencing its worst crisis of recent decades.

137. Naturally, the injustice and inequality prevailing in international political relations are even more profoundly reflected in present international economic relations. The global recession, affecting the developing world so much more severely, validates this conclusion. Therefore, there will be no positive change in the economic situation as long as we are working with an economic order based on the historic domination of the South by the North, despite signs of revival in some industrialized countries.

138. Contrary to what would seem to be logical, given the growing interdependence of States, the majority of industrialized countries appear to prefer limited short-term benefits to the greater benefits to be gained from a restructured international economic system. In this respect, I would mention the fumbling of the continuing global negotiations and the results of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade.

139. The chaotic situation prevailing in international financial relations poses a serious threat to world recovery. Although the financial crisis has so far been managed in such a way that debt problems have been dealt with flexibly on a case-by-case basis, there is still no lasting solution to the worsening debt problem.

140. It can safely be said that in general the Bretton Woods institutions cannot adequately meet contemporary needs, since they are based on the realities of a past era. The Government of the Republic of Suriname therefore supports the proposal of the Committee for Development Planning to establish an *ad hoc* group under the auspices of the United Nations to examine the full range of issues in, *inter alia*, the fields of development, money and finance.<sup>6</sup>

141. One of the victims of the present gloomy world economic situation is the funding mechanism of operational activities for development through the multilateral agencies. It is a fact of life for multilateral agencies today that they not only encounter difficulties in acquiring new allocations, but find it increasingly difficult to convert pledged amounts and contributions into actual funds. We call upon the major donors to accept the reality of an interdependent world, and to help find ways and means to resolve the development aid crisis.

142. It is in the interest of both groups, developed and developing countries, that every effort be made to strengthen genuine co-operation among all countries. In this respect we fully support the activities which have been undertaken by the developing countries within the context of the Caracas Programme of Action<sup>4</sup> to promote South-South co-operation. Trade possibilities on the subregional and regional levels, as in the context of economic co-operation among developing countries, can contribute to lessening dependence on the industrialized countries.

143. Having said this, we would emphasize that South-South co-operation is by no means intended to replace co-operation between the South and the North, nor does it relieve the latter from its responsibility towards the developing countries. Hence, we expect that during this session, despite the set-backs at Belgrade, a number of short-term programmes of measures for immediate action can be successfully negotiated. We cherish the hope that the necessary political climate will be created, so that all the important interrelated issues can be discussed in their proper context.

144. I opened with an observation on my feelings of satisfaction and dismay. Having dealt with current relevant global problems, I am pleased that I can now, in concluding my address, call attention to the fact that one of the areas in which we have been successful is in the creation of conditions for the proper management of the sea resources for the common good of mankind. As one of the 125 members of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, we are committed to the completion of this matter, regardless of the problems entailed. Therefore, we look forward to the Secretary-General's progress report.

145. In the course of my statement I have touched upon many problems which are causing us concern, problems which not only threaten individual nations but also undermine the very essence of the world Organization. We can assure the Assembly that the Government of Suriname remains deeply committed to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and to those on which the civilized conduct of nations is based.

146. In the past three years our Government has frequently been falsely accused of acts that would be incompatible with those basic rules. I hope, however, that I have made it clear that our Government, in striving to define and achieve our national goals, will continue to act as a faithful Member of our world Organization and will, therefore, fully respect its sacred principles. We sincerely hope that the growing understanding on the part of other nations of the crisis and problems we have had to weather will expand into lasting friendly relations between our country and all the other Members of the United Nations.

147. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the head of Government of the Republic of Suriname for the important statement he has just made.

148. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): We should like first, Sir, to convey to you, and through you to the people and Government of Panama, the sincere congratulations of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your wealth of experience and your great skill are, as we see it, a firm guarantee that our work will progress harmoniously and successfully.

149. My delegation would like also to express to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, its gratitude for the skill with which he conducted the work of the preceding session of the Assembly.

150. Furthermore, we wish to voice here the gratitude and sincere appreciation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea for the untiring and praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about the peaceful settlement of international problems on the basis of the principles of the United Nations.

151. We take this opportunity to congratulate the fraternal State of Saint Christopher and Nevis on the happy occasion of its admission to the United Nations family.

*Mr. Pradhan (Bhutan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

152. It is particularly disturbing to note that the current session of the General Assembly, like the preceding one, is being held at a time when the international situation is, in many respects, highly worrying. In fact, throughout the world—in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America—hotbeds of tension continue to proliferate and to grow, dangerously imperilling peace and security.

153. This constant exacerbation of the international situation is a direct outcome of the ideological and military confrontation between the two great blocs, which seek to divide the world into zones of influence.

154. As though to make the picture even gloomier, the severe trials imposed by the economic recession, which are especially disastrous for the developing countries, have further thickened an atmosphere already loaded with political tensions.

155. On 29 June 1982, in his statement at the twelfth special session,<sup>7</sup> our President, Ahmed Sékou Touré, showed clearly that it is the great Powers with all their military technology which are casting the lures of destruction among the countries which are unaware of the danger hovering over our planet.

156. It is those Powers which foment the local wars they claim are controllable and which thus intentionally maintain a dangerous level of tension in international relations, forcing our countries to neglect their own goals in the struggle against underdevelopment and to devote their attention to a burdensome arms race which jeopardizes the economic, social and cultural progress of our peoples.

157. When we look at the pattern of flash-points in the world, we cannot but note with regret that it is always the same countries—our countries, the developing countries of Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia—which bear the brunt of this heightening of international tensions.

158. Africa begins the work of the thirty-eighth session with the hope that good sense and morality will induce our Organization to work seriously on the resolution of the problems caused by the intolerable policy of *apartheid*, domination and indignity which prevails in South Africa. Pretoria's challenge to the international community on the question of Namibia, and the armed aggression by South African soldiery against the peoples of Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, are other problems which the United Nations must resolve without delay.

159. That will be possible only if there is an end to the support and criminal complicity of certain nations which, in defiance of the principles of the Charter and even of their own national constitutions, seriously threaten the freedom and dignity of the entire African continent.

160. How is it possible to condemn the policy of *apartheid* while continuing to provide the South African régime with the means of pursuing it? How is it possible to call for an end to Pretoria's military aggression against neighbouring African States while providing that Fascist régime with the weapons for its adventurist policies? How can one declare that one is in favour of independence for Namibia and at the same time extort guarantees from that State which is not yet independent and also demand from another sovereign State, which is not involved, that it seriously compromise its own security and the survival of its popular and democratic régime?

161. No, our Organization can no longer afford to be the pawn of special interests without damaging its credibility.

162. Today as before, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea categorically rejects any attempt to link the question of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. That is because our delegation believes that it is essential that the international community finally do everything it can to increase the political, economic and military isolation of the racist minority régime, so as to force Pretoria to

accept the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

163. Our delegation would like to take this opportunity to express to the freedom fighters of the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and all active forces in South Africa our high appreciation and our whole-hearted solidarity with the courageous struggle which they are waging and the stunning victories they daily achieve. To SWAPO, its revolutionary leadership and its glorious fighters the people of Guinea reaffirm their unconditional support.

164. Again we would pledge to the fraternal front-line countries, that daily suffer the onslaughts of the Fascist régime of Pretoria, our militant solidarity. By their total commitment and their unfailing determination, those States have won the respect and admiration of Africa.

165. The African continent also contains other sources of tension, in the Horn of Africa, in the Sahara and in Chad. Here again, the corrosive effects of international tension and certain special interests have fanned the flames of separatism and have thwarted the efforts of the OAU to find a just and lasting solution.

