



President: Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA
(Zambia).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Farah Dirir
(Djibouti), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NDINGA-OBA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): As I speak in the General Assembly, the people of the People's Republic of the Congo is in the course of giving effect to the directives of the third regular congress of the Congolese Labour Party, which was held at Brazzaville from 27 to 31 July 1984. The meetings of that Congress constitute a historic turning-point for the Congolese revolution. The results of the Congress have enabled our people to acquire new institutions and to embark on dynamic action in all areas of national life, in particular the area of international policy.

2. While welcoming the outstanding successes achieved during the Congress, the Congolese people is more than ever concerned by an international situation of insecurity, injustice and underdevelopment, whose consequences for the future of mankind demand the attention of the entire international community.

3. On behalf of our Government and of the President, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the delegation of the Congo is pleased to make, through me, its modest contribution to consideration of the problems that face the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

4. In entrusting Mr. Lusaka with the task of presiding over the work of its thirty-ninth session, the General Assembly has recognized that he is not only one of the most experienced African ambassadors, but also the outstanding President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, a man whose dynamism and devotion have always been commensurate with the cause championed by that important United Nations body. I congratulate him whole-heartedly; the delegation of the Congo, which I have the honour to lead, is very gratified at this choice and assures him of its full co-operation. The People's Republic of the Congo and Zambia have very friendly relations, recently reaffirmed by an exchange of visits between our two heads of State and by the election of President Kenneth David Kaunda as honorary President of the third regular congress of the Congolese Labour Party.

5. I pay a well-deserved tribute, also, to Mr. Lusaka's illustrious predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, a distinguished Latin American statesman and an ardent champion of the inalienable rights of exploited nations. We are particularly grateful to him for the calm and efficient way in which he conducted the meetings of the thirty-eighth session.

6. In considering the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], we are pleased to note that he quite appropriately reminds the international community of the urgency of the tasks and the weight of the responsibilities that devolve upon us pursuant to our adherence to the Charter of the United Nations. We are most grateful to the Secretary-General for all the efforts and all the means described in that report. Their aim is constantly to renew the spirit of our shared ideals through the application of appropriate solutions to the ills plaguing the world.

7. When we commemorate, next year, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the time will be ripe for mankind to take stock and to envisage, in a new, global and, we trust, optimistic context, the outlines of the world of tomorrow, whose features still seem so vague to us today.

8. In the mean time, we are obliged to note that the eloquent and benevolent statements of intention made here do not always reflect the political practice of certain Member States. In fact, it has in no way been proved that those who speak the most about peace and freedom are the best craftsmen of those noble ideals in their own countries and throughout the world. Quite often, on the contrary, the warmongers, who are responsible for the most blatant social injustices and the most serious manifestations of the exploitation of man by man, could very easily be mistaken for the staunchest champions of human rights.

9. Tried and tested couriers of dubious policies or mere links in a chain of selfish interests, the major instigators of policies opposed to the fundamental interests of mankind no longer hide their intentions. They are the grave-diggers of peace; they are the ones who are truly starving the world through the debt of the third world and the deterioration of raw material prices—to sum up, through the relations between the industrialized and the developing countries, relations characterized by the thirst for profit at any cost: the primary motivation of the behaviour of the countries of the North, even if it be to the detriment of the countries of the South. Finally, it is these countries which persist in voluntarily supporting colonialist and neo-colonialist desires designed to enslave peoples weakened by exploitation by the imperialist Powers.

10. That reference to reality suffices to bring us to the core of the true problems on whose solution true peace and freedom as well as solidarity among peoples depend. Unfortunately, those problems confront all continents, particularly the African continent. The United Nations must analyse the underlying causes and propose effective cures. Otherwise, our meetings will have few concrete results, given the real problems undermining our societies.

11. If one really needs an illustration of the problems whose persistence and deterioration jeopardize the present approach to questions of universal importance, one can begin by referring to the social and economic situation of the African continent. Under the joint effect of natural disasters, such as drought, and temporary factors of the moment, a considerable part of our continent is moving dangerously towards economic uncertainty; it is at the brink of stagnation. Despite the courageous actions of States involved, such as those in the Sahel, desertification continues to increase inexorably, bringing with it hunger, starvation and a rising death rate, and severely affecting plant, animal and human life.

12. On the initiative of the Secretary-General and of the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Mr. Edouard Saouma, the problem has received particular attention this year from the international community. But a solution to it has been blocked by insufficient mobilization of the necessary means and resources as well as by the emergence of other social and political problems, such as that of refugees, the seriousness of which was highlighted by the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July of this year.

13. Such a concatenation of tragic circumstances requires, at the least, an overall review of the criteria for granting assistance and for programming action. Only in that way can we hope to alleviate, fairly soon, the most immediate effects of these scourges.

14. In the same context, the effective implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at its second extraordinary session, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980,¹ seems more than ever before to be the essential reference point for all those, be they Africans or not, who wish to bring an end to the spectre of underdevelopment in Africa.

15. During the second regular session this year of the Economic and Social Council, held at Geneva from 4 to 27 July, the particularly critical economic situation of the African continent was given priority consideration. My delegation, however, cannot hide its concern about the specific results of those discussions: the Council was not able even to adopt a simple declaration on the subject by consensus.

16. Clearly, given the lack of genuine, self-generated development, which alone can create the bases for true economic complementarity between developed and developing countries, it is always inadvisable to subscribe to actions that are not consistent and that, in fact, support an ideology of alleged economic freedom, of which, however, underdevelopment is unfortunately one of the fundamental elements.

17. Moreover, 1984 is the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Charter of

Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], an instrument of great scope which is rightly considered by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries as the indispensable complement to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

18. The new international economic order, for which that Charter laid the bases, seems to us to be the basic pivot around which should turn all policies that are truly aimed at improving the lot of many States and communities throughout the world. Seen in that light, the new international economic order is a moral imperative that can serve to organize the world's economy equitably and rationally.

19. To be sure, aware of the stakes, we have no illusion regarding the readiness of the developed countries to accept changes for the sake of justice, in existing situations which guarantee them power, domination and exploitation of the weakest countries. The rejection by certain countries of the launching of global negotiations irrefutably demonstrates the extent of the cynicism governing the acts of many powerful States designed to distract international opinion and to set up a smoke-screen against those who are determined to eliminate all types of suffering with which the peoples are faced today.

20. For our part, we believe that it is high time to establish true relations of solidarity in each country and on the international level. This is the price for the coming of peace, freedom and prosperity. These are the concerns which must determine the activities of the United Nations and of Member States and which guide the People's Republic of the Congo and the actions carried out by the Congolese Labour Party and its head, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, to protect the interests of the various social strata of our country.

21. Our political objectives and our social practice are designed to make the Congolese people the master of its destiny and to assist it in acquiring the means which it now lacks to consolidate its political independence and to hasten its economic and cultural liberation.

22. Thanks to these commitments, the Congolese people today is able to exercise political power through the systems of the Party and the State, which have been democratically set up and inspired by the country itself in order to solve the problems on which its existence and the future of the country depend. It is in this context today that our people has achieved outstanding progress in the economic and socio-cultural spheres.

23. On the economic level, our programme aims at the mastery and rational utilization of natural resources for the benefit of the people, a reorganization of the national territory, which was disorganized by the colonial system and its follow-up, the unification of the national territory through the building of a road network which can help revitalize the rural areas and ensure the complementarity that is so badly needed between the economic activities in the urban areas and in the countryside. We wish to improve the living conditions of the people by rationally organizing a system, based on the interests of the people, to ensure food self-sufficiency, which is an objective to be achieved by the year 2000, with, of course, the assistance of all those who, in the context of bilateral and multilateral co-operation, are ready to participate with us in building a free and prosperous nation in the Congo.

24. The aim of our social policy is to resolve the problem of unemployment by organizing a centralized and dynamic national economic system.

25. In the field of education, the democratization of the teaching system has resulted today in a 100 per cent enrolment rate, and now we require vigorous action in order to improve the quality of school education, to expand literacy programmes for adults and to integrate into national socio-economic sectors high-school and other students at the end of their training programmes.

26. Aware of the importance of these questions, we have established a climate of peace and harmony in the country favourable to ensuring the consolidation of unity and national construction. Thus, we shall be able to achieve the national solidarity and prosperity which our people needs in order to enjoy the fruits of its labour and to profit from the resources of its country.

27. These concerns are well known and their implementation has been verified by all those who follow the internal and foreign policy of the People's Republic of the Congo, and particularly by those of our friends and brothers who have followed the work of the third regular Congress of our Party.

28. It can be noted that, rather than a fragmented approach to the problems of mankind, we prefer an approach which looks at man as a whole in his natural environment and in the world and which makes it possible to envisage and implement global policies aimed at ensuring harmonious relations among Governments and peoples, for without such relationships it would be impossible to establish peace and freedom throughout the world.

29. In thus expressing our faith in solidarity and international co-operation built on an equitable and just basis, we, the people of the Congo, proclaim our conviction that peace and the conditions for maintaining peace deserve the better part of our energies and our resources.

30. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of the Congo as laid down by the Congolese Labour Party, inspired and championed by the President, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, bears ample witness to that. For my country has always had with all peace- and freedom-loving countries, regardless of socio-economic distinctions, relations based on mutual respect and a policy of mutual advantage. We are also involved in establishing and continuing, on the regional level, peaceful and good-neighbourly relations with other countries.

31. It is within this context that we see the efforts of the Congolese Government to restore peace and harmony to Chad. In fact, my Government has for several months now proposed bringing together at Brazzaville all of our Chad brothers, who for too long have been divided by a fratricidal struggle.

32. We sincerely appreciate the readiness which the various parties to the conflict have demonstrated up to now regarding the principle of their return to the fold, and we urge them to avoid any behaviour which would have discussion depend on prerequisites of no crucial importance.

33. From this rostrum we reaffirm the determination of the Congolese Government to do all in its power, with the valuable assistance of other Governments, and in particular those of central Africa, to ensure the success of the conference on Chad to be held at Brazzaville.

34. This is the place also to express the satisfaction of the Congolese Government at the announcement of the imminent withdrawal of the French and Libyan forces from Chad. That withdrawal of foreign forces is, in our view, a positive factor that may facilitate the process that will lead to reunion and reconciliation at Brazzaville.

35. Along similar lines, we have been following the situation in Western Sahara, which continues to deteriorate, despite the appeal made to Morocco and to the Frente POLISARIO² by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983.

36. In this regard, my delegation would like to express the hope that the treaty concluded on 13 August 1984 between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will in no way prejudice the outcome and legitimate rights of the Saharan people. We should like to take this occasion to appeal to the brotherly countries of the Maghreb to make a positive contribution to finding a just solution to the crisis in Western Sahara, based on the norms and principles of international law.

37. There is a close relationship between peace, détente and the right of peoples to self-determination. In this respect, we consider the admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations as an event that will bring us closer to the attainment of one of our most cherished ideals, that of universality. While warmly welcoming the admission of this new State to the group of nations, we should like to assure its people and leaders of the readiness of the Congo to co-operate with them.

38. In contrast to that encouraging event, the situation in Namibia presents a very gloomy picture. For a long time now we have been waiting with ever-growing impatience for the coming of freedom for the people of that country.

39. Even today, South Africa and some of its allies continue to set up all kinds of obstacles to the implementation of the United Nations plan of action for the independence of Namibia, as contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which can be the only valid basis allowing for the accession of Namibia to national sovereignty without any subjective pre-conditions.

40. Cuba and Angola are two sovereign States and therefore we can in no way sanction an operation which would subordinate the implementation of the provisions of resolution 435 (1978) to the annulment of a freely concluded agreement between the two States Members of the United Nations, for that would seriously affect the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States.

41. The sole request that we would make therefore to the members of the Western contact group, if that group still exists, is to return to the spirit and letter of resolution 435 (1978) in order finally to give the Namibian people justice.

42. The refusal of South Africa and of certain Western Powers to conform to the demands of resolution 435 (1978) and of other relevant decisions of the United Nations in fact hides their unspeakable plans.

43. The first aims at the exploitation and frenzied plundering of the natural resources of Namibia, a lucrative activity which well-known transnational corporations do not intend to give up, and thus they

are deliberately running counter to the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,³ enacted on 27 September 1974 by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal authority for the territory.

44. The second motive is the policy of *apartheid*, which the South African Government intends not only to consolidate within South Africa itself but also to expand to Namibia and then to the rest of the world.

45. The welcome which some Western Governments gave to the South African Prime Minister when memorial services were being held commemorating the struggles against nazism confirms this acceptance of *apartheid* as a "respectable" doctrine by the Western Powers to which it owes its survival.

46. The policy of *apartheid* is merely another name for nazism and fascism, and this is no longer new to us. It is a crime against humanity. It has already been rejected as a shameful scar by international public opinion. Reacting to its inevitable isolation, the Government of Pretoria has simply contented itself up to now by adapting *apartheid* to give it the kind of countenance which it can call presentable. After the suicidal policy of bantustanization, which denies the majority black population the right to citizenship in the country, the minority power is now trying to divide the South African people by asking Indian and Coloured groups to sanction white power.

47. The racist Government of Pretoria knows perfectly well that it will never reap the fruits of its criminal policy. Not only has the electoral sham which it organized been largely boycotted by the Indian and Coloured communities, but the majority population has risen up, showing its determination to struggle regardless of the cost. The international community must step up its struggle against this régime, or history will one day reproach us for having tolerated it so long and so much.

48. The support which the People's Republic of the Congo lends to freedom fighters and to the front-line States is a constant factor in our foreign policy. Nevertheless, as is already stated in the Manifesto on Southern Africa, issued by the leaders of East and Central African States, meeting at Lusaka on 16 April 1969,⁴ we do not rule out negotiations as long as the enemy also recognizes that they are necessary.

49. "The development of the revolutionary struggle on the spot is always complex, and the path to victory is tortuous", said President Denis Sassou-Nguesso at the opening of the third regular congress of the Congolese Labour Party. The head of the Congolese State added:

"That is why we believe that the major diplomatic activity observed in recent times at the level of the front-line countries is naturally part of the process of the long and complex struggle which the peoples of southern Africa have been waging against the white minority régime in power in Pretoria. We are deeply convinced that Africa will not betray the African cause."

50. This identification of the Congolese position with the African cause justifies in many ways the active solidarity of the Congolese people with other peoples struggling in other regions of the world.

51. This applies to the Middle East, where the Congo reiterates its support for the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which, we are certain, will overcome the passing difficulties which have arisen

within it and will continue to defend the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

52. Certain Western Powers which are allies of Israel thought they could impose a "final solution" on the Palestinian problem by awkwardly interfering in Lebanon. The more than negative results of that operation show the inanity of solutions based on force and the correctness of the negotiated solution which the international community has always advocated.

53. In like manner, we assure the heroic and constantly victimized people of Nicaragua of all our sympathy, and we continue to believe that it is scarcely in terms of East-West rivalries that the problems of Central America can be explained. The struggle of the peoples of that region, like the struggle of the peoples of the Caribbean or of Latin America in general, is above all the result of the profoundly unjust economic and social conditions which some privileged persons supported from abroad have attempted to perpetuate to the detriment of the overwhelming majority of the population.

54. It is vital for everyone that the deep-rooted causes of those crises should be eliminated and that a climate of peace free from all threat of intervention or economic coercion, a climate essential to respect for the right of peoples freely to determine their future and to dispose of their resources, should be established in the Caribbean as well as in the Central American subregion.

55. If that principle were respected, peace would find a place in the Korean peninsula also and we would no longer witness the sad and continued division of the people of Korea, for whose benefit a process aimed at the reunification of the two parts of the country must be undertaken, eliminating a very serious source of tension in that part of the world.

56. As to the situation in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, my country unreservedly supports the desire for peace expressed so often by the Governments of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea in order to end the state of belligerence which has been artificially maintained from outside. No one wants peace more than the Kampuchean people, who alone know the price that they have had to pay after the cruel tyranny of Pol Pot, whom some are actively seeking to return to power.

57. Finally, the Congolese delegation must mention the tragedy in the Persian Gulf, which day by day is making Iraq and Iran weaker. And yet, those two countries should derive from their history, their geography and their religion more reasons for unity and co-operation than for hatred and death. We urge them to end their hostilities, which in no way serve the immediate or long-term interests of their respective peoples.

58. A few moments ago, when we expressed the wish to see all resources of the spirit and of human knowledge placed at the service of ends other than death and destruction, we were obviously thinking mainly of the \$800 billion which are spent every year to make weapons, fuel hotbeds of crisis and carry on the crazed arms race even in outer space.

59. Several years ago a great deal of hope was placed on the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. We encourage any effort that is likely to lead to complete disarmament under real and effective control.

60. With the end to the policy of détente clearly shown by the concern in Europe over the strengthening of the destructive potential in that continent, we must fear the consequences for the entire world of a prolonged deterioration in the relations between the blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact.

61. The widespread distrust due to that state of tension characterized by the persistence and outbreak of localized conflicts is compounded by the trend to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, a trend supported by certain questionable theories on the possibility of a limited nuclear war.

