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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MADI SOILIHI (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all, Sir, to offer you on behalf of my delegation our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that your long experience in the important posts that you have held, in particular as Permanent Representative to the United Nations and as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama, ensures the smooth functioning of our work as our Assembly once again tackles the serious problems threatening the equilibrium of our planet.

2. I wish also, Mr. President, to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, whose dedication and competence led to the smooth functioning of the work of the Assembly at the preceding session.

3. I should also like to pay a particular tribute to the Secretary-General for his constant efforts in the defence of the sacred principles of the Organization and to safeguard world peace.

4. My delegation is pleased to see in our midst Saint Christopher and Nevis as the 158th Member of the Organization. We offer our friendship to that country and wish it full success in its independence.

5. As in past years we are meeting here in this Assembly to carry out an exhaustive assessment of the political and economic situation in the world. Unfortunately, we must face the facts: far from improving, the international situation, both politically and economically, has only worsened. How can we come to any other conclusion when we see that at the present time there is no continent in which there are not one or more sources of tension. The sacred principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations have been flouted, and even at times deliberately violated. Force and domination have taken precedence over law and justice. Dialogue and co-operation have yielded to hatred and violence.

6. The tragic incident of the aircraft of the South Korean Air Lines which was shot down by a Soviet fighter, with the loss of more than 260 lives, is a vivid example of the serious consequences which can stem from the rivalry between the two super-Powers. It is obvious that whatever may be the cause and origin of the diversion of the aircraft from its itinerary, nothing can justify the destruction of the aircraft and the consequent loss of so many human lives.

7. A few weeks ago we observed the sad anniversary of the massacres in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. The direct responsibility of Israel in this collective assassination has been demonstrated unequivocally by various inquiries in the field. Today we must acknowledge that the situation in the Middle East has hardly changed.

Israel has refused to evacuate occupied Arab territories, notwithstanding the relevant resolutions of the Organization. Even more serious, Jewish settlements have increased in number in these territories, and this has been accompanied by a ferocious repression of the Arab-Palestinian populations, whose only fault is to want to continue to live on their own land. We realize that the Zionist entity would not have committed these acts had it not had the material and diplomatic support of its allies.

8. We shall never cease to repeat that there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, guaranteed and effectively exercised. Moreover, this is the spirit of the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last August.¹ On the basis of this principle, it goes without saying that any negotiations aimed at settling the problem of the Middle East must necessarily involve the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm once again the unstinting support of my country for the Palestinian people in its tireless struggle to regain its dignity.

9. The situation today in Lebanon, formerly a land of peace, is more than alarming. We are greatly disturbed by the presence of the foreign forces which continue to occupy the country illegally, thus flouting its absolute right to exercise its sovereignty. It is high time that the Lebanese people, who wish only to live in peace and security, regained their dignity.

10. The recent cease-fire in Lebanon, thanks to the mediation of Saudi Arabia, whose efforts we salute, has given rise to certain hopes. That is why we support any initiative to reconcile the children of that country so that its legitimate Government can exercise its authority over the whole of the national territory. This obviously implies the cessation of the rivalry among foreign Governments in Lebanon.

11. The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq continues to cause the loss of many human lives in both camps. In spite of efforts of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Gulf Co-operation Council to bring the two belligerents to the negotiating table, the war continues amid intransigence and hatred.

12. My country, which has already sent a mission of persuasion to Teheran and Baghdad, remains concerned about this situation, especially since this confrontation endangers two Moslem countries which are both members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement. We welcome the offers of a cease-fire which have frequently been made by the Iraqi Government, but which so far unfortunately have not met with a favourable response from the Iranian Government. We reiterate our appeal to these two countries to cease hostilities immediately in conformity with the sacred principles of solidarity and Islamic fraternity taught us by the Holy Koran.

13. In spite of the resistance of the Afghan people, whose courage we hail, Afghanistan continues to lose its life-blood. More than 3 million Afghans have perished in the war so far and others have gone into exile. There can be no doubt that this situation is a serious threat to the peace and security of the region. I wish to reaffirm the complete support of my country for the Afghan people. We call for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign forces from that country, in keeping with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

14. Turning to Kampuchea, we note with great disappointment that the General Assembly resolutions calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from that country remain without effect. The people of Kampuchea, who have long suffered from the war, are entitled to peace and freedom. However, this will be possible only if they are allowed to choose for themselves, without any foreign interference, the system of government that most suits them.

15. The situation in the Korean peninsula remains at a standstill. In spite of the affirmation by the two States of the north and south that they wish to reach agreement, no decisive action has yet been taken for the peaceful reunification of the country. We appeal to both parties to persevere in the search for a just and lasting solution, since a united Korea will be a guarantee of peace and stability in that region.

16. The situation in southern Africa remains explosive and is of great concern to the international community. My country, which condemns the odious system of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria régime, unreservedly supports the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

17. We remain convinced that only the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was the subject of an international consensus, can lead to a peaceful negotiated settlement of that distressing problem. We welcome the recent initiatives of the Secretary-General, who went to several of the capitals concerned in order to make the necessary contacts to facilitate the settlement of the conflict. The contact group of five Western States must now make the necessary effort to complete the mission assigned to it by the Organization in spite of all the obstacles. The international community also must do its utmost to safeguard the existence of the front-line countries—Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana—so that they can pursue their development in peace and security.

18. The situation in Chad calls for special vigilance. That State, a founding member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], has for more than 16 years suffered from a civil war that has brought untold suffering and loss of life. Today this conflict, as the result of interference by foreign forces, is reaching a stage of internationalization that may jeopardize the chances of national reconciliation.

19. We have welcomed the recent appeals by the N'Djamena authorities to all Chad citizens to make the necessary effort to set aside their quarrels, be reconciled, and achieve national harmony and peace. We urge them to follow the path of reconciliation, but we remain convinced that any solution of the conflict in Chad must be based on respect for the territorial integrity of that country and consequently on the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

20. Turning to Western Sahara, we welcome Morocco's commitment, given from this rostrum on 27 September by His Majesty King Hassan II [8th meeting], to accept

the results of a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara. The holding of this referendum, which is in conformity with the decisions taken at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi, would constitute a step towards the peaceful settlement of this problem.

21. My country, like all the other littoral countries of the Indian Ocean, is concerned over the increased military presence in that zone. This situation creates tension and accentuates the rivalry between the great Powers. We reiterate our desire that that region should become a true zone of peace in conformity with the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, contained in resolution 2832 (XXVI), and we earnestly hope that the international conference scheduled to be held at Colombo will finally take place.

22. The gloomy picture of the international political situation I have just sketched out is unhappily reflected in the world economic situation, which is undergoing its worst crisis since the 1930s. The causes of this crisis are obviously inflation, the disorder in the international monetary system, with the resulting soaring interest rates, the restoration of certain protectionist practices in trade, the recession, the unequal development of nations, and many other factors.

23. This session is being held exactly three months after the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July last.

24. The discouraging results of that meeting are a reflection of the intransigence of certain developed countries which stubbornly concentrate only on the defence of their own interests. The recovery that has been so anxiously awaited has not yet occurred, which demonstrates the inadequacy of the various piecemeal efforts made to solve the structural problems of the world economy. In our humble opinion, only a global approach that covers all aspects of this complex situation, including the grave financial difficulties of the third world, is capable of ridding us of this scourge.

25. The countries of the third world have seen a steady decline in the prices of their raw materials; this reduces their export earnings, and thus the resources of the State at the very time when the debt burden has become intolerable.

26. This crisis which has afflicted the fragile economies of the least developed countries inexorably accentuates their underdevelopment and makes it even more difficult for them to gain access to the international financial markets, where there is an increasing tendency to lend only to the richer countries.

27. The Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, like the other least developed countries, has been one of the main victims of the disorder in the international economic system. Being an island country newly independent and with limited resources, the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros has had since 1977 a continuing decrease in the average growth of its purchasing power and a steady falling off in per capita foreign exchange earnings.

28. This situation seriously jeopardizes the efforts to bring about economic and social recovery of the Comorian Government, which is doing all it can to rescue our young country from the vicious circle of underdevelopment. Under the leadership of the President of the Republic, Mr. Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane, the Comorian Government has implemented a development policy whose objectives and priorities are based on the recommendations of the new programme of action, the

Monrovia Strategy and the Plan of Action and Final Act of Lagos.

29. This development strategy has been set forth in our interim plan for 1983-1986 and in the national document prepared by my Government for submission to the next round-table meeting of donors at Moroni, our capital, to be held at the end of the first quarter of 1984.