166. Our delegation remains convinced that, despite all these obstacles, Africa will find the proper solution, enabling the people of the Sahara, through a free referendum supervised by the OAU and the United Nations, to choose their own future and to announce it to the world. Furthermore, the fraternal people of Chad, through patient efforts, will also be able to regain peace and national unity in a sovereign country whose security and territorial integrity will be firmly assured.

167. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, which is a founding member of the OAU, appeals to the international community to give its full support to the OAU in its painstaking efforts to find a peaceful solution to the disputes which are ravaging our continent and seriously impeding the consolidation of its unity and the harmonious and balanced development of the economies of the States of which it is composed.

168. Turning to the problems of the Middle East, our delegation sincerely regrets the constant deterioration of the situation there and the fact that it has been impossible to find any way of putting an end to the bloodshed and the material destruction caused among the civilian population.

169. Israeli aggression in Lebanon has created chaos in that sorely tried country and has made it possible for more Arab land to be occupied, thus widening the gap which separates Israel from its Arab neighbours in the search for a peaceful solution.

170. We would state here with force and conviction that nothing sound, effective or durable can be done by way of resolving the problem of the Middle East without taking into account the Palestinian reality and without recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to found an independent State under the leadership of its vanguard, the PLO.

171. May we reiterate that the people and Government of Guinea harbour no hatred towards the people and Government of Israel. What we cannot tolerate is the language of force and the acquisition of other States' territories by force. History, after all, has taught us that two wrongs do not make a right. We believe that scholars, experts, doctors and agricultural experts in Israel, rather than its armed legions, will make it possible for Israelis and Arabs one day to live in peace and brotherhood, which the whole world hopes will return to that region.

172. In the case of the distressing conflict between Iran and Iraq, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea

is concerned about this for more than one reason. We should like to refer here to the laudable and persevering efforts made by the Islamic Peace Committee, presided over by the head of the State of Guinea, President Ahmed Sékou Touré. That Peace Committee is continuing to do everything it can to bring about a cease-fire, so that there can be peaceful negotiations between these two fraternal Moslem countries which must perforce live in peace.

173. In the Korean peninsula, as in many other parts of Asia, peace is still precarious. The Guinean Government reiterates its appeal to the international community, as well as to all men of goodwill, to support the very sincere efforts being made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to initiate a constructive dialogue between the two communities from the North and South of the Korean nation in order to create a confederate republic. The Korean people, whether they come from the north or from the south, only desire peace and the reunification of their land. The international community must continue its efforts to achieve that objective by securing the withdrawal of all foreign troops and by turning the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement.

174. The delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is equally concerned at the situation obtaining in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea. We believe that it is up to the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea themselves freely to determine their domestic and foreign policies without any outside pressure or interference. We also believe that the legitimate status of Prince Norodom Sihanouk should remain one of the components to be borne in mind.

175. As to the crises which beset Latin America and the Caribbean, we favour respect for the territorial integrity and security of all States in that region and non-interference in their domestic affairs. That is why we condemn the transformation of local conflicts into an arena for confrontation between the two main blocs, and support laudable efforts from whatever quarter to bring about a negotiated solution to this regional crisis.

176. In this necessarily incomplete survey of some problems connected with peace and stability in the world, it would only be fair to note that the current session, unfortunately, is taking place against a backdrop of alarming deterioration in the international situation, features of which are confrontation, military intervention, foreign occupation and the spiralling arms race. The increasingly frequent use or threat of use of force against the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States since the thirty-seventh session makes even more pertinent the comments made from this rostrum on 29 June 1982 by President Ahmed Sékou Touré. He said:

“What actually is threatening peace? It is the practice of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, hegemonism, the downgrading of the fate of the so-called materially deprived peoples, total scorn for those peoples, the flouting of international laws which guarantee the right of every people to peace, security and progress.”<sup>8</sup>

177. The deterioration of the international political situation unfortunately seems to be reflected in the sphere of international economic relations, in which the situation gives no grounds for hope—far from it.

178. Our intention here is not to single out a scapegoat, much less to identify the guilty, but rather to reiterate our appeal to the international community. The crisis in international economic relations and the growing disparity between the developing countries and the

industrialized countries threaten the stability and the independence of our States. The imbalance which has been created and maintained by the wealthy countries is tending to be perpetuated to the detriment of our nations, thus creating an unfair and ill-conceived ready-made situation in which the rich continue to become richer and the poor poorer.

179. In the light of the obstacles placed by the industrialized countries in the way of global negotiations and of the failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea intends to approach other friendly countries with the aim of bringing about comprehensive and sound co-operation among the developing countries.

180. Naturally, our political approach has always been to give our total support to South-South co-operation, since we regard strengthening unity of action among developing countries, reaffirming their common desire to resolve the various problems inherent in the essential conditions of integrated grass-roots development and establishing open and frank dialogue among them as an essential prerequisite for North-South co-operation on a basis of equality. This political action can be explained by the fact that the industrialized countries are working only for the maintenance and strengthening of their exclusive interests, to the detriment of those of the developing countries, which account for two thirds of the world population.

181. In the face of this situation, which in the long run may well give rise to serious problems that could compromise international peace and security, the developed countries continue to adopt regressive policies and practices that work against the purposes of the new international economic order. We regret to note that official development assistance is actually shrinking in real terms. For all the countries in the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, this assistance represents only approximately 0.37 per cent of the gross national product of the countries concerned, that is, half the target fixed by the United Nations. And this has happened despite the noteworthy efforts which have been made by some Governments.

182. It is therefore time to act because the long-term development of the world economy must necessarily begin with the solution of the economic problems of developing countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia, all of which are potential markets for products from the North.

183. We believe that it is essential for the industrialized countries to devote more resources to development than to the arms race. Similarly, the industrialized nations must apply the relevant General Assembly resolutions relating to development. They should also respond to the appeals made by FAO to implement a world food programme aimed at the stimulation of agricultural production by a massive programme of investment, to strengthen world food security and to liberalize markets so as to guarantee stable and remunerative prices to exporters in developing countries.

184. The difficulties besetting the international economic system unfortunately are not the only ones faced by our countries. Natural disasters are also the daily lot of the developing world. Drought and flood are but two examples.

185. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is looked upon as the watershed of West Africa, since it is the starting-point for a number of international

watercourses, and today it is unfortunately suffering the effects of drought. The slopes of the Foutah-Djallon massif have been deforested; therefore a large portion of the country is threatened by desertification. For that reason, the implementation of the project to restore and remodel the Foutah-Djallon massif will undoubtedly have a positive impact economically on the States of West Africa. This project, which is part of the UNEP Plan of Action submitted and supported by the OAU, is a priority project to combat drought in the whole of West Africa. That is why, by granting massive aid for this programme of struggle against desertification in Africa, in accordance with resolution 34/185, the international community would be fulfilling one of the duties imposed by solidarity by assisting in preventive efforts within the framework of our common struggle against natural disaster.

186. To enable the United Nations to achieve its objectives with regard to safeguarding international peace and security, we believe that it is necessary—indeed, essential—to adapt its structures and its methods to present-day requirements. Any institution, if it is to be viable and effective, must adapt itself to the requirements of the present day. The United Nations is no exception to this rule.

187. This is why we again make an urgent appeal that the Charter be revised to ensure the equitable representation of all parts of the world in the various deliberative and decision-making bodies. Such a revision would be an effective contribution towards making the United Nations system and international relations more democratic.

188. In this way, we could make the United Nations system more useful, thus permitting it to play a decisive role in the peaceful settlement of conflicts, in the interest of justice and the preservation of international peace and security, leading to genuine, sincere and fruitful co-operation among nations.