62. In this area more than in others urgent action is required; and action means above all negotiation in order to bring about détente without waiting to reach an unlikely position of strength.

63. The responsibility incurred by the generation of this last quarter-century is all the more serious since it is borne by men who have the necessary means of improving the living conditions of all the inhabitants of the earth and who have rules of international conduct excluding the use of force as a means of settling disputes.

64. The essential function of the United Nations system is to ensure the realization of man's aspirations through these means and rules. Therefore, we should everywhere encourage those ideals that are likely to bring peoples closer together and ensure mutual understanding and the adoption of confidence-building measures.

65. The Congo's understanding of the establishment of a new information and communication order is based on this concept of an increasingly shrinking world, a world of solidarity. The policies and activities carried out in this connection in UNESCO, under the competent leadership of its Director-General, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, enjoy the full support of my country. It is regrettable indeed that lately UNESCO should have been subjected to intolerable pressures. The universality of UNESCO and the at times impassioned tone of its debates do not, in our view, run counter to its basic commitment to be fully at the service of mankind. It is that faith in mankind that prevents us from losing hope in institutions such as UNESCO or the United Nations itself.

66. On the eve of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, one cannot fail to recall the curious fate of man today: prey to disorders of all kinds and victim of his own works. This anniversary of the Organization will—perhaps as an accident of history—coincide with the one hundredth anniversary of the Balkanization of Africa by the 1885 Berlin Act and the thirtieth anniversary of the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955. The time has thus come for us Africans to take stock of what has been achieved by the OAU in its struggle for the total liberation of our continent, and for the rest of the world to assess the efforts that have been made in the search for the peace and well-being of peoples.

67. These various landmarks in the history of peoples should, among other things, lead the United Nations to ponder upon the future evolution of mankind. Such an approach to the international situation, including national concerns and actions for the benefit of mankind as a whole, should give food for thought to all those whose activities at the

national and international levels are in flagrant contradiction with lofty statements of intent made in various places on questions of vital importance affecting mankind. We believe that it is necessary for attitudes, behaviour and actions everywhere in the world to be in keeping with the ideals of peace, freedom and prosperity without which the United Nations would be an institution without purpose.

68. But we all know that mankind still needs the United Nations—provided, of course, its actions in practice produce the beneficial effects and the positive impact peoples need to live in peace.

69. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to extend to Mr. Lusaka our most cordial congratulations on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this session. We are confident that he is worthy of the high post entrusted to him and that he will undertake the responsibilities associated with it with all the sincerity and dedication the international community expects from him. We wish him personally continued success and we wish his friendly country continued progress and prosperity.

70. I am also pleased to extend our sincere thanks and gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Illueca, who presided over the General Assembly at the thirty-eighth session with the competence and objectivity deserving of the praise of all Member States.

71. I cannot fail to express, on behalf of my delegation, our great appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made and continues to make in the service of the international community, in keeping with his belief in the mission and the principles of the United Nations. We wish him continued success in the realization of the great aspirations the international community attaches to the institution he oversees.

72. Our belief in the United Nations as an international Organization dedicated to peace becomes greater day by day and is renewed whenever a new Member joins its ranks, thus reaffirming our conviction that the United Nations fulfils a strong desire among all peoples and represents for them a precious dream for the realization of which all have striven through their membership of it. In this regard, the State of Qatar extends a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam on the occasion of its admission to the Organization as an active and effective Member which, together with the other States Members, will contribute to the prosperity of the world. We also express our pleasure at the historical and cultural ties between our two countries and we hope they will continue and develop.

73. The deteriorating and explosive political situation throughout the world is evidence of the inability of the United Nations to establish international peace and of its failure to find solutions to the difficult problems that have been before it for a long time. At the same time, we do not deny the many sincere efforts that the Organization has undertaken and continues to undertake to find solutions to these problems.

74. We share the Secretary-General's analysis of this inability as a logical result of the betrayal by the super-Powers of the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which in turn has made the Organization incapable of implementing the necessary measures for solving these problems and at the same time encourages those States in their

orbits and under their protection to disregard all laws and violate all international principles. Perhaps the best example of this is Israel's defiance of all humanitarian principles and the fact that its protectors and defenders always fabricate excuses and justifications for it.

75. We must all work together to safeguard the Charter of the United Nations and not permit it to be violated by any party. It is incumbent on all Members of the United Nations to respect the Charter and to commit themselves to its defence, considering it the document that unites them in this international institution. We must all raise the level of our actions and feel pride in being members of this international community for the security and stability of which we all strive, and not follow our whims or serve our narrow, selfish interests, which would result in the destruction of the world in which we live.

76. The hopes and aspirations of the international community for the establishment of peace and harmony in place of aggressive confrontations, with their dangerous consequences, make it essential that justice prevail in relations among the members of the international community and that causes of conflicts be dealt with.

77. In this respect, it is the view of my delegation that the Palestinian question, which has been before the Organization since its foundation, cannot be solved and no solution can be implemented without the restoration of all the occupied Arab territories, including Holy Jerusalem, and recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to establish an independent State on their national territory.

78. The Arab position has always been a positive one, aimed at finding a peaceful, just and comprehensive solution to this question. The latest Arab initiative in this regard is contained in the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982.⁵ That initiative was met with obstinacy and rejected by Israel, which refuses to understand anything but the policy of the *fait accompli*.

79. Not satisfied with rejecting all international resolutions and honest initiatives, Israel continues its aggression, planting on Arab territories settlements that all agree are illegal and an obstacle to a peaceful solution.

80. The international community must therefore reject these illegal practices and must put an end to the usurpation of the territories of others through the settlement policy pursued by Israel, in defiance of international public opinion, and to the imposition of Israel's will on the basis not of right but of force and coercion.

81. The Israeli enemy continued its aggression against our Arab nation and expanded the circle of this aggression when it invaded fraternal Arab Lebanon in 1982. It has maintained its occupation of the southern part of that peaceful country and continued its disgraceful practices in violation of the Geneva agreements and international treaties.

82. In the view of my delegation, it is the duty of the international community to adopt all the necessary measures to ensure immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon and to put an end to those practices which contradict international treaties and agreements. Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon is the primary pre-

condition of the success of the Lebanese Government's effort to restore stability and security in all regions of the country and to assert its authority throughout Lebanese territory, as is the right of every Government of a sovereign State.

83. The war which has been raging for more than four years between the Republic of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, two Muslim neighbours, constitutes for us a source of continuing and serious concern. Qatar, together with its fraternal States in the Gulf Co-operation Council, has made every possible effort to find a solution to this conflict. We hope that this catastrophe will soon end and that peace will prevail between the two fraternal States. We welcome the response of the Republic of Iraq to the international pleas and mediation efforts aimed at ending this war. We hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran will respond to those pleas and that good and reason will prevail, in the interest of the peoples of the two countries, the security of the region and world peace. We hope, too, that all disputes will be settled through dialogue and the exchange of views rather than through war and bloodshed.

84. With regard to the security of the Arab Gulf region, Qatar firmly believes that to be the responsibility of the States of the region alone and that the means of achieving this will be readily available once the big Powers refrain from interfering in their affairs. Based on this belief, the six Arab Gulf States have initiated among them political, economic and security integration and co-ordination, within the framework of the Gulf Co-operation Council. This undertaking constitutes clear evidence of the desire of the member States of the Council that peace and prosperity should continue to be the symbols and goals of the Council.

85. The State of Qatar views with increased concern the continuing presence of Soviet forces on the territory of Afghanistan. It sincerely hopes that the Soviet Union will respond positively to international appeals and initiatives and withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, leaving the Afghan people freedom to choose its political régime and determine its own future.

86. The current situation in the African continent constitutes one of our major concerns. We sincerely hope that proper solutions will be found in the near future so as to end the suffering of the peoples living in regions where tensions prevail. My country reaffirms its support for and solidarity with the Namibian people in their just struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and with the national majority in South Africa in their courageous struggle against the *apartheid* policies practised by the ruling racist white minority. In line with its beliefs and its ties with and concern for Africa, the State of Qatar took part in the Conference of Arab Solidarity with the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Tunis from 7 to 9 August 1984.

87. We call on all States that cherish peace and justice, particularly the major Powers on whose support South Africa depends, to use every means available to put pressure on the South African Government and prevail upon it to respond positively to international efforts aimed at bringing about a just and comprehensive settlement of this situation and to block the attempts of the South African

Government to prevent a peaceful solution in that vital part of the world.

88. With regard to the Korean peninsula, the State of Qatar hopes that North Korea and South Korea will be able to find a peaceful solution to their problem through direct negotiations, without outside interference.

89. The importance of the discussion in this international body of the crisis in the world economy increases with every passing year. This has been particularly true since the beginning of the present decade. Developing countries continue to confront an economic recession, the effects of which are reflected in their inability to increase economic growth to the minimum level required to achieve their planning goals. A large number of the less developed countries continue to face the spectres of poverty, hunger and the deterioration of their production sectors.

90. At the present time, the international community is facing an economic situation whose effects will not be confined within the borders of the developing countries. On the contrary, the whole world will be affected by its negative influences. This situation constitutes a constant threat to international peace and security and will create additional international problems, which we shall be forced to confront and to spend time and resources resolving.

91. For all these reasons, the State of Qatar believes that the international community as a whole must realize the need to concentrate increased efforts on removing the factors that have brought about this international economic crisis and, in particular, the injustice inflicted on the developing countries by the current imbalance in the world economic situation. This awareness of the danger posed by the crisis must be translated into immediate and practical steps first to alleviate and finally to resolve the economic crisis.

92. The developed countries must adopt policies which encourage imports from the developing countries. The developed countries must also work to reduce tariff and other barriers against these imports, and also give increased attention to stabilizing the international monetary system.

93. States, particularly major industrial States, must also pay greater attention to the effects that their domestic economic policies and the decisions they adopt concerning external economic and commercial relations, particularly with the developing countries, have on the international economy.

94. It has now become obvious to the international community that the rise in interest rates on the United States dollar has led to burdening the developing countries with additional interest payments on their debts, which in turn creates more imbalances in their balance of payments, raising rates of inflation and confronting these countries, especially the less developed ones, with continuing crises in all sectors.

95. The problems of the international economy today are obvious and have previously been discussed and talked about in various international bodies. What is important at this time is to institute the corrective measures that will establish a just and stable international economic order.

96. The State of Qatar is of the view that global negotiations must get under way, and it considers these negotiations to be the framework through which a discussion of the major problems could take place and appropriate solutions arrived at. The

various international organizations have not established a comprehensive programme for achieving that goal. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, adjourned without adopting effective decisions regarding the major problems facing the economies and international trade with developing countries.

97. Therefore, the State of Qatar believes that a review should be undertaken of the resources of these organizations and an assessment made of their ability to resolve these crises and problems so that the international community may be spared any catastrophes.

98. Mr. TOLENTINO (Philippines): Allow me to congratulate the President on his election to chair the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His reputation as a skilled diplomat and a statesman of wise judgement assures us of the sober yet dynamic leadership that we need in the Assembly to accomplish our tasks.

99. We should all be sadly remiss if we failed to commend the Secretary-General on his endeavours in the cause of peace and on his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1]. The Secretary-General is both a staunch defender and a stern critic of the United Nations. In performing that important and necessary task he has put all of us in his debt.

100. The Philippines warmly welcomes Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations. The historic ties between Brunei and the Philippines are centuries old, and these have found modern reaffirmation in their active partnership in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], where they share common goals, aspirations and perceptions of regional peace, security and stability with the other members of ASEAN.

101. I speak today at the same rostrum where my illustrious predecessor, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, on many occasions delivered, with great eloquence and uncommon wit, the Philippine policy statements. Mr. Romulo has sought retirement after a long public life in distinguished service to his country and people and to humanity, as a passionate advocate of the United Nations, sharing deeply its resolve to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". We all miss Mr. Romulo at these sessions of the Assembly, but we find comfort in the thought that we can still avail ourselves of the gems of wisdom that he has left in the annals of this international body.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

102. Of the numerous photographs taken by the astronauts from outer space, there is one that is firmly impressed on our minds. It is the picture of the earth, taken from hundreds of thousands of miles away, showing a globe of ethereal quality and breathtaking beauty, suspended in space, calm, serene and peaceful. But as we look around us we are confronted by the chilling realization that we live in a world riven by suspicion and distrust, a world obsessed by the frenzied competition to accumulate weapons of mass destruction, a world where peace is constantly challenged by the overwhelming drive to dominate, to impose one's superior will on weaker parties, and to use both guile and armed strength to achieve such ends.

103. Indeed, the peace of the world today hangs in a fragile balance; the world is on the brink of a self-

imposed holocaust of dimensions so vast it could erase human civilization from the face of the earth.

104. Let me turn to a most vital issue of our time. The subject of nuclear arms and their control has for too long been cluttered with the doctrines, concepts and esoteric jargon of the war-room strategist and nuclear-arms specialist. It is time for us to sweep all these aside and get down to the elementary facts which all of us can understand.

105. First, nuclear weapons do not confer absolute security, and accumulating more and more of them diminishes security. Secondly, there can be no limited nuclear war. Once nuclear weapons are used, their use will escalate into a full nuclear exchange that could spell the death of all of us. The profound global climatic changes following the onset of the nuclear night, as both Soviet and American scientists have recently described it, will not spare even those of us outside the immediate areas of nuclear blast and radiation. Thirdly, human civilization as we know it will be effectively exterminated.

106. Our generation has coined a word to describe the deliberate destruction of a group of people—"genocide". What word shall we use to describe the extermination of the entire human race? Shall we call it "humanicide"? Will the nuclear super-Powers in the end be responsible for this absolute, this final crime against humanity? Shall they be the ultimate perpetrators of "humanicide"?

107. The nuclear Powers have among them more than enough of the instruments of nuclear death to extinguish the human race. By the same token, they have in their hands the power and the means to ensure the survival of human civilization on earth. The options are clear to all of us.

108. Surely, it should not be impossible for the nuclear Powers to see that, for man to survive, there can be only one possible course: we must utilize to the fullest extent the available means of negotiation and diplomacy to end the nuclear-arms race and to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons.

109. In the light of recent statements of the leaders of the super-Powers, we are encouraged by the possibility of new initiatives emanating from them that could lead to resumption of negotiations.

110. All over the world the flash-points of danger of last year and prior years continue to fuel global unrest and instability. Foreign troops continue to occupy Kampuchea, imposing on its people the terrors of war and economic deprivation and sending thousands of them desperately to seek refuge in other lands. My delegation hopes that the repeated calls of the international community for the total withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Kampuchea and a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem will finally be heeded by the parties concerned. The Philippines will continue to work for the ultimate triumph of the principle of self-determination in Kampuchea.

111. Thousands of people have died and are dying violently each year in Afghanistan—people trapped in a savage war between foreign military occupiers and the Afghan fighters who seek to restore their national independence and sovereignty. The Philippines will continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve a peaceful political solution to the problem of Afghanistan.

112. We should guard against the illusion that stability has been achieved in the Middle East. Until

the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is accepted, the Middle East will remain a tinder-box posing serious threats not just to regional peace but also to the peace of the entire international community. We therefore urge renewed discussions on the modalities for the establishment of a Palestinian State.

113. Success continues to elude the efforts of several States to bring to an end the dangerous conflict between Iran and Iraq. My delegation will fully support conciliatory efforts to bring peace and stability to the Gulf, a region of sensitive importance to many States where protracted war between two countries heightens the risk of escalated violence and enlargement of the area of conflict.

114. The inherent evil of *apartheid* continues to fuel violence in South Africa and instability in that part of the African continent. South Africa's new Constitution, which purports to liberalize its policy of racial separation, merely deepens the chasm between the black majority and the white minority. Until the vast majority of the disenfranchised population is made a full part of the political process, *apartheid* will remain.

115. The people of Namibia, long deprived of their independence, continue to pursue their struggle for national liberation. My delegation hopes to see the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, so that the Namibian people can finally begin the task of building a nation and a viable economy which can contribute to peace and progress in southern Africa.

116. The internecine conflicts in Central America have destabilized a once peaceful and prosperous region of the world, exacting a grim toll, through armed violence, in lives lost and properties destroyed. My delegation, sensitive to our close historic and cultural ties to the countries of Central America, fully supports the initiatives of the Contadora Group for the restoration of peace and stability in that region.

117. Tensions persist in the Korean peninsula. My delegation takes a positive posture on the initiatives undertaken by both sides that could lead to a peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. The interests of world peace and security would be served if North and South Korea could return to the negotiating table. In keeping with the principle of universality, they could, if they so desired, become Members of the United Nations without prejudice to reunification.

118. A cause of future conflict lies at the bottom of the sea. In the past, wars have been fought over mineral deposits on land. The fabulous abundance of polymetallic nodules in the deep sea-bed—the future source of manganese, cobalt, copper and nickel—could trigger dangerous conflicts and confrontations, unless the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea⁶ and the régime set out in the Convention for the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the deep sea-bed in the international area are implemented and respected by all.