30. The main aim of our Government for the next three years is to achieve a substantial increase in our growth rate. To that end a number of measures have been taken that are designed, *inter alia*, to restore public finances to a sound footing, restructure the productive structure and stimulate private and foreign investment through a loan allocation policy.

31. We are convinced that the Government's efforts to improve the situation, however praiseworthy and often with disturbing social consequences, cannot alone solve the structural problems which impede my country's economic development. That is why increased support from the international community is indispensable. Moreover, that is what is recommended in resolution 37/154 of 17 December 1982, entitled "Assistance to the Comoros". On the basis of that resolution, I should like to make an earnest appeal to the entire international community, to all donor institutions and organizations and to all the wealthier countries, to come to the assistance of the Comoros in its struggle against underdevelopment.

32. We are thoroughly convinced that the round-table meeting of donors in support of the Comoros, to which I have just referred, will be an opportunity for us to gather all good will in our country and for them to show us proof of their solidarity and support.

33. I should not like to conclude my statement without speaking briefly about a problem which is of major concern to the Government and people of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros. This is not just a Comorian problem, since it concerns in more than one way the African continent and the entire international community. I am referring, of course, to the problem of the Comorian island of Mayotte. We must return to this question because, as in past years, it has not been resolved, and it is on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. It will therefore be the subject of a separate debate later.

34. For the present, I should like merely to reaffirm the Comorian Government's determination, shared by its people, to fight until their just cause triumphs. What is really at the heart of this question? It is nothing other than the flagrant violation of one of the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, the violation of the territorial integrity of my country, thus depriving it of its most legitimate right to exercise its sovereignty over a part of its national territory.

35. All States, regardless of their size, are equal before the law. Hence, we must not have a double standard in securing respect for the sacred principles of territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

36. As far as we are concerned, we are completely open to dialogue and to a meeting of the minds in an effort to bring about a just solution to this problem, in conformity with the recommendations of the relevant resolution of the Assembly.

37. It is therefore time for our voice to be heard. It is also time for our country, which has been insultingly referred to as "a three-legged cow" to get back its fourth leg, the island of Mayotte, and be given a chance to develop harmoniously and serenely to the benefit of all its inhabitants.

38. It is therefore in a very friendly spirit that we would appeal to the French Government to take the necessary steps that would lead to a settlement of this problem.

39. In conclusion, I should like to express a few thoughts which, even if they are already in the minds of some members, need to be stated over and over again.

40. In this troubled world where, if I may put it this way, the law of the jungle may soon be the rule of law, now is the time more than ever before to give to the Organization its proper role as arbiter and to comply with its judgements and resolutions without any false pride. That is in keeping with the noble mission we have entrusted to the Organization, that of safeguarding peace in the world. However, that will only be possible when each Member of the Organization scrupulously respects the sacred principles embodied in the Charter.

41. It is only if we act in that way that the world today will enjoy a calmer climate in which relations among nations will be based on mutual confidence and reciprocal interest, and no longer on distrust and discord, or even hatred and contempt.

42. Mr. OULD MINNIH (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. You are an enlightened statesman and an experienced diplomat, but it is also the unswerving stand taken by your country, Panama, which constitutes for Mauritania and its delegation a source of encouragement and gives it the assurance that you will conduct the proceedings of this session in an exemplary way.

43. I should like to take this same opportunity to address to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, our gratitude for the excellent manner in which he conducted the proceedings of our preceding session.

44. I should also like to repeat to the Secretary-General the great esteem in which the delegation of Mauritania holds him and our confidence in him. We were particularly struck by the bold comments he included in his report on the work of the Organization.

45. Finally, I should like to bid welcome to the 158th and latest Member of the United Nations family, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

46. At this thirty-eighth session, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania hardly feels able to display any optimism in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitudes of the various hegemonisms, the increasing decline of economies, the profound crisis which appears to affect, and will do so for a long time, international economic relations, further aggravating the present plight of the indigent masses of three quarters of mankind.

47. In the economic field, any constructive dialogue between the North and the South seems to be blocked for the foreseeable future. The particularly marked decline of the economies of the developing countries is becoming more acute as a result of a sudden and simultaneous combination of negative factors: the burden of debt is becoming heavier, loans are becoming harder to obtain, commodity prices are declining and protectionism is spreading.

48. Since 1980 our countries have suffered a net loss of earnings amounting to about \$200 billion. Even worse, their indebtedness for 1982 has risen to about \$630 billion. Commodity prices, that is to say the prices of the bulk of the exports of the developing countries, have today fallen to the lowest level in real terms, that of 1945.

49. In addition to these phenomena, engendered by the structural fragility within our countries and the extreme

vulnerability of practically all developing economies, dependent as they are on the outside world, there are all kinds of natural disasters, as well as the increasing inflation imported from the developed economies. This is all happening at the precise time when we are witnessing a very appreciable decline in the global volume of public and private development assistance.

50. These various factors only serve to make even heavier the already intolerable burdens of the developing countries. Thus, the countries of the third world, which are severely handicapped for all kinds of reasons—historical, social, cultural, political and economic—have found themselves in the last three years in a new situation from which there is no escape.

51. This bad or even disastrous financial situation is clearly reflected in the difficulties encountered in the replenishment of the development funds maintained by IMF and the World Bank; and also by the large decline in voluntary contributions for UNDP. The impact of this decline is very damaging because the participation of UNDP has always played and continues to play an important, if not an indispensable, complementary role in national efforts by beneficiary countries.

52. More generally, and in terms of the difficulties encountered in the various forums of dialogue between developing and industrialized countries, while the persistent obstacles to getting global negotiations under way have proved frustrating, the relative failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development this summer at Belgrade was a great disappointment. Thus, in spite of the appeal for dialogue and consensus made by the Ministers of the member countries of the Group of 77 in the Buenos Aires Platform in April 1983,² and in spite of the flexibility shown by the same countries at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, the response of the other side failed to match the hopes legitimately raised by the theoretical declarations of good intentions. The frail consensus achieved should not allow us to forget the magnitude of the disappointment concerning the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the one forum from which we were entitled to expect something and which was the repository of the hopes of the developing world for an improvement in a generally unfavourable world situation. The Secretary-General came out boldly as the interpreter of this attitude in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], in which he emphasized: "It is regrettable that efforts at flexibility, as evinced, for example, at the Buenos Aires and New Delhi meetings, did not evoke a comparable response."

53. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania is of the view that for this indispensable global and fundamental reform of the international economic system—the need for which has been stressed by everyone—to take place, the new actions of developing countries would have to be met with a more favourable attitude and a more clear-cut political will on the part of the rich countries. That is why we are hoping for a distinct change of attitude with regard to the new proposals of the third world for the launching of global negotiations in two stages: first, the adoption of immediate measures and structural reforms over the short and medium term; and, secondly, over the long term, the launching of global negotiations.

54. This praiseworthy and realistic initiative has the merit of concerning itself with immediate, pressing needs while proposing a reasonable time-frame for the preparation, through painstaking negotiations, of the radical reform, so much desired and so desirable, of an overall situation which has reached the danger point and which

will seriously affect the world for years to come and the prospects of peace and war in the future.

55. Africa, a continent which suffers so sorely from all the symptoms characterizing underdevelopment, is particularly anxious that there should be a redefinition of world economic relations which would bring about a greater degree of equity, genuine solidarity and security for all.

56. The document recently distributed under the symbol A/38/307 and Add.1, which deals with co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU, is eloquent in this regard.

57. However, the same questions which were raised at the 1982 meeting between the two organizations are now an even more urgent item on the agenda. These are: the heightening of the awareness of the world public of the urgent problems of the growing desertification of the north and south of the Sahara; the dissemination of information on what is known as the Lagos Plan of Action; and the appropriate treatment of the food situation in Africa.

58. With regard to the Lagos Plan of Action³ and the Final Act of Lagos³ of 1980, its declared objective is to put an end to the economic over-dependence of Africa and bring about self-sufficient economic growth and self-sustained development throughout the continent. The Lagos Plan to put into effect the strategy laid down in Monrovia responds perfectly to the overall concerns of the developing countries in the face of the crises which threaten them in the fields of energy, the balance of payments, external indebtedness, food, drought, and so forth. These last two problems, those of food and drought, are thrown into stark relief in our continent, which, barely 20 years ago was self-sufficient in terms of food. It is precisely the ecological changes, caused particularly by the spectacular advance of the desert towards the fertile North Africa and the steppes and forests of black Africa, but also the demographic explosion and other factors which have done so much to disrupt the balance of self-sufficiency. In the 1970s our continent increased tenfold the volume of its cereal imports.

