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NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 31

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa:

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;
- (c) Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken yesterday afternoon [*11th meeting*], the Assembly will consider draft resolution A/39/L.2, entitled "Situation in South Africa". I call on the representative of Botswana, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States, to introduce the draft resolution.

2. Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): I stand here on behalf of the Group of African States at the United Nations to commend to the sympathetic consideration of the Assembly the innocuous draft resolution contained in document A/39/L.2.

3. It is generally agreed and appreciated that the current explosion of violence in South Africa is a direct consequence of the recent imposition of a racist constitution on the people of South Africa, even though the South African authorities may have a different explanation for it. It is quite possible that, true to character, the leaders of South Africa do not see why the majority of the people of South Africa should rise against a constitutional dispensation which, for the first time in the history of that country, allows South Africans of Asian descent and Coloureds to play a role as peons in South Africa's now three-legged Parliament. Indeed, the riots and demonstrations currently rocking South Africa are seen by the authorities in that country as the work of criminals, people without a cause, unemployed tso-tsis who exploit, for no respectable purpose or cause, grievances over rental increases, unemployment and Bantu education. Put differently, the black man, so they say, has no reason to rebel against a constitution which negates his existence in South Africa because he has already been taken care of constitutionally, that is, he has been driven into the so-called homelands, barren waste lands on the periphery of "White

South Africa", where he is "free" to exercise his tribal self-determination.

4. But, of course, the reality is quite different. The reality, as Professor Peter Vale of Rhodes University in South Africa has aptly observed, is that: "The timing of the riots (which purportedly began as anti-racist demonstrations) was a reminder to the Government that the black majority won't be duped by reforms which have given them nothing". The *Rand Daily Mail* observed two years ago: "It is clear that blacks who remain totally excluded [from the constitutional dispensation] will find no pleasure from the plan".

5. Yes, the message to the ruling white minority and its new junior partners is very clear indeed, and it is that: first, even the most intricate and grandiose constitutional stratagem contrived to convert millions of black South Africans into citizens of tribal archipelagos will not be mistaken for meaningful change by the disenfranchised and denationalized majority; secondly, not only will the black majority derive no comfort from a constitutional dispensation which regards them as non-existent, but also their deep sense of alienation and rejection in their own land will drive them to resort to the weapon of hopelessness and desperation, that is, the weapon of violent revolution as an instrument of liberation; and thirdly, the central issue in South Africa is not one of finding space in the white man's laager for South African Indian and Coloured communities; it is one of creating the necessary conditions for the establishment of a common non-racial society born of a true sense of community.

6. Yes, the South African society will remain a violent society so long as millions of its members are denied their basic human rights, among which is the right to freedom and liberty and to life itself. And in the past few weeks, as we all know—a tragic few weeks during which many leaders have been detained without trial—the people of Sebokeng, Soweto and other townships have been denied even the right to bury the victims of police bullets in a manner they deemed appropriate, and the right to worship their God in peace has been proscribed. And we wonder why there is so much violence in that tormented country. *Apartheid*, as we all know, is a violent policy. It can only be applied through the constant use of violence, and violence, as history attests, always begets violence.

7. By this draft resolution which we are about to adopt—and adopt, we hope, unanimously—we, the Group of African States, do not mean to exacerbate the situation in South Africa, but to contribute to the search for a solution to it. The African Group derives no pleasure from the shedding of blood by either side of the widening chasm of racial polarization that divides the people of South Africa, but we deem it

our responsibility, our duty as Africans, to bring this intolerable situation to the General Assembly so that together we can vent our collective revulsion and anger and express the very serious concern of the international community at a situation that, in our view, clearly poses a serious danger to the peace and stability of southern Africa and the world at large.

8. The draft resolution rejects South Africa's racist ethnocentric constitution foisted on the people of South Africa three weeks ago—a constitution already declared null and void by Security Council resolution 554 (1984). It points out, in Professor Vale's words, that "the black majority in South Africa will not be duped by reforms" which regard them as aliens without rights in their own country, and the draft resolution reaffirms, in paragraph 6, that

"only the total eradication of *apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of adult suffrage by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa, can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation in South Africa".

We have to repeat this truism, if only to make it abundantly clear time and time again that no constitutional artifice designed to modernize *apartheid*, no solution which pretends that South Africa belongs exclusively to the minority whites and a handful of Indian and Coloured opportunists, will spare South Africa the ghastly consequences of its refusal to learn the lessons of history.

9. It is my honour and privilege, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States for this month, to commend to the unanimous support of the Assembly draft resolution A/39/L.2.

10. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/39/L.2 and Add.1. I shall first call on those delegations wishing to explain their votes before the voting.

11. Mr. MIZERE (Malawi): The draft resolution before us is an embodiment of the world's opposition to the policy of racial discrimination, and it reminds us of four principal elements: first, total rejection of the policy of *apartheid*, which relegates the blacks of that country to a status of permanent inferiority and humiliation; secondly, reiteration of the international community's opposition to the constitutional dispensation in South Africa which has deliberately excluded the blacks from the parameters of political power in that country; thirdly, rejection of the policy of homelands earmarked for the blacks; and, fourthly, expression of sorrow at the continued blood-letting in South Africa and a demonstration of sympathy with the political have-nots, some of whom have laid down their lives in their endeavours to create a unitary State in which all South Africans can live in peace and friendship, sharing a common commitment as a people, as a nation and, indeed, as a Government.

12. History and geography have placed my country in a southern African political destiny, and therefore Malawi cannot and will not be indifferent to the political developments in that part of Africa.

13. It is against this background that my delegation will vote for the draft resolution. It wishes, however, to take this opportunity to reiterate its deep-rooted belief in the policy of contact and dialogue as a means of solving disputes and to point out that it

does not advocate public condemnations as solutions for problems that obtain in that part of the continent.

14. Finally, my delegation would like to appeal to the appropriate South African authorities to create a political atmosphere that will promote peace, security and stability and will allow political participation by all South Africans as equals.

15. Mr. PIERRET (France) (*interpretation from French*): France has certain reservations concerning some of the terms used in the second preambular paragraph and also in paragraphs 1 and 3, but my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in order to make clear its condemnation of the brutal repression of the recent uprisings in South Africa.

16. Those uprisings coincided with the implementation of constitutional changes which would continue to entrench the system of *apartheid* in that country. They reflected the exasperation of a black majority deprived of any prospects for a future, and they expressed rejection of an unjust and inhuman order. The violence unleashed by the forces in power will change nothing and will settle nothing. South Africa will live in peace only when its laws recognize equality and dignity for all its citizens. A peaceful evolution of the situation is possible, and this is what France ardently hopes for.

17. Mr. STEFANINI (Italy): We wish to take this opportunity to state once again our firm support for the long-standing call by the General Assembly for the abolition of *apartheid* and the establishment in South Africa of a just society based on equal rights for all.

18. We need not recall either our condemnation of *apartheid* or our position on the constitutional changes in South Africa. Our record is consistent. Last year we voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 38/11; more recently, our views have been reflected in the Declaration on South Africa adopted on 11 September 1984 by the Foreign Ministers of the 10 member States of the European Community [see A/39/487].

19. With regard to the draft resolution before us, Italy has some reservations on paragraph 3 and on some of the wording, particularly in the seventh preambular paragraph and paragraphs 4 and 7. We also have doubts whether it is appropriate for the United Nations to decide on the legal validity of constitutions or of electoral laws, no matter how much we disapprove of them. Nevertheless, in accordance with our long-standing position, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

20. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/39/L.2 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indone-

sia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 133 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 39/2).¹

21. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

22. Mr. MILES (United Kingdom): Although we shall have a more appropriate opportunity to consider the serious matter before us when the remainder of the debate under agenda item 31 takes place, I must briefly place on record some formal reservations of the United Kingdom on parts of the resolution just adopted.

23. Events in South Africa arouse deep emotion. It is often extraordinarily difficult to take a balanced and objective view of them. But it is all the more important that the General Assembly should take account of the facts and respect the Charter of the United Nations.

24. My Government's profound anxiety about the situation within South Africa has been expressed here many times. Our concern at the recent violence, rioting and detentions was reflected in the Declaration on South Africa [*ibid.*]. However, we regret that some of the language in the resolution just adopted, notably, where it refers to "wanton killing", "virtual martial law" and "continued massacre", distorts an already grave state of affairs. Nor can we endorse the implicit preference for armed struggle over peaceful solutions; moreover, this is not a question of national liberation. The policy of *apartheid* violates the civil and political rights of the people of South Africa, but it is going too far to describe it as "a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security".

25. As my delegation explained on 15 November 1983, at the thirty-eighth session [56th meeting], and in the Security Council on 17 August 1984,² the United Kingdom is looking for progress towards constitutional arrangements which are acceptable to the people of South Africa as a whole, but considers it wrong to make a final judgement now about the new arrangements. We believe that the recent disturbances were caused by a number of factors, not simply the new constitution.

26. Finally, with reference to the first two preambular paragraphs and paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted, we must reiterate that no organ of the United Nations—neither the General Assembly nor

the Security Council—has competence to declare the constitution of a Member State null and void.

27. Mr. AOKI (Japan): We strongly oppose the institutionalized system of racial discrimination in South Africa and have long been calling upon the Government of South Africa to heed the call of the international community totally to abandon *apartheid*. We fully understand the plight of the majority of the people in South Africa, and we are gravely concerned at the ongoing demonstrations and protests against the so-called constitutional reform in various parts of the country which are being repressed by the authorities of South Africa. My delegation fully shares the sentiment behind the resolution just adopted and that is why we voted in favour of it.

28. However, my delegation feels obliged to point out that this resolution was adopted without any substantive debate and even before all the Member States were given a chance to express their basic positions in the general debate. We believe that on a matter such as this, which is of major concern to the world community, efforts should have been made for a consensus resolution so as to ensure that it would more effectively exert pressure on South African authorities.

29. In addition to these procedural points, I would also like to state that, as with other resolutions on this agenda item adopted previously, my delegation has reservations on some of the elements contained in the present resolution.