189. Mr. MISKINE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): My first words will be words of congratulations, on behalf of my delegation, to the President of the General Assembly on his election. By this election the current session has paid a tribute not only to his experience in international affairs but also to his country, Panama, and its commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. His profound knowledge of the United Nations system, I am convinced, makes him capable of carrying out the delicate responsibility he has assumed. He has our wishes for complete success in carrying out his important mission.

190. He is following in the footsteps of Mr. Hollai, whose tact, competence, authority and devotion have made a strong impact in this period of renewed tension in the world. My delegation much appreciated the way in which he guided the proceedings of the thirty-seventh session and we express here our sincere thanks to him.

191. It is also a pleasure for me to pay a deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, who has spared no effort to serve the cause of peace and justice in this disturbed world. We are much indebted to him.

192. Finally, my delegation warmly congratulates Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission as the 158th Member of the Organization.

193. The thirty-eighth session is opening at a difficult time, in which the international climate, already tense, has been shaken in recent weeks by the incident of the South Korean Boeing aircraft, in which innocent travellers were the victims of a clear violation of the elementary rules of civil aviation.

194. The international community is increasingly faced with numerous problems whose seriousness threatens the very survival of mankind.

195. These problems, which are both political and socio-economic, are a result of the unbridled arms race, the resurgence of the cold war and the difficulty of establishing a true dialogue between North and South.

196. In the economic field the world is experiencing a serious crisis characterized essentially by rampant inflation, a constantly increasing rate of unemployment, heavier indebtedness, a slowing down of production, an increase in protectionism and a shortage of financial means.

197. The imbalance in international economic relations and the interest rate policy applied by certain countries to revive their economic activities explain the situation, which has serious repercussions for the developing countries.

198. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which had aroused great hopes, did not yield the desired results. The wealthy countries once again maintained their usual positions, thus preventing the adoption of specific measures.

199. We consider essential the establishment of a new international economic order that is more just and equitable, leading to a restructuring of production, exchange and control by each country concerning the use of its own resources.

200. The present economic crisis, which constantly widens the gap between the developing and the developed countries, is not only a source of instability but also a threat to peace and security in the world. Peace and development are linked, and that is why my delegation urges an early start to global negotiations directed towards specific measures dealing with the principal problems of international co-operation.

201. In the political field, numerous upheavals characterize our era, and no continent has escaped the current worsening of the international political climate.

202. In the Middle East the situation, which still gives rise to concern, requires an urgent political solution which would enable peace to be restored in the region.

203. We earnestly hope for an end to the war between Iraq and Iran, two neighbouring and fraternal countries.

204. With regard to the Palestinian problem, we think that the people of the region must live in peace, and that implies the creation of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State under the leadership of the PLO, its sole representative, and also recognition of the right of Israel to exist.

205. With regard to Lebanon, my delegation welcomes the cease-fire which took effect in recent weeks in that country, and we earnestly hope that the foreign troops stationed there will withdraw in accordance with the wishes expressed by the sovereign Government of Lebanon.

206. In Asia, the occupation of Afghanistan and of Democratic Kampuchea by foreign forces must cease, so that those peoples can freely choose their own destiny.

207. With regard to the Korean question, a solution must be found without foreign interference and in keeping with the principles of reunification accepted by the parties concerned.

208. In Central America, tension has increased to a disturbing degree, and only a political solution can remove the clearly explosive dangers and create a climate of détente and of peace in that region.

209. In Africa, flash-points persist and are spreading.

210. According to the United Nations plan, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), Namibia should have attained independence in 1978. However, it must be noted that, through its delaying tactics, South Africa has impeded the transfer of authority to the Namibian people in spite of the readiness of SWAPO to negotiate. Besides continuing its occupation and illegal administration of Namibia, South Africa continues to carry out criminal actions against the front-line countries and illegally to occupy part of the territory of Angola.

211. The recent demands by South Africa, linking the Namibian problem to questions which come essentially under Angola's sovereignty, testify once again to Pretoria's stubborn refusal to consent to a procedure for rapid settlement of the Namibian question.

212. Our brothers in South Africa are each day enduring the humiliations of the *apartheid* régime, which tramples upon the most elementary human rights. The international community must contribute decisively to the total elimination of this anachronistic system and thwart any actions that might permit South Africa to continue its policy of denying fundamental freedoms and justice to the blacks.

213. The spectre of a nuclear holocaust continues to haunt mankind, and each day we expect our planet to be blown up. The nuclear Powers must commit themselves resolutely to the path of peace and work for true disarmament. The different negotiations under way between the nuclear super-Powers—in particular the negotiations concerning strategic weapons and intermediate-range nuclear weapons—deserve to be encouraged so that they may produce positive results.

214. In this disturbed world, where the law of the jungle tends increasingly to prevail, the United Nations must fully discharge its own functions.

215. My country, Chad, which is aware of its own weakness, sincerely believes in the United Nations as a moral and legal force safeguarding the maintenance of international peace and security.

216. Unfortunately, we note with regret that the main organ of the United Nations entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security in the world—I am referring to the Security Council—is blocked in its operations. Indeed, the Security Council today has been reduced to a state where it is incapable of responding adequately to a situation which requires it to act. Chad has had the bitter experience of this paralysis of the Security Council, which, it must be said, is the victim of ideological divisions and conflicts of interest. This state of affairs is made worse by the lack of coherence within the group of non-aligned countries with regard to promoting the principles of its own movement in the Council. The inability of the Council to take a clear stand on the Libyan aggression against my country must lead us to think seriously about strengthening the capacity of the Organization to deal with the problems it faces, in line with the proposals made by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization in 1982.<sup>9</sup>

217. I should like now to speak to the General Assembly about the extremely serious situation prevailing in my country. I have no intention of going back over what my people have had to endure in their 20 years of martyrdom in Chad. My delegation spoke at great length about that at the thirty-seventh session and again this year in the Security Council. Today our intention is rather to inform the Assembly about the most recent developments in the tragic train of events caused by the open and unprovoked aggression of Libya against Chad. I am speaking to the Assembly about this with a heavy heart,

but I do so without passion, without hatred and without rancour.

218. In defiance of all principles of international law, in particular the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU, Libya, with the help of foreign military experts and advisers, is occupying one half of the territory of Chad, some 550,000 square kilometres. In an effort to extend its occupation of the territory of my country, Libya has deployed its most sophisticated military weapons and has used fragmentation bombs, napalm bombs and phosphorus bombs on the villages and cities of Faya-Largeau, Oum-Chalouba and Kalait, killing or wounding many innocent people.

219. This situation would have been avoided if the international community had heeded the appeals of the Government of Chad, which repeatedly drew attention to intensive preparations by Libya to perpetuate its occupation in Chad, at Managua, at New Delhi, at Buenos Aires and at Addis Ababa, during the meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and the OAU.

220. Similarly, the Government of Chad last March informed the Security Council about the situation, and at the conclusion of its meetings, the Security Council issued a statement on 6 April 1983<sup>10</sup> appealing to both parties to make use of the mechanism available within the OAU for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including the Good Offices Committee established by the continental organization. This statement also invited the two parties to abstain from any action which could aggravate the situation. In defiance of this appeal, Libya increased its military presence in both the occupied area and the border region, and launched its war of aggression against Chad.

221. In keeping with that same statement, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its nineteenth session, unanimously adopted a resolution inviting the two parties to co-operate, fully and sincerely, with the *Ad Hoc* Committee in seeking a peaceful solution to the Chad-Libyan dispute [see A/38/312].