59. We welcome the praiseworthy action by FAO and WFP to limit the damage caused by the climatic disasters, and we support the decision taken by the Committee on World Food Security to adopt a new integrated concept in three areas: ensuring food production and sufficient supplies; stabilizing supplies and markets; and ensuring access to supplies.

60. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a Sahelian country, welcomes the remarkable action undertaken in our region by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office and hopes that we shall see a strengthening of co-operation between this Office and the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel. When the Chairman of this Committee, the head of State of Cape Verde, Mr. Pereira, addressed this Assembly on 27 September [7th meeting] on behalf of all the member countries of that Committee, he forcefully, clearly and objectively expressed the essential concerns which we all share.

61. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which shares the general climatic conditions of our brothers in the Sahel, is, however, unique in terms of the amount of its national territory which is desert. It is in our country, that the desert is advancing most rapidly, reaching and sometimes passing the river valley, which is the granary of the country, and also reaching the pastures of the south, the east and the centre, which are the principal grazing grounds of our sheep, cattle and goats. According

to estimates drawn up by specialists, if the present climatic conditions persist, at the present rate of exploitation, the forests of Mauritania are liable to disappear in a few years. Our sizable cattle holdings, which meet the needs of so many markets both in black Africa and in North Africa, have suffered serious losses and are today threatened with irreparable damage.

62. The already acute food shortage of the past few years has grown dangerously worse this year. Our grain production meets barely a tenth of our national needs. This situation threatens thousands of nomads and the rural and semi-rural population and has already led to an uncontrolled exodus towards our urban centres and particularly to our young capital.

63. At the national level, by taking urgent steps and through a popular mobilization, the Military Committee for National Salvation and the Government have been actively engaged in alleviating the serious consequences of the drought and the resultant acute food shortage. However, in spite of the sacrifices we have made, the scope of the phenomenon far exceeds our means, which are in any case limited.

64. I should like to take this opportunity to thank all friendly countries that have given us aid and assistance. We would also like to express once more our appreciation for the increased efforts being made with regard to our country by the organizations of the United Nations system, FAO, UNICEF, WHO, UNDP and others, as well as by the International Red Cross.

65. If the international economic situation gives no cause for optimism, the world political scene, for its part, is marked by dangerous threats to international peace and security because of the emergence of new hotbeds of tension, in addition to the aggravation of long-standing situations. Indeed, since our last session the international political situation has been marked by a growing deterioration that has spared no continent.

66. Thus in the Middle East Israel, abetted by protectors determined to ensure for it the benefit of its military conquests and more intransigent than ever, is pursuing with impunity its policy of *faits accomplis* and defiance of international opinion and legality. Israel's unswerving policy remains unchanged. It consists of the intransigent refusal to recognize in any way the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people and the equally categorical rejection of any eventual return of occupied Arab territories. The Zionist occupation authorities are carrying out all kinds of actions aimed at making irreversible the illegal annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights and the Judaization of the Arab city of Al-Quds, which is both Moslem and Christian.

67. On another level the Israeli authorities are giving free rein to religious fanaticism and racism with the unconcealed aim of speeding up the blatant annexation of the West Bank, which is the true objective of a deliberate and provocative policy aimed at setting up an ever-growing number of settlements there.

68. Lastly, the Zionist entity is increasing its manoeuvres to delay the evacuation of its aggressive forces from Lebanese national territory. In this connection the Islamic Republic of Mauritania remains convinced that true and lasting peace in the Middle East must include, first, the total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Al-Quds, and, secondly, the restoration to the Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of their sole, authentic and legitimate representative, the PLO, of their inalienable and imprescriptible rights, and in particular their sacred

right to establish a sovereign State on the land of their ancestors.

69. In this regard we are gratified at the conclusions of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held at Geneva last month. Our delegation believes that the Final Declaration of the Conference¹ represents the minimum basis upon which a true and lasting peace in occupied Palestine can be built. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania calls for the sincere and complete implementation of the programme of action adopted at that conference.¹

70. Our country, which continues to rely upon the United Nations for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, appeals to the Security Council to face up to its responsibilities with regard to that important question. The Council must more effectively impose sanctions upon Israel for its intolerable defiance of the Organization. We particularly regret the constant use of the veto, which has prevented the Council from condemning the adventurist policy of an entity that is so little devoted to peace and so little attached to the Charter of the United Nations, to international law and to justice. My country shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [4/38/1], where he states:

"The Council must be primarily used for the prevention of armed conflict and the search for solutions. Otherwise it will become peripheral to major issues, and in the end the world could pay, as it has before, a heavy price for not learning the lessons of history."

It goes without saying that such an abdication by the Council would have unforeseeable consequences.

71. Nowhere do such lessons of history better deserve to be borne in mind than in the Middle East. The confiscation of Palestine, the forced exile of its people, the acts of aggression against the Arab populations of the region, the insult to their past, the lack of progress that marks their present and the uncertainty weighing over their future provide the usurper with no real security, whatever his temporary military superiority. No foreign force can indefinitely impose its will upon our peoples or survive within our midst if the only language it can utter is that of force and hegemonism.

72. The latest victim of such brutal hegemonism is the fraternal country of Lebanon, to which we express our total solidarity in the realization, within the framework of the overall strategy of the Arab nation as a whole, of its national goals for the liberation of all its homeland and the preservation of its territorial unity and the unity of its people. We call upon all brothers and friends, and upon the whole of the international community as well, to increase their aid to and support for Lebanon in order to enable it to ensure national reconciliation through the consolidation of the latest cease-fire agreement, which was so difficult to obtain, begin its economic reconstruction and achieve the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces of aggression from its soil.

73. In the Gulf, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania once again deplores the senseless continuation of a conflict that is so cruel, so painful and so terribly costly in human losses and material damage, namely, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, which share a rich and age-old cultural and spiritual heritage and a long common history of coexistence and fruitful and fraternal co-operation.

74. Our country associates itself with the Ummah of Islam, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations in calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities between these two fraternal countries and for

the opening of negotiations between them in order to reach a definitive solution to their differences.

75. Africa, of which my country is an integral part, is also the victim of conflicts and interference that drain the energies of our continent and swallow up its resources.

76. In southern Africa, putting into practice the lessons that its emulator and ally, Israel, has imparted so lavishly to it, South Africa is increasing its delaying tactics to put off the independence of Namibia and to extend its aggression to the fraternal countries of that vital region of our continent, particularly Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia.

77. For the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only realistic basis that should and must serve for the return of international legality to Namibia by restoring the authority and exclusive responsibility of the United Nations there in order to bring an end to the usurpation of the territory and permit the sovereign expression of the will of its people. We regret that there has been no progress since the last session of the Assembly, despite the reaffirmation last year by the Western countries making up what is known as the contact group of their commitment to the rapid implementation of resolution 435 (1978) in order to enable the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination.

78. For its part, our country expresses again here its complete solidarity with the fraternal Namibian people and its legitimate representative, SWAPO, which in our view remains the sole negotiating partner for a settlement of this question.

79. Mauritania reaffirms also its solidarity with Angola and the other fraternal front-line countries and its total commitment to the cause of their peoples. Our country took an active part in the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held last August at Geneva, and is gratified at the conclusions reached at that historic meeting. We repeat our total condemnation of that most hideous manifestation of racism, *apartheid*.

80. Mauritania notes with satisfaction the intensification of the political action and armed resistance by the majority being oppressed by the racist South African régime; we encourage the African National Congress to continue its leadership of the liberation struggle of the broad masses of that people to set up in South Africa a multiracial, democratic and egalitarian society.

81. Still on the subject of Africa, but in regard to our immediate frontiers, the problem of Western Sahara remains one of the major concerns of my country. Mauritania will never tire of drawing attention to the many serious implications of this conflict; we shall continue, until a satisfactory solution is found, to draw attention to the particularly fratricidal, ruinous character of the conflict.

82. We shall continue also to express our belief—now shared by the whole of Africa—that there cannot be any hope of a just and lasting solution without the guaranteed willingness of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and the Kingdom of Morocco to embark on a direct, frank and constructive dialogue. This negotiation should lead to the conclusion of a cease-fire—and we should like to see this happen as soon as possible—and to the redefinition of practical arrangements for the holding of a regular general referendum on self-determination, without any military or administrative constraints.