30. Mr. CARLSON (Canada): My delegation has joined the majority of the Assembly in voting in favour of the resolution before us. We did so because we reject policies designed to perpetuate *apartheid* and racial discrimination. This was made clear most recently in the statement of Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Assembly on 25 September [7th meeting]. While opposed to *apartheid* and other forms of racism, my delegation has certain legal and policy reservations about some of the language used in this resolution, in particular the latter part of paragraph 3. Our vote in favour of this resolution should not be taken as an indication of a change in the Canadian position adopted in this regard in both the General Assembly and other forums.

31. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Belgium has publicly and on numerous occasions condemned the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa. Regarding the entry into force of the new constitution in that country, you have been informed of the Declaration on South Africa adopted by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the 10 member States of the European Community.

32. In referring to the resolution which has just been adopted—and my delegation voted in favour of it—I should like to express reservations on the formulation of certain provisions which, in particular, do not sufficiently take into account the respective competences of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

33. Mr. KEYES (United States of America): The delegation of the United States regrets that it is unable to join in support of this resolution, which comes before the General Assembly in the wake of the serious and deeply troubling events in South Africa. The recent upsurge of violence there illustrates once again the tragic consequences of denying

the natural human passion for freedom. We join with other members of this body in condemning the inherent injustice of *apartheid*. We join them as well in calling on the Government of South Africa to abandon this policy, which we believe to be a violation of fundamental human rights and a betrayal of the dignity and conscience of all South Africans and of human beings everywhere.

34. At the same time, we believe that our strong revulsion against the injustice of *apartheid* and our deep compassion for the victims of the recent disturbances in South Africa does not authorize us or the General Assembly to indulge in violent rhetoric that can only exacerbate an already tragically violent situation. On the strength of this belief, we have in the past consistently opposed language such as that contained in paragraph 3 of the resolution before us. We oppose it now. This language, as well as other formulations in the text before us, are simply not justified by the facts. Nor is it within the competence of this body or of the Security Council to declare the constitution of South Africa or that of any other Member State "null and void".

35. We believe that the fate of South Africa is and should be in the hands of the people of South Africa. The struggle to eliminate injustice and to establish a democratic system that respects the rights of all is a process as complex as it is vital. Recent events highlight its urgency but also its dangers. If this Assembly's response to that urgency aggravates those dangers, it only increases the likelihood that the process of change will become instead a cycle of self-destruction. Because we care about all the people of South Africa, we cannot favour such a response. We will continue our efforts to support those who seek a more hopeful solution to the South African dilemma. We urge all States and Governments here represented to do the same.

36. Mr. KURPERSHOEK (Netherlands): The Netherlands voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

37. The new South African constitution falls far short of the fundamental reforms necessary to bring an end to *apartheid* in South Africa. We cannot but disapprove in the strongest terms of the fact that no provision was made in the constitution for the political rights of the black majority of South Africa.

38. However, we have some reservations on the text of the resolution. I shall refer to two of them. First, in my Government's opinion, it is not for the United Nations to pass judgement on the legal validity of a Member State's constitution and declare it null and void. Secondly, the situation in South Africa is not a colonial one; therefore, we cannot endorse a call for national liberation.

39. The recent recurrence of violence in South Africa is, in my Government's opinion, not related only to the imposition of the new constitution. However, it points to the urgent need for *apartheid* to be abolished forthwith in the interest of the people of South Africa and in the interest of peace and stability in the region.

40. Count YORK von WARTENBURG (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted because we find ourselves in support of its main thrust.

41. Our position on the matter has already been made clear in the following statement issued by my Government on the result of the parliamentary

chamber elections for Coloureds and Asians in South Africa:

"The demonstratively low turn-out (less than 20 per cent) of eligible voters among the Coloured population and even less in the case of the Indians confirms the concern felt by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that the majority of those affected fail to see the new South African constitution either as a constructive step forward or as a sufficiently large concession. From the outset, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has been greatly concerned that the constitutional reform contains no measures aimed at granting political rights to the black majority, despite the fact that blacks make up 73 per cent of the population.

"The new constitution has a considerable 'legitimacy deficit'. The black majority is fully excluded from political activity and only a small minority of Coloureds and Indians are willing to co-operate in the narrowly defined limits of the new system."

The latest developments in South Africa have reinforced our apprehensions.

42. However, I have to stress our strong reservations concerning paragraphs 1 and 3 of the resolution just adopted. As much as we may doubt the wisdom of the new constitution, it cannot for juridical reasons alone—that is, the lack of competence of this body—be declared null and void. Furthermore, with respect to paragraph 3, we maintain the position that it is not a matter for the General Assembly to pronounce itself on questions reserved by the Charter of the United Nations to the Security Council.

43. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): The delegation of the Kingdom of Swaziland voted in favour of the resolution which the Assembly has just adopted and wishes to make the following points.

44. The delegation of Swaziland fully supports the main thrust of the resolution, which appropriately addresses itself to the urgent need for the establishment of a non-racial society based on the fundamental norms of democracy, whereby participation by all the people, irrespective of their colour, race or creed, is sacrosanctly observed. The new constitution excludes the black majority; and it is my delegation's belief that they should be included in the decision-making process of the country of their birth.

45. We reiterate Swaziland's position that we recognize every nation's right to self-determination and independence. But we find it very, very difficult to go along with certain prescriptions designed to solve the situation inside South Africa. We stand opposed to the use of violence, for our geographical position and economic vulnerability impose a heavy burden on our country.

46. Finally, Swaziland strongly believes in the philosophy of peaceful negotiations, for history has taught us that violence has never resulted in anything but counter-productivity.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

47. Mr. TERÁN TERÁN (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I bring to this world forum the fraternal greetings of the people of Ecuador and its

constitutional Government, presided over by Mr. León Febres Cordero.

48. My congratulations go to the President of the General Assembly on his election, which reflects the universal importance of the African continent and the prestige he has earned as the representative of Zambia in the exercise of important functions in the United Nations.

49. I also greet the President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who so brilliantly conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly; and the Secretary-General, a distinguished Latin American diplomat.

50. Ecuador is also happy to welcome the newest Member of the Organization, Brunei Darussalam, a member of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], with which my country maintains cordial relations through the Andean Group.

51. We are all very much aware of the gravity of the present time. The poorest peoples, grouped or identified within that miscellany which is called the third world, call, with varying degrees of urgency, for immediate efforts by the other world blocs to avert dangers that could lead to a veritable catastrophe if they are not overcome. The indifference of some, the worsening living conditions of most and the trend towards aggression rather than solution of others are to blame for this. Global negotiations gain importance daily at the international level, and they should be such as to strengthen the movement towards co-operation rather than confrontation.

52. Ecuador agrees with the demands for a prompt and equitable solution to the most important problems of our time made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at various times. That Movement will gain greater authority to the extent that its proposals are characterized by austerity, objectivity and the absence of extremism or partiality to any of the other world blocs.

53. Foreign debts, particularly, but not exclusively, those of Latin American countries, have required slow and exhaustive renegotiation. Certain demands that ignore economic realities and threaten the survival of peoples have faced many countries with tragic dilemmas.

54. The problem of indebtedness is the common responsibility of debtors and creditors, of those that control the main economic currents in the world and the peoples subjected to them. The solution must involve them all. Once again, co-operation is essential, but from time to time the threat of aggressive confrontation looms ahead.

55. Ecuador maintains an open attitude regarding dialogue and negotiations with the industrialized countries and financial organizations, but it stresses the inescapable need for renegotiation to leave free an essential margin not only for the survival but for the progress of debtor countries.

56. The extension of deadlines for debt renegotiation, the opening of new lines of credit and other similar measures will not provide a real solution to the problem of Latin American indebtedness. The only effective and definitive solution will have to come through the restructuring of economic policies. These should no longer be inspired by ill-conceived protectionism, which is largely to blame for the fact that Latin America has a growing current account deficit in its balance of payments and that it has become a net exporter of capital.

57. Latin America calls upon the developed world—the first and second worlds—to open the door to trade in the products that Latin America can export and in so doing to abandon the series of restrictive measures or the groupings inspired by political principles rather than by the norms of sound economy—political principles which have consistently been prejudicial to Latin America's opportunities for export and foreign trade earnings.

58. Like all Latin American countries, Ecuador is aware of the need for a policy of austerity. It is true that the effects of indebtedness induced Latin American Governments to overspend, but it is no less true that international creditors stimulated such policies in their desire to invest capital not only in productive sectors, as had always been the tradition with banks and private international financial mechanisms, but also in Governments, and that which could eventually have helped and relieved Latin American countries undoubtedly prompted the overspending. But austerity must not mean the death sentence for Latin American communities, which cannot be compelled to lower the standards of their economic life, of their productivity, of their sources of employment to levels at which the problem no longer affects Latin American communities only but becomes an explosive world problem, with masses of people impoverished not because there is any lack of resources from which they may benefit but because of an economic system that stresses payment mechanisms for an old debt and forgets or minimizes what is necessary for the people's subsistence.

59. Ecuador supports any initiative that can strengthen understanding and unity in the world, in regions and in subregions. This applies within the Andean Group, where Ecuador advocates practical and positive rather than theoretical economic and cultural integration, just as it does within the group of South Pacific countries, within which it reaffirms the legitimacy of their defence of their sovereign right over their seas and the natural resources therein, as well as over the sea-bed as an integral part of the heritage of and a promise of well-being for our peoples. It applies, too, within the group of Amazonian countries, in order to safeguard its national destiny and sovereignty in a region where we reaffirm Ecuador's rights as an Amazonian country from the epic discovery of the Amazon River by the Quito expedition of 1541 to the time when Ecuador, faithful to its tradition of peace and legality, sought to strengthen friendly relations with Peru and sought a sincere climate of mutual understanding in order to promote a just and honourable solution to its territorial controversy.

60. At a time when it is imperative for the peoples to hear constructive voices in favour of concerted action and the common good, Ecuador will not rest in its efforts to draw closer to all countries of the world, in particular those to which it is bound by history and geography, by nature and blood, by culture and common objectives.

61. Ecuador's sense of universality demands defence of the principles of non-intervention, the self-determination of peoples, the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for ideological pluralism and human rights, and the rejection of all forms of intervention, aggression, colonialism and the acquisition of territory by force. Just as we respect the sovereignty of others, so we demand respect for ours.