119. We note with concern, therefore, the Provisional Understanding regarding Deep Sea-Bed Matters concluded at Geneva on 3 August 1984 by eight industrialized countries [see A/39/647, para. 84]. In our view, the agreement is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

120. The Philippines has ratified that Convention and my delegation earnestly urges others to do the same so that it may come into force very soon.

121. The dismal picture of the world today is becoming even gloomier and more tragic because of the increasing economic inequalities among nations and peoples. The consequence is the uncontained deterioration of conditions in the poorer countries of the world. There can be no real peace without economic security.

122. Peace, as understood by small and poor countries and their peoples, means the satisfaction of the basic needs of man; it means the preservation and sustenance of human life and the improvement of its quality. Since the United Nations is a vital instrument for peace, it must have the development of humanity at the very heart of its activities.

123. It is in the interest of all countries—developed and developing—that global economic recovery should be sustained in a manner which would effectively halt the massive debilitating effects of recession on international growth and stability. The early signs of economic recovery, however, have not made the desired impact on the development efforts of small and poor countries. On the contrary, for many of them their efforts at development have been even more difficult, if not altogether frustrated.

124. For economic recovery to foster global peace and security, continuous efforts should be undertaken towards a comprehensive and equitable solution of the development problems of many countries. To attain this objective, the position of the developing countries in such areas as international trade, global industrialization, money and finance, food and agriculture, and energy should be taken fully into account.

125. The requirements of the developing countries in international trade would include, among others, first, the liberalization of trade and the reduction if not elimination of non-tariff barriers, such as quotas, seasonal restrictions, licensing requirements, variable levies and anti-dumping regulations; and, secondly, the elimination of the so-called voluntary export restraint schemes which are undertaken on a bilateral and discriminatory basis outside the principles and rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

126. Developing countries need to augment their industrial output and to increase their share in total world industrial production to support the self-reliant growth of their economies. But in order for them to be able to do so, they should be provided with all the needed assistance, including the transfer of technology. In the final analysis, the meaning of industrialization is to contribute to the eradication of endemic poverty in the developing world.

127. In many developing countries the problems of hunger and malnutrition cannot be adequately addressed because of their balance-of-payments difficulties and mounting external debts. This suggests that current international efforts to relieve food scarcity in many areas of the world should be expanded. The impediments to food sufficiency and its availability on a wider basis, including the problems of production and distribution, should receive intensive scrutiny.

128. The international monetary and financial system should be made increasingly responsive to the needs and interests of developing countries. The reform of the system should be supportive of a

balanced and equitable development of the world economy and accelerated development of developing countries. It should also encourage the flow of official development assistance and increase regional development finance in response to the growing needs of developing countries. Furthermore, the reforms should focus on the resolution of the external debt problems of developing countries, now estimated to be in excess of \$550 billion.

129. Food and energy are interrelated. Every increase in the price of energy has adverse repercussions on the costs of production and distribution of food. The need to industrialize and to produce adequate food supplies will require an increase in energy supplies. If, however, the costs of access to energy supplies are prohibitive, the developing countries would be even more seriously handicapped in their development programmes and projects.

130. After 39 years of the United Nations, the picture of the world today seems indeed bleak and discouraging. The prevalence of pockets of war in many corners of the world, of unprovoked acts of aggression by more powerful nations against weaker nations, of unabated racial discrimination, of the growing economic imbalance between the rich and the poor countries of the world with the resulting social inequalities and of the spreading hunger and misery among large sections of the earth's population—all that and more are the hard realities we must face.

131. Many independent observers feel that, tested in the light of its aims and the principles embodied in its Charter, the United Nations has failed, and that it seems unable to accomplish the objectives for which it was founded. This may not be entirely correct or true, but it should make us take a hard second look at the Charter itself, because the perceived inadequacies of the world Organization may actually spring from factors inherent in its own constitution.

132. We must not allow initiatives to review the Charter to languish from lack of support. We should devote our most vigorous and sustained efforts to make the Organization a more effective instrument for the attainment of its avowed objectives.

133. The United Nations, after all, is the only remaining hope of mankind for universal peace and security. It is man's last best hope to free himself from hunger and fear. In your own words, Mr. President, "the world would become a more dangerous place without the United Nations" [*1st meeting, para. 96*]. Accordingly, our solemn duty is to preserve and strengthen the world Organization while the opportunity exists and while time may still be on our side. That is the challenge confronting us today.

134. Mr. GOMA (Zambia): My first duty on this occasion, Sir, is to thank sincerely all States Members represented here for the great honour they have bestowed on Zambia by unanimously electing you President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I do so on behalf of the President of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and all my compatriots for whom this event has special significance and historic importance, since it also coincides with our country's twentieth anniversary of national independence and membership of the United Nations.

135. We are proud of you, Mr. President, and we are confident that you will discharge the important functions of your high office to the full satisfaction of

the General Assembly. May your leadership ensure that the outcome of this session will strengthen the collective efforts of mankind to bring about a better world.

136. Allow me now to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for guiding the General Assembly over the past year with great skill and diplomatic acumen. My tribute goes also to the Secretary-General for his dedication to the Organization and commitment to the cause of freedom, justice and peace, as exemplified by his untiring efforts in seeking solutions to the various problems facing mankind.

137. Like many colleagues and others who have spoken before me, I wish to convey our congratulations to Brunei Darussalam on its accession to independence and admission to the United Nations. We look forward to working closely with this newly independent State.

138. This session of the General Assembly is meeting on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Looking back, the world has changed a great deal in the past 39 years. Empires have fallen and the international community has expanded with the emergence of new nations. In this connection, the United Nations has certainly played a decisive role in the decolonization struggle. There have been spectacular advances in science and technology which have done much to improve the lot of many people. Here, too, and in other ways, a great deal has been accomplished by the United Nations system for the betterment of the human condition. However, in spite of the enormous advances that have been made on so many fronts to make the world a better one in the past 39 years, it is regrettable that we are, perhaps inevitably, left with so many unresolved problems, old and new, as well as a sense of disillusionment at the failure to achieve many of the great aims and objectives of the United Nations. Thus, the road we have travelled so far is littered more with debris of discord than milestones of concord.

139. We now have two Power blocs engaged in a dangerous arms race, in terms of both nuclear and conventional weapons. Nuclear weapons, by their quantity and destructive power, are capable of annihilating not only all that mankind has developed and constructed through thousands of years of effort, but even mankind itself. The total stockpiles of weapons today in the world Power blocs are maintained at levels of destructive power far greater than is justified by any rational military purpose. As has been said by others:

“overarming is not only an expression of the mutual distrust which is advanced to justify it, but it accentuates the trend towards division of the world into spheres of influence and leads to military, economic, [political] and cultural interference in the lives of others; and it diverts enormous resources from the satisfaction of societies' urgent needs”

for development and progress.

140. The menace to the survival of mankind posed by the existence, further development and sophistication of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction can only be contained if real progress is made towards disarmament under effective international control. In this context, we deplore the deep-seated mistrust existing particularly between the two

super-Powers, which not only have failed to conclude any bilateral agreements in recent times but have, in fact, virtually ceased to talk to each other on such important issues as intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic arms reduction.

141. The General Assembly should, therefore, spare no effort to urge the resumption of meaningful dialogue and negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States in the interest of world peace and security. It is important and urgent that there should be a relaxation of tension and improvement in the relations between the two super-Powers, as indeed in the relations among all other States. The current situation, where dialogue and negotiations have been replaced by heightened tension, resentment, mutual recrimination and deep-seated suspicion, does not augur well for world peace and security. A simple misunderstanding of the motive of one by the other could spell doom for mankind.

142. One way of halting the nuclear-arms race that has been advocated and that we support is through a freeze on the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons. This effort must be accompanied by a speedy finalization of a comprehensive treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests. There should also be a guarantee by all nuclear-weapon States not to attack or threaten to attack with nuclear weapons non-nuclear-weapon States. It is imperative that nuclear disarmament be aggressively pursued by the international community.

143. The question of conventional weapons must equally be seriously addressed. These weapons are in everyday use in many parts of the globe, especially in the third world. Their use since the end of the Second World War has accounted for millions of deaths and incalculable destruction of property. There has also been continued use of chemical weapons, despite the fact that these were outlawed by the 1925 Geneva Protocol.⁷ Serious efforts must be made to stop the production and spread of these types of weapons.

144. There are other world-wide challenges. The current world economic outlook is certainly worse than ever before. The debt burden has become unbearable for most countries, particularly in the developing world. Entire populations are still living in absolute indigence, and hunger is the daily lot of millions of human beings. To these problems must be added the persistence of certain regional conflicts and of various situations that are a grave denial of the most fundamental values, such as continuing reprehensible violations of human rights and the freedom of peoples; profound inequalities that continue to divide individuals and societies; and marked injustices in certain aspects of international relations.

145. Ten years have now passed since the General Assembly called for the establishment of a new international economic order [*resolutions 3201(S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] which would be equitable, just and fair to all nations. However, what we have witnessed over the period is the erosion of multilateralism in international economic relations. Instead of creating a new framework within which all countries will be able to develop their resources and enjoy the economic and social benefits of that development, some industrialized countries have chosen to isolate themselves from the rest of the world. They have done so because they want all international economic relations to be conducted in a manner that will perpetuate their economic superiority and enable them to

continue to exploit the natural resources of other countries. We cannot accept this.

146. We are capable, within the framework of the United Nations, of negotiating on a wide spectrum of economic issues and thereby implementing our resolve to establish a new international economic order. There can be no question that all our economies are now more interdependent and complementary than they have been before. We should not lose sight of the fact that any economic recovery in certain parts of the world will not last unless it is extended to other corners of the earth.

147. Let us, therefore, summon the necessary political courage and launch the stalled global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development and create better economic and social conditions for all mankind. This is something we should have done four years ago, and time is running out. Hence, it is the hope of my delegation that the negotiations can be launched without any further delay.

148. The economic problems of Africa are particularly severe and complex. They are, in part, a result of past colonial exploitation and underdevelopment and, of late, of natural causes like desertification and persistent droughts, as well as of deteriorating international economic relations. Thirty-four countries in Africa, including Zambia, are currently affected by drought. The long spells of dry weather and the concomitant lowering of the water table are threatening the survival of man, fauna and flora in certain parts of Africa.

149. The Secretary-General visited a number of African States during the past year. As a result of his visits, he has highlighted the serious economic and social problems in Africa by observing that "the economic survival of many countries in Africa is now at stake. Unless the international community responds urgently and adequately, there will be serious consequences, not only for Africa, but for the whole world".⁸ We fully support the Secretary-General's call for urgent international assistance to those African countries and peoples now afflicted by drought.

150. We are cognizant of the fact that real solutions to our economic problems lie in adopting long-term measures. To this end, African Governments have long recognized that the primary responsibility for the development of their economies rests with them. However, they need the assistance of the international community urgently to attain this goal.

151. As I have already indicated, the persistence of regional conflicts equally provokes grave international concern. We must continue with the efforts to find lasting solutions to such conflicts, in the interest of international peace and security. Let me now briefly reiterate Zambia's position in respect of some of them.

152. In regard to the conflicts in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, we continue to believe that the solution lies in a political settlement in each case based on the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from those two countries; respect for their sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned character; the right of the people to choose their own economic, political and social systems without outside intervention or coercion; and the right of refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

153. In the Korean peninsula, the international community should expend every effort to break the stalemate and prevent the permanent division of Korea. We once again call for the reunification of Korea on the basis of the principles embodied in the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.⁹

154. Zambia has constantly advocated an immediate end to the war between Iran and Iraq. We have, equally, expressed concern at the possibility of that conflict widening. The latest developments have indeed shown clearly that that war has the potential to draw in the neighbouring States and other Powers. We, therefore, again urge the two parties to the conflict to put an immediate end to it. It should be possible for them to secure a just and honourable settlement of the conflict, through negotiations, as urged upon them by various international bodies and peace missions.

155. On the question of Cyprus, Zambia supports the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General designed to assist the parties to resolve the conflict. We hope that they will fully co-operate with him with a view to finding a just and lasting solution.

156. The situation in Central America remains gloomy despite the best efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about peace in the area. There is need, therefore, for a serious demonstration of genuine political will in support of the peace initiative and of the process of dialogue and negotiations by all those concerned, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 530 (1983). We reaffirm our support for the Contadora peace process.

157. Zambia deplors the escalation of East-West rivalry in and around the Indian Ocean in spite of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, adopted by the General Assembly in 1971 [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], that seeks to preserve the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. There is urgent need to make progress on this matter so as to give effect to the Declaration. Accordingly, we urge the countries that have stood in the way of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held at Colombo, to reconsider their positions so that it can now take place in 1985.

158. The conflict in the Middle East continues to claim countless numbers of innocent lives. As has been repeatedly stated by the international community, the core of the Middle East conflict is the question of Palestine. Unless and until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, there can be no just and lasting settlement to the conflict.

159. The United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions on the Middle East which, if implemented, would have brought peace to the region a long time ago. Recent events in that region have demonstrated more than ever before that the problem can be resolved only through a comprehensive peace initiative involving all parties concerned, including the PLO, which is the authentic representative of the Palestinian people. To this end, my delegation regrets that the demands of the international community for an international conference on the Middle East involving all parties concerned have continued to be frustrated by Israel and the United States. We urge those countries to reconsider their position in this regard.

160. Zambia will continue fully to support the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, in their just struggle for the exercise of their inalienable rights.

able rights and the establishment of a State of their own in Palestine. We shall also continue to demand immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab lands occupied since 1967.

161. The situation in southern Africa continues to pose a serious threat to regional as well as international peace and security. The major issues which bedevil that region are well known and, as I stressed in my address to the Assembly last year, at the thirty-eighth session [12th meeting], all of them have been brought about, and are kept alive, by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

162. True, there have been a number of developments in the region in the last year. South Africa sought to impress upon the world that it had undergone a change of heart, and took initiatives that, at face value, presented it as a peace-seeker and a peace-maker. However, the reality is that those developments have not introduced any fundamental change at all and have left intact the root cause of the problems of southern Africa, namely, the *apartheid* policy of South Africa. What we have seen and are witnessing is a calculated charade aimed at protecting and entrenching *apartheid*. South Africa hopes to buy time to entrench even further its *apartheid* policies and practices in the country.

163. Thus, *apartheid* and minority rule persist in South Africa, Namibia still remains occupied by South Africa, in defiance of the will and decisions of the international community, and South Africa's policy of destabilization of neighbouring and other independent States in the region is continuing, even if the tactics have changed. There is, therefore, no basis for any change in the international community's posture *vis-à-vis* the situation in southern Africa. The international campaign for the isolation of South Africa and all other measures advocated earlier by the General Assembly must continue for as long as there is no positive change in the thinking of the Pretoria régime on the question of *apartheid* and as long as there is no concrete progress in relation to the fundamental causes of the conflict in southern Africa. Contacts between South Africa and neighbouring States are necessary for geographical reasons; or when aimed at resolving specific problems which have been created by South Africa; or because of the understandable economic dependence of such countries on South Africa. But such contacts cannot be used to justify attempts to break, or refusal to join in, the international isolation of the *apartheid* régime by others.

164. Spokesmen for South Africa's *apartheid* system and those who support and enforce it frequently appeal directly to Christianity and Western civilization to justify their actions. They fear change and claim to be doing their duty to defend Western Christian civilization and values against a so-called communist onslaught in southern Africa, and that the black majority's struggle against *apartheid* and minority rule is a battle between Christianity and Western civilization on the one hand and communism on the other. But, we may ask, can the oppression, exploitation and dehumanization of a people—God's people—be considered and accepted as Christian? How can we avoid the conclusion that oppression, exploitation and denial of fundamental rights to the majority in South Africa are sanctioned by what amounts to blasphemy? What is the response of the Church to this direct challenge to its integrity? Can policies and practices which do not protect the

sanctity of the family, individual liberty, maximum freedom of choice and equal treatment of all the citizens of a country, regardless of race—policies and practices such as are embraced by the obnoxious *apartheid* system of South Africa—be considered and accepted as reflecting Western civilization and values? If not, how does the West, which has participated in the transfer of technology to South Africa and invested heavily in its *apartheid* economy, ease its conscience? Can it escape the charge that it is an accomplice in this tragic situation?

165. Early this month we witnessed a major constitutional fraud in South Africa. The so-called new constitutional dispensation, which has brought about a tricameral Parliament that excludes the black majority, is in fact a most reprehensible act of denationalization of the black majority of South Africa. By this, the Pretoria régime is in fact saying that the black people do not belong to South Africa and therefore cannot participate in the political life of that country. As far as the Pretoria régime is concerned, the black people of South Africa belong and must be forcibly removed to the so-called bantustans, or racially segregated homelands.

166. How can the international community stand by and watch a whole people being told that they are no longer citizens of their own country? How can the friends of South Africa who profess freedom and justice stand by and watch a whole people denationalized in the name of Western civilization and Christianity? In fact, by their pronouncements some Western countries have unwittingly welcomed the denationalization of the black people of South Africa. We deplore this posture.