83. The nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held last June at Addis Ababa, unanimously

committed the two parties to the conflict, by its relevant resolution, to undertake action on those lines [see A/38/312]. Along with Senegal and Ethiopia, and with the help of other fraternal countries that held intense and assiduous consultations and negotiations, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is proud and honoured to have taken an active part in producing the compromise resolution that made it possible to name Morocco and POLISARIO⁴ explicitly as the two parties to the dispute, thus helping to create a general climate propitious to overcoming the psychological barriers that have hitherto prevented a proper appreciation of the Saharan question.

84. That is why we wish to put on record our distress at the fact that, during the meeting of the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara set by the OAU, held last September at Addis Ababa, one of the parties thought it necessary to reject the procedure advocated by that Committee in its efforts to put the Assembly's resolution into effect. We very much regret that, because it entails the risk of making a mockery of the tremendous hopes aroused by the consummation, in the Ethiopian capital, of so many years of effort and imagination. We therefore appeal to the fraternal country of Morocco to shoulder its responsibilities and agree, in its turn, to co-operate fully with the Implementation Committee by sitting down at the same negotiating table with its Saharan brothers.

85. What is at issue here is undoubtedly the building of our Arab Maghreb on a solid basis through the restoration of a just peace and fraternal co-operation between its peoples. Also at stake is the credibility of the OAU, and perhaps its very survival.

86. The United Nations should throw in the immense weight of its moral authority and give the various forms of assistance which may be requested of it in order to bring about a just settlement in Western Sahara. The Organization, which has been fully associated with the whole process, because Africa so willed it and also because of the Organization's global responsibilities, should in particular endorse the decision of the OAU Assembly, thus demonstrating the importance that the world community attaches to some of the fundamental principles of our time: the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence, and the negotiated settlement of disputes.

87. Throughout the five continents we are increasingly witnessing a resurgence of serious violations of the principles of the sovereignty and independence of many countries.

88. In Afghanistan, the people have for several years now been undergoing a painful ordeal. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania once again calls for the indispensable withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghan national territory, for respect for Afghanistan's sovereignty and its people's right to preserve the integrity of its national territory, thereby ensuring its progress in accordance with its historical heritage and its own specific social and cultural values.

89. As for South-East Asia, our country, which this year received the visit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, repeats its previous appeals for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the national territory of Democratic Kampuchea. We also reaffirm Mauritania's attachment to the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in July 1981,⁵ and to all the relevant resolutions of the Organization demanding respect for the sovereignty of Kampuchea, the ending of external interference in its internal affairs, and respect for the Khmer people's sovereign right to organize their national life freely and democratically.

90. Generally speaking, we firmly condemn, as contrary to the traditions of the peaceful coexistence of States, the claim of large, medium-sized and small Powers that they have the unilateral, and immoral right to change by force a neighbouring country's régime if they subjectively deem it to be hostile to them.

91. Reasonable estimates are that by the year 2000 the population of our world will number about 6 billion. Faced with such a prospect, the Organization, and indeed all the States that make up the international community, have the responsibility of ensuring for these additional 2.5 billion men and women more acceptable conditions of life in a more peaceful, more equitable and more habitable world.

92. Such an objective presupposes, first of all, that the obsessive spectre of a nuclear holocaust, which without any doubt would be utterly devastating and perhaps even fatal to any form of life on our beautiful planet, will be removed for ever from the human race.

93. This presupposes, too, that our community of nations will succeed in tempering the selfishness of the richest by, among other things, translating into concrete reality the interdependence of nations and the natural inclination of so many human beings to generosity and solidarity.

94. The restructuring and increase of development aid, the more general availability of the advances of science and technology, the easing of protectionist systems are all factors that could bring this world closer to equity through prosperity for all.

95. To be effective, economic justice must be accompanied by an improvement in international political relations.

96. Too many peoples are the victims of the usurpation of their countries; too many others—in theory sovereign—have been stripped of their sacred rights to self-fulfilment in accordance with their own choices, philosophical, political, economic and social.

97. Who can doubt that the stripping of entire peoples of their right to sovereignty, of which this Organization has been a passive witness, and the stifling of the fundamental liberties and social rights of hundreds of millions of human beings, pose an ethical problem which goes to the very heart of the Organization and the spirit and letter of the Charter?

98. This is also the true challenge of the end of the twentieth century, a century which will have brought men, both in terms of their social and political rights and in terms of their scientific and technological advances and the tolerant and mutual acceptance of their respective moral legacy, the most radical and decisive changes.

99. With faith in humanity, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania ventures to hope that our human race will reverse its course towards self-destruction of our species and succeed in harnessing its ingenuity and its sometimes magnificent results achieved through the sacrifices and the laborious efforts of so many generations of people, to bring about a world where prosperity is equitably shared, a world of peace.

100. Mr. MANGWENDE (Zimbabwe): My first and most pleasant duty is to congratulate you, Mr. President, your Government and the people of Panama on the honour which this session of the General Assembly has bestowed upon you by electing you as its President. The General Assembly is also to be commended for its very good choice of a steward. Your now very well-known qualities of leadership and statesmanship, so amply tested and demonstrated during the period you served your Government and country in various capacities, including

that of Vice-President, and your wide knowledge of international affairs qualify you most eminently for the elevated position which you now hold.

101. May I also add my own voice and that of my delegation to the many which have already paid tribute to Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, the President of the thirty-seventh session, for the exemplary manner in which he fulfilled the duties and responsibilities of his office.

102. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate and welcome to the Assembly the new Member, the sovereign State of Saint Christopher and Nevis, and to express our best wishes for its prosperity at home and for a most satisfying participation in the deliberations of the Assembly.

103. The thirty-eighth session is taking place against the background of a very dark and threatening international scene. Many speakers who have addressed the Assembly before me have made this point. Indeed, the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, submitted for our consideration [A/38/1], conveys the same warning: "1983 has, so far, been a frustrating year for the search for peace, stability and justice and for those who believe that the United Nations is the best available international instrumentality to achieve these ends".

104. I wish by way of prefacing my brief review of the international scene to recommit my own Government and country to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, as outlined in the Charter, and especially to the maintenance of international peace and security.

105. It was because of this commitment to the principle of collective international security that Zimbabwe rendered its modest contribution to the Security Council's consideration of the report on the work of the Organization submitted at the thirty-seventh session by the Secretary-General,⁶ searching for ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of the Council as the body charged with the primary responsibility for ensuring international peace and security.

106. With the indulgence of the Assembly, I should like now to begin my brief observations on the international scene from the standpoint of my own region, southern Africa, one of the regions in which international peace, stability and security are very gravely threatened.

107. Today, the closely related and complementary systems of *apartheid* and zionism are, understandably, the most spoken about and the most roundly condemned in all international forums. Indeed, in this very Assembly, speaker after speaker has drawn urgent attention to racist Pretoria's dangerous domestic and regional policies. Domestically, the racist régime continues its policy of politically discriminating against and relentlessly exploiting the masses of the black majority, economically and culturally.

108. Having been denied all possibilities of attaining political and social change by peaceful means, the oppressed South African masses are now, as would any people in similar circumstances, waging a war of liberation against the racist white minority régime. As we believe in the justice and legitimacy of their cause, we support their demand for international support, diplomatic, moral and material, and we call upon the international community, especially the United Nations, to intervene effectively in South Africa. The racist régime's archaic *apartheid* philosophy and policies are not only decidedly against the entire march of human history but are increasingly threatening stability, peace and security in our region. We must warn that such a threat to the stability of this vital region will produce vibrations and

tremors, with dire consequences for international peace and security.

109. Feeling itself very much cornered by the escalating domestic liberation struggle, as well as by the Namibian struggle, and by the consolidation of true and genuine freedom and social justice in the neighbouring independent States, the *apartheid* Pretoria régime is espousing and practising a policy of confrontation and open conflict against the free nations in the region. Thus, no country, from the People's Republic of Angola in the West, to the Republic of Seychelles on the Indian Ocean, and from the Kingdom of Lesotho, in the régime's own hot belly, to Zambia in the North, is being spared from Pretoria's destabilizing campaigns. These campaigns assume all sorts of forms and shapes, including blatantly naked and unprovoked military aggression, as has been unleashed against Angola during the past two years, against Seychelles and Lesotho in 1982, and against Mozambique and Zimbabwe occasionally.

110. It is common knowledge that Pretoria also recruits, trains, equips and infiltrates into our countries unpatriotic and dissident elements, who harass, kill and maim innocent civilians engaged in productive development. Also taking effective advantage of geographical and historical economic links with its economically weak neighbours, the régime openly and brazenly sabotages their respective economies.