62. Ecuador observes with satisfaction the progress achieved towards a peaceful solution of the question of the Beagle Channel. This was inevitable since it involves two sister countries united by the moral and spiritual voice that carries most authority on our planet.

63. Ecuador has supported and will continue to support initiatives aiming at peace and understanding among peoples. This is why the Ecuadorian delegation supports the efforts to settle the differences concerning the question of the Malvinas Islands.

64. In the United Nations, Ecuador has supported and will continue to support the need for the withdrawal of foreign forces from all territories which do not belong to them, whether in Afghanistan, Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole, Cyprus, Kampuchea, Namibia or Chad. Similarly, Ecuador rejects any form of violence, destabilization of States, intervention or deployment of forces of any foreign origin in Central America. That is why Ecuador has given its full support to the actions taken by the Contadora Group of Latin American Governments and trusts that they will achieve practical results. It hopes, therefore, that it may soon be possible to hold completely free elections in those Central American countries still governed by non-democratic Governments, and it reaffirms the concept of a democracy not as a formal system that merely appears to be one but as a real, vital system, in which the principles of the Charter of the United Nations find concrete and unrestricted application; in which the freedom of individuals and groups is a categorical imperative for the organs of public power; and where power and force bow to the need to respect the dignity and freedom of individuals.

65. Since its accession to independence, Ecuador has been a constant defender of the freedom of man. It was one of the first countries to abolish slavery entirely, within a process which sprang from the genius of the ideas of Bolívar, the Liberator, when we were a part of "Gran Colombia". In 1851 Ecuador eliminated the last remnants of the slave system. The eradication of racial discrimination has also been the subject of considerable legislation throughout Ecuador's history and it is fully enshrined in the political Constitution of the State.

66. Within the United Nations the Latin American countries have contributed to the universalization of the passion for freedom. As a result, Ecuador has supported everything contributing to decolonization and, consequently, the admission of new Members to the Organization. Similarly, we have been opposed to exclusions of any kind. It is the right of all States to belong to the world Organization, and it is in the interest of the United Nations to attain universality in the most complete manner possible. Consequently, Ecuador would be pleased to see the admission of both Koreas, either jointly, which would give cause for satisfaction, or individually or, better still, as one unified Korea, if the ongoing negotiations yield successful results.

67. As in the case of the maritime extensions, so in the new geographical, historical and juridical dimensions of outer space, above all in the matter of the geostationary orbit of satellites, Ecuador renews its appeal for such areas to remain solely within the realm of peaceful use, free from any warlike purpose, and it reaffirms its rights as an equatorial country as

well as the need to apply the benefit of the orbit, a limited natural resource, in favour of developing countries in general and equatorial countries in particular.

68. The same sense of universality, the awareness that it is the human condition that sets juridical values and not the reverse, inspires the attitude of Ecuador with respect to the promotion and defence of human rights. All States are committed to the promotion and defence of those rights. No selective or discriminatory criterion, be it inspired by political order or by ideology, justifies any dichotomy in this system. Human beings are the direct and inevitable object of the unrestricted recognition of certain elementary rights, and the ignoring of them cannot be justified on the basis of the imperatives of power or the organization of States, whatever may be the philosophy that inspires them. In Ecuador, human rights are fully respected. The rule of law has prevailed. The State is the first to abide by the Constitution and the law. The Government strictly observes and respects the rights of individuals and groups. The present Government, the result of an overwhelming electoral process, which has received the broad backing of the majority of the citizens, is inspired by the principles of Christianity as a doctrine which defends the equality and the dignity of the individual, and it is oriented towards the exclusive aim of working untiringly in favour of the people, in keeping with freedom and justice.

69. For the reasons I have mentioned, the National Government will devote maximum efforts to the preservation of true democracy and peaceful coexistence and the rejection of all threats of terrorism, which we consider as a crime against humanity, just as we consider the traffic in narcotic drugs. These concepts were set forth and incorporated in the Quito Declaration against Traffic in Narcotic Drugs of 11 August 1984 [A/39/407, annex].

70. Collective responsibilities for disarmament and development are also universal. The primary objective of the United Nations continues to be development, and to attain this it is imperative to achieve peace, which has so often been disturbed and threatened in past years. Disarmament is not merely a mechanical activity for dismantling war machinery; it must be a moral attitude, whereby respect for individuals and collectivities prevails over the imperatives of power. The kind of disarmament that must be attained is moral disarmament, that which eliminates the aggressive instinct from the actions and the conscience of man and which curbs the arrogance and desire for dominance of whoever feels strongest.

71. Atomic explosions for warlike purposes are to be condemned wherever they take place, and those in the South Pacific are of particular concern to my country. Given the danger which those tests represent for the ecological balance of the region, such explosions have been condemned by the South Pacific Permanent Commission, an organization comprising Colombia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru.

72. Development must become, as it has not yet become, a shared task, in which the rich and the poor have something to gain and something to bring and in which a political attitude of willing co-operation and not a bureaucratic fiction of pseudo-co-operation prevails as an ordinary circumstance in the international community.

73. The most powerful countries are inevitably committed to expressing an unequivocal political will for co-operation, so that the world economy may recover and international economic relations may become less unfair.

74. The co-operation of the world Powers with the developing world must be extended in a pragmatic way. Not only risk-capital flows, direct investment, the transfer of technology, and opening credits and markets, but also the processes of multilateral co-operation must be expanded and intensified. An end must be put to that absurd restrictive criterion of discouraging investments by the richest countries in the areas of the developing world, whether such discouragement springs from financial, protectionist or political motives. There must be an awareness of the fact that the contribution in technology, people and capital from the more developed countries is an essential requirement for the rapid and harmonious progress of the so-called developing world.

75. Ecuador was one of the founding countries of the United Nations. We are on the eve of celebrating 40 years of existence of the Organization. My country reiterates that the United Nations system is of paramount importance for peace, stability and progress in the world. It is necessary to enhance the Organization, refine it and, if necessary, transform it, so that it may be not only the forum for national declarations but much more: the grand stage on which the peoples may reach an ever greater measure of understanding, friendship and common action. Moreover, this fortieth anniversary must be an occasion for revising procedures, reducing organizational costs and proliferation throughout the system, and accentuating the technical service role of the specialized agencies, in order to concentrate within the United Nations itself responsibility of a political nature. Any confusion in the matter of objectives, any interference by technical organs in political matters, will only imply a loss of authority and efficiency for the entire system.

76. It is therefore imperative, in the year that lies before us, so to consolidate concrete actions that the General Assembly may attain viable results, stressing common denominators and agreement, rather than tension, extremism or sectoral interests. The Economic and Social Council must be the ideal forum for development issues, where progress is made in the search for higher standards of living for the poor majorities in the world, which is the primary and concrete objective of today's international system in the economic, social and cultural spheres; and the Security Council must fulfil the purpose for which it was established, particularly through an operative system that enables it to reach peaceful solutions for international disputes.

77. All these criteria and the endeavours I have mentioned, among the many others, altruistic and positive, of the Organization constitute one of the substantial elements in the restoration of balance to the interdependent and planetary world we inhabit. It can make the difference between human co-operation and devastating strife, between the hope that the approaching century may truly be better and the tragic pessimism that misunderstanding and blindness may prevail in international relations. It can be the great dividing line between a holocaust and redemption.

78. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I have the greatest pleasure in conveying to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations and best wishes for success on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

79. The work of the Assembly is taking place in a very complex international situation and in an environment marked by particularly grave tension. The policy of maintaining and redividing zones of influence and spheres of domination and the policy of force and the threat of force are intensifying. Old conflicts among States have been aggravated while new ones have emerged. Manifestations of the current economic crisis—which affect practically all States and particularly the developing ones—have been amplified, thus further heightening world economic and political instability.

80. A particularly aggravating factor in the international situation is the acceleration of the arms race and, first and foremost, the nuclear-arms race, which has increased the danger of a new world war which, under present circumstances, would inevitably become a destructive thermonuclear war. The switch-over to deployment by the United States of medium-range nuclear missiles in the countries of Western Europe and the consequent use of nuclear counter-measures announced by the Soviet Union have further aggravated the entire world situation, and especially the situation in Europe.

81. The interests of peace, the policy of détente, co-operation and security demand that everything be done to halt this dangerous course of events leading towards tension and war, to avoid a nuclear catastrophe, which, for all practical purposes, would mean the very destruction of human civilization and of those conditions necessary for the existence of life on our planet.

82. Romania, and its President, Nicolae Ceaușescu, believe that the fundamental issue of our time is the halting of the arms race and the implementation of substantial measures of disarmament, first and foremost nuclear disarmament, thereby defending the supreme right of man and of peoples to existence, to life, to freedom, independence and peace.

83. In the current international circumstances, Romania and its President stand for and resolutely militate for the halting of the deployment of United States medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the establishment of a programme with a time-limit for the withdrawal of those already in place, as well as for the cessation of Soviet nuclear counter-measures and the establishment of a programme with a time-limit for the cancellation and elimination of measures which have already been implemented. Likewise, we consider that everything must be done for the urgent resumption of Soviet-United States negotiations aimed at achieving adequate agreements, which must ensure the elimination of medium-range and tactical missiles and of nuclear weapons from Europe.

84. Romania believes that European countries on whose territory medium-range nuclear missiles have already been deployed—or where such deployment is envisaged—bear a special responsibility for the fate of their own peoples and for the fate of peace in Europe and throughout the world. Those countries must be the first to act resolutely to stop the deployment of United States weapons, to cancel the

countermeasures and to bring about resumed negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

85. Since the deployment of nuclear missiles concerns the life and existence of all European peoples, it is necessary for all States of the continent to participate actively in the conclusion of agreements and understandings providing for the elimination of missiles from Europe, thus barring the way towards a nuclear catastrophe. In this spirit, we hold that, simultaneously with the resumption of the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, it would be necessary to set up a consultative commission of the countries belonging to the two military alliances in which other European States, including neutral and non-aligned countries, would also take part. Such a commission would consider the proposals put forward and make its contribution towards achieving an agreement between the two sides.

86. Given the special importance of these problems for the peace and security of the entire world, we believe that it is the duty of all States Members of the United Nations to do everything possible to contribute to finding adequate solutions responding to the interests of the peoples and the need for détente and stability throughout the world.