222. During the months of July and August, the Government of Chad regularly kept the President of the Security Council and the Acting President of the OAU Assembly informed of the deterioration in the military situation and asked the Council to do everything possible to get Libya to stop its barbaric aggression against Chad. Similarly, the President of the Republic of Chad asked the Acting President of the Assembly, in a letter dated 16 May 1983, to convene an emergency meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Chad-Libyan dispute.

223. Faced with the refusal of Libya to implement the recommendation contained in the statement of the Council and the resolution of the Assembly, and in view of its determination to continue its aggression against Chad, the Government again asked the Security Council, in August 1983, to study the situation.

224. Moreover, convinced of the justice of its cause, and in keeping with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and with Security Council resolution 387 (1976), the Government of Chad made an urgent appeal to the international community and to friendly countries to help it preserve its independence, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity and its dignity. Brotherly and friendly countries responded favourably to this appeal. I am referring in particular to Zaire and France. We take this opportunity to repeat to them our deepest thanks and our whole-hearted gratitude.

225. At the very moment that I am speaking to the Assembly, the regular Libyan army, the Islamic Legion

created by Qaddafi to destabilize our region, and the mercenaries of all nationalities recruited by Tripoli's strong man, as well as Soviet and other military experts, are stationed on the territory of the Republic of Chad, more specifically in Faya-Largeau, Fada, Ounianga Kebir, Ogui and in the region of Aouzou. Each day the occupation troops are being reinforced. Several companies of tanks and armoured vehicles and several infantry battalions equipped with a sophisticated anti-aircraft system are at this moment on the soil of Chad.

226. Libya is militarily occupying half of Chad. It is systematically destroying the palm groves which are the sole resources of that region, as well as the socio-economic infrastructures there. Libyan troops are looting and pillaging the defenceless civilian populations, and carrying them off to unknown destinations. These practices are curiously reminiscent of the terrible era of nazism.

227. The occupation of the north of Chad by Libya is an aggression which outrages the conscience of the world. It is of course blocking Chad's development.

228. In spite of this permanent state of war imposed by Libya on our martyred people, for the past year they have been striving tirelessly to rebuild their country. Indeed, in spite of the many practical difficulties, the administrative machinery has been put back into operation; primary schools and secondary schools are open, and the students took their normal examinations at the end of the year throughout our country; health services are functioning; the food situation of the population has improved. In addition, the damaged economy of the country is now beginning to show signs of recovery, slight, but encouraging; the companies and corporations, whose operations were so long disrupted, are resuming their activities; the internal and external trade channels have been re-established; and, finally, urban and road construction, long interrupted, has been resumed.

229. Our own efforts at reconstruction and rehabilitation have been supplemented, in a strong expression of solidarity, by valuable assistance from friendly countries and from international organizations which have been kind enough to respond positively to the appeal made by the Government. Thus, at the International Conference on Assistance to Chad, held on 29 and 30 November 1982 at Geneva, the countries and organizations present there made commitments to assist in the financing of projects provided for in our plan for restoring social and economic activities.

230. To these countries and organizations which were kind enough to show their solidarity with the people of Chad, we again express our profound gratitude on behalf of the Government and people of Chad, and we urge them to continue their help. It is also a pleasure for us to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Chad, our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General and to the entire United Nations system for their laudable efforts for Chad.

231. Fraternal friendship and co-operation with the countries of the world, in particular with neighbouring countries, have always occupied a special place in the foreign policy of the Government of Chad. The Basic Law of the Republic governing State institutions in Chad assigns to the Government, *inter alia*, the task of pursuing a foreign policy of friendship, co-operation and peaceful coexistence, based on respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU, and for those of the Non-Aligned Movement.

232. This policy is what led Mr. Hissein Habré, President of the Republic and head of State, to make friendly visits to and hold discussions with several African countries, especially our neighbours. It was this dynamism for peace that permitted Chad and Nigeria to find a peaceful solution to the unfortunate incidents in the islands of Lake Chad. This same political will also made it possible to reactivate the joint committees established by Chad with the Central African Republic and with Cameroon.

233. But this policy of friendship, brotherhood, co-operation and good-neighbourliness has run up against the hegemonism and expansionism of Libya. The régime of that country consistently threatens the right to independence and sovereignty of Chad and its very existence as a State.

234. In spite of the negative and arrogant attitude of Libya, the Government of Chad has always sought a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Chad and that country. Thus in February 1983 direct contacts took place at N'Djamena and at Tripoli. Discussions were embarked upon in both Chad and Libya between the delegations of the two countries. During these talks, however, Libya, faithful to its practice of expansionism and domination, attempted to impose its diktat on the Government and people of Chad.

235. For Libya, the solution and success of the negotiations are subject to the following three conditions: the proclamation of an Islamic Arab republic in Chad, inspired by the Green Book; the formation of a strategic alliance between Chad and Libya in order to destabilize neighbouring countries; and recognition by Chad of the "historical borders" between the two countries. These unacceptable conditions are aimed at nothing more or less than legitimizing the occupation of a part of our country and, eventually, the outright annexation of Chad.

236. Understandably, the Government of Chad rejected and continues to reject categorically these pre-conditions, which are in keeping with neither the will of the people of Chad, nor the realities of our country. What is certain is that we will not permit, now or ever, any partition of Chad, much less its annexation. We shall do everything in our power to preserve the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Chad and the dignity of its people.

237. With regard to reconciliation between the people of Chad, it is appropriate to recall that the day following 7 June 1982 the new Government increased the initiatives with regard to all the people without exception, for the purpose of ending the fratricidal war and reaching a compromise through dialogue. Indeed, direct and indirect contacts were established both within the country—I am referring to Guelendeng, Bongor, Bousso and Kelo—and outside—Maiduguri in Nigeria, and Kousserie and Maroua in Cameroon. Individual letters were addressed to the heads of the opposition in the pay of the Tripoli Government. In view of the refusal of those opposition leaders, the Chad authorities asked for the assistance of friendly countries. Thus, at the invitation of President Omar Bongo of Gabon, President Hissein Habré met the opposition leaders on 10 and 11 July in order to lay the foundation for national reconciliation. Again upon the initiative of the President of Gabon, the head of State of Chad had other discussions with them on 10 August 1982. Unfortunately, neither our efforts nor those of the friendly heads of State had concrete results, Libya having enrolled mercenaries of all nationalities to invade Chad.

238. The failure of the Libreville and Franceville talks in Gabon did not in any way weaken the consistent will

of the Chad authorities to achieve peace and harmony. Thus, at the time of his inauguration, Mr. Hissein Habré made an appeal for national reconciliation in these terms:

"I once again appeal to the patriotism of all the sons of Chad who are elsewhere to return to their country. The security of their persons and of their goods is guaranteed. They have their place in this country, which is their homeland."

239. Palpable proof of the desire for peace of the authorities was the proclamation on 16 June 1983 of a general and total amnesty. Thanks to this clemency, prisoners were freed. Moreover, thousands of persons who were refugees abroad responded positively to the hand of brotherhood and peace held out to them and returned home. For the minority who are playing the Libyan game, this hand is still extended to them.

240. In conclusion, I would like to leave with representatives these thoughts of the head of State of Chad:

"Chad is a nation and a State like most of the nations and States in the world. Chad is the product of history, like many other States. There is no State, no nation, in the world that was born *ex nihilo*, that has always existed as a nation and a State. States and nations are the product of history and Chad is no exception to this rule."

241. Chad is today the victim of open aggression on the part of Libya, in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charters of the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The martyred people of Chad are peaceful people, who aspire only to peace and greater well-being, like all the peoples of the world.