111. The catalogue of examples of Pretoria's acts of aggression, brutality, and political and economic destabilization, would be too long to read within the scope of an address of this nature. Suffice it to say, therefore, that military aggression and economic brute bullying and blackmail are causing great difficulty and suffering to the peoples of the region, including the slaughtering and massacring of many innocent souls.

112. As we have pointed out elsewhere, Pretoria's policy of regional destabilization has as some of its main objectives the following: first, the negation of the liberation struggle at home and in Namibia which, in arrogant defiance of the Namibian people and the entire international community, South Africa continues to occupy; secondly, the racist régime wants to intimidate and deter front-line and other States in the region from supporting the struggling masses in South Africa and Namibia; thirdly, the régime is also desperately battling to foil and frustrate our regional economic co-operation and endeavour within the context of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

113. While making it absolutely clear to South Africa that it will not succeed in any of its insidious and diabolic aims, we must also warn the Assembly that the lack of any appreciable progress on the question of Namibia's decolonization is now an international scandal and a great shame to the Organization. Equally disturbing and disconcerting is the apparent indifference of certain Members of the Organization, which are also permanent members of the Security Council, to the gravity of the threat which Pretoria's defiance of international demands for Namibian independence poses to the reputation and effective role of the United Nations. It is now four years since Security Council resolution 435 (1978), embodying a realistic and internationally acceptable formula for the achievement of Namibian independence, was adopted. Yet not only do the resolution and the United Nations plan remain unimplemented, gathering thick layers of dust, but there is also real concern that some of their authors are, wittingly or otherwise, casting dark shadows of doubt upon the entire plan by encouraging South African intransigence.

114. Since the abortive pre-implementation Geneva meeting of 1981, the failure of which is entirely attributable to South African intransigence, which in turn was encouraged by mixed signals from certain capitals, we have been presented with a series of pretexts to delay the implementation of the United Nations plan on the independence of Namibia. South Africa was said to be harbouring reservations about the United Nations impartiality in supervising elections in Namibia, as provided for under the plan. Although we knew that such reservations were utterly unfounded, we took them into consideration, to the satisfaction of the Pretoria régime itself and to those among the Western contact group who seemed to be sympathetic to the régime's view.

115. In retrospect, however, the folly of making any concessions to that nonsense about United Nations impartiality is painfully obvious. For, when in August last year we were all agreed that every issue relevant to the plan was in place, and we were preparing to approach the Security Council to adopt an enabling resolution, setting in motion the process of implementing the United Nations plan, further issues were raised, at first by a Security Council member which also belongs to the Western contact group. The Pretoria régime, then desperately looking for excuses to delay further the independence of Namibia, was only too grateful when one was thrown into its lap by that country.

116. As the Assembly knows, since August of last year, South Africa and that member of the Western contact group have maintained that the Namibians should remain under Pretoria's illegal occupation until the Cuban forces that have been in Angola since 1975, when Angola invited them in to help defend that country against South African aggression, have been withdrawn. Members will recall that, in an effort to obtain South African co-operation in the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan, the Security Council adopted resolution 532 (1983) in May of this year, empowering the Secretary-General to hold consultations with the parties to the cease-fire agreement proposed under the plan. The Secretary-General has since published a report on his visit to South Africa, Namibia and Angola, in fulfilment of his mandate. The Secretary-General says that, although every outstanding issue relevant to resolution 435 (1978) has been resolved and we are tantalizingly close to finality on the modalities of implementing the plan, "the position of South Africa regarding the issue of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) still makes it impossible to launch the United Nations plan."

117. I must reiterate here my Government's total condemnation and rejection of any attempt, from whatever quarter, to bring any new factors into the Namibian decolonization equation. This linkage, besides being obviously unfair, illogical, irrelevant, illegal and grossly immoral, is also a very serious breach of resolution 435 (1978). It must be borne in mind that this resolution, which was the result of painstaking consultations and negotiations, was and is still strictly meant to be the basis of a solution to the Namibian question only. It was never meant to be a prescription for a comprehensive solution of the problems of the southern African region as a whole, least of all to provide for the geopolitical concerns and preoccupations of any Power or group of Powers.

118. It is also becoming increasingly clear that linkage is nothing but a smoke-screen designed to conceal the fact that it is South Africa that must unconditionally withdraw its own troops which have been occupying parts of the Angolan territory for over two years now. When are those racist forces which have brought so much misery and

death to Angola going to leave that country? Why should the international community be required to interfere in a matter that rightly concerns Angola and Cuba? Besides, have any of the Cuban soldiers been found on South African territory? Why should the Cuban forces in Angola be regarded as a stumbling-block to the independence of Namibia?

119. We also reject linkage because it is calculated to give the wrong impression that it is Angola which is responsible for the current deadlock on the Namibian question. We cannot accept this wicked view, which seeks to shift the blame and responsibility from the perpetrator to the victim of the injurious act. It is South African intransigence that has brought about the deadlock, and pressure must be brought to bear upon South Africa until that régime leaves Namibia and Angola. In this the role of the contact group members is critical. They must now stop pampering the régime and tell it that enough is enough. We call upon each of them, as a first step, to condemn and reject linkage categorically, and demand Pretoria's compliance with United Nations demands to make possible the immediate implementation of resolution 435 (1978). We must warn the members of the Western contact group that they cannot afford to equivocate regarding the need totally to reject linkage and to reaffirm their total commitment to the immediate and unconditional implementation of resolution 435 (1978). This immediate removal of ambiguities will help to arrest the rapid erosion of the little confidence in them that may still exist among front-line States and, indeed, in the entire African continent. They have an opportunity to do this now and at the forthcoming Security Council meeting, which will also consider the report of the Secretary-General.

120. If, however, South Africa refuses to co-operate, the Council should be asked to take appropriate action, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

121. Let me now explain our position on other troubled areas of Africa. Zimbabwe has always viewed the question of Western Sahara as that of a people yearning and fighting for self-determination. Consequently we support the demand of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic for self-determination and sovereignty, and sincerely hope that Morocco, a key member of the OAU, will soon reconcile itself to this reality. Such a step by Morocco would bring peace to the area, to the benefit of the peoples of Morocco and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

122. For about two decades Chad has known no peace. The people of Chad, like any people, have a right to peace and undisturbed economic and social development. It is our view that the fratricidal wars and strife which continue to bring death and misery to the people of Chad are to a very large extent the result of external interference in the affairs of that State. We therefore call upon the Assembly to demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad to enable the people of Chad to discuss their problems among themselves, under the auspices of the OAU.

123. The question of security in and around the Indian Ocean has been an item on the international agenda ever since the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in 1970, which called upon all States to respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Zimbabwe fully endorses this demand. We call upon those that bring weapons of mass destruction to the region and those super-Powers involved in competition and rivalry for spheres of influence to end those activities, which continue to threaten peace and

security in the region. We equally condemn the maintenance of foreign military bases and call upon all concerned to respect fully General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) of 1971.

124. The situation in the Middle East continues to cause great concern to the international community. Zionist Israel's invasion of Lebanon last year and the subsequent slaughtering of hundreds of Palestinian refugees at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps are but two of the numerous ugly manifestations of the Zionist killer instinct and are reminiscent of Nazi barbarity. Surely the international community does not need other Sabras and Shatilas to jolt it into realizing that Zionism is one of the most deadly threats to international peace and security. The international community should demand of Israel unconditional withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab lands which it has been occupying since 1967. We believe that this would contribute greatly to the finding of a peaceful and lasting settlement in that region. We are convinced that no solution to the Middle East question can be just and lasting unless it recognizes and guarantees the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and an independent Palestinian State.

125. It is also a matter of deep regret that for over two years two very dear Members of the Organization have been involved in an internecine war. I am referring here to the very unfortunate war between Iran and Iraq, both of which are friends of Zimbabwe. We reiterate here our appeal to them to do their utmost to settle this conflict without delay by negotiation. The continuation of this war, which has already caused a great deal of suffering and misery, apart from costing each country very dear in material terms, is in no one's interest.

126. The question of Cyprus has been before the Assembly for a long time now, and we are deeply concerned that no solution to it seems to be in sight. Foreign intervention and occupation continue there, seriously threatening that country's sovereign independence, territorial integrity and the unity of its people. The President of Cyprus has proposed the total demilitarization of that country and Zimbabwe fully supports this proposal.