167. Zambia calls upon the General Assembly to reaffirm its rejection of the new constitutional set-up in South Africa. It does not at all constitute a step in the right direction, as some apologists for the racist régime claim. It is a retrogressive step that simply further entrenches *apartheid*.

168. We commend the overwhelming majority of the Coloured people and those of Asian origin in South Africa for rejecting the sham Constitution. They clearly realize that the attempted fragmentation of South African society along racial and ethnic lines, through a bogus Constitution, spells doom for their country as a whole. They also realize that the incorporation of their communities as appendages of the *apartheid* legislative system is a fraud because it does not give them real power.

169. This certainly is the time for all the oppressed people and the enlightened among the white community in South Africa to unite and wage an even more determined struggle for the eradication of *apartheid* and minority rule in their country. This is the time for them to rally behind their national liberation movement, the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], and say "no" to the attempts by the Pretoria régime to make South Africa a country for whites only. They must fight against the dismemberment of their country. They must not allow any divisions in their ranks, as this is what the *apartheid* régime wants to see happen.

170. Zambia remains steadfast in its strong condemnation of *apartheid* and in its principled support for the ANC in the struggle to free South Africa from the chains of *apartheid* and minority rule.

171. The peace, security and independence of African countries in the neighbourhood of South Africa

are seriously endangered by the growing military power of that country and its policy of destabilization. The *apartheid* régime appears to have concluded that its own safety depends on neighbouring States being not only economically dependent on South Africa but also internally divided and, if necessary, in turmoil. The methods used have engendered a war psychosis which has the effect of distorting social and economic priorities. Thus, resources are shifted from urgently needed development projects to defence and the limitation of incursions by the South African Defence Force or the activities of its armed allies.

172. All independent States in the neighbourhood of South Africa are vulnerable to that country's aggression. But there are two States which are currently victims of such aggression and urgently need concrete support from and the solidarity of the entire international community. The South African forces are still occupying parts of Angola. Lesotho is faced with economic strangulation. We once again call upon all those countries that have leverage on South Africa to use their influence and persuade that country's régime to cease all acts of aggression and destabilization against its neighbours, and particularly against the two victim States. We need peace and stability very badly in southern Africa, for it is under conditions of peace and stability that national and regional development can be carried out most effectively there.

173. With regard to Namibia, Zambia regrets the fact that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has not yet been implemented. SWAPO has continued to make commendable efforts to ensure the implementation of this resolution without any further delay. During the past year, SWAPO's willingness to talk to South Africa in order to resolve differences and facilitate the implementation of the resolution resulted in meetings at Lusaka and in Cape Verde. These meetings have clearly shown that South Africa is still intent on clinging to Namibia by blocking the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), using the pretext of the claimed linkage between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

174. The so-called linkage was invented by the United States, which, together with racist South Africa, continues to insist on it. We call upon the United States to stop linking Namibian independence to extraneous issues and to prevail upon South Africa to do the same and thereby allow the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As we have said in the past, the question of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola and of their possible withdrawal from that country is a bilateral matter between the Governments of the two sovereign States, Angola and Cuba. It has nothing to do with South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia.

175. As we have said on other occasions, South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia is an intolerable insult not only to the people of Namibia but to the international community as well, and everything possible must be done to end it. Namibia stands out as a blot and an aberration in an otherwise virtually complete decolonization process in Africa. It is against this background that we reaffirm our full support for SWAPO in its struggle to secure the freedom and genuine independence of Namibia.

176. Let me conclude by reaffirming Zambia's faith in the United Nations. In spite of the various shortcomings of the Organization, the vision of a foremost international instrumentality available to mankind to realize a better world of peace, security, stability, justice and progress for all, irrespective of colour, race or creed, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, remains valid today. The pursuit of our national philosophy of humanism has made it possible for us to identify positively with the principles and values for which the United Nations stands. Can anyone or any country that is concerned with the fate of our common humanity really doubt the validity of this world body, which, in the words of the Secretary-General [see A/39/1], provides a forum in which "all nations—including the weak, the oppressed and the victims of injustice—can get a hearing and have a platform even in the face of the hard realities of power"?

177. Therefore, as we approach the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, it behoves us all to summon the necessary political will in a common endeavour to realize the lofty goals and ideals enshrined in the Charter. We owe it to ourselves and, indeed, to posterity to ensure the preservation and survival of the Organization. Let us together face the challenge with renewed determination and commitment.

178. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is a pleasure for the delegation of the State of Kuwait to see you presiding over and conducting the affairs of this session, in view of your renowned vast experience in United Nations affairs, as well as your prudence and knowledge. You represent Zambia, a friendly country to which we are linked by the closest ties. You also represent the continent of Africa, to which the Arab world is linked with one destiny and common interests. We are confident that success will be yours in your great task.

179. I am pleased also to commend your predecessor, Mr. Illueca, the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the affairs of that session and for the success he achieved.

180. The Secretary-General has shown understanding and wisdom in dealing with the thorny international issues which have been and still are present on the international political scene. He deserves all the appreciation and support of my delegation.

181. Whenever Kuwait sees a new State join the United Nations, its conviction of the importance of the Organization and its Charter in influencing international relations is reaffirmed. The delegation of Kuwait therefore congratulates Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the United Nations and hopes that its membership will provide new impetus for the role and the effectiveness of the Organization.

182. As the world Organization prepares to commemorate its fortieth anniversary, we think that this occasion offers an opportunity for all of us to make an objective and realistic evaluation of the extent of the success and the failure of the United Nations and to restate the goals and ideals cherished by its founders and enshrined in its Charter, particularly the noble goal that the United Nations should become the centre of harmony among its Members in their pursuit of common goals—the stabilization of peace, security and prosperity in the world.

183. In making this evaluation, we find ourselves face to face with the increasing awareness that the United Nations has not yet succeeded in becoming a centre of harmony and coexistence and that the gap has widened between the high principles of the Charter and the troubled *status quo*. When considering what is causing this, it is fair to say that the United Nations is but a stage on which we, the Member States, play our roles. Consequently, when the United Nations fails to implement the provisions of its Charter and execute its own resolutions, we have to look to ourselves for the answer. We, the Member States, have to harmonize our positions and our actions, and respect the provisions of the Charter without distortion or hesitation.

184. Against this discouraging picture of the realistic role of the United Nations, Kuwait sees that the time has come for us to take steps to avoid the deep abyss towards which we are headed and to realize sincerely that for us, the small nations in particular, the United Nations is the sole instrument capable of warding off the spectre of chaos and war in the world. We also think it is time for the Security Council members, especially the permanent members, to shoulder their responsibility for the establishment of peace and security in the world. This responsibility is primarily a collective one, since the Council members are answerable to the international community for the way in which they exercise their powers.

185. We also are of the opinion that emphasis and priority should be accorded to the Secretary-General's mission of preventive diplomacy so as to avert exacerbation of crises, contain conflicts and build bridges of understanding and trust among the parties concerned. Furthermore, we feel that the efforts of the Secretary-General to improve the efficiency of the work of the Organization itself through the introduction of carefully studied administrative reforms in the organizational structure and the optimum utilization of the available financial and human resources should be increased.

186. Our realistic evaluation of the role of the United Nations and our expectations thereof should not overshadow the constructive role played by the specialized agencies in the humanitarian, economic, cultural and technical programmes that they provide over a limitless geographical area, particularly in the developing countries.

187. The international situation is characterized by the gravity of dangers resulting from the threat or use of force under the cover of security, retaliation or preventive measures. Armament in all its forms is increasing at a time when hunger, disease, poverty and illiteracy are rampant all over the world. We also view with concern the quantitative and qualitative increase in terrorist operations, which destroy values and principles that have become established in international relations.

188. We realize that force, whatever its nature, cannot settle conflicts—in most cases it tends to inflame them or widen their scope—and that armament, however inflated and diversified, will never be a source of security or stability.

189. When we speak of the devastating impact of the use of force and violence in international relations we usually do so because we have been suffering painfully for over four years in the course of which our region has been afflicted with a war of destruction which has exhausted its human and economic

resources. That war has continued despite the intensive efforts—individual, regional and international—which started with the war itself and which aimed at stopping or checking the war. None, however, has been successful. On the contrary, our region has unfortunately witnessed an intensification of this sinister war, which has brought to the Arabian Gulf, long noted for being a region of security and stability and an artery of well-being and prosperity for the world economy, threats to its safety and tranquillity and has increased its exposure to an international rivalry over spheres of influence, at the expense of the interests and future of the peoples of the region.

190. The Gulf Co-operation Council had to appeal to the Security Council following Iran's threat to the freedom of navigation in the Gulf and attacks on Kuwaiti and Saudi ships, as well as those of other countries, outside the war zone. In so doing we were prompted by our belief in three basic principles: that there is the need to bolster the role of the world Organization in solving problems which threaten international security; that force, of whatever proportion, can never be a substitute for peace and coexistence among the peoples of a region and that problems, no matter how acute, can be solved through dialogue and consensus in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

191. The Security Council has adopted many resolutions calling for the cessation of war between the two countries and expressing its adherence to the basic principles that should govern international relations, including resolution 552 (1984), which, *inter alia*, reaffirms the right of free navigation in that important and vital waterway and calls upon Iran to refrain from any act that may impede freedom of navigation in the Gulf to and from the ports of countries not parties to the conflict.

192. But unfortunately and to our deep regret, Iran, scornful of the will of the international community made manifest during the Council's deliberations, has chosen to pursue its perilous course. It has continued to interfere with freedom of navigation in the Arabian Gulf. Once again we reiterate from this rostrum that the politico-economic importance of the Gulf area, as well as its strategic and security situation, makes it imperative that its waters, ports and shores be a symbol of stability and tranquillity, because if its stability is subjected to turbulence and chaos, its tranquillity to attacks, and its freedom of navigation to and from States not parties to the conflict to interference, the interests of the nations of the world will be seriously affected and, in particular, the movement and growth of the world economy will be dealt a big set-back.

193. In spite of these conditions, we are still hopeful that neighbouring Muslim Iran will appreciate the reality of these apprehensions and dispel them by adopting a courageous and prudent decision to put an end to this devastating war so that we, the peoples of that important region, will be able once again to live in harmony and concord, guided by the teachings of our divine Islamic religion, which advocates love, reconciliation, good-neighbourliness and the avoidance of hostility, hatred and war.

194. We reiterate our gratification at the acceptance by our fraternal country Iraq of the international efforts to reach a just and honourable conclusion to this war. We wish that the leaders of Iran would spare

the region further anguish and destruction, the extent of which is known only to Allah—glory be to Him—by responding positively to these sincere and unbiased initiatives, in which I had the honour of personally participating on behalf of the Gulf Co-operation Council. All peace-loving countries call upon the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to respond favourably to these initiatives so that peace may be restored to the Gulf.

195. The entire international community is also called upon to take serious and active action in this field. We do not ask anyone to take the side of one party against another. What is required is a clear stand against the continuation of war and on behalf of peace. We are convinced that there is no room today for indifference. If some Powers believe that the continuation of the war would be advantageous to them, we wish to advise them that those advantages would be short-lived and meagre, while the damage would be long-lasting and bitter. Kuwait feels that all mankind has a direct interest in seeing an end to this devastating war and the beginning of an era of reconstruction.

196. Kuwait unwaveringly believes that the basic function of all international and regional organizations and bodies should be to embody the identity of interests and the common destiny of their member countries, as well as to promote solidarity and co-ordination among them. We Arabs have realized that; hence the League of Arab States has been the first organization, in this politically historic era, to crystallize all the aims pursued by the international community. Since its establishment, the Gulf Co-operation Council, a subsidiary of the League of Arab States, has demonstrated to the world that it is a live and creative expression of that reality, since the Council now effectively participates in expediting the process of coherence and co-ordination among the peoples of the Arabian Gulf, to the extent that it has increased the significance of the role played by those countries in the fields of economic development, world security and political stability.

197. We adhere to the following basic principles: self-sufficiency, so as to maintain the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and vital interests of the States of the region; maintenance of regional security and stability by the States of the region, not by any outside party; and commitment to the policy of non-alignment based on rejection of the policy of alliances and polarization and of the great Powers' race for spheres of influence.

198. In November, Kuwait will have the honour of being host to the fifth summit meeting of the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council. That meeting will solidify the structure of the Council and strengthen its commitment to the principles espoused by the States of the region and reflected in the Council's charter, thus increasing the possibilities for stability, co-operation and development among the peoples of those countries.

199. Several conflicts impose a heavy burden on the international community and have a negative effect on international relations. Some occupy the attention of the international community for only a short time. But there is one problem that has for more than 35 years directly and perilously threatened world peace and security—namely, the tragedy of the people of Palestine, which is at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East.

200. This tragedy is a dangerous threat to the basic principles on which the United Nations is founded, since it involves a denial of the rights of the Palestinian people and Israel's use of force and pursuit of a policy of repression, aggression, expansion and encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Arab nation and the integrity of its soil. We therefore feel that the elimination of this policy and the establishment of international legitimacy are basic duties of the United Nations.

201. Hence, Kuwait supported the holding of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, at Geneva in 1983, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 36/120 C. We were pleased that many of the major parties to the conflict agreed to participate in the Conference, as an expression of their interest in having international legitimacy, represented by the United Nations, presiding over the solution of this thorny question. We were, on the other hand, disappointed by the continued refusal of Israel, the United States and some other Western countries to accept this international framework for action based on the spirit of justice and fairness. We cannot accept the reasons advanced by the Western countries to justify their refusal to participate in the Conference, because it has become the firm conviction of the international community that the PLO is the sole, authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, that any solution reached without the participation of the PLO, on an equal footing with the other parties, would be a mirage, and that to seek such a solution would be to go in a vicious circle.

202. Kuwait also welcomes the initiative of the Soviet Union, which has submitted proposals on a Middle East settlement [A/39/368], including the convening of an international conference in which all the parties, including the PLO, would participate on an equal footing.

203. We are still convinced that the basis for a just and comprehensive solution of the question of Palestine is total Israeli withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territory occupied since 1967, including Holy Jerusalem, and the safeguarding of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own State on its national soil.

204. No one should be surprised that Israel rejects any initiative, whether regional or international, for solving the Palestinian problem. Israel is a State whose method is aggression and whose philosophy is expansion. Therefore, it depends on violence and the imposition of one new *status quo* after another—from the annexation of Holy Jerusalem to the annexation of the Golan Heights, from the continuation of the process of Judaization of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of part of its territory.

205. Israel's criminal record has extended to include inhuman practices in southern Lebanon. The Security Council recently considered those practices which are causing the Lebanese people suffering. All the Security Council members agreed in calling upon Israel to cease forthwith those practices and to apply elementary principles of human rights—all but the United States, which surprised the international community by using its veto power to defeat that humanitarian draft resolution. It put forward pre-

texts that cannot stand scrutiny in the light of the justice of the cause and explanations that cannot justify prolonging the unjust situation experienced daily by southern Lebanon at the hands of the Israeli invaders and occupiers.

206. The Security Council had passed resolution 509 (1982), in which it demanded that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally from Lebanese territory to the internationally recognized boundaries. But Israel, relying on the complete support of the United States for its policies and practices, has ignored that resolution, like all other resolutions, and has continued in its arrogance at the expense of the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

207. Kuwait is concerned about the stabilization of conditions in Lebanon and the restoration to that country of a normal, healthy life, so that it may continue its advance towards civilization and give the world a living example of coexistence between various sects and doctrines. We therefore support all the Lebanese efforts aimed at enhancing the spirit of national unity and reconciliation and at renouncing everything that may divide the people of that country. We appeal to the international community to bring pressure to bear on Israel to desist immediately from rekindling the flames of discord and to withdraw to the internationally recognized boundaries.

208. The world today is experiencing a real tragedy because of the increase in hotbeds of tension, the disregard shown by the great Powers, which are influential internationally, of the desires of the peoples, and their persistence in using pretexts to interfere in the affairs of other countries in an effort to gain a foothold or to acquire an ally by force.

209. The people of Afghanistan has been suffering for four years under a puppet régime backed by Soviet forces. Tremendous international efforts have been made to alleviate the suffering of that peaceful Muslim people. While commending all those efforts, we think that all the parties concerned in the Afghan problem should refrain from interfering in the domestic affairs of that independent country, aid the Afghan refugees to return to their country and allow the people to determine its own destiny as it sees fit after the foreign forces have withdrawn from its territory.

210. The effects of the situation in Afghanistan are not limited to that country and its people. It also threatens peace and stability in the border areas of Pakistan, where there are more than 1 million Afghan refugees.

211. The situation in Karapuchea, whose people is deprived of its right to choose the kind of régime it desires, has not changed. The time has come for all foreign interference in Karapuchea to cease and for this friendly people to resume the exercise of its natural right to a decent and free life.

212. The Cyprus problem is also at a crossroads after the recent developments. Kuwait feels that Turkish and Greek Cypriots should have recourse to the basic principles of resolving conflicts through serious and constructive negotiations. We welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General. We believe that they constitute the right way to reach a just solution taking into account the legitimate rights of the two communities, while at the same time guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned character of Cyprus.