87. The Romanian delegation intends to hold wide consultations, in an open spirit of co-operation, with all interested delegations in order to find the best ways by which the General Assembly can contribute to the attainment of these objectives.

88. In defence of peace, a huge movement of peoples is developing in Europe and in other regions of the world. This powerful movement has already achieved some important results. Many cities have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. The Romanian people, using all its strength on the great front of peace, nourishes the conviction that by acting in a firm and united manner the peace movement, progressive forces and peoples throughout the world can put a halt to the dangerous course of events leading towards tension and war and can promote disarmament and peace.

89. Giving expression to the will and fundamental aspirations of the entire Romanian people for peace, President Nicolae Ceaușescu stated in a speech delivered on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the National Day of Romania:

“From this solemn meeting we appeal to all heads of State and Government, to all peoples of Europe and to the entire world to unite our efforts in order to bar the way towards a world war and a nuclear catastrophe. We have succeeded for close to 40 years now in preventing a new world war, but now we are facing a very grave situation. We must do everything possible before it is too late, we must go beyond all considerations and put an end to the arms race, and above all the nuclear-arms race, to ensure the supreme right of all peoples to existence, to life, to independence, to freedom and to peace.”

90. Faced with the grave danger posed by the unceasing escalation of the arms race, and first and foremost the nuclear-arms race, it is imperative to draw all the necessary conclusions and to take action to eliminate nuclear weapons, fully taking into account the severe warning of those scientists who have demonstrated that the use of only a part of existing nuclear arsenals would result in the destruc-

tion of all of civilization and would obliterate even those conditions necessary for life on our planet. In a future world war, in a nuclear war, there would be neither vanquished nor victors; nuclear weapons would not take into account differences between social systems; they would destroy nearly all of mankind.

91. This is why it cannot be argued in any way that the production and deployment of new nuclear weapons would constitute a means of enhancing security and peace. Quite the contrary: any new nuclear weapon increases the insecurity of peoples and the danger of the destruction of civilization and mankind. Attempts to play down the seriousness of the danger of the use of nuclear weapons are aimed solely at deceiving peoples and at influencing and hampering the struggle of the masses for peace and disarmament and for the cessation of the policy of confrontation and the use or threat of the use of force. The peoples must be openly told that their survival and the survival of future generations are in danger, that there could be no justification for the continuation of the arms race or for testing and producing new nuclear weapons.

Mr. Bucci (Italy), Vice-President, took the Chair.

92. Taking into account the huge quantities of nuclear arms that have been stockpiled, when each side—the United States and the Soviet Union—can destroy all mankind at least 10 times over with the weapons they already possess, there is really no point in maintaining that several hundred missiles more or less could affect the balance of forces between the two sides. There is therefore no justification whatever for continuing to test and produce new nuclear weapons. That is why it is necessary to act with all due responsibility for the interests of the peoples and of mankind, and to cease the production of new nuclear weapons and eliminate the existing ones; that is fully in accordance with the interests of civilization and of all the nations of the world.

93. Consequently, Romania has resolutely stood, and will continue to stand, in favour of the cessation of the arms race, and first of all the nuclear-arms race. We believe that a wide range of firm measures are required in this field, including the achievement of a turning-point in the disarmament negotiations, which for several years now have been practically at a total stalemate.

94. We also believe that the Soviet Union and the United States must resume their negotiations in all fields of nuclear disarmament and that a conference should be convened, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, with a view to achieving the cessation of the production of new nuclear weapons and of proceeding to the gradual reduction of existing ones and eventually to their complete elimination.

95. We believe also that, within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, the time has come to intensify negotiations designed to reach, without delay, a generally accepted agreement on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons, on the basis of the proposals submitted to the Conference. The actions envisaged for the attainment of that objective must be an integral part of the efforts to achieve the prohibition and elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.

96. We attach great importance to the work of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at

Stockholm. Romania will continue to do everything in its power, in co-operation with all the other delegations, to ensure that that Conference makes a contribution, through its proceedings and its practical results, to the strengthening of confidence and security in Europe and that it fully meets the expectations of peoples for disarmament—and, in the first place, nuclear disarmament—and for the building of a united Europe, free of nuclear weapons, a Europe of peace and co-operation between all its States, whatever their social systems.

97. In our view, it is also necessary that everything be done to reach agreement urgently on concrete measures at the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe; those negotiations have been deadlocked for many years now. If both sides acted responsibly, demonstrating the necessary political will, an understanding could be reached. Even if it did not ensure substantial reductions, it would have a positive impact upon the peoples. It would thus be proved that it is possible to reverse the trend of escalation of the arms race and to make progress on the road to the achievement of a balance of forces based not on an increase but on a decrease in armed forces and armaments.

98. Romania has consistently stood and acted for developing co-operation with all the Balkan States, enhancing trust and co-operation among those countries and turning that region into a zone free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. We likewise support the creation of such zones in northern and central Europe as well as in other parts of the world.

99. In our view, it is absolutely necessary to agree on concrete measures for the cessation of the arms race in outer space and for strict observance by all States of the obligations they have undertaken, pursuant to the international agreements in force, to begin serious negotiations with a view to preventing the extension of military competition to this area and ensuring the effective use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes, in the interest of all mankind. We therefore support the proposal by the Soviet Union that negotiations for the prevention of the militarization of outer space should start.

100. In Romania's view, a realistic way to achieve tangible progress towards disarmament is the freezing of military expenditures by all States—and in particular by the great Powers, which are heavily armed—to be followed by the reduction of military budgets. The funds thus saved could be channelled to the development of the countries making such reductions, as well as to support the efforts of the developing countries. We appreciate the activities to this end carried out within the United Nations, and Romania will act in favour of continuing the process of drafting principles to guide States in their negotiations of international agreements for freezing and reducing military expenditures.

101. An essential cause of the extremely grave tension in the international situation and the increasing danger of war is the fact that now, almost 40 years after the end of the Second World War, military confrontations and conflicts are taking place in various regions of the world, resulting in huge human and material losses and in the widening and perpetuation of tension and suspicion, which prevent solutions by means of negotiations and threaten

peace throughout the world ever more seriously. That is why Romania constantly acts in favour of the political settlement of all disputes between States. We consider it imperative that the highest responsibility should be shown, in the overriding interests of peoples and of international peace and security, to ensure the cessation of military conflicts and the elimination of hotbeds of tension and to solve all issues in dispute among States by the only possible means: negotiations and peaceful methods. No matter how difficult and long the negotiations may be, they are preferable to any military confrontation, for such confrontation does nothing but complicate relations among States and worsen the international situation.

102. It is in this context that Romania, as always, stands and firmly acts for a comprehensive solution in the Middle East and for a just and lasting peace, based on Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied following the 1967 war, on the guarantee to the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State, and on the safeguarding of the right to a free and independent existence of all the States of the region. I would recall that, to that end, President Nicolae Ceaușescu, as long ago as 1978, took the initiative of proposing the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in the framework and with the active participation of the United Nations, a conference in which all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]—the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—the Soviet Union and the United States would participate, as well as other States that could contribute to the solution of the complex problems of that part of the world. Romania considers that this initiative, which has recently been endorsed by an ever-increasing number of States, is completely valid today and that increased efforts by the international community are required so that such a conference may be convened as soon as possible.

103. With regard to the situation in Lebanon, Romania has been calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from that country, for wide reconciliation among the internal political forces, and for guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

104. Deeply concerned about the continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran, which is causing great human and material damage and creating new threats to the stability and peace of the region, Romania stands firmly for the immediate cessation of hostilities, for the withdrawal of troops by both sides within the internationally recognized borders that existed before the beginning of the conflict, and for the solution of all the issues between the two countries exclusively by the peaceful means of negotiations. We are concerned also about the trend towards escalation of the conflict in the Gulf area, and we stand for the immediate cessation of all military action in that region, as a first step towards the peaceful solution of the war between Iraq and Iran.

105. The fundamental interests of strengthening world peace and security require that everything possible be done and increased efforts made to ensure an urgent political settlement of the problems in other parts of the world, that a definitive end be

put to interference in the internal affairs of other States and that the inalienable right of each people to its free and independent development be strictly respected.

106. In accordance with those guidelines, Romania reaffirms its solidarity and active support for the stand and the initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its efforts and actions aimed at the peaceful, democratic and independent unification of the country. Romania once again stresses its full solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Africa for the total elimination of colonialism, for the protection and strengthening of their national independence and for their free advance towards economic and social progress. In that connection, we extend our full support to the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], to achieve independence and for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning Namibia's accession to independence. We firmly oppose the policy of *apartheid* and we call for full equality for all the citizens of South Africa and their full participation in that country's political life.

107. In general, we consider it necessary that the United Nations act to fulfil its responsibility to bring a halt to military conflicts and to find peaceful solutions to all disputes between States solely through negotiations and other methods of peaceful settlement based on the fundamental principles of international law.

108. In the spirit of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, adopted in 1982 [resolution 37/10, annex], we believe that the implementation of the proposal submitted at the last session by Nigeria, the Philippines and Romania on the establishment of a permanent commission on good offices, mediation and conciliation for the settlement of disputes and the prevention of conflicts among States³ is of the greatest importance. That body should act promptly and efficiently to prevent the emergence of new military confrontations and to promote the peaceful settlement of conflicts and any other controversial issues between States.

109. An important contribution to the strengthening of world peace and security and to the development of broad international co-operation can be made by the creation of good-neighbourly relations between States. The debates held up until now on this subject within the United Nations and the proposals and suggestions that have been advanced form the bases for proceeding to the elaboration of an international document that would contribute to developing and encouraging good-neighbourliness between States.

110. An essential requirement for the peace and security of all peoples and for the very future of mankind itself is the elimination of underdevelopment, the reduction of the gap between rich and poor countries and the establishment of a new international economic order.

111. It is well known that in recent years, as a consequence of the world economic crisis and of a policy of excessively high interest rates, the overall economic situation has deteriorated considerably. Against that background, the gap between developed and developing countries has continued to widen. All the negotiations conducted between North and South have up until now yielded virtually no results.