242. Libya is responsible for loss of life among the peaceful population of Chad, for the poverty and for the systematic obstruction of the socio-economic rehabilitation of Chad. Libya is responsible for the massive destruction of the Chad patrimony.

243. We are convinced that once peace has been regained and consolidated and national unity strengthened, the people of Chad will be able to devote themselves entirely and totally to the work of the reconstruction and restoration of their country, which has been destroyed by almost 20 years of war.

244. Therefore, we call on the international community, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, to help Chad regain its dignity, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, making Qaddafi's Libya see reason, cease its acts of aggression and intervention in our internal affairs and withdraw forthwith from Chad its invasion and occupation forces.

245. Chad wishes to live in peace within its internationally recognized borders. Chad wishes to live on good terms with all its neighbours. In spite of the barbaric and unacceptable actions of Libya, the Government of Chad is ever open to and ready for a dialogue on the peaceful settlement of this conflict.

246. In this regard, we welcome the total support of the European Parliament for the efforts of the Government of Chad to restore peace in Chad, so that we can get on with the work of reconstructing our country.

247. Once again, faced with the typical barbaric aggression of Libya and its illegal occupation, we urgently appeal to the United Nations as the guarantor of the maintenance of international peace and security fully to shoulder responsibilities in this serious situation existing between Chad and Libya, which could extend to the entire subregion.

248. Mr. NZEYIMANA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure for my delegation to associate itself with previous speakers at this rostrum in congratulating Mr. Illueca on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His moral and intellectual qualities, as well as his enormous experience as a diplomat and statesman, are earnest of the success of the work of our session. Furthermore, the fact that he comes from the developing world will, I am sure, leave its mark on our discussions of the problems currently preoccupying our countries.

249. My congratulations also go to the members of the General Committee who are assisting him. My country, one of the members, is proud to say that we shall endeavour conscientiously to help ensure the success of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

250. Allow me also to thank the previous President, Mr. Imre Hollai, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary, for the outstanding way in which he conducted the work of the last session of the General Assembly. He has left his own invaluable imprint upon the United Nations, this invaluable and irreplaceable international meeting-place.

251. My congratulations also go to the Secretary-General for his constant efforts since his election to safeguard and maintain international peace and security, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

252. My Government's gratitude goes also to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, for her address to the General Assembly [9th meeting] and for the work she has been doing, with such outstanding courage and perseverance for the Movement.

253. Lastly, may I take this opportunity to welcome to the community of nations Saint Christopher and Nevis, which has just become the 158th Member of the United Nations. My delegation congratulates the people and Government of this new State on its independence and wishes them real success in their efforts to reconstruct and develop their nation.

254. The tradition has developed here at the United Nations—and it is a good one—of gathering each year to consider the state of the international community and to examine ways of dealing with the countless problems facing it. The number and the level of the delegations present at this session reflect the interest and importance that all peoples attach to the work of the General Assembly. As far as my delegation is concerned, therefore, we have not come here just to make a ritual speech and then to depart. We are fully aware that each of us brings to this gathering of the international community a message of hope, of concern, of anxiety and of solidarity from his people. It is essential that we all be heard, even if we are not understood.

255. The approach taken by the Republic of Burundi to the set of problems being considered at this session is fully in keeping with the hopes and aspirations set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. Peace, security and international co-operation are indeed at the forefront of its concerns. My country therefore reaffirms its determination to contribute to the attainment of the goals and objectives of the United Nations. Its ambition remains to be useful to the international community, confronted by various kinds of serious challenges at this period in the history of mankind.

256. Since the Organization was founded, the threats to peace and security have never been as serious as they are now. The Foreign Minister of Ireland quite rightly

noted [15th meeting] that over the past 20 years no fewer than 65 local wars have taken place. Hotbeds of tension and confrontation continue to spread, involving enormous destruction in terms of human life and material damage. Should one not wonder, therefore, about the future of the Organization and of mankind?

257. The explosive situation in southern Africa gets only worse. The cause lies in the institutionalized system of *apartheid* practised by the illegal racist Pretoria régime. This constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter and is a source of the instability affecting the whole sub-region. It is being perpetuated despite countless energetic condemnations by the United Nations. The South African Government's defiance of the international community is unprecedented and requires urgent appropriate steps if the credibility and future of the United Nations are not to be compromised.

258. The black people of South Africa continue to be deprived of dignity and freedom. They are at the mercy of the Pretoria régime, which is supported by certain Members of our Organization. This support reduces the timid sanctions decreed by the United Nations to total insignificance and ineffectiveness. My Government regrets that the essential measures that should have been taken against Pretoria have so far been blocked. Nothing could reasonably or morally justify such a state of affairs. It is high time that the Security Council applied the measures provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

259. The General Assembly will have to speak out once again on the problem of Namibia also. Had it not been for the intransigence, bad faith, deceitfulness and political blindness of the Pretoria régime, that problem would already have been solved. Despite countless Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the South African Government continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, thereby perpetuating the suffering of the Namibian people. The exploitation of the inhabitants and of the wealth of Namibia—veritable plundering organized by Pretoria and its allies—bodes ill for the populations concerned and for the region as a whole if, through a sudden surge of legitimacy, justice is not re-established.

260. Attempts to establish a link or a parallel between the independence of Namibia and any question alien to it, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, are red herrings and should deceive no one. The question of Namibia is a problem of decolonization and should be dealt with as such. In keeping with the goals and objectives of the United Nations, the Government of the Republic of Burundi firmly supports the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, and calls for implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the plan for the decolonization of Namibia.

261. It is appropriate at this point to commend the Secretary-General for his efforts and for his courage and his determination to find a solution to the Namibian question. His journey to South Africa last August is undeniable proof of his devotion to the cause of international peace and to the independence of the people of Namibia.

262. My Government's total support for the countries of the region, victims of South Africa's military incursions and attempts at destabilization, requires no reiteration. The unacceptable occupation of part of Angola's territory by the racist Pretoria régime's forces of aggression must be of concern to the United Nations. It is essential that the international community once again demand respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola. It is paradoxical,

to say the least, that those who are demanding the departure of Cuban troops from Angola never condemn the occupation of part of Angola's territory by South Africa. The opposition of the front-line countries to the system of *apartheid* and to the illegal occupation of Namibia could in no circumstances justify the terror that the South African Government is cynically sowing among the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries.

263. The southern part of Africa is not the only hot-bed of tension in our continent. The situations in Western Sahara and Chad remain disturbing. My Government could not be silent about the fate of the Saharan and Chadian peoples.

264. No less than all other peoples, the Saharan people is entitled to self-determination. My Government condemns any manoeuvre to halt the process of self-determination for the Saharan people, under the leadership of POLISARIO.<sup>5</sup> It considers that the resolution on the question of Western Sahara [see A/38/312], adopted last June by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, must be implemented without further delay.

265. In Chad, a country ravaged by long years of war, the international community is witnessing the tragedy of a people dogged by death and destitution. The efforts undertaken by the OAU to restore unity and peace among Chadians have been paralysed by internal or external plans that are totally unrelated to the interest of the Chadian people, which aspires only to peace and development. The solution to this long-standing, complex question lies with the Chadians, and the Chadians alone. In the view of my Government and of friends of my country with which we have worked, this solution can be reached through respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Chad, through the cessation of hostilities in order to begin negotiations between the Chadians under the aegis of the OAU, through possible assistance from a neutral peace-keeping force after the departure of all foreign troops. Recent diplomatic developments provide grounds for hope that this approach is feasible, and all those who can contribute should act accordingly. That would be a great service to the people of Chad and to Africa.