127. As a small country, holding very dear the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of sovereign States, Zimbabwe is greatly disturbed whenever and wherever there is evidence of their violation, even if the violators are our friends. Accordingly, we must record our deep concern about foreign intervention and interference in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, on the Korean peninsula and in East Timor. We must observe, with deep regret, that in most instances, though not necessarily in all, the perpetrators of intervention and interference in the affairs of other States are permanent members of the Security Council who, by their position, should be most aware of the heavy and special responsibility for international peace and security which the Charter has placed on them.

128. We call upon those concerned to leave the peoples of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Korea and East Timor freely to exercise their right to determine their own social and political systems, and to choose their leaders without any intervention and interference. With particular reference to the Korean situation, we must warn that the perpetuation of the idea of "two Koreas" by foreign Powers not only destroys any prospects for a peaceful solution of this problem, but it also aggravates the tension which has existed on the peninsula for a long time now. It has been and continues to be our view that the continuing military buildup in the south of the peninsula militates against any possibility of meaningful dialogue

between the South and the North. Accordingly the Assembly should, in our view, call for the immediate withdrawal of those foreign troops, so as to set a stage for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

129. In concluding my comments on the violations of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of States, I now want to turn to the situation in Central America. There, tension, and sometimes even open conflict, continue gravely to threaten regional peace and stability, with very serious consequences for international peace and security. This tension is very largely attributable to foreign intervention and interference, aimed at destabilizing and undermining progressive Governments in the region and in the Caribbean area. Nicaragua is a typical example of one of the countries targeted for campaigns of destabilization and aggression from the outside. Cuba and Grenada have also been, and continue to be, targets and are subjected to all sorts of blackmail and intimidation by an external Power.

130. We have emphasized elsewhere that having waged a heroic and truly revolutionary struggle against the externally propped-up and supported Fascist dictatorship of Somoza, the hard-working Nicaraguans need to be left alone in peace and quiet to forge ahead with the challenging task of economic and social reconstruction and rehabilitation. For this formidable task, Nicaragua needs the maximum mobilization of its financial, material and manpower resources. Unfortunately, however, Nicaragua has been, and continues to be, compelled to divert most of these scarce resources towards the defence of its territorial integrity and sovereign independence from external aggression. Zimbabwe strongly condemns the activities of the criminal and counter-revolutionary elements that are being recruited, equipped and directed by foreign powers to destabilize Nicaragua. We shall continue to support fully the heroic people of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend their hard-won revolution.

131. Similarly, we note with deep concern that a dispute exists between the two neighbouring countries of Guyana and Venezuela. We wish to call upon the two parties to strive for a peaceful and just settlement to this very unfortunate dispute. In our view, such a settlement can only be attained through the strict observance of United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement principles relating to the inadmissibility of the use or threat of force in the settlement of disputes. We further wish to point out that no settlement can be regarded as fair and just unless it respects and guarantees Guyana's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. Finally, Zimbabwe wishes to affirm the position taken at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, held at Melbourne in 1981.

132. Members will recall that international peace and security were gravely threatened last year when tension between the United Kingdom and Argentina erupted into open military conflict. Our position is that the two parties should initiate earnest negotiations for a peaceful and just solution to the Falkland or Malvinas Islands question without delay, in order to avoid the recurrence of last year's dangerous events.

133. Our efforts to ensure respect for the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of States, as well as whatever endeavours we may undertake to improve social and economic conditions in our respective societies and world-wide, cannot by themselves inspire confidence in the future, as long as humanity continues to live under the spectre of a nuclear holocaust. We are most concerned that the more the nuclear Powers, especially the two super-Powers, talk about arms reduction and disarmament, the more they increase and perfect their respective military capabilities, including military

nuclear power. For instance, the same countries have been carrying out many tests since 1963, when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States and the United Kingdom signed the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water. Also, during the same period, the acquisition of military nuclear technology has spread to other countries.

134. Consequently, today, in spite of arms reduction and disarmament talks, the world has seen an unprecedented piling up of military weaponry, including nuclear arsenals of such deadly perfection that should their use ever be resorted to in any conflict the outcome will be total destruction of this planet. With one clear and loud voice, therefore, we must demand an immediate end to the arms race, for there can be no real peace and security as long as we live in constant fear that one day some mad person may pull the nuclear trigger and reduce us and the planet to ashes. True peace and security can be ensured only by general and complete disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, under international control.

135. I wish now to comment on the current world economic situation, which is characterized by inequitable relations and a crisis unprecedented in modern times. There is a very serious decline in economic activity, which has had a particularly debilitating effect upon developing countries. The world economy's rate of growth has also seen and continues to experience a marked contraction, although we hear that there are signs of recovery. For instance, whereas the 1980-1981 output increased by 1 per cent, in 1981-1982 it tumbled even below that level. Similarly, for the first time in almost half a century, world trade declined by 6 per cent in 1982.

136. This unprecedented malaise in the world economy has also been accompanied by very disturbing stagnation. In response to this, some industrialized countries made the combating of inflation a primary objective of macro-economic policy. In most cases, however, this produced no satisfactory results or, where relative success was achieved, it was at the risk of a downward movement of aggregate economic activity and unemployment. This, therefore, largely contributed to the staggering number of 30 million unemployed people in the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. The upward movement of commodity prices, symptomatic of this accelerated inflation, has also had a devastatingly adverse effect on developing countries. In particular it has limited imports of food and capital goods which are vital to programmes of economic development.

137. Also, for the first time in 35 years, prices of commodity exports from developing countries have plummeted, and have now reached their lowest levels. Added to that, developing countries find it increasingly difficult to gain access to markets in the developed countries, largely on account of protectionism. There is, therefore, a serious decline in the foreign exchange earnings of developing countries, causing a corresponding contraction in their import capacity, amounting to \$85 billion during the past two years. This has also led to a decline in their exports to industrialized countries, which in turn threatens the world with the disruption and cumulative decline of global economic activity. The liquidity problems of the developed countries have been further aggravated by the unprecedented increase in interest rates, which makes external borrowing very difficult. Added to that are difficulties in gaining access to international capital markets.

138. In sub-Saharan Africa the current economic crisis has been aggravated also by the deteriorating food security situation resulting from drought. Although many developing countries in other regions have recorded marginal increases in food production, food production has not matched population growth in most of those areas.

139. The sooner we come to grips with the practical realities of the economic interdependence of the North and the South, the better for us all. This interdependence makes economic recovery in the North dependent upon the activation of development processes in the South. The view that economic prosperity in the North will have a trickle-down effect upon the South, thus generating growth, must, therefore, be rejected. We are faced here with a global crisis the solution of which demands a global approach. It is our strong opinion that the first step towards the discovery of the solution to this crisis lies in the realization that, whether we belong to the poor South or the richly endowed North, whether we are a super-Power or a small Power, whether we espouse a capitalist or a socialist social and economic system, there are in fact many common international economic interests and goals whose attainment is possible only through a united approach and action by all of us. Perhaps this realization already exists and what is lacking is agreement on what steps we should take to attain the common goals. We of the South have invested our hopes in global negotiations as the most effective and most realistic instrumentality through which solutions to world poverty can be found. Unfortunately, however, the process of global negotiations has now stagnated for some time, partly because some leaders of the North have not yet come to perceive poverty in a global context and partly because some of those who see it as a world phenomenon still lack the necessary political will and courage to join hands with us.

140. We had also hoped that the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would provide a golden opportunity in the various areas of trade and development and in the monetary and financial dimensions of development and payment arrangements. Similarly, we had also viewed that session, and especially its decisions on the issues of trade, raw materials, commodities, money and finance, as providing new impetus and an important contribution to the global negotiations. Unfortunately, however, the sixth session, like the deadlocked global negotiations, also proved to be a huge disappointment to us of the South. Again, this is one of the several opportunities to solve the present global economic crisis which, sadly, have been allowed to slip through our fingers, to our common detriment, whether we are poor Southerners or rich Northerners.

141. Let me end this statement with a question which is bothering me, as it must, I believe, be bothering all members. When are we going to grasp the magnitude or seriousness of the economic crisis facing the international community, which is now threatening the very fabric of our societies? Is time really on our side, as some seem to suggest?

142. Mr. GALLIMORE (Jamaica): We meet during a period of fearful uncertainty and acute apprehension. The past is no comfort, the present is grim and the future holds little promise. A major share of the responsibility for this ominous state of affairs is attributable to the continued instability and deterioration in the relations between the major Powers. The trend today is towards a hardening of positions, increasing suspicion, mutual distrust and open hostility. International security and co-operation are rendered increasingly precarious, while problems at the regional level assume more complicated dimensions.