213. The region of Central America and the Caribbean Sea is one of considerable tension because of intervention by the great Powers, which unfortunately are concerned only with gaining a foothold there to enable them to achieve their objectives of polarization and spheres of influence. Kuwait supports all regional efforts initiated by the Contadora Group to arrive at a political solution based on respect for the basic options of each country in the region.

214. The United Nations has been entrusted with the historic task of world-wide decolonization. However, a black spot remains on the map because of South Africa's refusal, in spite of the international will, to respect the legitimate national rights of the Namibian people and because of its policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid*—that ugly blot on twentieth-century civilization.

215. The United Nations adopted, in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), a plan characterized by prudence, moderation and non-bias for ensuring the independence of Namibia. However, the great Powers have elected to involve the fate of the Namibian people, despite its bitter struggle, in the international equation and the policy of confrontation between East and West. The Namibian people and SWAPO, its sole, legitimate representative, have been condemned to pay the price of rivalry and conflict that are not their concern. Kuwait reiterates its support for the United Nations plan, which comprises the ideal framework for a settlement that has comprehensive international approval.

216. Kuwait also strongly condemns the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* practised by the racist régime of South Africa against the black majority, the legitimate inhabitants of that land. The latest manifestation of that policy is the imposition of a contrived "constitution" which consolidates white minority rule and denies the legitimate rights of the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population.

217. The world economic situation is no better than the tense international political situation. It is our conviction that this is a result of the continuing connection between politics and economics. Both the rapidity and the scope of the deterioration of the world economic situation have assumed tragic dimensions. The most outstanding issue in this connection is that of the developing countries' indebtedness, which constitutes one of the most dangerous problems of the age. That indebtedness totals over \$800 billion, and its annual servicing rate is \$150 billion. It is easy to imagine the negative repercussions of that situation on development efforts in the developing countries.

218. Kuwait believes that economic co-operation among developing countries is the corner-stone of their efforts to achieve the economic growth and prosperity necessary for the attainment of the goals of self-sufficiency and freedom from dependence on the industrialized countries and subjugation to the conditions they impose on the developing countries in order to perpetuate the present international economic order, with all the ills and deprivation this causes for the developing countries. We therefore support all well-thought-out, practical and reasonable measures to strengthen and consolidate co-operation among developing countries, for we believe that such co-operation is the first essential and the basic precondition that must be met if the developing coun-

tries are to strengthen their economic situation. There is no doubt that when we reduce our economic dependence on the industrialized countries we shall strengthen our negotiating position *vis-à-vis* them in the efforts to change the present international economic order.

219. Kuwait believes that to be useful and effective this economic co-operation among the developing countries should be based on principles and measures that will ensure mutual benefit and promote the common interests of the participating countries.

220. We continue to believe that the industrialized countries are the root cause of the economic problems of the third world. Therefore, the responsibility for providing or increasing the resources and assistance needed by the developing countries falls, in the first place, upon the shoulders of the industrialized countries. Nor can we relieve the industrialized countries of their financial responsibility towards the developing countries.

221. The developing countries should not take any measures or make any arrangements in the field of economic co-operation that could lead to lessening the responsibility of the industrialized countries. We believe that one way we can ensure that this does not happen is by emphasizing the need for the continuance of the North-South dialogue so as to achieve the establishment of a new international economic order.

222. In spite of the large reduction in its revenues owing to fluctuations in the world oil market, the production recession and the increase in its requirements, Kuwait will continue to do its best to honour its obligations with regard to aid to the developing countries.

223. Mankind is more in need today for an approach that will open up shining horizons for the achievement of its dreams. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations we are more hopeful of its ability to lead us to the shores of security so that together we can enjoy a state of well-being and peace, while adhering to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

224. Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): It is most gratifying to my delegation that the President of this session is a seasoned diplomat, with a long association with the United Nations, and an outstanding representative of Zambia, with which my country has always enjoyed fraternal and friendly relations. Our confidence in your abilities, Sir, has long been established by your leadership of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as President of which you have for so many years tirelessly dedicated yourself to the execution of its mandate. I take this opportunity to express to you the warm congratulations of my Government, as well as my own congratulations, on your unanimous election and to pledge my delegation's full co-operation in the discharge of your formidable task.

225. To your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, I wish to convey our deep appreciation for the exemplary manner in which he has guided the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session.

226. I am particularly privileged to extend a special welcome to Brunei Darussalam on its accession to membership in the United Nations. Our pleasure in seeing the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam, Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, in this Hall is all the greater since Brunei Darussalam, in January

this year, joined ASEAN as its sixth member State, an event that further deepened the bonds of friendship and cultural kinship that have traditionally linked our two peoples. The admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations underscores not only the universality of the Organization but also the continuing hope that mankind reposes in this unique forum for multilateral co-operation in the resolution of pressing global problems.

227. Once again we are here to address ourselves to the concerns of our time, to seek new avenues to strengthen global peace and security, to increase international co-operation and to chart a better future for the nations of the world. Our task, however, has been rendered infinitely more difficult by the awesome dangers and challenges that continue to cast a pall over our hopes and aspirations. The past year in particular was marked by great uncertainty and a deepening chill in great-Power relationships, further threatening the already fragile structure of international peace and security. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the context of the overriding fear of nuclear war, which today hangs like the sword of Damocles over all humanity.

228. Against this background, the persistence of conflict and tension in various regions has reinforced the negative trend towards power politics and so-called strategic alliances. The current tendency to resort to military solutions in pursuit of questionable interests has seriously eroded the principles of non-interference and non-intervention and has led to the imposition of *faits accomplis*. As a result, some States have been forced into spheres of influence and dependency relationships reminiscent of a bygone era.

229. The intensification of the arms race remains at the centre of our collective concern. A heightened sense of insecurity pervades the entire international community before the prospect of an irreversible spiral of escalation. We are today confronted by a virtual deadlock in all negotiating forums on disarmament and the suspension of crucial arms control negotiations already under way. Even the sanctity and integrity of existing agreements are now in danger of being undermined, and on the horizon looms the real threat of an uncontrollable arms race in outer space. At this critical time for the future of disarmament, we are duty-bound to respond with even greater determination and commitment to the pleas of mankind for a halt to this headlong rush towards self-extinction.

230. My delegation is convinced that a new, integrated approach, as distinct from the piecemeal disarmament efforts of the past, should be adopted, comprising both quantitative reductions and qualitative restrictions. The wider the range of weapons covered the greater would be the value of such an initiative. At the same time, while continuing to accord the highest priority to nuclear disarmament we should ensure that conventional disarmament measures, especially by the major Powers, are simultaneously pursued. In this context, we welcome the report of the Secretary-General containing the study on conventional disarmament [A/39/348] as a positive contribution. Conclusive progress can be gauged by linking reductions in military budgets to cuts in specific weapons systems and related activities in research and development. With a view to stemming the qualitative improvement and preventing the development of new types of weapons, the need for a

comprehensive treaty banning the testing of all types of nuclear weapons in all environments has become even more urgent.

231. The main responsibility for initiating this comprehensive approach rests with the nuclear Powers, which should agree as a first step on an immediate freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons. This should be followed by substantive arms reduction negotiations in the context of the Conference on Disarmament. Such a redirection would not constrain but rather strengthen bilateral and regional talks in the efforts to achieve the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. In this regard, we underline the Joint Declaration by Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania of 22 May 1984 [A/39/277], which stressed that while it is the primary responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, this problem is too important to be left solely to those States. World disarmament, peace and security are the responsibility of mankind as a whole.

232. Ever mindful of the nuclear threat that confronts our strategically significant region, my Government has long advocated the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia as part of our regional approach to security and disarmament. In this regard, I am pleased to inform the Assembly that the annual meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers held at Jakarta last July endorsed this initiative as an essential component in the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region. The ASEAN Working Group created to promote the zone is undertaking a study to identify various aspects and modalities for the realization of the nuclear-weapon-free-zone concept.

233. Indonesia, as an archipelagic State situated at the crossroads of two oceans and of important international waterways, is also deeply disturbed by the increasing naval buildup and the rapid development of new naval arms systems. In past years these aspects have not been conspicuous on the international agenda of arms control and disarmament. Yet, the steady expansion and modernization of the navies of the two super-Powers in particular, the technological advances and the increased sophistication of naval-based weapon systems are adding a new and potentially destabilizing dimension to the overall arms race. My delegation therefore welcomed the decision of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session [*resolution 38/188 G*] to carry out a comprehensive study on all aspects of the naval arms race with a view to analysing their possible ramifications and, more important, facilitating the identification of areas for disarmament and confidence-building measures. Indonesia is actively participating in the Group of Governmental Experts constituted for this purpose.

234. Also in this context, my delegation has long worked with like-minded States for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. However, despite the many years of concerted effort, we have witnessed an unprecedented buildup of foreign forces in the Indian Ocean proper and in its vicinity. Thus, the Indian Ocean is moving inexorably in the direction of unbridled strategic competition, constituting an imminent threat to the security interests of the littoral and hinterland States. This dangerous slide

must be arrested through the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean called for by the General Assembly. I appeal to the great Powers and the major maritime users to review their positions and allow the Conference to take place in the near future, thereby initiating negotiations to promote a relaxation of tension and to bring durable peace and security to the region.

235. We may count ourselves fortunate that the world has thus far been spared the horrors of nuclear war. However, there can be no satisfaction whatsoever in seeing the many unresolved conflicts employing conventional arms which continue to rage in many regions of the world.

236. From the beginning of the Kampuchean conflict, member States of ASEAN have adopted a position based upon internationally recognized principles. Likewise, our actions have clearly demonstrated a genuine desire to contribute to a peaceful solution of the problem through comprehensive negotiations taking into account the legitimate interests of all the parties. In this regard, I should like to recall the various concrete proposals advanced by ASEAN in its appeal for Kampuchean independence of 21 September 1983.¹¹ These include, in particular, the offer of a series of initial steps, such as partial withdrawal of foreign forces on a territorial basis and within a specific time frame, a cease-fire and the introduction of peace-keeping forces.

237. In its efforts to bring about the adoption of this approach, ASEAN has demonstrated its flexibility and rationality. For, although ASEAN remains fully committed to elements contained in the Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in July 1981,¹² we are none the less open with regard to the modalities for arriving at a political solution. Nor has it ever been ASEAN's demand that the proposals contained in its September 1983 appeal be taken as the only basis for a solution, as has been alleged. Regrettably, this reasonable approach continues to be spurned. We believe that there is no point in calling for a dialogue which evades the core aspects of the Kampuchean problem and submits it to unrealistic demands amounting to pre-conditions.

238. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean soil and the establishment of a Kampuchean Government of the people's own choosing should continue to form the basis for a solution. Without it, the nationalist forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the inspired leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, will have no choice but to continue their legitimate struggle against foreign intervention and occupation. We further believe that national reconciliation of all Kampuchean factions is essential for the restoration of independence and the maintenance of the national unity of Kampuchea. It was in this light that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Joint Statement on the Kampuchean Problem, issued at Jakarta on 9 July 1984 [*see A/39/352*], called upon Viet Nam to support such national reconciliation. We hope that Viet Nam will respond positively and sincerely to ASEAN's appeal to seek a comprehensive political settlement to a problem which, apart from the principles involved, is basically a conflict between the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam. The alternative would be the persistence of foreign intervention, instability and turmoil in South-East Asia.

239. In South-West Asia, the continued presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan has caused great tension and anxiety in the region and beyond. In the interest of restoring regional confidence and stability, Afghanistan must be allowed to resume its historical non-aligned role.

240. In the Middle East, Israeli aggression and expansionism has constituted the most formidable obstacle to peace in the region. Hence, various attempts at partial solutions have been manipulated by Israel as a convenient cover for the consolidation of its entrenchment in the occupied territories. Most important, they have proved inadequate and failed to address the question of the fundamental rights and legitimate aspirations of the Arab people.

241. This bitter reality continues to stir the cauldron of enmity in the Middle East, and the region continues to be a focus of East-West confrontation. My Government therefore welcomed the decision of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983—and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/58C—that an international peace conference on the Middle East should be convened. Only through such a forum, with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, can a comprehensive, just and durable peace be achieved.

242. In preparing for the conference it is crucial that clear and agreed terms of reference be established on the basis of the core issues of the conflict: that is, the legitimate right of self-determination and sovereign nationhood for the Palestinian people; Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; and the need of the States in the region to live in peace, within internationally recognized boundaries. It is our fervent hope that the negotiations at the conference on these terms of reference will lead to the implementation of a just and comprehensive settlement.

Mr. Choudhury (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

243. Given the complexity of the issues involved, it is critical that the major Powers demonstrate their concurrence and support by actively and constructively participating in the preparations for the peace conference.

244. A full two years after the brutal Israeli invasion, the Lebanese people have found no respite in their suffering under occupation. The past year has even recorded an increased incidence of repressive measures and arbitrary violence.

245. It is unfortunate that the most recent efforts by the Security Council to redress the desperate situation of the civilians in occupied Lebanon were thwarted by a single negative vote, especially in the light of the Council's unanimous call in 1982 for the total withdrawal of all Israeli forces.

246. Israel's stranglehold on southern Lebanon has tightened to the point of threatening the country's economic viability, by isolating southern Lebanon from the rest of the country.

247. The arduous task undertaken by the people of Lebanon of restoring their unity through national reconciliation and bringing a sense of normalcy through national reconstruction is being seriously challenged by these Israeli actions. Indonesia therefore fully supports Lebanon's demand for the imme-

diately, unconditional and complete withdrawal of all Israeli occupation forces.

248. In the same region, we continue to be seriously concerned that the conflict between two brotherly nations, Iran and Iraq, has not abated, after four years of incalculable bloodshed. The continuing hostilities now threaten the Gulf and may well lead to the involvement of extraregional Powers. Despite these negative trends, we are heartened by the Secretary-General's success in achieving an agreement for the cessation of military attacks against civilian population centres. We trust that this agreement will endure and eventually bring about the cessation of hostilities on a wider scale, paving the way towards an honourable and just peace.

249. Just a month ago we were confronted with yet another scheme by the Pretoria régime for further entrenching its *apartheid* policy through a so-called constitutional change. However, the people boycotted the sham elections and courageously confronted the military might of the racist régime to manifest before the world their solidarity and determination to oppose the constitutional fraud.

250. The United Nations has categorically condemned *apartheid* as contrary to the Charter and a crime against humanity. It is the moral duty of all Member States, particularly those that have continued to lend credence and support to Pretoria, to take resolute steps to secure the objective of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa.

251. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Indonesia has grave misgivings that, as time passes with no real progress towards Namibian independence, the United Nations plan for Namibia is moving ever closer to becoming a dead letter. As the plan continues to languish, the Pretoria régime has become even more emboldened in its reliance on pretext after pretext and manoeuvre after manoeuvre to impose its own illegal internal solution on the Territory. Despite the many broken promises by the colonial régime, the valiant Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, have demonstrated their determination to achieve the total and genuine liberation of Namibia.

252. South Africa must not be allowed to pursue its tactics of further undermining the terms of the plan, particularly in the light of the Security Council decision [*resolution 539 (1983)*] unequivocally reaffirming that it is utterly unacceptable to link the United Nations plan to extraneous and irrelevant issues, for they can only have a disastrous impact not only on Namibia itself but also on the States in the region of southern Africa as a whole. Namibia remains the only colonial Territory for which the United Nations has assumed total responsibility, and we, the Members, have a solemn obligation to the Namibian people to fulfil our common commitment to achieve the genuine decolonization and independence of Namibia.

253. A full two years have passed since the armed confrontation over the Malvinas Islands. We note with appreciation the initiative of the Swiss Government in July last to facilitate direct contact between the two parties. We hope that negotiations will be renewed to resolve this festering problem in the context of the geo-political realities and the long-term interests of the two countries.

254. In facing the specific manifestations of the challenges and problems in Central America, my

delegation believes that only through the mechanism of negotiations and dialogue can the misunderstandings and misperceptions that have led to tension and conflicts in the past be removed. Indonesia therefore continues to support the initiative of the Contadora Group, which offers the most comprehensive and balanced approach, taking into account the unique political, economic and social conditions prevailing in the region. My delegation lauds the dedication of the Group's member States to achieving solutions, particularly the current efforts to arrive at a consensus on the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562]. We are hopeful that this Act will become a basis for peace, stability and good-neighbourliness throughout the region.

255. The quests for peace, security, disarmament and development are inextricably linked. Malaise, fear and uncertainty are not the exclusive features of the political arena. They also pervade the domain of international economics and, as in politics, they can be effectively overcome only through close international co-operation. To act otherwise is to court disaster.

256. Ten years have now passed since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 3201 (S-VI), calling for the establishment of a new international economic order, which gave us hope for a new era of multilateral development co-operation. Four years have elapsed since the General Assembly launched the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex]. Regrettably, both initiatives are now apparently sidelined in favour of unilateral expedience and opportunism. Their failure stands as an indictment of our times. Instead of an increase in international co-operation, we see multilateralism on the retreat, development co-operation on the defensive and the gap of economic disparity and inequality continuing to widen. This anomalous situation is the major challenge facing our collective wisdom and resolve at this Assembly session.