266. The situation in Africa is not the only source of concern to my Government. In the Middle East the situation has never been as explosive. The worsening of the Palestinian problem and the conflagration in Lebanon are a serious threat to peace and security in the region and throughout the world. Thus the whole international community must set about resolving the problem in an urgent manner.

267. Once again we have evidence that until the Palestinian question has been resolved in a just and lasting fashion all States in the region will suffer. The refusal of the Israeli Government to recognize the Palestinian people's right to existence and self-determination and the denial of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people constitute the major obstacles to any settlement of the conflict.

268. The Government of the Republic of Burundi has always recognized the State of Israel. However, it energetically condemns the constant recourse by Israel to aggression against neighbouring States. The purpose of that aggression is to satisfy Israel's expansionist ambitions and to attempt to liquidate the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. There can be no real peace as long as Israel's leaders remain unconvinced that they cannot reasonably aspire to tranquillity in a troubled region.

269. In this connection, the outstanding results of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held recently in Geneva, offer prospects which should be exploited. At a time when the PLO showed admirable open-mindedness, those Israelis who were in favour of peace reaffirmed their opposition to the Tel Aviv policy towards the Palestinian people and the Arab populations living in Israel. Sooner or later Israel must recognize the right of those 5 million people to freedom and to a homeland, just like other peoples of the world. It must find the will-power and the courage.

270. The Middle East is a troubled region, unfortunately, which is affected by more than one trouble-spot. Iran and Iraq are suffering as a result of the struggle between them, the consequences of which affect both parties. Everything has become fair in this particular war, which is threatening economies which had shown prospects of prosperity. It is time that war gave way to peace and that guns gave way to negotiations. My Government supports any initiative to halt the fighting and reconcile the two countries and we make an urgent appeal to the belligerents to end their destructive war.

271. In another part of the world, once again in Asia, and specifically in Korea, my Government's position has not changed. The solution of the Korean problem must be attained through a political settlement which, however, would be illusory without prior withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. Burundi is and always will be in favour of initiatives to reunify the two Koreas. It could not endorse the arbitrary and unjust partition of the Korean people.

272. Outside interference continues to be a threat to the cohesion and indeed the existence of certain States. My Government pleads for a halt to such conduct, which is harmful to peace.

273. Stemming from this conviction, Burundi supports the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus and respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of that country.

274. My country asserts that all peoples threatened by division should have the chance for negotiation rather than be urged on to violence. This applies to Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Central America.

275. Tensions in Kampuchea and its environs can be resolved if there is respect for the principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States and the inadmissibility of the use of force to settle disputes. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea is necessary to facilitate the search for an overall political solution in the region.

276. The same applies to Afghanistan. The departure of foreign troops would greatly contribute to speeding up a political settlement of the question of Afghanistan. Indeed, respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, as well as the principle of non-intervention, are the basis for any equitable settlement of a conflict that has gone on for too long. The efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve a political settlement of the question should be encouraged.

277. The situation in Central America is very disturbing. It can never be said too often that it is necessary to follow the path of dialogue rather than that of confrontation if there is to be any real solution to the problems of the region. Once again, the presence of foreign troops has aggravated a crisis and is disturbing the peaceful coexistence of the States in the region. The initiatives of the Contadora Group, composed of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, should be

encouraged and continued, since the war threatening Central America would benefit nobody.

278. My delegation will consider objectively the problems threatening peace and will subscribe to proposals which would meet the vital needs of the international community. The right of peoples to self-determination must be respected and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States should not be trampled underfoot by foreign interference.

279. To speak of peace and security in a world thirsting for armaments is a paradox. Never have arms buildups proceeded at such a pace, with entire peoples looking on impassively. The published statistics are staggering: more than \$600 billion a year devoted to military expenditure compared with less than \$25 billion going to development assistance.

280. The international community is entitled to expect from the States concerned progress in negotiations on disarmament. The super-Powers should take a decision on the limitation of the nuclear danger and on progressive steps to exorcise it. Renunciation of the deployment of all new weapons would be a significant step forward.

281. The beneficial impact of disarmament on the economic development and social progress of the peoples of the entire world has been clearly shown over the years in countless debates on the question within the United Nations. Many voices, including those of authoritative speakers, to whom we pay a tribute, have once again proposed the diversion of part of the funds being spent on armaments to development, but it is time to move from words to action and to take initiatives and set examples in order to arouse the conscience of mankind.

282. As far as my Government is concerned, aside from the problems of peace and security, the development of three quarters of the human race remains the greatest challenge facing mankind. Given the gravity of the world economic situation which we are experiencing, the international community seems powerless. The special situation of developing countries has dramatically worsened, particularly that of the poorest nations which have awaited in vain the implementation of specific measures adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in 1981. Furthermore, the weight of this debt has obliterated the hopes nurtured by certain southern countries for progress towards social and economic development for their peoples. The stagnation of international trade, the steady fall in commodity prices, the reductions in development assistance and the tendency to neglect and even denigrate multilateral economic co-operation are all negative factors likely to worsen the crisis. They can, however, be overcome providing there is the courage and political will to relaunch the global negotiations in keeping with resolution 34/138, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly four years ago.

283. My country believes that the international community must continue to pursue its efforts to bring about structural changes in the international economic and monetary systems. We believe that, given the interdependence of peoples, it is possible to create a new world economic order in which the interests of each country and each group are safeguarded. There is no doubt that, for example, instead of loans being made and then the repayments having to be rescheduled, in order not to worsen the debt burden, an increase in the price of commodities would partially relieve the crisis of external payments.

284. In this connection, it is worth recalling that during recent international gatherings dealing with economic questions the Group of 77 gave constant proof of suppleness and flexibility in its negotiations with the northern partners. The proposals in the Final Document of the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, entitled "The Buenos Aires Platform",<sup>11</sup> helped lay the foundations for a thorough and effective co-operation. The Final Document underlined the need to adopt at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development a concerted, sustained programme for economic recovery and the promotion of the accelerated development of the member countries of the Group. Unfortunately, the industrialized countries chose to adopt rigid positions, and the sixth session did not produce satisfactory results.

285. The statement made here by the Prime Minister of India is of fundamental importance, because as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement she expressed the will of a hundred States which aspire to a world of dignity and prosperity, and which are prepared to negotiate. My delegation hopes that following this session a new step can be taken towards this noble objective, which is necessary for the survival of mankind.

286. One of the most important aspects of the new international economic order is the promotion of exchanges between developing countries. My Government firmly supports the conclusions reached at the Meeting at Buenos Aires and the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi earlier this year. Implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action<sup>4</sup> remains a major requirement for the countries of the Group of 77. Subregional, regional and interregional co-operation must be strengthened, particularly in vital sectors such as food, energy, intermediate technology and scientific research.

287. In this respect, support from the international community is vital. I hope that our discussions on this important issue and on other matters that are so vital, such as the financing of science and technology and the code of conduct for multinational corporations, will produce the results that we are desperately waiting for.

288. The realistic—some would say pessimistic—tone adopted by the Secretary-General in his annual report clearly suggests that, if the Member States, particularly the most powerful, do not strengthen their commitment to the attainment of the purposes of the Charter, the world will inevitably head towards ruin. We cannot allow the valuable heritage bequeathed to us by the founding fathers of the United Nations to disappear. The provisions of the Charter offer us the way to create a world where peace, justice, understanding and prosperity hold sway. Let us all work together systematically to bring that about. We shall thus discharge our greatest duty and realize the greatest dream of mankind.

289. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on delegations that have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind representatives that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes.

290. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In his statement at the 24th meeting, the Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach concocted a pack of lies in order to cover up Viet Nam's crime of aggression against Kampuchea. He hurled attacks and slanders against China by juggling historical facts and trying to sow dissension, which the Chinese delegation cannot but firmly refute.

291. There has been a long history of traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. True, unhappy incidents did occasionally happen between the two countries during the time of feudalist rule, when the Chinese people was not in power. But ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China the Chinese people has supported the Vietnamese people in its struggles for national independence and for the unification of its fatherland, providing it with a large amount of assistance with no strings attached and not hesitating even to make the maximum national sacrifice. The Vietnamese leaders themselves had to acknowledge the efforts made by the Chinese Government for the consolidation and development of the friendship between the two countries.

292. It was only after Viet Nam had committed aggression against Kampuchea, pursued an anti-China policy and a policy of discrimination against the Chinese and provoked large-scale armed conflicts one after another along the border that the Chinese Government was compelled to fight back in self-defence for a short period. Even now, when Kampuchea is still subject to the Vietnamese occupation, the Chinese Government has formally declared that, if the Vietnamese Government commits itself to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea and takes practical steps to honour its commitment, the Chinese side will be ready to resume negotiations with Viet Nam for the normalization of relations between the two countries. This amply testifies to the sincere desire of the Chinese Government to improve relations between the two countries. All this is known to everybody. Any attempt by the Vietnamese authorities to hide facts by sophistry and replace truth by lies will be absolutely futile.

293. In order to legitimate their aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities, while vilifying as erroneous the resolutions on the question of Kampuchea that are adopted by the United Nations and supported by the broad mass of third world countries, assert that the summit conference of the non-aligned countries adopted correct resolutions, denied recognition to the so-called coalition government headed by Sihanouk and decided to leave the Kampuchean seat vacant. Such assertions are utterly untenable. Democratic Kampuchea is in the first place a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and Prince Sihanouk is one of its founders and has been working actively for the strengthening of the Movement. It was only because certain people abused their power at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that Democratic Kampuchea was deprived of the right to be represented at the Conference. Such an abnormal state of affairs give rise to resentment and opposition among many participating countries.

294. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries there was a long and heated debate on the question of the seat of Kampuchea, during which the majority spoke against the erroneous idea of leaving the Kampuchean seat vacant and demanded the restoration of the seat to Democratic Kampuchea. It was then decided that this matter be left to the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for settlement. All this fully shows that leaving the Kampuchean seat vacant is neither legitimate nor correct, and still less has been a unanimous decision of the Movement.

295. In the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference, what was explicitly written in the passage concerning Kampuchea calls for "a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all

States in the region, including Kampuchea" [A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex I, para. 112]. The key to the solution of the Kampuchean question and the relaxation of tension in South-East Asia is the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. It is precisely this most important point which Vietnamese representatives invariably try to delete each time they quote from documents of conferences of non-aligned countries. If the Vietnamese authorities really wish to respond to the call of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, they should pull out all their troops from Kampuchea immediately and unconditionally.

296. Mr. ADDABASHI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): A short while ago the representative of Hissein Habré spoke here. What I am about to say is not in reply to his statement, but is intended to clarify some of the distortions uttered by that gentleman. Those clarifications are the following.

297. First, everyone knows that Hissein Habré represents only one sector, the armed forces of the north, from among the 11 factions which were signatories to the Accord on National Reconciliation in Chad, signed at Lagos on 18 August 1979.

298. Secondly, everyone knows that Hissein Habré, who was Defence Minister in the national Government stemming from the Lagos Accord, rebelled against that legitimate Government, aided by imperialist forces and their intelligence agencies and through the intermediary of a neighbouring country, the name of which is known to all. Furthermore, Hissein Habré had previously rebelled against the Government of President Felix Malloum.

299. Thirdly, everyone knows that what is taking place in Chad is a civil war which has been going on for 20 years. It was caused by the presence of certain persons, led by Hissein Habré, whose ambitions made them blind to the interests of the people of Chad. Those who attended the Kano Conference may recall that Habré said that he was prepared to step over the dead bodies of the entire people of Chad.

300. Fourthly, everyone is aware of what this Pol Pot of Chad has done in the way of massacres. Hundreds of corpses were found in a lake near N'Djamena, and more than 20 individuals were slaughtered by Hissein Habré himself, with an abundance of witnesses present.

301. Fifthly, everyone knows that the rebel Habré does not represent any legal government and that he is not supported by the people of Chad. If it had not been for the presence of his friends the colonialists and the mercenaries he would not have been in power for more than a few hours. His fate will be similar to that of his counterpart, Pol Pot.

302. Sixthly, the problem of Chad will not be resolved by attempts to divert the attention of the world community from events in Chad by hurling accusations at the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at the instigation of imperialist forces and their agents.

303. Seventhly, the way to solve the problem of Chad is through national reconciliation in accordance with the Lagos Accord, under the auspices of the OAU and with the participation of all the signatories to that agreement.

304. Eighthly, the withdrawal of all foreign forces, both African and non-African, is necessary if the people of Chad are to solve their problems and put an end to this destructive war.

305. Ninthly, as a brother and neighbour country of Chad, and as a participant in all the meetings that have taken place on the achievement of national reconciliation and the host of some of them, we are prepared to make

every effort within the framework of the OAU to bring peace and security to Chad.

306. Tenthly, continued support for the rebellion led by Hissein Habré and failure to take into account the interests of the people of Chad will only serve to escalate tensions and lead to further bloodshed and destruction in Chad. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has always expressed its concern for the independence and unity of Chad, but at the same time it will defend its own territorial integrity regardless of the cost.

307. The representative of the armed forces of the north distributed a falsified map with the text of his statement which, on the instructions of his masters, contains a part of Libyan territory. That is unacceptable. I have to assert here that the Aouzou Strip is an integral part of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in conformity with the map attached to the United Nations resolution of 1951 concerning the independence of Libya, and it will remain so for ever.

308. In conclusion, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports the people of Chad and will make every effort to ensure the establishment of peace, security and stability in Chad.

309. Mrs. NAVAS (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The purported reply by the representative of the United States to the statement made by the head of the Cuban delegation at the 24th meeting is unrelated to what was said by my delegation. It was an attempt to distract attention to matters unrelated to those actually referred to, without refuting the essence of our statement. This does not surprise us. It would be very difficult to refute the absolutely objective statements concerning the intransigence of the United States Government, the irrational militaristic course it is following, the accelerated build-up of its military arsenal and its military budget, its programmes for the production of nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons, the expansion of its military presence, its manoeuvres in the most diverse regions of the world and its attempts to expand the arms race to outer space.

310. These are the key factors in the grave deterioration of the international situation and the main obstacle to progress in disarmament negotiations.

311. The representative of the Yankee imperialist Government, which has more than 300 military and naval bases outside its territory, including Guantánamo, contrary to the express wishes of our people and Government, and which has become a world gendarme without anybody's authorization, accuses Cuba of having 30,000 troops in distant lands.

312. Cuba's internationalist presence in African lands must be unacceptable to those who murdered tens of thousands of old men, women and children in Viet Nam, because our forces, working with FAPLA,<sup>12</sup> overthrew their racist South African allies when they tried to seize Angola, and they helped to prevent the invasion of Ethiopia. All of this, unacceptable in itself to the champions of imperialist reaction, is particularly indigestible because what is involved here is a small mestizo country in the Americas, which resolved to free itself from Yankee imperialism and foil its designs in this and other parts of the world.