143. In this atmosphere, the General Assembly is honoured to have as its President one who brings to the office outstanding qualifications, including a wealth of experience in international affairs and proven competence which has carried him to high office in the service of his country. Your election, Mr. President, is also a tribute to the reputation and prestige of your country, Panama, in international affairs.

144. The Jamaican delegation extends its appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Hollai, Deputy Foreign Minister of Hungary, who has carried out his responsibilities with admirable competence and effectiveness over the past year.

145. The United Nations has in recent days accepted the membership of a sister Caribbean State, Saint Christopher and Nevis. We welcome that membership and extend our fraternal greetings to the Government and people of Saint Christopher and Nevis.

146. More than ever today the world needs the kind of statesmanship which seeks understanding, promotes accommodation and encourages confidence among nations. More than ever today we need to strengthen the multilateral institutions which exist to serve that process. The United Nations and associated multilateral institutions are the product of a historical experience.

147. Forty years ago good will and good sense prevailed as the world prepared itself for the painful reconstruction that would follow the Second World War. The world community, moved by the waste and destruction of the period, created in the United Nations an institution of reason and hope for the future. The Organization thus embodies both idealism and rationality as well as the instinct for survival. It is the corner-stone of our modern efforts to build an era of peace and prosperity. It is our attempt in good faith to shut the door of history on chaos and war.

148. In recent times there has been a questioning of the value of our United Nations institutions and a marked tendency to avoid or disregard the available multilateral arrangements for handling specific matters. We have noted the novel attempts at peace-keeping in Lebanon, the efforts to undermine the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and the failure to launch the global negotiations for international economic co-operation. There are those who would retreat from multilateralism to myopic bilateralism at the very time that problems have assumed such a character that they require solution or treatment through multilateral arrangements. Those signs, which Jamaica views with utmost concern, should not be ignored. They represent the beginnings of a drift that could lead to confusion and anarchy.

149. Jamaica, a small non-aligned country whose security must necessarily be in upholding the principles of the Charter, reaffirms its faith in the United Nations as the best hope for mankind. In a world sharply divided by contending forces and conflicting national interests, the United Nations system provides the best available means for reaching enduring solutions to the critical problems through collective efforts.

150. We recognize that a perfect institution was not created at San Francisco. But the fact is that the imperfections of the United Nations have very little to do with the value of the Charter or with the relevance of the principles and ideals which form it. This institution is based on the recognition that, despite differences in ideological systems, in size and power, in culture, in wealth and resources, common bonds of humanity and a wish for peace and economic progress bind us all. It must necessarily be weakened, therefore, by the naked,

uncompromising pursuit of national interest in the Security Council and elsewhere. It will be weakened by the sharpening of the East-West confrontation, by the barely disguised and unequal tug-of-war between North and South, and by the increasing triumph of histrionics and polemics over debate and discussion.

151. Jamaica believes that the effective functioning of the Organization, particularly in periods of crisis, requires that Member States strive for common ground and not retreat to extreme and uncompromising positions.

152. We are gravely concerned that the fragile post-war consensus on the fundamentally interdependent nature of the international community is in grievous danger of splintering. Given the lessons of the past and the technology of the present, the consequences are unthinkable. The Organization and its Members can have no task more important than that of recovering and strengthening that early consensus.

153. Undoubtedly, the crisis we now face in the world economy and the continuing inability to devise effective solutions are in large measure the result of the retreat from the spirit of San Francisco and that early acknowledgement of our interdependence.

154. This has been more difficult to recognize in the economic than in the political sphere. For one thing, devastating and powerful weapons capable of crossing continents in a few minutes have joltingly carried the political message of interdependence in a way that economic forces, slowly working their way for good or ill through the global economy, have not been able to do.

155. In addition, it has only been in the past 30 years that almost the entire continents of Asia and Africa and much of the Caribbean have joined the family of the United Nations as independent States. They have thus been drawn more fully into the international production and consumption.

156. When we look at the present role of the developing countries in the international economy, the facts speak for themselves. Today, more than 40 per cent of the exports of the United States, the European Economic Community and Japan go to developing countries. An estimated 60 per cent of the world exports of major agricultural and mineral commodities, other than oil, originate in developing countries. These are some of the linkages. Yet, regrettably, this obvious mutuality of interests has not sunk in as much as it might in the developed world. The mind-set of the past sometimes persists; policies lag behind events, and Governments of the North, as well as the multilateral economic institutions, need perhaps to demonstrate more that they recognize that we must now either sink or swim together.

157. I use the metaphor deliberately, for the developing countries are now in sore need of a lifeline. The level of our indebtedness has continued to rise and now exceeds \$600 billion. On the average, over 20 per cent of the export earnings of the developing countries must now be set aside for the purpose of meeting debt payments. For some countries, the critical debt-service ratio is much higher. To compound matters, private lending, which has assumed an increasingly important role in international financing, has virtually dried up in 1983. Indeed, we should not be in error as to the real role of that private lending in recent years. Many countries of the South have been desperately treading water—borrowing not to move ahead, but simply to keep from going under. The developing countries will be in debt for the foreseeable future. Debt is a condition of development and thus debt management, in the long term, is an aspect of development.

158. Jamaica has no particular interest in presenting the Assembly with a catalogue of woes. We do not believe that given the hard economic reality of the day—over 32 million unemployed in the industrialized countries—there is any point in special pleading. Nor do we believe that we should expend too much of our energies in rattling skeletons—real or imagined—in the cupboard of our past. Jamaica is devoting its energies to trying to earn its way in the world. We are a small nation, our people are courageous and hardworking. However, we cannot ignore nor underestimate the obstacles which we find in our path. Neither can we escape the conclusion that bold measures of reform are required in the international economic system to assist the economic growth and development of countries such as my own.

159. Let me illustrate. In Jamaica we have implemented a structural adjustment programme which is intended, among other things, to establish a more internationally competitive economy. Important aspects of that adjustment programme include the transformation of the manufacturing sector from import substitution to export orientation and the revitalization of our agricultural sector. We are indeed serious about carrying out structural adjustment in our economy and about maintaining financial stability through prudent management, but our economic growth requires a swift and sustained expansion of international trade and the revival of our foreign exchange earnings.

160. We cannot help but be seriously concerned, therefore, that in 1982 world trade declined by two per cent, when a mere decade ago, in 1973, it grew by 12.5 per cent. We must be greatly concerned that the export prices of the commodities of developing countries fell by 25 per cent over the period 1980-1982. Indeed, in 1982, the unit value of some agricultural exports, such as sugar, declined by 35 per cent or more. While there is some evidence of a slowing down and possible reversal of this trend, the shock waves caused by declining commodity prices are still being felt throughout our economies.

161. These are some of the cold and discomfiting facts of the international economy. When, in addition, we note that private lending has virtually dried up, that official development assistance continues to fall short of both targets and needs, that multilateral economic institutions are having great difficulty in increasing and replenishing their resources, and access to those resources by developing countries is being made more difficult, that no net increase in direct foreign investment took place in 1982, and when, finally, we contemplate the inevitable trade-off at some point between increased austerity and political and social stability, we are surprised and perplexed that some members of the international community do not appear to appreciate fully the dimensions and implications of a continuation of the present crisis for an interdependent world economy and for international peace and security.

162. Jamaica is aware that there is a growing sentiment that some form of recovery in the North is on the way. We welcome the first signs, however faint and however difficult they might be to read and interpret at present. However, what we genuinely fear is that the locomotive of recovery will stall in its tracks or will not be strong enough to pull the developing countries and the world out of the worst recession in 50 years. We must therefore ask: why gamble everything on the recovery? Why gamble with the standards of living of peoples and the political and economic stability of countries? Why not act immediately and purposefully to ensure a broad-based and sustained recovery through parallel and bold support for multilateral economic institutions, and through concrete

measures of reform which address vital and urgent needs of the developing countries.

163. The Final Documents of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2] and the Buenos Aires Platform² included well-founded and relevant proposals intended to address the dual problem of world economic recovery and world development. The limited progress at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development should not deter the developing countries from continuing to pursue these important proposals.

164. In this context, I should like to emphasize that Jamaica considers it vital that both IMF and the World Bank should play much larger roles both in providing credit and in offering guarantees by which private lenders can extend longer term credit to developing countries. This requires that the resources of these institutions be increased as a matter of priority. We hope, therefore, that the increase of quotas under the Eighth General Review of Quotas of IMF will come into force as quickly as possible and before the end of 1983. We also firmly believe that a substantial additional allocation of special drawing rights should be made as a quick means of stimulating growth in liquidity in the international system. This would allow an expansion in credit resources for the financing of trade and production. Jamaica certainly does not believe that, sensibly managed, this would be inflationary.