112. Under these circumstances, Romania suggests that, during the course of the discussion of international economic problems at the current session, efforts should be concentrated on seeking ways to get real negotiations under way, within the United Nations, between developed and developing countries so as to overcome the world economic crisis, to solve in an equitable manner the problems of underdevelopment and to establish a new international economic order.

113. In that spirit we favour the urgent launching of global negotiations within a special committee, either by making use of the experience gained by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea or within the framework of a United Nations conference open to the participation of all Member States. Within such a context, a programme of measures designed to assist the developing countries could be worked out, along with a comprehensive treaty on new principles to govern international economic relations. Romania is convinced that it is in the interest of both developed and developing countries to reach, without delay, a new understanding and to turn to a new policy with regard to world economic problems. It is high time that we do everything possible to find ways effectively to support the developing countries, to eradicate underdevelopment and to establish a new international economic order, which is an objective necessity for the stability and economic development of the entire world.

114. Particularly compelling is the need to find a radical, comprehensive solution to the problem of the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries. The policy of high interest rates, together with the effects of the economic crisis, can be blamed to a great extent for the current situation. In light of the serious situation that exists in this area, Romania believes that a comprehensive, rather than a selective, solution is required, one that can enunciate general principles for settlement of the foreign indebtedness of the developing countries.

115. In our view, such a solution must include complete cancellation of indebtedness for the least developed countries and a reduction by a significant percentage of the indebtedness of other developing countries, as well as a general, longer-term rescheduling of all debts at a reduced rate of interest or even without interest. At the same time, it would be necessary to set a maximum ceiling for the interest rate for older loans, not to exceed 7 to 8 per cent, and to deduct from the total debt any interest paid above that level. For new loans to developing countries, the interest rate should not exceed 5 per cent. A comprehensive solution would also have to make provision for a debt-service ratio of no more than 10 to 15 per cent of the annual export earnings of the countries concerned.

116. The solution we are proposing would also have to allow the developing countries access to international credits under favourable conditions and provide for the creation of a replenishment fund for credits that would be created by contributions from the developed countries.

117. At the same time, in the interest of fostering the entire process of world economic development, the existing international monetary system must be reorganized on new and equitable bases, with strict observance of new principles governing relations between States, so that the system can contribute to

the stimulation of economic development in all countries, and, primarily, in the developing countries.

118. We believe it is necessary to redouble our efforts in order to secure broad and unhindered access for the developing countries to the discoveries of modern science and technology and a substantial transfer of technology to those countries on favourable terms appropriate to their specific development needs. It is also essential to expedite the process of negotiation in the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in order to complete the drafting and adoption of a code of conduct on the transfer of technology and to finance, through existing United Nations mechanisms, the implementation of technical assistance projects in developing countries in order to assist in creating and improving the scientific and technological capabilities of those countries.

119. Romania attaches the greatest importance to the problem of countering the extremely harmful practice of the outflow from developing countries of trained manpower, which is depriving those countries of an essential element of their potential for economic and social development. While we express our appreciation for the efforts of the intergovernmental group of experts set up within UNCTAD, we believe it is necessary to increase efforts to work out, in the shortest possible time, an appropriate framework for international co-operation to forestall the adverse consequences of the outflow of trained personnel from the developing to the developed countries. We consider that an international convention or agreement to regulate this problem should contain provisions making incumbent on persons with a higher education or on the companies hiring them the obligation to reimburse the countries of origin for the expenses of their training and education and to compensate for losses incurred.

120. In the endeavours to restructure international economic relations and establish a new international economic order, and to overcome underdevelopment, particular importance must be given to expanding and deepening economic co-operation among developing countries and to strengthening their solidarity and unity of action. To this end, Romania favours the convening of a summit meeting of those countries, with a view to developing their economic co-operation and defining a common strategy for negotiations with the developed countries.

121. In a world dominated by contradictions and insecurity and by grave threats to peace, the problems of the younger generation should occupy a place of primary importance in the preoccupations of States. The future of each nation and of all of mankind is directly linked to the education of youth in the spirit of the most noble ideals of work, freedom and peace.

122. The observance in 1985 of International Youth Year with the theme "Participation, Development, Peace" is an expression of the great responsibility which devolves on the United Nations in this field. International Youth Year, through preparations and activities carried out for many years, will become a significant event in the life of the young generation, designed to make a contribution of great importance to the unification of the forces of the younger generation and to increasing its participation in the economic and social development of all

countries and the struggle for social progress, co-operation and peace all over the world. We should like to express our conviction that the decisions that will be adopted by the General Assembly at its current session, on the basis of the recommendations formulated by the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year, will give new impetus to intensifying the participation of the young generation in the overall efforts for a settlement of major problems of our time and for building a more just and better world.

123. In view of the complexity of the problems of international life, Romania believes that it is necessary for all States, irrespective of their social systems, to participate in the settlement of those problems, and consequently it favours the enhancing of the role of small and medium countries, of developing and non-aligned countries, which are the ones most interested in promoting a policy of co-operation, independence and peace.

124. We believe that the United Nations and other international bodies have an important role to play and that they should contribute more and more actively to efforts to ensure the participation of all States in international life on an equal footing, in the interests of détente, independence and peace, and to the democratization of all of international life.

125. For its part, Romania is firmly determined, now and in the future, to expand its relations with all States, irrespective of their social systems. We are actively developing co-operation with all socialist countries, first of all with our neighbours, and with the developing as well as with the developed countries and, indeed, with all States of the world.

126. Our international relations have always been based on equal rights, strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of force and the threat of the use of force, and the right of each people to choose its own means of economic and social development, without any outside interference.

127. In the spirit of Romania's foreign policy of broad international overtures, of peace and co-operation, on the basis of the mandate entrusted by the President of my country, the Romanian delegation is firmly determined, together with other delegations, to make its full contribution to the success of the proceedings of the current session of the General Assembly, which has on its agenda items of particular importance. We are deeply convinced that through responsible commitment and through efforts on the part of all States and Governments and of all peoples, it is possible to avert a world war and a nuclear catastrophe; it is possible to preserve peace, the most precious possession of mankind, to ensure the triumph of a new policy of equality and respect for national independence, and to build a better, more just world.

128. As was recently stressed by the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu:

"Despite the differences in the social systems of our countries or different political and philosophical concepts, even despite the existing divergences and disputes among some States, we must overcome them all and bring to the forefront the interest of each and every people, of all of mankind. We must act with great determination and

must respond to the expectations of the peoples and of all of mankind."

129. Prince Saud AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I should also like to congratulate his friendly country on the prominent international role which it plays. I am confident that his excellent qualifications will facilitate his effective contribution to the success of our deliberations and to the achievement of positive results.

130. On behalf of my Government, may I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the able and objective manner with which Mr. Jorge Illueca, the President of the Republic of Panama and President of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, conducted the work of that session. I should also like to mention here that President Illueca, as the first Head of State to preside over a session of the General Assembly during his term of office, has helped to reinforce, through his prominent position and great competence, an enhanced public awareness of the increasing importance of the United Nations in relations between States and in the life of the peoples of the world.

131. I should like also to express appreciation for the great efforts exerted by the Secretary-General in the various fields and activities of the United Nations. With commendable dedication and perseverance, he has guided the Organization in its endeavours through difficult circumstances in a manner which deserves our appreciation, good wishes, and full support.

132. It gives me great satisfaction, furthermore, to express the happiness of the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia upon the admission of a sister State, Brunei Darussalam, to the United Nations. We are confident that its wise leadership and ancient history will enable it to make an effective contribution to the work of the Organization.

133. The capacity of the United Nations to continue to serve as a safety-valve, trusted and respected for the preservation of international peace and security on the one hand and for the establishment of a just basis for co-operation among States in the political, economic and social fields on the other hand depends to a great extent on its ability to perform its role, not only in confronting problems that endanger international peace and security, but also in finding effective solutions to those problems.

134. However, if we review the events of the past 12 months it becomes evident that we have returned to the General Assembly after a year in which there has been no sign of a breakthrough in resolving international and regional conflicts which threaten peace and security in one region or another. Peoples who have been robbed of their rights and who have been oppressed still survive, but in conditions of deprivation and injustice and in the grip of aggression and expansionism. The world has witnessed no progress towards the resolution of the problems posed by the inequitable economic, financial and trade relations between States. Numerous countries are, moreover, now afflicted by critical social problems, such as the problem of drug addiction, which, in certain areas, has reached epidemic proportions. It could become difficult to contain such problems within the geographic confines of specific States.

Thus, concerted action by the international community is called for to confront and overcome such problems and eradicate their roots, in order to ensure the protection, safety and vitality of societies.

135. The lack of progress in the efforts to find solutions to the key problems threatening peace and stability and to tackle effectively their underlying causes, in their human dimensions, on a just and balanced basis, will hinder our ability to ease for present and future generations the increasing fear of a life filled with crises and disputes.

136. Nevertheless, the discouraging spectacle of the past 12 months, which persists, makes it even more necessary for us to do everything possible to unravel the intricacies of these problems, whether economic, political or social, and to find solutions to them.

137. The role of the United Nations should not be limited simply to stating the prevalence of international problems and crises. Rather it should be to articulate practical suggestions which will enable the international community to confront imminent dangers and find solutions based on justice and objectivity.

138. The non-acceptance by certain States of the supremacy of law, the absence of moral inhibition in their actions and the lack of preventive measures are among the basic factors that cause such States to prefer aggression and expansion and to depend on force for resolving problems. Therefore, if we really want to establish peace and security in the world, we have no alternative but to adopt moral and legal principles to guide us through the intricacies and complexities of modern international relations.

139. In this regard, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, by adhering to Islam as its creed and conviction and to the Koran as its constitution and guide, has established firm foundations for its dealings with other States. Because Islam is a creed that promotes freedom, stands in the way of aggression and exploitation, opposes injustice in all its forms and strives for equity and fairness, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia deals with others on a basis of equality, refrains from interfering in the internal affairs of others and respects the principles of national sovereignty. In the international arena of the United Nations, we comply with its Charter, support its efforts and oppose any action that attempts to weaken it or to replace the authority of international law with the instruments of force and the means of terror. The conduct of relations by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has reflected, and will continue to reflect, its sense of belonging to the whole international community as one family, as well as its belief in the principles of peace based upon right and justice.

140. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, like all the other members of the international community, formulates its position on international matters and crystallizes its foreign relations through its adherence and commitment to international bodies and organizations. In this context, the Kingdom is proud of its membership of the Gulf Co-operation Council, which was established in conformity with the charters and resolutions of the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and with the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Charter of the United Nations. The Kingdom's membership of that Council is not a mere political commitment or temporary attachment; it represents the reality of our destiny, reflect-

ing our common aspirations for a future based upon stability, prosperity and progress. The Council has taken—as Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and for Information of the State of Kuwait pointed out in his speech yesterday [*11th meeting*]*—effective and constructive steps towards the attainment of political, economic, social and cultural co-operation, as well as security, between its member States. It has thus demonstrated that it is a positive factor for stability in the region and a deterrent to foreign interference, especially in problems that are the prime concern of the Gulf States themselves.*

141. The prestige of the United Nations, which embodies the hopes and aspirations of nations and peoples for peace, the confidence placed in it by the international community and its capacity to carry out its responsibilities depend on its ability to find effective solutions to the problems that confront Member States on the one hand, and those that threaten international peace and security on the other.

142. Some of the problems which the United Nations has faced for a considerable time but for which it has been unable to find solutions are becoming increasingly serious and threatening. This is simply the result of a fundamental disregard of the basic reasons underlying these problems. The questions of Palestine, Jerusalem and the Middle East, which confront us and are under consideration here, are clear examples of such an approach.

143. The question of Palestine is the most serious example of international political injustice. It reflects the reality of Israel's reckless attitude towards human principles and established norms and its flagrant defiance of the resolutions adopted by the international community, as represented by the United Nations, as well as its determined pursuit of aggressive policies and racist practices.

144. Israel is without doubt making every effort to create the impression that the question of Palestine has reached such heights of complexity that it is impossible to find a solution to it, and that the Middle East is a region prone to crises and conflicts, aiming by all such claims to perpetuate instability in the region and foment disputes and trouble, thus arousing fear and despair in people's hearts. It seeks thereby to frustrate efforts aimed at establishing a stable peace in the region so that it may carry out its aggressive, expansionist designs without restraint or control.

145. The logic and reality of the situation refute these Israeli claims. The Zionist presence is the reason why this region suffers from crises and conflicts. The claim that the Palestinian question has become so complicated that it is incapable of solution is therefore baseless and should be rejected. The truth at the core of this problem is clear and completely unambiguous. The numerous United Nations resolutions condemning the aggressive acts of Israel and confirming the right of the Palestinian people to their homeland and the Arab character of Jerusalem need no further reiteration here.

146. However, the real impediment and basic obstacle is the reckless attitude of Israel to all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, its obstruction of efforts by the United Nations to solve these problems, its total rejection of any genuine

movement towards peace based on right and justice and its lack of seriousness with regard to all initiatives aimed at establishing peace in the region.

147. While the Camp David agreements cannot serve as a framework for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, as has been proved, Israel claims that its signature on those agreements and its withdrawal from the Sinai prove its inclination towards peace. In reality, however, its ratification of the agreements was a pretext to enable it to annex the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem and the Golan, to expel the legitimate populations of those areas and to install Israeli colonies. It considers those agreements to be an alternative to any other peaceful solution to the problem of the Arab territories it still occupies and in which it practises the ugliest forms of oppression and terror, denying not only the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people but also their right to exist as an entity. Consequently, the Zionist aggression against the Arab States is continuing, despite the false claim that Israel will respond to just demands if it considers that the security it asks for has been realized.

148. The reality of the situation indicates otherwise. Israel still demonstrates through both its conduct of affairs and its aggressive practices that it is seeking land and not peace. That is why we witness the full-scale Israeli effort to stockpile its arsenals with the most modern and destructive weaponry. The extended interpretation of its security claim beyond the Arab fold proves, furthermore, that it is the Arabs and not Israel who are in need of security. Israel has always been the aggressor and has devastating weapons not possessed by any Arab State, while its security is being assured by East and West alike.

149. For their part, the Arabs have proved that they seek peace based on justice, not a peace imposed by force and oppression. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982, demonstrated the definitive Arab momentum towards peace. The Arab States articulated their understanding of the peace process in the decisions contained in their Final Declaration,⁴ decisions based on international legitimacy and conforming to the international will reflected in resolutions of the United Nations.

150. This deep conviction of the Arabs of the necessity of establishing a just and lasting peace in the region should not lead to their paying a high price for believing in justice, right and peace. The Arab States have carried out their historic responsibility and have given all they can to establish peace and stability in the region, thereby affirming their genuine belief in peace as a policy. The Fez decisions once again demonstrate the Arab consensus for a peace based on justice. Those decisions have taken into account the reality of the situation in the region and contain the basic principles that can serve as an objective point of departure for the establishment of a just and durable peace. Among those principles is the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State, on their land, under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

151. The land of Palestine lies in the midst of a large area inhabited by hundreds of millions of people, deep in the geographical heartland of a vast Arab and Muslim world, a fact Israel, by its aggression, continues to defy. Nobody has ventured so far

in imposing such a heavy burden upon the international community, in breaking international laws and conventions and in defying the international will as have the Israelis. As a matter of fact, Israel constitutes a political, economic and moral burden on the States which support it.

152. We believe that what we need now is to make a determined effort towards taking the necessary effective actions and measures for applying and carrying out what has already been adopted in resolutions, as well as to take a definitive stand on the way in which the initiative for peace can be launched.

153. Consequently, it is imperative to address the basic components of a just solution for the question of Palestine, foremost among which is the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, a people tyrannized in their own country, displaced from their homeland and deprived of their natural rights—rights which peoples of all nations of the world enjoy—as well as the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories, especially Jerusalem.

154. In this connection, I should like to reiterate the warning given by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, by all Muslim countries and by all peace-loving States in the world with regard to the gravity of Israel's schemes to alter the physical character of Jerusalem and to violate the security and sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, as well as of other Muslim and Christian shrines in Palestine.

155. A definitive momentum towards peace exists in the Arab and Muslim world. The great fear is that the inability of the United Nations to handle this persistent problem, as well as the stubbornness of Israeli extremism in violating the sanctity of the holy shrines in Palestine, will force the Arab and Islamic nations to mobilize all their capabilities to confront Israeli extremism, at great cost and with consequences which will not affect only the Middle East.

156. The situation in Lebanon remains fully charged with dangers that risk an explosion at any time. The continuation of the Israeli military presence in Lebanon and the persistence of Israel in fomenting disputes and friction among different Lebanese factions, as well as its interference in internal Lebanese affairs, are further proof of its expansionist intentions and aggressive designs.

157. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its sister Arab States have exerted great efforts to co-operate with the Lebanese Government and to support its endeavours to return conditions to normal. We will continue to spare no effort in this direction, but such efforts will not be fruitful and will not bring about genuine peace in Lebanon unless the Israeli invasion and occupation is ended in all its forms and manifestations.

158. Preventing Israel from interfering in the internal affairs of Lebanon and the total unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory are two prerequisites for the normalization of the situation in Lebanon and for the rededication of efforts aimed at the realization of a just and total peace in the Middle East.

159. The war between Iraq and Iran has entered its fifth year and continues to rage. The toll it has exacted from both the Iraqi and the Iranian peoples has been heavy in all areas. It is a senseless and totally unjustifiable war. The Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned

Countries and the United Nations have all called for and worked towards putting an end to this tragedy between two neighbouring countries. Furthermore, the Gulf Co-operation Council, as stated yesterday [11th meeting] by Sheikh Ahmed bin Saif Al-Thani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, has exerted extensive efforts in this direction. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has supported and contributed to all these efforts. Iraq has announced its readiness to stop the war. Iran has not yet responded to that call. This war can have no victors, given the damage it has inflicted upon both countries. The positive attitude displayed by Iraq should be matched by Iran, and an end brought to this bloodshed between two neighbouring Islamic countries. As their immediate neighbour which perceives the gravity of events taking place, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is concerned for the security and stability of those two countries.

160. I should like to recall here the complaint lodged by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, including the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, over the attacks upon shipping in our territorial waters and in adjacent water lanes two months ago. On behalf of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I should like to thank the 13 States in the Security Council which understood the facts of the matter and appreciated the truth. Guided by their realization of the interest that all parties, especially those in the area, have in warding off aggression, they voted on 1 June 1984 in favour of the draft resolution before the Council [resolution 552 (1984)]. That important stand taken by the Security Council has strengthened our hope that the Council will pursue its efforts and that the Secretary-General will continue his good offices to bring about the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war, with its possible repercussions upon the region and the world at large.

161. Among the major problems confronting the international community and requiring urgent and effective solutions is the situation in Afghanistan and the continuing Soviet military occupation of that country. The Soviet presence there has entered its fifth year. The Afghan *mujahidin* are waging a fierce war in defence of their religion, their fatherland and their rights. We reiterate our appeal to the Soviet Union, as a super-Power with a correspondingly great obligation with regard to peace and security in the world, to withdraw from Afghanistan and let the Afghan people determine their own destiny and choose the system that they desire for themselves.

162. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is committed to the stand taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which has called, in particular, for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the granting to the Afghan people of their right to self-determination, this stand being in support of the Islamic people of Afghanistan, their holy war and their right to liberate their country. Furthermore, we support the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General in this regard and draw attention to the fact that any such efforts should take into consideration the rights and demands of the Afghan *mujahidin*.

163. We also wish to express our gratitude once again to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for its great humanitarian role in offering hospitality to more than 3.5 million Afghans. This represents a considerable economic and social burden, which Pakistan continues to bear generously and graciously. Such a noble stand by Pakistan should not expose it to

aggression and violation of its territorial integrity by the puppet Government in Kabul.

164. South Africa—that natural ally of Israel, by virtue of the similarity of their circumstances and interests—still practises the most repugnant form of discrimination, despite repeated world-wide condemnation and rejection and in spite of the international community's call on the South African Government to desist from such policies. We reiterate our denunciation and condemnation of this racist policy and support all the steps taken by the United Nations. South Africa has rejected all humanitarian considerations, as well as appeals made by numerous countries of the world, and has ignored historical realities, being induced by the lure of short-term gain which will lead it to the inevitable and tragic consequences that have befallen every society founded on profound structural contradictions.