257. The state of the world economy also reflects this dilemma. The headlines in the media of the developed countries have generally characterized the world economy as one well embarked on a course towards recovery. In consequence, the developing countries are urged to wait patiently for the transmission of the recovery's benefits down to them. But there is another world and another perspective. For three quarters of mankind the realities stand in stark contrast to this optimistic scenario. The economic upswing has, for the most part, continued to elude them. Stagnation and retrenchment are in general their common plight. High interest rates, protectionism, sharp declines in commodity prices, unemployment, debt crises and liquidity problems compose much of the injurious mosaic of difficulties that currently afflict their economies.

258. In the field of international trade, it is a cruel paradox that the developed countries counsel developing countries on the benefits of increased participation in global trade while at the same time erecting more restrictive barriers to their products. The communiqués of the economic summits held at Williamsburg in May 1983 and in London last June [see A/39/304] notwithstanding, protectionism continues to exact a heavy toll. Compounding this dilemma, the sharp decline in commodity prices and a corresponding decline in access to development financing have forced the developing countries to

effect severe contractions in their development programmes. Prolonged high interest rates too have seriously aggravated their liquidity problems and, if those rates are not markedly reduced in the near future, the tentative recovery could very well be aborted and the current difficulties of the developing countries rendered more intractable.

259. A brief word on the region of Asia, to which my country belongs. It is true that many of the countries in this region have, against tremendous odds, managed to retain their economic resilience throughout the depths of the recession and are again posting satisfactory growth rates. But that overall assessment masks many externally induced problems. Some 900 million people in Asia are still living tenuously under the poverty line. Problems of population and massive unemployment still pose grave challenges to any development scheme, however well-conceived. The magnitude and thus the gravity of these problems cannot be discounted. Any downturn in the world economy therefore could have incalculable costs in human terms for this region.

260. For those reasons and more, Indonesia strongly believes that the developing countries cannot stand and wait for a dubious trickling down of an uncertain recovery. Hence, recovery and the reactivation of development should be jointly stimulated. Concerted and collective action by each and all members of the international community, and particularly by the economically powerful, are indispensable if a sustained, global economic recovery is to be achieved.

261. In this era of interdependence no country can develop in isolation, and indeed the developed countries are also dependent on the economic health of the developing countries for their own prosperity. However, one important lesson that we can draw from the past several years of extremely difficult times is perhaps the fact of a persistent asymmetrical interdependence in international economic relations. Therefore, the aim should be genuine economic interdependence in which the developing countries are active and equal partners and their economies not merely by-products of the economic advances of the North.

262. On the issue of institutional and structural change in the world economy, the outlook remains deeply disappointing. Procedural hurdles continue to block the launching of the global negotiations and their resolution seems more remote than ever. There is no denying, however, that global problems necessitate global solutions. Indonesia therefore remains strongly convinced that unless the issues of trade, money, finance and development can be treated in their inseparable interconnection, the results can only be, at best, provisional. Some issues need to be dealt with on an individual basis through an immediate-measures policy. This we realize. None the less, we should never lose sight of the imperative need for an integrated global approach.

263. In the North-South context, two important international conferences took place this year. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August, addressed population problems that have emerged since the World Population Conference held at Bucharest 10 years ago. Indonesia, as the fifth most populous nation on earth, is acutely aware of the complexity of the population issue and of its vital interrelationships with resources, food, the environment and develop-

ment. In our national development strategy, therefore, we believe a two-pronged approach is essential. First, a population-centred development policy is necessary in which decisions are designed to encompass all aspects of the population problem; and, secondly, development-oriented population policies should be formulated to stimulate and promote development. It is important that we do not allow the momentum generated at Mexico City to dissipate. The recommendations for the further implementation of the World Population Plan of Action¹³ and the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development,¹³ adopted by the Conference, should be vigorously implemented both for our mutual benefit and in trust for the generations to come.

264. The outcome of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, fell far short of our expectations. The preamble to the Conference's conclusions and recommendations,¹⁴ describing the world economic situation and its influence on the industrialization process in the developing countries, failed to achieve consensus. Likewise, two extremely important, indeed outstanding, issues—namely, the mobilization of financial resources for industrial development and world industrial restructuring and redeployment—embodied in two draft resolutions,¹⁵ met with a similar fate. These two issues will be taken up at this session of the General Assembly. Indonesia still strongly believes that the goals and targets set out in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation¹⁶ and the New Delhi Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrialization of Developing Countries and International Co-operation for their Industrial Development¹⁷ are of critical importance for the accelerated development of the developing countries.

265. As a country actively engaged in national development, Indonesia attaches the utmost importance to the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. Consequently, we voice our deep concern over the crucial lack of political will demonstrated at the meetings of the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*see A/39/48 and Corr.1 and 2*]. To our regret, despite the unanimous recognition of both the dismal performance in the implementation of the International Development Strategy to date and its dire consequences for the economies of the developing countries, those States that could play a leading role in resolving the situation seem to be at best indifferent. However, we continue to believe in the validity and authenticity of the goals, objectives and general orientation of the Strategy. In its further implementation, the political determination of the international community is pivotal.

266. Another issue which deserves the urgent response of the international community is the critically depressed economic situation in Africa caused by the prolonged drought, rapidly expanding desertification and the severe global recession. We are deeply disappointed that the second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, held at Geneva from 4 to 27 July 1984, failed to reach consensus on the desperate plight faced by millions of people in the affected countries. This session of the General As-

sembly should reach agreement on measures to enable the international community to overcome this crisis of catastrophic proportions.

267. While uncertainty and intransigence reign in the world economy and in the North-South negotiations, South-South collective self-reliance has acquired even greater urgency and significance. Economic co-operation and technical co-operation among developing countries are essential instruments for promoting the rational and efficient use of resources available in developing countries for their autonomous development. The meeting at Cartagena in June this year on South-South co-operation once again demonstrates the strong determination of the developing countries to implement the Caracas Programme of Action, adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas in May 1981.¹⁸

268. Let me now touch briefly on some social issues of deep concern to my country. The year 1985 will mark the end of the United Nations Decade for Women. Considerable progress has already been achieved in enhancing the role and responsibilities of women in society in general. But other and more formidable challenges embodied in the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women¹⁹ still lie ahead. We trust that these challenges will be effectively addressed at the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, to be held in 1985 at Nairobi.

269. One of the most important and concrete achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women was the adoption by the General Assembly in 1979 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*resolution 34/180, annex*]. The Indonesian Government has ratified this Convention not only because its tenets are in full accord with the rights already guaranteed to women by our Constitution but also because it will reinforce the effectiveness of those rights universally.

270. On the problem of refugees, the considerable response of the international community was once again demonstrated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984. As in Asia, while pertinent assistance has been forthcoming, the continued support of the international community is paramount.

271. Another area of deep concern to Indonesia is that of children—a most vulnerable sector—in which millions of lives have been threatened by the global economic downturn. UNICEF's child survival and development strategy stands as a beacon of hope for further reducing mortality among infants and young children. The recent supportive public statements from world leaders, including the Secretary-General, are important factors in creating a climate conducive to making substantial progress in child health throughout the world. The opportunity to accelerate child survival and development should not be allowed to pass, even in these difficult times. Indonesia, in co-operation with UNICEF, has achieved important breakthroughs. Consequently, infant mortality rates have been significantly reduced in Indonesia.

272. Last January my Government had the honour to host at Jakarta, the Conference of the Ministers of

Information of Non-Aligned Countries, which underscored the importance that Indonesia and all non-aligned countries attach to the often repeated goal of a new international information and communication order. Indeed, the non-aligned countries pioneered the initiative of the new order, as we have long been the victims of the unbalanced flow of information and communication. With regard to the United Nations, the Declaration of the Jakarta Conference [see A/39/139] pledged the full co-operation of the non-aligned countries with efforts by the United Nations to provide technical assistance to the developing countries, study the relevant policies and activities of the United Nations and promote the rapid development of the new order. Indonesia remains convinced that the spirit of co-operation and the will to reach consensus, which have gradually increased over the past years, will hasten the advent of the new international information and communication order.

273. As we approach the half-way mark of the decade of the 1980s, mankind's vision of an international order of greater security and stability, of larger prosperity and justice, appears as distant as ever.

274. Heightened major-Power contention has exacerbated the unresolved flash-points of conflict and violence in many regions of the world. The prolonged world economic crisis with its particularly adverse effects on the developing countries and the growing threat of an ever-escalating arms race continue to paralyse the collective capacity of nations to develop the necessary consensus on concepts and policies to meet the exigencies of our present predicament. Yet, when the need for a concerted approach in dealing with our global problems is most urgently felt, we instead witness an astonishing retreat from multilateralism and a wilful weakening of the mechanisms and structures for international dialogue and co-operation. What is more, the United Nations, the universal embodiment of the concept of multilateralism, is increasingly being bypassed or ignored.

275. My delegation fully agrees with the Secretary-General that, at this critical juncture in the life of the Organization, the overriding need is for all Member States to rededicate themselves to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations by making them the basis of their day-to-day relations between Governments and between peoples.

276. The impending fortieth anniversary of the Organization provides us with a timely opportunity to renew our faith in the United Nations system as the unique and indispensable forum for harmonizing the interests and actions of nations in the realization of mankind's hopes for peace and equitable development for all. Beyond this act of rededication, however, there is also an undeniable need to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its functions as outlined in the Charter and to enhance the validity and utility of its organs. Only if all Member States join in this effort, through actions rather than words, through concrete proposals for reform rather than rhetoric, can we ensure that the Organization will again resume the role for which it was created: a central and solid framework for a new and revitalized world order. Thus its fortieth anniversary commemoration may yet become a true celebration.

277. Mr. del VALLE ALLIENDE (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, it gives me great pleasure to

congratulate you on your election as Vice-President of the General Assembly. Please convey to Mr. Lusaka our congratulations on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly. We wish him every success.

278. I also wish to express our gratitude to the President of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of the Republic of Panama, for the outstanding way in which he guided the debates of that session.

279. I also wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts and dedication in meeting the responsibilities of his important position.

280. On behalf of the Government and people of Chile, I cordially welcome Brunei Darussalam, a new Member State which recently joined the United Nations.

281. Thirty-nine years have passed since the San Francisco Conference and four decades since our representatives met at Bretton Woods. We note with sorrow that the great expectations which were born then are not reflected in today's world.

282. The crisis in multilateralism is evident in all the fields of action of the international system.

283. States entrust their security to the creation of steadily growing arsenals, together with their will to use them unilaterally instead of relying on the rule of law, which is suffering an alarming decline.

284. The institutions which emerged from Bretton Woods have been displaced by events and, in the most serious economic crisis to affect the world economy since 1930, unilateral decisions, of which protectionism is the most accentuated expression, are once again taking the place of co-operation and joint action.

285. The concepts of integration have vanished. International order appears to be in a precarious situation. A joint destiny appears not to exist for us. Peace has not established its authority in the world. We are moving towards the year 2000 in the midst of dangerous tendencies which point to chaos and anarchy in the international system, which we must avoid.

286. The long and distressing war between Iran and Iraq, the guilty silence in the face of the tragedy of the Afghan people, the justified desperation of the Palestinian people, the dangerous and unstable situation in the Middle East, and the economic crisis affecting the international community are only some of the manifestations of the deterioration of coexistence that we are witnessing today.

287. Compounding this state of affairs, which is serious enough in itself, is the incapacity of the United Nations to act and create a climate of minimum consensus suggesting some real and just solutions. All of us are responsible for this situation, some for excessive politicization in our debates and others for believing that, to resolve it, a solution must be sought outside the institutions we created precisely to deal with the type of difficulties we face today. Instead of seeking a solution to these mistaken tendencies, new steps are taken, actions which disregard all the accumulated experience of the existing organizations. These new measures prove to be failures within a short time since the root of the problem is the lack of political will to apply them.

288. A dangerous feeling of disenchantment with the United Nations and discouragement because of the impotence of international organizations invade our peoples. They see no signs of definitive contributions to ensuring peace.

289. We must recognize the fact that there is a reason for this feeling of discouragement. Through our speeches, through our agreements and resolutions, we have been creating an imaginary world of solutions which have nothing to do with the torrent of actions which reality precipitates around us.

290. Peace is spoken of, but there is no action to bring it about; the law is mentioned as the basis for our coexistence, but it is not upheld in action; the principle of non-intervention is proclaimed, but in practice there is outright intervention; we mention the word progress, but we do not create international conditions conducive to attaining that goal; we emphasize international co-operation in words while we observe clear demonstrations of the fact that it is entering a twilight period.

291. In this general debate we have the obligation to reflect on this failure and to ask ourselves some questions. Are the principles of the Charter of the United Nations no longer applicable? Can we obtain peace without universal respect for them?

292. My Government is convinced that the problem lies not in the field of principles but in the political incapacity to give them meaning and in the poor use made of the possibilities which the United Nations system offers. The problem is the lack of political will and appropriate conduct to implement the possibilities offered us by the Charter.

293. I mentioned earlier that the deterioration of international co-operation was a symptom of the current situation, a grave process in the face of the accentuated turbulence observed in the world economy.

294. The 1980-1983 recession has been the most protracted and perhaps the most profound of the last 50 years. Trade and international finance have undergone tremendous pressures. Signs of recovery are now being noted in the economies of the industrial nations. However, the lack of international co-operation not merely hinders the extension of this recovery to the developing nations, but contributes to the persistence of the crisis among them with serious implications for their social and political stability.

295. This situation has particularly affected Latin America. The crisis in our region is to be seen in the contraction of productive capacity, in the deterioration of the terms of trade, in the enormous increase in unemployment, in the squandering of the region's economic potential, in the inflationary tendencies which have spread in some countries and in the net decline in the inflow of capital.

296. Nevertheless, the symptom and the cause which contributed to provoking the crisis are embodied in the overwhelming foreign debt affecting the greater part of the region.

297. The Latin American countries have made an enormous readjustment effort to overcome the crisis. They have assumed, at great sacrifice to their peoples, their responsibility to initiate a process of economic recovery. But external factors predominate in the crisis, imposing impossible constraints on their efforts to overcome the economic situation in which they find themselves. We are limited by factors that are beyond our control.

298. The high interest rates and the stiffening of the financial terms for credit have produced a substantial change in the nature of the debt previously contracted, resulting in a decapitalization process in Latin America which threatens our development and progress.

299. In order for Latin America to continue to honour its commitments it must, through international co-operation, find solutions that respect the interests of all and prevent the responsibility for solving the crisis from falling back solely upon the peoples of Latin America. In this regard, international trade represents an irreplaceable element. The reiterated manifestations of protectionism which have occurred in the industrial nations constitute a grave threat which not only conspires against the recovery of the international economy but also adversely affects harmony among peoples.

300. There is little room for optimism in view of these realities. The signs we perceive in the world panorama are rather pessimistic. However, we want to overcome this state of affairs. We trust that rationality will finally prevail for the good for all.

301. In addition, we believe that to surmount the present difficulties we must act with objectivity and draw inspiration from the great principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations, as noted by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1].

302. In this hour of international uncertainty, my Government reiterates its unreserved support for these fundamental principles and calls upon all to join in defining the routes which could bring us closer to a renewed role for multilateral diplomacy and for the United Nations. In this regard, I wish to express my country's support for some measures which I consider are inspired by the principles contained in the Charter, such as the continuing activities of the Secretary-General on behalf of peace and, more particularly, his action with regard to the conflicts affecting the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Cyprus, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. These are activities which my country considers of outstanding importance and which it supports.

303. In this connection, my country wishes to refer to some aspects of the international panorama which cause concern to the international community and are of particular concern to Chile.

304. As an active and long-standing member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we see with some uneasiness the perpetuation a situation which the entire international community, without exception, has condemned. Again we associate ourselves with those who call for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

305. In the Middle East, it is essential to promote realistic initiatives for peace. In order to create an atmosphere conducive to a resolution of the problem, it is necessary to take a realistic and moderate approach, discarding heightened rhetoric. Chile maintains that it is essential to recognize the right of all States in the region to exist within secure and recognized borders; it is essential to make the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination effective, including the right to establish a State, and, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967), it is essential to ensure that Israel withdraw from the occupied territories.

306. The conflict afflicting the Middle East is of special concern and grief to my country. The friendly relations existing between my Government and the States of that region are not the only link that keeps us close. We are also bound, with a special feeling of affection, to the numerous children of the Jewish and Arab peoples who, having established themselves in my country, have come to form part of Chilean society and have enriched it with their culture, traditions and enthusiastic contribution to the nation's development.

307. The cases of Afghanistan and Kampuchea constitute painful examples of the arbitrary use of force and failure to recognize the political independence of those two nations. We join in the international community's condemnation of the violation of the essential rights of those peoples and the resulting mockery of express provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The violations are all the more serious in that attempts are being made to transform them into *faits accomplis* and irreversible situations.