165. Finally, we welcome the clearly growing interest within the international community in taking action on some of these matters that is shown in particular by the various recent proposals for the convening of an international conference in the area of money and finance.

166. My delegation hopes that there will be progress on the question of launching global negotiations at this session of the General Assembly. The issues related to money and finance, to international trade, to commodities, to energy and to development financing that would be addressed in these discussions are long-term and structural ones, and they will not go away with economic recovery.

167. As we appeal to the North to recognize the fact of economic interdependence, consistency and self-interest require that developing countries redouble their own efforts to strengthen economic ties among themselves. In this spirit we in the Latin American and Caribbean region have been meeting together to find ways to alleviate the burden of the recession on our economies. But action at the regional level or among developing countries as a whole can only be a complement to and not a substitute for international efforts. The facts of the recession confirm this important truth. We recall that during the 1970s trade among the developing countries increased more rapidly than their total trade. However, in the past two years, as the recession has deepened, trade among developing countries has begun to contract faster than total trade. I need only add that approximately one third of the membership of the Group of 77 now operates under some form of IMF programme.

168. If there is such a thing as historical responsibility, then let it mean that the international community, particularly those members of it that wield political and economic influence, should take action now to ensure that international conditions become more hospitable and institutions more effective in dealing with the world's problems and inspire new confidence in multilateralism.

169. One area in which such an effort is sorely needed is that of arms control and disarmament. The arms race

is an immense burden on the world's economy. Reliable estimates indicate that annual expenditure on arms has now reached a staggering \$800 billion. These billions are procuring new generations of nuclear-weapon systems with highly sophisticated electronic devices capable of destroying the world several times over. The urgent need today is to limit further technological development in nuclear weapons. A comprehensive test-ban treaty, which has been the primary goal of disarmament efforts for over two decades, becomes more necessary and urgent as a first step in the process of nuclear disarmament. Pending the conclusion of agreements in that area, Jamaica supports as an interim measure the adoption of a moratorium on nuclear testing and a freeze on further production of nuclear weapons.

170. We cannot, however, ignore conventional weapons, which are an important component in the arms race and which account for all the death and destruction in contemporary conflicts. Their importance is equally reflected in the steady and considerable growth in the arms trade. It should be clear to all nations that the accumulation of weapons cannot bring true security and that the challenge of development and the welfare of our peoples should be given first priority in the use of the world's resources.

171. In the Middle East international attention is directed to the unfolding drama in Lebanon. A deeply complex situation of internal divisions and foreign presence with intricate linkages contributes to continued fighting. There is a dangerous potential for a wider conflict. We welcome the recent cease-fire and sincerely hope that it will provide an opportunity for the interested parties to resolve their differences through constructive discussion. The Government of Lebanon must have the full support of the international community if it is to achieve genuine national reconciliation and restore the country's unity and territorial integrity. The immediate preconditions for the realization of these objectives are undeniably the cessation of all hostility in the country and the prompt and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces that are in Lebanon not at the explicit request of the Government of Lebanon.

172. At the same time the deeper roots of the Middle East crises should not be disregarded and the search for a permanent and just solution should continue to be a matter of high priority on the international agenda. Jamaica continues to believe that the Palestinian question lies at the very heart of the problem of that region, and it is essential that a just solution be found if peace is to prevail. It is also essential to bring an end to the régime of foreign occupation and to require that Israel withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war. These elements were recently underscored at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva last August, which highlighted the issue that must be faced, namely, the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

173. All States in the area, including Israel, are entitled to exist within their internationally recognized boundaries.

174. The same principle of the right of a people to self-determination is central to the problems in southern Africa. Another year has passed without any progress made towards ending the illegal occupation of Namibia and fulfilling the hopes of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence. Neither the activities of the contact group nor the policy of constructive engagement has brought any worthwhile results. As the Secretary-General's report has made clear, the introduction of the concept of linkage, which Jamaica has always rejected, has caused incalculable damage to the prospects

for the implementation of the plan adopted as long ago as 1978.⁷ South Africa has been given a further opportunity to pose as a co-operative party while at the same time using every device to obstruct and delay. Further, the concept of linkage has caused disarray among the Western contact group and has certainly undermined its effectiveness and unity of purpose.

175. Elsewhere in the region, the South African régime continues to be a menace to peace and a source of aggravation, destabilization and aggression aimed at neighbouring States. South Africa is using its military strength to terrorize its neighbours into submission to its will and subservience to its interests. Inside South Africa itself the oppressed majority continues to suffer under the bondage of the racist system of *apartheid*. The much-heralded new constitutional proposals are really only a further refinement of the system of white domination.

176. In all of this the international community needs to bring greater pressure to bear on South Africa. Jamaica will continue to do its part until the hated system of *apartheid* is completely eliminated.

177. On the Asian continent a number of problems remain unresolved. In South-East Asia foreign intervention and its consequences have led to persistent conflict and are the source of tension in relations among States in the region. In North-East Asia the question of the future relations between the two Koreas requires some attention. We feel that the need exists for dialogue between the two sides and a spirit of accommodation in settling outstanding issues between them. We sympathize with the bereaved families and Government of the Republic of Korea on the dastardly assassination of Government Ministers and others at Rangoon on 9 October.

178. In Western Asia we observe with sadness the continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq, with its increasing toll of human lives and economic infrastructure. We see some scope for further diplomatic activity, especially through the Secretary-General, as part of an intensified effort to bring an end to the conflict.

179. For a variety of reasons, the turmoil in Central America is a matter of the utmost concern not only for the States of the region but, equally, for the international community. In our view decades and even centuries of poverty, social inequalities, neglect and economic underdevelopment have in more recent times been further aggravated by foreign interference and intervention in that region. The intensive diplomatic activity of the Contadora Group of countries represents a genuine effort to bring an end to the fighting and to promote peaceful negotiations among the parties involved. The efforts of this Group continue to have Jamaica's full support. The Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [A/38/303] and the Document of Objectives⁸ contain important and constructive measures which we are convinced could, if implemented, significantly overcome much discord and tension in the region. We note in particular that account has been taken of the need for a long-term programme of economic and social development of the countries of the region and of the necessity for some way to monitor the implementation of the commitments undertaken.

180. When the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Law of the Sea a year ago, a new chapter was opened on the possibilities for international co-operation. This is a truly remarkable achievement which deserves the fullest support of the international community. The Preparatory Commission, which is charged with the responsibility of implementation of the Convention, met twice during this year. Although progress was slow to

begin, Jamaica is satisfied that the procedural groundwork is now laid for advancing the substantive work of the Commission in the coming year. We urge that in the meantime all States give their support to this Convention through early signature and ratification and active participation in the important work of the Preparatory Commission.

181. Jamaica has always given full support to the United Nations activities for the promotion of human rights around the world. The process of removing discrimination against traditionally disadvantaged groups has gone a far way, particularly in the areas of elimination of racial discrimination, discrimination against women and protection of the rights of the aged, children and the handicapped. We expect that, in working out arrangements for the protection of the rights of other groups such as migrant workers, the United Nations will be successful.

182. On the broader front, we are well aware that the violation of human rights continues to take place with increasing frequency in many parts of the world. We are all too often confronted with reports of summary and arbitrary executions, torture, involuntary disappearances and denial of basic political and civil rights. This is a situation which cannot be tolerated by the international community. The realization of the intrinsic dignity and innate equality of all human beings is an indispensable precondition to the strengthening of international peace and security.

183. The major responsibility for promoting and protecting human rights clearly rests within the national jurisdiction of sovereign States. But the international community cannot always accept the principle of non-interference in internal affairs as a justification for inaction and must act resolutely to oppose human rights violations wherever they occur.

184. Against that background, my delegation continues to believe that some organ should be created within the United Nations system to investigate human rights abuses and deal promptly with serious cases of such violations. The establishment of a post of high commissioner for human rights, which my Government fully supports, could be an important instrument to combat future human rights abuses.

185. Sober reflection and enlightened self-interest point to closer international co-operation and more imaginative collective effort. We who are ready to place our faith in prudent management and sound policies, in the courage and ingenuity of our peoples, need not be transfixed by history. The responsibility for human suffering, for poverty, for insecurity is now ours. We must act to eliminate them now.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

² *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

³ Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa and Final Act of Lagos; see A/S-11/14, annexes I and II.

⁴ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁵ *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

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

⁷ *See Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983, document S/15943, para. 25.*

⁸ *Ibid., Supplement for October, November and December 1983, document S/16041.*