165. The persistence of South Africa in rejecting solutions to the problem of Namibia, thereby denying all Namibian rights, can scarcely help it to perceive the consequences of negating the rights of the Namibian people in their own territory. The moral of the lesson of Rhodesia has not yet been grasped by the forces of expansionism and conquest despite the short time that has elapsed since the fall of racist Rhodesia. Namibia must recover its rights in their entirety. All African citizens must live freely in their own land. We support the rights of the Namibian people and stand behind the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in their efforts to eliminate racist practices and end the alien occupation in Namibia.

166. Disarmament has become a vital issue today for the security and progress of the world. The arms race and the gigantic sums being spent to finance it have resulted in increasing tension in the world. This situation has forced many countries, especially developing countries, to earmark a substantial part of their limited resources for defence, at the expense of their progress and social and economic development. In this context, I should like to express our appreciation of the initiatives and resolutions the United Nations has attempted to implement over the years. At the same time, we hope that the efforts by the Organization, which is respected by the whole world, will achieve some progress in protecting humanity from the imminent dangers and safeguard the developing countries from being drawn into the conflicts and the struggles for influence which threaten all humanity. Among the matters on which the United Nations can take decisive action is an embargo on armaments for Israel, South Africa and other States already possessing devastating weaponry, especially because these further complicate global disarmament.

167. Today, as throughout history, economic problems are among the major causes of international tension, whereas they could be among the major factors for the generation of mutual understanding and co-operation. In spite of the increasing signs of economic recovery in some of the major industrialized States, the world still faces a decline in international trade, especially in the trade of developing countries. The rate of unemployment is still high in the industrialized countries, while exchange rates for the major foreign currencies and interest rates are marked by sharp and frequent fluctuations. Moreover, the foreign trade balance and the balance of payments of many industrialized countries continue to suffer from serious inconsistencies, while the

protectionist trend in the developed States is still on the rise.

168. The great disparity among the States of the world with regard to the quantity and kind of natural and material resources they possess renders co-operation between the peoples of the developed and developing countries imperative. That disparity should promote understanding, encourage dialogue and strengthen solidarity among the States of the world, rather than be the pretext for consecrating the imbalance and widening the gap between rich and poor States.

169. As a developing country, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia recognizes from its own realities what difficulties developing nations go through in order to attain the standard of living they desire. Our Kingdom, being aware of its responsibilities as a member of the world community, is anxious to strengthen the bonds of co-operation among States and is eager to participate actively in solving the development problems confronting the developing countries of the world. Accordingly, as soon as it had the financial means, it sought to invest a significant portion of those means in supporting efforts aimed at strengthening the development drive in developing countries. It has become our established and traditional policy to fulfil our commitments in that regard.

170. In this context, the Kingdom reaffirms its belief in the necessity of positive action to achieve the objectives of total development and genuine progress and prosperity for all the peoples of the world. To realize this goal, it is necessary for development assistance both to continue and to increase, which in turn requires genuine co-operative efforts to strengthen existing development organizations and to increase their resources and their capacities to play a more effective and realistic role in meeting the demands of this critical phase. Total development is the basic prerequisite without which we cannot hope for a continuously developing world in which nations can exchange benefits and complement each other's needs.

171. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes that it will be possible to secure the requisite financial resources to effect the necessary economic changes, and to achieve during this decade a reasonable standard of development in the developing countries generally, when the industrialized countries of both the Eastern and the Western blocs shoulder their responsibilities fully and meet their financial obligations under the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] and the targets of official development assistance defined therein. It is no longer possible to accept the excuses given by industrialized States with regard to either the size or the terms of their assistance or their international responsibility in connection with the economic difficulties faced by developing countries.

172. The increasing trade protectionism in the industrialized countries is a regrettable trend which has been proved both useless world-wide and destructive to the foundations of international trade. In the light of this, we repeat our appeal to the industrialized countries to recognize the need to abolish the protectionist measures they have adopted and confirm their commitment to the letter and spirit of the free international trading system. Further, we call upon them to address problems through existing

international channels and in accordance with valid international agreements and covenants.

173. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has pledged its full support for the efforts being exerted to develop and strengthen economic co-operation among developing countries and for the strategy of collective self-reliance. I wish to reiterate and confirm our continued support for these efforts. We consider them to be an integral and complementary part of the efforts being exerted to promote wider international economic co-operation. We accordingly welcome efforts to strengthen trade co-operation among developing countries and to establish a comprehensive system of trade preferences among developing countries, and we wish such efforts success.

174. The complete interdependence of the problems and interests of world trade—commodities, finance and development—means that they must be handled in a comprehensive and complementary manner. This is because focusing on one factor alone will lead to a temporary solution that favours that factor above the others and thus to the dead end to which all previous attempts led us. Consequently, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supports the idea of global economic negotiations and finds no sound alternative for reaching a fair solution of international economic problems that will prove stable and durable.

175. The consciousness of peoples is one of the strongest motive forces of the events of its history. We are living at present in an age in which the most detailed economic data reach the furthest corners of the globe to reveal the full picture of what is taking place. Consequently, the importance of interdependence has become obvious and undeniable. It has also become evident how important for the improvement of international economic conditions is serious collective effort, together with extensive economic co-operation in the solution of international economic problems. The developing countries have demonstrated their genuine desire for sincere co-operation to promote the welfare of the international community through their great flexibility and distinct inclination towards practicality and objectivity in making their demands in the field of international economic co-operation for development. They have long been awaiting a positive response from the industrialized countries. The world community is called upon today to reinforce confidence in the institutions and mechanisms of international economic co-operation and especially in the programmes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

176. I take this opportunity to call upon the industrialized countries not to lose a golden opportunity for establishing the foundations of fruitful co-operation between themselves and the developing countries, and to be instrumental without further delay in reviving a serious dialogue and starting a new round of global economic negotiations, in a spirit of mutual confidence and sincere co-operation, for the good of the international community. At the same time, we call upon the developing countries to maintain the momentum in a realistic and flexible manner. I want to reiterate our firm belief that the difficulties which face our efforts to activate international economic co-operation and build a new international economic order based on justice should not in any circumstances become a reason for despair. On the contrary, they should motivate us to continue our efforts for the well-being of humanity.

177. Reviewing present international conditions, we find that international problems have but increased in depth and gravity. This is confirmation to us that the role of the United Nations acquires greater importance whenever the possibilities and opportunities for interaction and co-operation among States increase.

178. Peace based on justice and not peace based on the balance of terror is the objective of this international Organization. Indeed, it is the only path to security and stability. The consciousness of injustice among peoples deprived of self-determination is the most explosive time bomb threatening the world.

179. All of us, I am sure, hope that this session of the Assembly will provide an excellent opportunity for the peoples of the world to find solutions to their regional and global problems, with wisdom and a sense of collective responsibility. Certainly it is in our common interest to strive for the superiority of law and justice over oppression, and for freedom over subjugation, so that peace may prevail and nations may realize their dreams in progress and prosperity.

180. Mr. SCEBERRAS TRIGONA (Malta): I would like first of all to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and to welcome to our midst a new Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam.

181. The essential task of the international community is to identify collective action leading to the peace and prosperity in which the citizens of each Member State can pursue their individual destinies. Each year in the General Assembly we take stock of our endeavours in this direction. For the region of the Mediterranean, this year has witnessed significant developments in the process aimed at transforming our region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation.

182. At the beginning of the year, when the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe opened at Stockholm, all the non-aligned Mediterranean States were given an opportunity to address the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on confidence- and security-building measures in the Mediterranean as part and parcel of the process of confidence- and security-building measures in the whole of Europe. As I had the opportunity to state in my address to the opening meeting of the Stockholm Conference, "tension and confrontation in the Mediterranean are both a result, and in turn a cause, of tension and confrontation in other parts of Europe". For that reason, Mediterranean countries would examine all confidence- and security-building proposals at Stockholm in the light of their applicability to Mediterranean security issues, especially the seriously deteriorating naval military confrontational situation in our region.

183. A second important development in our region concerned the first-ever ministerial meeting of the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which took place at Valletta on 10 and 11 September 1984. The Foreign Ministers of Egypt, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia and Yugoslavia and Ministers from Algeria and Cyprus, together with the Head of the Political Department of the PLO, participated in that important meeting and agreed on a declaration which lays down the

basis for transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and co-operation.

184. The non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean are conscious of the continuing need to intensify their efforts for peace in a world which, unfortunately, is progressively becoming a more dangerous and a much less kind place for our citizens to live in. The Secretary-General has once again focused attention on the two related elements of the dilemma—the headlong rush towards nuclear catastrophe and the callousness with which pressing development needs are denied the necessary resources.

185. The reckless reliance upon increasing armaments, especially nuclear armaments, exacerbates tension, rather than increasing security. The accumulating and expanding grievances owing to poverty, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy are fast reaching explosive points at both national and international levels. The most outrageous fact of all is that so many resources continue to be poured into the armaments race instead of being devoted to redressing the needs and pressures of development.

186. Underlying this dangerous reality is the phenomenon of two contending military alliances, each led by a massive super-Power which places its interests and objectives as inevitably superior to those of other nations. The majority of mankind today faces the supreme arrogance of a handful of industrially and technologically advanced nations which take it for granted that, nearly as a divine right, their citizens should increase their already well-established well-being and enhance their already well-protected security even at the cost of denying the most basic needs of livelihood and existence to the rest of their fellow beings.

187. Those nations consider that the pursuit of their security is primordial, even to the extent of intruding upon the stability of other regions and countries. They assume automatically that because they possess might of armaments they also possess wisdom of action and that, consequently, whatever they decide as being good and useful for themselves must and should be good and useful for others.

188. We have witnessed over recent months even more disconcerting manifestations of this phenomenon. In the Middle East, in Central Asia and in Central America, the two super-Powers have felt no inhibition in using force or manifestations of force to thwart local developments which they have unilaterally defined as inimical to their interests. They have felt no inhibitions in continuing to pour new and more lethal armaments into already tense areas like the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, particularly near the Gulf region, and the Pacific, because their interests so dictated. In spite of their protestations in favour of freedom and democracy, they have failed to act effectively to redress the injustices of *apartheid* in South Africa and the oppression in Namibia. In spite of their claims to humanity, they have found it more useful to send costly satellites into orbit, to deploy new missiles and to develop ever more expensive and lethal weaponry than to encourage and implement measures to relieve the hunger and the poverty of so many peoples or to soften the massive debt burden of so many nations.