308. Those of us who firmly believe in the freedom of man, in respect for the sovereignty of nations and in independence, equality and the self-determination of peoples have the duty to denounce the persistent violation of those rights with a firmness arising from a conviction of their inherent validity and to condemn the flagrant aggression to which those peoples have been subjected. We must unite our efforts to prevent an unacceptable increase of these imperialistic actions. Chile reiterates once again its unlimited support for those nations in their effort to establish full sovereignty and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the occupation forces.

309. Central America is another region where the principle of non-intervention is openly breached. We are witnesses to a drama which feels to us as if it were our own, since it involves sister nations with which Chile is proud to have had a long tradition of friendship. We deplore the fact that that noble principle of the Charter is ignored by those who support actions and ideologies which an extra-continental Power is seeking to introduce into our hemisphere against the wishes of the inhabitants. For that reason we have expressed our determined support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, an initiative which we are certain will find the formula for preserving the values of peace, freedom and human dignity for the region.

310. The peaceful settlement of disputes is another basic principle. Justice and law are the only means available to the international community for adopting just, equitable and honourable solutions for the parties involved when international conflicts arise. It is in that sense that we look forward to the success of the negotiating effort entrusted to the Secretary-General in regard to the South Atlantic conflict between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom.

311. Also in connection with our concern for peace, we wish to create with our neighbour and sister republic, Argentina, all the conditions that will permit us to live in peace, while developing and expanding our respective potentials. Impelled by Chile's traditional devotion to law and justice, we had recourse to the mediation of Pope John Paul II to obtain a final solution to our southern dispute. With the aid of the Holy Father, we have made important progress towards the happy termination of those differences. I am confident that the historical

imperative of peace, something never refuted by the facts, will once again prevail among us. The people and the Governments of Chile and Argentina share this sentiment of brotherhood very profoundly. At the current concluding stage of papal mediation, it is now for us to develop and safeguard this general pacifist conviction, which is so deeply rooted on both sides of the Andes and which is the fruit of a glorious shared history. Two neighbouring nations, possessing one of the longest frontiers in the world, have not had a war in 170 years. Is this not a living example of the fact that peace is a matter of political will and historical responsibility?

312. If we wish the actions of the United Nations to be of assistance in strengthening universal peace, we must concern ourselves with guaranteeing within the Organization the full applicability of the principle of universality. Therefore, in conformity with the Charter, we believe that all countries that wish to participate in the General Assembly should be able to do so. We hope that in the near future both Koreas will be present in this Hall as full Members. We also champion a dialogue between those nations, free from foreign intervention, that will permit resolution of the difficult situation in the Korean peninsula, thus contributing to peace in the region.

313. Chile, an Antarctic country, exercises sovereignty over part of that territory by virtue of legal and historical titles, geographical proximity and the long-standing presence and activities of its people. We view with special concern diverse measures tending to weaken the Antarctic Treaty.²⁰ This instrument has proved in the course of its implementation to be one of the most effective multilateral agreements ever reached. The Treaty and the system it generated have made possible the maintenance of that continent as the only one that is free of nuclear arms and where peace, ecological purity and scientific co-operation among different countries can prevail.

314. Initiatives which could lead to the dismantling of the Antarctic system would constitute a disastrous precedent for the United Nations, one which would open the doors to penetration of the region by ideological, political, economic and military disputes which now cast so many shadows over the future of mankind. My Government is convinced that the Antarctic Treaty itself and its complementary conventions possess sufficient amplitude, flexibility and openness to allow for adequate improvement of its performance.

315. Everything relating to nuclear weapons and tests is of serious concern to my country. We belong to a region which has lived free from the scourge of atomic weapons and the danger of nuclear stockpiles. We wish to maintain this situation, which is in keeping with our peaceful objectives and which serves to obviate the need for tests of that kind. For that reason we reiterate here the declarations we made in February and March of 1984, together with Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, member countries with Chile of the South Pacific Permanent Commission.

316. Turning to other matters, my country attaches equally outstanding importance to the treatment of terrorism, a scourge of this era, which gravely endangers the lives and security of individuals, reaping a growing toll of innocent victims, flagrantly violating the most fundamental human rights and threatening the internal peace of States. It is the inescapable duty of the Members of the United

Nations to lend their firmest support to all internationally agreed measures which seek effectively to counteract this despicable and criminal method of warfare and to prevent the propagation or facilitation, from within their own borders, of terrorist activities in other regions. Those who commit or support the commission of such criminal acts deserve exemplary punishment. We believe that international condemnation of terrorism must be absolute and punishment universal. Equivocal positions support and stimulate violence. Terrorism is terrorism; there is no distinction and there are no extenuating circumstances. It is a criminal and mad device that makes use of the lowest instincts of man.

317. In this regard I cannot fail to mention the despicable crime against humanity committed at the United States Embassy in Beirut.

318. We reiterate that each country has the sovereign right to enact the legislation it deems most suitable for protecting its people against this threat. At the same time, we maintain that the community of States has the right and the duty to promulgate international norms to facilitate the eradication of this scourge and the punishment of the guilty.

319. Having reviewed the principles which inspire and shape Chile's activities in the international field as well as the problems of the world community and of our region which are of particular concern to us, I should like to say a few words about the constitutional situation in my country.

320. The Chilean Government is committed to a clear and definitive process of democratic consolidation. The different steps to be taken are provided for in the existing political Constitution, which was approved by a great majority of the Chilean people and came into effect on 11 March 1981. Our goal could be no other, because devotion to the rule of law and to democracy constitute an essential ingredient in the character of Chile and the Chilean tradition. That democratic system of government, which we must endeavour to improve and strengthen in the light of the needs and threats of the modern world, is firmly rooted in the soul of all Chileans—our armed forces, our workers and intellectuals, and the young people who will constitute the nation of tomorrow.

321. We are constantly receiving messages expressing anxiety for Chile to accelerate its process of institutional evolution. Those who offer us such counsel forget that Chilean democracy, a model in America, was destroyed by totalitarian forces which took advantage of precisely those characteristics which are today debilitating the Western world. Experience has demonstrated to us how defenceless democracy can be if those who do not believe in it and are prepared to undermine it by their every action are permitted to operate freely from within.

322. We do not want this to occur again. That is why we are taking a gradual, firm and sure path in a process which we consider the most suitable for the consolidation of a democracy properly protected from those disruptive agents which acted in the past. We do not wish to repeat the experiences of other countries which in their haste failed to ensure solid foundations for the system they desired and ended up with an ephemeral dream. That is not the fate we wish for our country. The Chilean approach has been determined by the Chilean people and therefore constitutes the only prerequisite which the Govern-

ment has to fulfil in order to attain solid and permanent results.

323. Clear manifestations of our progress are the press freedom that exists in the country, the organization of labour and its active participation in national affairs and the forthcoming promulgation of political laws which will consolidate this process.

324. On behalf of the Government and people of Chile, I ask this world Assembly for the respect merited by the process which our people, pursuant to their sovereign right, freely chose to adopt in order to establish a renewed, modern democracy, a democracy which is not an empty word but a real element in the preservation of our national identity, thus contributing to international peace and security.

325. Mr. POOS (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first to congratulate Mr. Paul Lusaka most warmly on his election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His profound knowledge of the workings of this world Organization will, I am sure, exercise a favourable influence on our debates and improve their effectiveness. The presence at the head of this Assembly of an eminent African personality will serve to focus our attention on the critical economic situation facing many countries of Africa following the droughts and other natural disasters which have afflicted the continent over the last few years, and will also underline the urgent need for the international community to provide assistance based on strength and solidarity.

326. It is a pleasure for me to reaffirm once again our confidence in the Secretary-General, whose discreet and persevering efforts to bring about reconciliation at the international level deserve admiration, recognition and gratitude. At a time when the satisfactory settlement of conflicts and critical situations is encountering growing difficulties in the international forums created especially to resolve them, the initiatives of the Secretary-General when it is a question of bringing parties closer together and creating a climate of understanding between them assume major importance. This action inevitably and necessarily rules out the publicity which accompanies public debate. Thus I feel it is essential to encourage the Secretary-General to continue unswervingly along the path he has followed since he has been at the head of this Organization. I should like to congratulate him on the commitment he has obtained from Iraq and Iran to cease attacks on purely civilian targets, a commitment which is apparently being respected. I hope that the new efforts which the Secretary-General has undertaken this summer to solve the problem of Cyprus will soon bear fruit, and I make an urgent appeal to the two communities of the island to co-operate faithfully with him.

327. I should like to address a warm welcome to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam, which has just joined the United Nations.

328. The balance sheet of the international situation, which we review here each year at the beginning of the General Assembly session, once again hardly gives grounds for euphoria or optimism.

329. Military confrontations, open or covert conflicts and the critical tensions that have affected various regions of our planet for years, and in some cases for many years, persist, frequently with increased savagery. The use of force and the threat of the use of force are increasing.

330. In many countries the most elementary human rights, which have long been clearly defined in universally recognized international instruments, continue to be ignored or even flouted with impunity.

331. Despite some encouraging signs, the economic recovery remains uncertain. Monetary disorder, the financial crisis and, in particular, international indebtedness are worsening. As usual, the most impoverished countries are the worst affected.

332. The bodies whose mandate it is to ensure that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations are respected and that its purposes are achieved seem incapable of halting this trend and shouldering their responsibilities. Confronted with a worsening situation, hope is giving way to disenchantment and public opinion is beginning to ask questions about the meaning and reality of our efforts.

333. The time has therefore come for Governments to react by improving our working methods as appropriate, concentrating attention as much as possible on the essentials and carefully studying practical measures to put an end to our difficulties, particularly by showing foresight and political will.

334. Two days ago my Irish colleague, Mr. Barry, informed the Assembly [6th meeting] of the joint position adopted by the members of the European Community with regard to the range of difficulties in international relations. I should like to devote my own comments to those difficulties which I believe deserve particular attention.

335. First, I cannot conceal my concern at the worsening climate of East-West relations, which has been seen particularly in the recent controversy between the two super-Powers. If on the one hand there have been some regrettable remarks or the use of language that is sometimes a little too strong for our taste, on the other we have encountered a stream of offensive historic comparisons, unfounded accusations, false insinuations and even appeals to hatred.

336. We hope that the statement to the General Assembly by the President of the United States [4th meeting] and the contacts in the past few days between the delegations of the two super-Powers will mark a turn for the better in this regard.

337. Indeed, it is high time we returned to more moderate language and respected the basic principles contained in the Nixon-Brezhnev declaration of 29 May 1972. That important document does not provide simply for the "recognition of the security interests of the parties based on the principle of equality" but attaches equal importance to the "renunciation of the use or threat of force" and of "efforts to obtain unilateral advantage at the expense of the other, directly or indirectly"; it includes the commitment of the parties "to do everything in their power so that conflicts or situations will not arise which would serve to increase international tensions", as well as the promise to "always exercise restraint".²¹

338. Only respect for those principles can lead to the re-establishment of a better climate and to the success of the current negotiations or those to come.

339. However, there must be rapid progress on disarmament, which has for so long occupied an important place in the General Assembly's work. This problem is rightly still the subject of the anxious concern of all mankind, for the arms race has accelerated in a worrying way with the accumulation of unprecedented stockpiles of weapons and their

continued sophistication through scientific and technological progress. Our planet is being transformed into a more and more dangerous powder keg. The extension of the arms race to outer space gives it a new dimension with unforeseeable consequences.

340. This development is increasing the threat of a general conflagration, since it multiplies the possibility of miscalculation in the assessment of each other's intentions. It makes it more and more unlikely that possible monitoring measures will succeed. It takes away from civilian use the vast human, economic and financial resources invested in the military effort, resources whose absence is doubly felt in this period of economic recession.

341. For these diverse reasons my country has always encouraged, and it continues to support, efforts to re-establish confidence in international relations and to reduce the level of armaments to more reasonable proportions—that is, compatible with the real defence needs of everyone.

342. That is why we placed great hopes on the opening of negotiations on strategic weapons as well as those concerning intermediate-range missiles. The halt of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on missiles in Europe is a reverse all the more troublesome because the difficulties facing those two Powers in beginning negotiations on the use of outer space for military purposes shows how essential it is to loosen the deadlock and to resume at this level a dialogue which has been interrupted. Such a resumption is indispensable, as what is at stake is of vital interest to the whole world.

343. In this respect we share the opinion of the Secretary-General when he declares that any effort—whether bilateral or multilateral—whose final goal is to prevent an arms race in space should be encouraged. The dialogue should be resumed without preconditions, as any default or even delay might result in a new escalation.

344. Apart from its harmful effects on international security and the safeguarding of peace, the arms race involves a huge waste of material resources whose release would benefit economic development generally and that of the developing countries in particular.

345. The maintenance of peace also depends on success in the struggle against underdevelopment and can be soundly based only on a more just and better balanced economic and social order.

346. The North-South dialogue on international economic co-operation for development, which once aroused so much hope, has been marking time for some years. Despite serious appeals repeated on all sides and despite continued informal consultations, the political will is lacking when it is a question of beginning effective global negotiations on the basis laid down at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún in 1981. There is no clear prospect of their beginning as yet. However, immediate steps are urgently required, as the economic recession has already produced particularly harmful effects in the developing countries, whose per capita income has been falling for a number of years.

347. Moreover, the prospects for the immediate future are not rosy. There is little likelihood of a strengthening of commodity prices and a return to growth in international trade in general. Sources of finance are drying up because of the unprecedented size of the international debt, extreme austerity

measures are blocking recovery and protectionism is reappearing. All these factors together will, by the force of events, slow down the return of economic growth on the world scale, if we do not succeed in reversing this trend.

348. It is only by becoming aware of the interdependence between industrialized countries and developing countries that we have a chance together, in solidarity with one another, to start a constructive dialogue by agreeing on concrete measures, formulated in realistic terms, aimed at promoting a return to growth.

349. In this respect, I share the view of my eminent French colleague, Mr. Claude Cheysson, who some time ago proposed a "planetary New Deal". He said:

"It is a planetary New Deal that should be talked about today, the granting of the right to development, to consumption, for hundreds of millions of people. Have we forgotten that our prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s was possible only because earlier the less-advanced sectors of industrialized societies had gained access to consumer and leisure markets as a consequence of bold social measures adopted before and immediately after the war: in the United States, thanks to the New Deal; in England, following the policy set out by Beveridge; and in France, by the reforms of 1936 and those following the liberation? A voluntarist policy must permit this same progress at the world level in the years to come."

350. If we are faced with a crisis today, it is due in large measure to the fact that the economic machine is blocked owing to inequality in the distribution of revenues at the world level: on the one hand, there are countries which have a powerful industrial base but lack outlets; on the other hand, there are very many nations lacking in purchasing power.

351. External aid, however, can reactivate the economy in the third world only if it is synchronized judiciously with appropriate internal policies. The consequences of international monetary and economic disorder are too grave not to impose urgently on the international community the obligation to work in common with foresight to restore order under the auspices of the United Nations.

352. But the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations will not be realized and the mission of the Organization will not be accomplished unless the safeguarding of peace and economic development are matched everywhere with effective respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the expressed provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and later conventions connected with it.

353. Unfortunately, there is ever more frequent confirmation that in various parts of the world flagrant violations of those international covenants are being committed almost daily: racial discrimination, arbitrary arrests, improper detentions, particularly in psychiatric hospitals, torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, and limitations on the free movement of people are current practices in many countries and are offences to human dignity.

354. The new Government of Luxembourg formed after the legislative elections of 17 June 1984 will adopt a particularly firm and steadfast position in this area. It will never hesitate to stigmatize such acts and condemn them unreservedly, whatever the country in which they occur and under whatever pretext

they are resorted to, for there is no doubt that all violations of human rights go beyond the framework of exclusive national competence.

355. We will not accept either the argument that the respect of economic rights makes it possible to sidestep "with an ironic smile" any criticism on the subject of respect for political rights.

356. For our part, we adhere firmly to General Assembly resolution 37/200, which states, in paragraph 1:

"that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interrelated and that the promotion and protection of one category of rights should never exempt or excuse States from the promotion and protection of the others".

357. The impartial and persistent efforts of Amnesty International over the years to make international public opinion aware of the violations of human rights deserve praise and encouragement. The Human Rights Committee, for its part, whose mission is to follow the obligations assumed by Member States, would benefit from bringing its investigation to bear on specific consideration of the individual cases before it rather than on a general analysis of the constitutional rules and laws in force, whose scope frequently remains theoretical.

358. The preparation by the Commission on Human Rights of a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment²² will make it possible, we hope, to expand usefully the framework of the conventional provisions applicable in this area. But it is essential that articles 19 and 20 of the draft, relating to the submission and consideration of reports by States and to the establishment of an arrangement for investigations, are an integral part of the system for the mandatory implementation of the convention, to be applied to all States which adhere to it.