313. Whether the representative of the United States likes it or not, Cuba's internationalist forces are in Africa and fully entitled to be there, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and with the freely expressed wishes of sovereign and independent States.

314. It is grotesque to affirm, as the representative of the United States did, that the so-called Radio Martí

station, a transmitter set up in contravention of international law in order to interfere in my country, is intended to inform our people of events. What have the modern Goebbelses got to inform the Cuban people about?

315. Our country has never forgotten that it was Yankee Marines, like those at present grossly trampling Honduran soil, who climbed up the statue of José Martí in Havana's Central Park, profaning his memory and urinating on his effigy.

316. It is not Cuba but the United States which is interfering around the entire world and in particular in Latin America. The people of El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua can give the facts. Our people are armed, and well armed, not in order to intervene anywhere, but rather to defend our land against any imperialist aggression. We are armed, we are prepared and we can exact a very high price for any attempt by the Yankee Government against our revolution.

317. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Yesterday the Minister of Foreign Affairs of one of the territories still occupied in Latin America, more specifically in Central America, made a series of charges against my country, to which I do not intend to reply today.

318. We are quite sure that the international community is well aware of who is fighting for peace and who is accustomed to waging war in Central America; who is fighting for national independence and in order to exercise the right to self-determination, and who has allowed a great Power, in alleged defence of a false democracy, to use it and to occupy its territory to maintain and expand its imperialist interests in our region.

319. However, we should like to take this opportunity to clarify some matters relating to those charges and to the involvement of a great Power, the United States of America, in the problems of Central America.

320. We do not intend to go into byzantine discussion today concerning who in Central America is trying to construct real democracy, where the great popular masses provide their own government and who gets to enjoy the product of their own labour. Similarly we do not intend to use the same inappropriate and unseemly language and the same kind of false accusations, which are not even believed by the peoples they say they represent. We wish to inform this Assembly of some objective facts and of some recent historic and present occurrences.

321. It was said in that statement that what is taking place on the frontier between our two countries is a war of Nicaraguans fighting against Nicaraguans on Nicaraguan territory, as if the United States Government had not publicly acknowledged the existence of \$19 million for the inappropriately named "covert operations" against Nicaragua, as if the aircraft bombing civilian and economic targets in Nicaragua did not have their landing-strips on Honduran territory. Now it turns out that the Somozists, who committed genocide against our people, have acquired the gift of ubiquity and invisibility, appearing like magic in order to fight barely 200 metres from our border, and nobody knows where they have come from. Now it transpires that the people mortaring the frontier posts of the Nicaraguan army, deploying their tanks and covering the entry and withdrawal of the Somozists and the mercenaries on Nicaraguan territory are all "Nicaraguans".

322. There is a serious responsibility borne here by a Government which is providing its territory for the training of armed bands to overthrow a legitimate Government. There is grave responsibility borne here by a

Government which, by taking this stand, is seriously fanning frontier tensions which could easily degenerate into a confrontation of incalculable proportions. There is a grave responsibility borne by a great Power, the United States of America, which, with its warlike adventurist policy in Central America, is bringing the whole region to the brink of catastrophe.

323. Meanwhile Nicaragua is suffering death, and the destruction of what it has built up over the last four years of revolution at so much cost. While Nicaragua defends itself, as it is its legitimate and undeniable right to do, it has not hesitated to have recourse to all diplomatic bodies in a search for machinery to facilitate a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the crisis.

324. It is worth recalling here that it was as a result of the first consideration of the situation by the Security Council, meeting in March of this year at the request of Nicaragua, that the initiative of the Contadora Group received full international support as a genuine regional alternative, and it was in May of this year, at a second meeting, that that alternative received formal acknowledgement in resolution 530 (1983) of the Security Council.

325. It should be recalled how active a part Nicaragua played in all meetings of brother countries that took this initiative. It is necessary to recall the demonstration of flexibility by our revolutionary Government, expressed in the Six Point Programme published on 19 July this year and in the immediate ratification of the Contadora Group's Document on Objectives before any other Central American country. It was not Nicaragua which convened meetings to take bloc stands on the proposals of the Contadora Group. It is not Nicaragua which is stepping up military activities, under cover of a calculated campaign of diplomatic negotiations. It is not Nicaragua which has been calling and attending top-level military meetings, like the latest one in Guatemala City, held with the inevitable presence of the Chiefs of the U.S. Southern Command, in order to draw up military strategies and alliances and to revive the so-called CONDECA<sup>13</sup> organization.

326. Let it be quite clear: while Nicaragua buries its dead and strives to come up with concrete results in the Contadora negotiations, others are spreading red herrings, setting traps, playing for time, plotting, and openly attacking and destabilizing Nicaragua.

327. This is one of the many reasons why we believe that it is absolutely essential to ensure the international security of all States through properly organized agreements, with appropriate monitoring machinery prior to discussion of other issues such as the presence of advisers or military development in the region. We are open to discussion of any questions but we do not see how progress can be made towards dialogue and détente without first of all providing guarantees to all Central American States which are being attacked, or which feel threatened regarding the security of their frontiers, respect for their sovereignty and independence and the right of their peoples to self-determination.

328. Nicaragua wishes peace. It is the country most concerned with achieving peace, since it is our people who are suffering from the consequences of this dirty, undeclared war. We are prepared to achieve this peace with the dignity which our heroic and revolutionary people deserve. Accordingly, we have supported, and we shall continue to support, the peaceful approach taken by the Contadora Group, and in this regional framework we shall spare no effort. We are not prepared to play the game of those who advocate military solutions, with death and destruction as the only alternative.

329. In this same spirit, and with a clear conscience, we have called for the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly, entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives". We believe that, far from "internationalizing" or spreading this crisis in Central America, debate on this question in the Assembly would contribute to alerting the international community to what is really going on in that part of the world, the true dangers of the tension there and the grave consequences which the United States policy in this region could unleash.

330. This alarm is sounded because of the necessity to put a halt to all aggression, manoeuvres and military activities which tend to intensify tensions; it presupposes recognition of the activities of the Contadora Group and a considerable strengthening of its mediating role.

331. Nobody here can claim that, on the three occasions when Nicaragua turned to the Security Council to denounce attacks upon us, it took the Central American problem out of its regional context. On the contrary, our action served to corroborate the well-nigh unanimous judgement that the Contadora Group is a valid regional organization—

332. The PRESIDENT: May I remind the speaker that the allotted time of 10 minutes has now expired and I request him to conclude his statement.

333. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall try to conclude briefly. Therefore we reject this kind of argumentation as false. The justice of our statements was corroborated by the General Committee of the General Assembly when it decided—despite the recent attempts of the United States to prevent it from so doing—to include the item requested by our country. The only ones who are trying to expand the dimensions of the conflict in Central America, regionalizing the war and destruction, are those who opted for the militaristic line, who claim to support peace efforts and increase their military activities. They daily step up intervention in the region of Central America and daily calculate political and financial costs of a large-scale military operation without regard for the cost in human lives. They refuse to recognize the historical changes which are necessary and the economic roots of the problem. While they maintain their clumsy, Manichaean view of things, they refuse to recognize the rights of a country in Central America, for the first time independent and free, to build its own revolution.

*The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15978.

<sup>2</sup> Agreement to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 651, No. 8192, p. 323).

<sup>3</sup> Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa (see A/S-11/14, annex I).

<sup>4</sup> Adopted by the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

<sup>5</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1983, Supplement No. 6*, para. 94.

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 26th meeting.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 32.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council 1983*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session, vol. 1, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

<sup>12</sup> People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola.

<sup>13</sup> Central American Defence Council.