359. We condemn and reject once again most categorically the policy of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa, which should put an end to it once and for all by establishing a democratic society in which the fundamental freedoms and political rights of all citizens are respected. In addition, South Africa should stop blocking Namibia's accession to independence by complying with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

360. When mentioning the problem of human rights, I cannot pass over in silence the concerns mingled with hope and sympathy which we feel given the development of the situation in Poland, where we welcome the measures of amnesty in favour of political prisoners. We hope that the authorities will enter into a sincere and genuine dialogue with the organizations representing the labour movement, which would be a first step towards genuine national reconciliation.

361. An undeniable assault on human rights and on the right of peoples to self-determination is, unfortunately, lingering stubbornly in Afghanistan. The Soviet military intervention which has continued over the past four and a half years is growing in savagery following an increase in methods used to put an end to popular resistance, particularly by high-altitude bombing. The outside world cannot stifle its condemnation in the light of such a merciless escalation. A peaceful settlement in keeping with the various resolutions adopted over the last few years by

the General Assembly is the sole admissible and honourable way out of the present deadlock.

362. The same applies to Cambodia.

363. There are also manifold reasons for disquiet with regard to the ongoing war between Iraq and Iran, which has reached a new level with attacks against shipping in the Gulf. This escalation is likely to drag into that conflict States which have so far remained on the sidelines. Although the attempts at mediation have not yet met with success, efforts should be redoubled to calm passions, unblock the situation, put an end to this bloody struggle and halt the sufferings of the two peoples by respecting their legitimate reciprocal interests.

364. During the past year violence has continued to claim many innocent victims in Lebanon. The example of that country shows once again that the use of force creates more difficulties than it solves.

365. Even if complete calm does not yet reign in Lebanon, we can be pleased with the progress which has been made towards national reconciliation and which deserves our total encouragement.

366. It is important that the international community now redouble its efforts so that Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and unity be restored and respected and that there be a withdrawal of Israeli and all other foreign forces whose presence is not desired by the Government of Lebanon.

367. To achieve a comprehensive settlement in the Near East, we must necessarily take into account the various basic facts that have long been known. They have not changed. Such a settlement can be envisaged only provided that it includes recognition of the right of each State, including Lebanon and Israel, to live in security within safe, recognized and guaranteed borders, together with the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that that implies. The multiplication in the area, particularly in the occupied territories, of *faits accomplis* contrary to international law will only delay and further complicate the development of a viable solution. All those directly concerned should, willy-nilly, consent to meeting around the negotiating table.

368. Latin America offers both cause for great concern and grounds for hope.

369. We can only energetically condemn the bloody repression of peaceful demonstrations that has just taken place once again in Chile.

370. We have noted with satisfaction, in other countries, a gradual return towards democracy and, at least in Colombia, a movement towards the settlement of domestic disputes by peaceful means. We very much hope that those examples will be studied elsewhere and that in Central America in particular the efforts of the Contadora Group will meet with success.

371. The comment that I made earlier in connection with the need simultaneously to respect all categories of human rights applies particularly with reference to Latin America.

372. Next year the United Nations will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of its establishment. During this period the international community has undergone profound changes: it has been enlarged considerably following the accession to independence of a large number of States which were formerly colonial Territories.

Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

373. We are pleased at this, but we realize at the same time that while the debate has gained in depth and intensity it has also become more complex, because the immediate concerns and the objectives of the various participants are not always the same, while the political régimes and the economic and social conditions in those countries have become markedly different.

374. Furthermore, the results achieved have not matched the immense hopes which the peoples represented at San Francisco placed in the Charter of the United Nations, which, of course, presupposed the active co-operation of each Member State in the attainment of common objectives. The proper application of the Charter entails if not perfect understanding at least a sincere desire on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council to seek co-operation through the world Organization. This is not, however, the case at present. The relations between the two super-Powers are going through a difficult period and have practically reached deadlock. We can only regret this and hope that the dialogue between them will be resumed as speedily as possible and that mutual distrust can be dissipated. Only thus can the safeguarding of peace and the expansion of co-operation—in other words, the success of our common enterprise—be achieved.

375. Mr. ALDALI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session, which is being held in extremely complex and delicate international conditions. To tackle these questions he will need the great wisdom and experience that he has displayed in other positions he has occupied within the framework of the United Nations, when he successfully shouldered the enormous responsibilities they entailed. His election is a clear expression of the respect the international community has for his country.

376. It also gives me pleasure to pay a tribute to Mr. Illueca, the President of Panama, for his unstinting efforts during his presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, guiding the work of that session with great competence.

377. I cannot fail to express my delegation's appreciation of the active role played by the Secretary-General in the efforts to improve the effectiveness of the Organization and in easing international tensions and bringing about international peace and security.

378. We are happy to welcome to our ranks a new Member, Brunei Darussalam, which can now make its contribution to the achievement of the noble aims we all share.

379. We are all aware that the international situation is going through a grave period as a result of the aggressive policy pursued by world imperialists, in particular the United States. We have recently seen an escalation of the arms race and an exacerbation of international tensions, the flexing of muscles and violations of the sovereignty of States and of their right to independence and to choose their own path of development.

380. The United States invaded Grenada, has conspired and committed acts of aggression against Nicaragua and has exacerbated the situation in the Middle East.

381. The arms race has become the major concern of all the peoples and Governments of the world, and everyone is aware of the grave consequences of a nuclear catastrophe. On the arms race alone, millions of dollars are wasted annually, at a time when millions of people are suffering or even dying of hunger in the developing world. Yet the danger of a nuclear catastrophe hangs over all of us in view of the continual deterioration of the international situation and the dangerous doctrines and concepts of nuclear deterrence, of a "limited nuclear war" and of the achievement of military superiority, especially nuclear superiority, as well as other doctrines that aim only at escalating the arms race and proclaim a policy of confrontation, the exacerbation of international tensions and the frustration of peaceful initiatives aimed at a practical and well-considered strategy for achieving general and complete disarmament.

382. Obstruction of the work of the Conference on Disarmament on various pretexts and justifications and suspension of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the subject of the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT II Treaty) cannot lead to the concrete and positive results which we all hope for. Adventurism in this area threatens all mankind with annihilation. We cannot but welcome the constructive initiatives and proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to curb the arms race, as well as the efforts exerted by other countries with the aim of eliminating once and for all the spectre of war and promoting international peace. It is our common responsibility to safeguard international peace, promote international co-operation and eliminate hotbeds of tension.

383. In the Middle East, as you know, the question of Palestine continues to pose a serious threat and stir the conscience of the world. Despite United Nations resolutions and efforts at all levels, Israel persists in its aggressive racist and expansionist policies in Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, continuing the annexation and expropriation of land, implanting settlements, resorting to policies of repression, intimidation and dispersion of the combatant Palestinian people, occupying and dividing southern Lebanon and preventing it from regaining its legitimate national authority over all its territory.

384. The Zionists could not have been successful in achieving their aims and plans without the unlimited support and assistance continually provided by the United States, which is reinforcing its strategic alliance with Israel, opening to Israel the doors of its sophisticated military arsenal, showering it with financial, diplomatic and political aid, while threatening States and international organizations that break relations with Israel, using its veto in the Security Council and employing other means of helping Israel to continue its occupation and carry out its aggressive policies, as well as to flout United Nations resolutions and international rules of conduct.

385. It is a matter of serious concern to us that the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, has abused the right of veto in such a way in the last few years that it has become an obstacle to the fulfilment of the responsibility of the Council to maintain international peace and security. It has also compromised the rights of independent States and peoples. This has happened on many occasions, the

latest of which concerned the draft resolution on Israeli practices in southern Lebanon.¹⁰

386. The international community is well aware that the Palestinian question is the core of the conflict in the Middle East; without a just and comprehensive solution to it, the explosive situation in that region will continue to threaten international peace and security. We cannot imagine any solution to this problem that does not entail full recognition of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and ensure the complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories. Furthermore, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people must be recognized, including its right to return, to self-determination and to establish its own independent State on its national territory.

387. United Nations resolutions and honest efforts made by other parties in this respect all evolved within this framework. It has become absolutely clear that partial and individual solutions lead only to a dead end and inevitable failure. The United Nations has called for an international peace conference, and the Soviet Union has also recently put forward new, positive proposals on a Middle East settlement [A/39/368]. We see in this a chance to find a solution and avoid deterioration and deadlock in the Middle East. This can be achieved only by means of an international peace conference within the framework of the United Nations, with the participation, on an equal footing, of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, objectives and principles.

388. The objection of the United States to such a conference does not surprise us. It confirms the real intentions and aims of United States policy, which will only result in increasing tension and exacerbating the situation. The United Nations must shoulder its responsibilities fully and make every possible effort to ensure the implementation of its resolutions.

389. The reinforcement of Palestinian national unity within the framework of a unified and strong PLO, as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is at this stage an essential element in the concerted efforts to find a solution to the Middle East problem and in the struggle of the Palestinians for the recognition of their inalienable national rights to return, to self-determination and to establish their national State on their national soil.

390. To this end, Democratic Yemen has joined in concerted efforts to bring about a comprehensive dialogue among Palestinians that would reinforce national Palestinian unity within the framework of the PLO and open up wider horizons for the Palestinian struggle and the solidarity of the international community with the Palestinians. We hope that these efforts with our brethren and friends will be crowned with success.

391. In Democratic Yemen we are not remote from the plans and conspiracies that threaten progressive national régimes. In the Indian Ocean the imperialist military presence is reinforced. This makes it essential to hold the Conference on the Indian Ocean in the first half of next year at the latest.

392. Recently there have been mine explosions in the Red Sea, near our territorial waters. This causes more concern and tension and threatens the safety, security, stability and sovereignty of the States of the region. We have clearly stated our position and

warned against attempts to use these events as a pretext for imperialist militarist intervention in the affairs of the region and to justify the presence of imperialist fleets and bases. We look forward impatiently to the time when the area will be a zone of peace and security as a result of the conjunction of international efforts and the efforts of all peace-loving forces to bring about favourable conditions for the attainment of this end. The first requirement in this connection is the departure of the foreign fleets cruising in Red Sea waters under the pretext of minesweeping.

393. Our area is still replete with problems. There is the war between Iraq and Iran, which is entering its fourth year with increased hostilities and is widening in scope. The situation is becoming increasingly grave and dangerous. It behoves us all, therefore, to make all possible efforts at all levels to put an end to it, to stop it from spreading, and to resort to peaceful dialogue so as not to leave any room for imperialist interventions, which will not serve the interests of the peoples of the area in their quest for security, stability and progress.

394. The imperialists and colonialists endeavour to destabilize independent national régimes and to obstruct their development in order to perpetuate their selfish interests, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America.

395. Southern Africa is still languishing under the yoke of the most terrible form of racist occupation, persecution and oppression, and of *apartheid*; and the racist minority, with the collusion of imperialists and Israel, fights against the militant African masses who are continuing their struggle with heroism and steadfastness.

396. Western attempts to circumvent the resolutions of the United Nations and the international community in order to collaborate with the racist régime and end its isolation, including inviting its Prime Minister for official visits, will lead to increased stiffening of South Africa's attitude towards the peoples of the country.

397. We reaffirm our full support for the struggle of those peoples and their national liberation movements, in particular SWAPO. We call for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), concerning the effective independence of Namibia, so that this militant people may achieve freedom and national independence.

398. In Latin America, and in particular Central America, the present United States Administration has made it crystal clear that it will not let the peoples there freely choose their own way to exercise their rights to development and to liberation from dependence and exploitation. It continues to resort to all kinds of pressures, international terrorism and covert and overt intervention, military and non-military, against peoples and States. This is what happened in Grenada and Nicaragua, and it is also shown by the escalation of the blockade of Cuba and the persistence of its presence in Guantánamo and Puerto Rico. It does not cease its conspiracies and manoeuvres nor its attempts to put an end to the national liberation movements in El Salvador, Chile and Guatemala.

399. We support the efforts of the Contadora Group to establish peace and stability in Central America, free of the influence and interference of the United States in the internal affairs of the region, and

call on the United Nations to concentrate its efforts in support of the peoples of the region in their struggle against this intervention.

400. There can be no just peace unless it is based on the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and on international norms and practices.

401. In Western Sahara, the Saharan people are struggling to achieve self-determination, freedom and sovereignty. We feel that there must be direct negotiations between the Frente POLISARIO² and Morocco, based on resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations.

402. The only way to settle the problem of Cyprus is for all foreign troops to be withdrawn from that country and for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status to be ensured. Separatist plans to divide the island must be rejected, and the dialogue between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities must be pursued.

403. We cannot but express again our support for the proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, within the framework of the efforts to obtain the peaceful reunification of Korea.

404. We support also the proposals presented by Afghanistan and the countries of Indo-China for dialogue and understanding among the nations concerned, in order to establish peace and stability in the regions.

405. There is still a negative escalating spiral in the international economic crisis, and its effects seriously prejudice the interests of developing countries, particularly the least developed among them. Unfortunately, the efforts by the developing countries to contain the crisis and minimize the damage it causes have met with obstacles set up by the Western industrialized countries. There is still insistence on dealing with the problem in ways that are insufficient and inappropriate, given the extent of the crisis with its numerous international commercial, monetary and financial aspects.

406. In this respect, we wish to reaffirm that economic recovery in the industrialized countries will not alleviate some aspects of the crisis unless it is accompanied by practical steps to eliminate protectionist barriers, reduce interest rates and solve the problems facing the developing countries, which see their debts mounting up unceasingly, forcing them to cut their development programmes to the very bone.

407. A comprehensive solution to the deteriorating international economic crisis lies in the reconstruction of international economic relations and in rekindling global negotiations with a view to establishing a new international economic order. We cannot, however, conceal the frustration felt by the developing countries as a result of the failure to achieve concrete results—a failure caused by the lack of response by the industrialized countries to the proposals recently put forward by the developing countries. Furthermore, the meetings to review and evaluate the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade have not so far achieved satisfactory results.

408. Democratic Yemen, as one of the least developed countries, is particularly affected by the consequences of the international economic crisis. As a result of that crisis, our country, which has meagre financial resources, is suffering from the rise and fluctuations of prices of imported manufactured

goods. Moreover, the real value of official development assistance has shrunk. Also, the organizations of the United Nations system concerned with operational development activities and the international financial institutions that aid the developing countries have had to curtail their projects because of their smaller budgets. All these factors have combined to restrict the aspirations of our countries to implement development projects designed to build a society whose citizens can enjoy prosperity and stability.

409. Since it attained independence, my country has maintained a policy of peace based on coexistence and good-neighbourliness and on respect for sovereignty and independence, and it has made consistent efforts to ensure the unity of the Yemeni people by peaceful and democratic means. On that basis, friendly relations have been established with the countries neighbouring Democratic Yemen.

410. The efforts to achieve unity have resulted in the elaboration of joint drafts by the two parts of Yemen and the establishment of fraternal relations and continuing co-ordination between them.

411. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], the Secretary-General states:

“Unfortunately the history of post-war international relations has so far shown that the common interest in peace and security has tended to assert itself only when things have reached a dangerously critical stage. . . . We are still very far from general acceptance of the principles of the Charter as rules to be lived by at all times by all Governments in their international relations.”

The Secretary-General also draws attention to the fact that the inability of the international community to solve many political and economic problems has resulted in a tendency to avoid recourse to the United Nations and, instead, to have recourse to other measures such as force, unilateral steps and confrontational military pacts that have reduced the prestige of the Organization.

412. At a time when the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations is approaching, we hope that this situation described by the Secretary-General will not persist and that the combined efforts of the international community will serve to strengthen the Organization and its effectiveness, in order to assist oppressed peoples and to implement the purposes and principles of the Charter so that freedom, justice, well-being, and international peace and security can be achieved.

Organization of work

413. The PRESIDENT: At this morning's meeting I drew the attention of members of the General Assembly to the letter I received from the representative of Botswana dated 26 September 1984, in which, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African

States, he requested that the Assembly consider urgently, under agenda item 31, “Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa”, the situation in South Africa.

414. A draft resolution [A/39/L.2] on this subject was distributed this morning, and it is the wish of the Group of African States that it be considered by the Assembly at the plenary meeting to be held tomorrow afternoon. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to act on that basis?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

NOTES

¹A/S-11/14, annex I.

²Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/35/24), vol. I, annex II.

⁴Ibid., Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁵See Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982, document S/15510, annex.

⁶Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

⁷Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925. (League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.)

⁸E/1984/68, para. 6.

⁹Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/27/27), annex I.

¹⁰Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984, document S/16732.

¹¹Ibid., Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983, document S/15999, annex.

¹²See Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

¹³See Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984, Mexico City, 6–14 August 1984 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I.

¹⁴See ID/CONF.5/46, chap. II, sect. A.

¹⁵Ibid., sect. C.

¹⁶A/10112, chap. IV.

¹⁷ID/CONF.4/22 and Corr.1, chap. VI.

¹⁸A/36/333 and Corr.1, annex.

¹⁹See Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14–30 July 1980 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap. I, sect. A.

²⁰United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 402, No. 5778.

²¹Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-Seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972, document S/10674, p. 91.

²²E/CN.4/1984/72.