189. As has often been noted, the objective of the United Nations is to replace the arbitrary action of individual nations by collectively agreed action. The United Nations is a substitute for, not an extension

of, the Yalta arrangements. Individual nations do not lose their identity or sovereignty but, rather, enhance their dignity and freedom of action by participating in the decision-making possible through the United Nations.

190. It is perhaps logical that it has been the emergent nations of the world which have most appreciated the essential value of collective action. All of us pursued our individual struggle for liberation within the framework of the global revolt against colonialism. Today, as free and sovereign States we pursue the security and prosperity of our peoples in the full knowledge that unless our actions are mutually supportive we will fail to escape from the poverty and oppression which still engulf most of us.

191. The movements and initiatives which the emergent nations have originated have therefore been intimately linked with the work of the United Nations. Malta's work in the Security Council comes to an end this year. It is perhaps appropriate to recall that on this very day, the members of the Council have unanimously agreed on a second report on the strengthening of the Council's work which Malta was entrusted to prepare. Our initiatives at the international level have found their fullest expression in the creation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, which this year is celebrating its twentieth anniversary. Both of those groups define their objectives and pursue their actions in strict conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

192. Our more specific initiatives at the regional level have been conceived just as strictly in the context of our pursuit of collective action at the global level. The need for collective action at the regional level arises both from the disparate needs of different regions and the different manifestations of super-Power rivalry in various parts of the globe. In contrast with the initiatives of the industrialized nations, however, the regional initiatives of the developing and non-aligned nations, in both the economic and the security fields, remain integrally linked with their initiatives at the global level.

193. Over recent years such initiatives have assumed concrete form and achieved a clear substance. In South-East Asia the countries of ASEAN have pioneered the new road towards regional initiatives. Moving away from the series of regional military arrangements imposed earlier within the framework of the armed alliances, the ASEAN initiative rests upon the foundation of enhancing security and co-operation throughout their region, without at any point jeopardizing security and co-operation at the wider level.

194. Malta has followed with interest and encouragement the calm and constructive manner in which the ASEAN nations have been pursuing the objective of securing the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea; the forms of economic co-operation among themselves which they are forging not in isolation but as a formative link in their economic relations with other countries; and the openness of their actions to the involvement of other nations in their region and beyond so that they may join in the collective endeavours towards regional and global security and co-operation.

195. The initiative of the Gulf Co-operation Council, while dealing with different security issues and relating to different economic conditions, is, how-

ever, conceived in the same mould. The tragedy of the fratricidal struggle between Iran and Iraq is a matter of the gravest concern to all non-aligned and developing nations. Malta's objective is not to favour one side over the other or to foment differences but, rather, to impress upon both sides the need for an immediate cessation of hostilities leading to a peaceful, just and lasting resolution of the differences which divide them. Malta is encouraged to see that all the initiatives taken by the countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council are intended in that direction. We support their aims to avoid an enlargement of the conflict, to discourage super-Power meddling or involvement and to maintain sea and air lanes free for commercial traffic, while at the same time seeking to protect their security interests and to encourage the contending nations to resolve their conflict.

196. In Central America the Contadora Group initiative provides yet another successful example of how developing and non-aligned countries can serve as a motivating force for a resolution of conflicts and tensions in their region. The struggle of the peoples of Central America to rid themselves of the oppression of foreign economic and military interference has been long and arduous. Those who through bitter and heroic struggle have achieved their objectives still face the hidden intrigues and open aggression of outside interference. The proposals which the Contadora Group has formulated for resolving the suspicions and hatreds, the pressures and intrigues and the outside military interference which harass the region are constructive and far-reaching. They deserve the full co-operation of all countries directly concerned and the support of peace-loving States world wide.

197. These and other regional initiatives by developing and non-aligned countries share common foundations in spite of the different circumstances in which they are unfolding. They all stress the need for regional States themselves to take the leading role in resolving problems of their region. They prove that approaches based on dialogue and co-operation are much more fruitful than reliance upon armed might in resolving problems. They emphasize the need for outside Powers, and in particular the super-Powers, to stop meddling in the destinies of different regions, either directly through military presence or indirectly through the use of proxies.

198. It is a great satisfaction to report further on the meeting which—acting upon a mandate given to them by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983—the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Valletta earlier this month to concert their views and devise initiatives for co-operation and for strengthening security in the Mediterranean.

199. Since time immemorial, the Mediterranean has been considered by predominant military Powers as a special preserve for their global empire-building. Much of the fighting of the Second World War was undertaken in or around our region. A string of military bases then dotted our shores. The flow of commercial traffic has traditionally been punctuated by the flow of military hardware.

200. The end of the Second World War spelt the demise of the colonial era. In the Mediterranean, however, the withdrawal of the colonial Powers was immediately replaced by the intrusion of super-Power presence. First, the United States Sixth Fleet and,

soon after, the growing Soviet naval capability invaded and took over our waters. For Mediterranean peoples the struggle against colonialism therefore merged into the struggle to rid the region of the military presence of outside Powers. Even after the achievement of our independence, the pressures upon us to maintain and even increase the military facilities available in our region for use by the military alliances, very often even against our own interest, remained in force.

201. Dedication to the policy of non-alignment has therefore meant an uphill struggle for those Mediterranean countries which chose to pursue it. Malta's experience exemplifies the difficulties we have had to surmount and the determination that was required to secure our objectives. We have had to struggle consistently to escape from the shackles of post-colonial tutelage and to eliminate all foreign military presence from our soil, in order finally to be able to adopt the status of neutrality, based on non-alignment, which we defined as the most appropriate manner in which we could pursue our national development and at the same time contribute towards security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

202. The policy measures we applied to pursue our objectives have been the object of slander and attack, open and covert opposition, even outright aggression from reactionary forces both inside and outside our country. Our internal social and economic policies were deliberately misconstrued and our expanding relations with other countries maliciously misinterpreted in an attempt to distort our objectives and obstruct our endeavours. Even such measures as the introduction of free hospitals and medical services and free education for all our citizens have been and in some cases are still being accompanied by the rabid opposition of vested interests. That we have prevailed is due to our tenacity and to the strength we derived from our friends in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and elsewhere.

203. Together with the other Mediterranean countries which have accomplished their national struggle for freedom and dignity, we realize that the elimination of all foreign military presence from our territories is only the first step in ridding our region of the tension and confrontation that characterize it. As long as the Mediterranean remains a focal point of super-Power confrontation we cannot feel free and secure to pursue our national destinies and resolve our regional problems in the manner we consider most appropriate. We cannot feel free and secure as long as our sea remains the playground for the United States Sixth Fleet to flex its muscles whenever it desires, as long as the Soviet Navy uses our sea as its backyard, as long as two major navies and a number of smaller ones use our sea as the domain of their ever-enlarging war games, as long as our region is riddled with staging posts for rapid troop deployment, and as long as nuclear weapons beneath and above our waters, and even on the adjoining mainland, remain the frightening daily reality.

204. The concern and dismay voiced by non-aligned Mediterranean countries at these developments do not spring from any sense of antagonism to either one or the other of the super-Powers. Neither is it our wish to stand in the way of the pursuit by any country, regional or not, of its legitimate commercial and security interests. Our sea has always been a point of contact and a means of transit for different

cultures and peoples. Our aim is to enhance this traditional function by transforming it into a zone of peace, co-operation and security based on the principles of non-alignment.

205. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries, meeting at Valletta, were deeply conscious of the far-reaching significance of the action they were taking and the widespread support that accompanied their initiative. Their deliberations were followed directly by representatives of the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, India, and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, who attended as observers. Messages of support from sympathetic foreign ministers came from many countries, including China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The Deputy Foreign Minister of Greece personally attended the formal opening session of the meeting. These expressions of support in themselves constitute an acknowledgement that the initiative of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries is not a self-enclosed one but rather opens itself up to the involvement of the aligned States of the region. In this context, it is to be hoped that future meetings of this nature will be followed even more closely and attentively by the southern European States of the Mediterranean.

206. The Final Declaration adopted at the Valletta meeting has been distributed as a document of the General Assembly [A/39/526 and Corr.1]. I should like to underline some of the most significant elements that emerged from this first ministerial meeting of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries ever held.

207. In the first instance, particular importance is to be attached to the fact that the Ministers of the non-aligned countries devoted their special attention to "the presence of foreign fleets, military bases and facilities to be used for aggression against non-aligned members" [*ibid.*, para. 11], which they considered as having serious consequences for their security interests. In the light of this assessment, the non-aligned Mediterranean countries agreed upon what turns out to be the central point of their declaration, namely, their solemn reaffirmation of the three fundamental and interrelated aspects of their whole approach to questions of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region: first, their commitment not to use force or the threat of force among themselves; secondly, their undertaking never to permit military bases or facilities for great Power presence in their region; and, thirdly, their invitation to other Mediterranean European States to adhere strictly to the principle of the non-use or threat of force, and in particular not to use their own armaments and forces, nor allow the use of bases and military facilities against non-aligned Mediterranean members. We have here the essential foundation upon which a peaceful and secure Mediterranean can be achieved.

208. At the same time, the Valletta meeting conclusively demonstrated that whatever problems exist in our region they do not preclude the possibility of collective action for security and co-operation. Individual differences between any of the participants did not prevent them from asserting together that the Valletta meeting constituted

"a step of major political significance aimed at strengthening the efforts of the Mediterranean non-

aligned countries to transform the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation, in conformity with the decisions of the Non-Aligned Movement and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, in particular resolution 38/189 . . . " [*ibid.*, para. 4].

209. The non-aligned Mediterranean countries have now clearly identified the measures which need to be pursued both for the resolution of the specific problems of their region and to reduce the overall level of tension and confrontation in the Mediterranean.

210. On the Middle East they reiterated the fundamental position that

"a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and the solution of the Palestinian question cannot be achieved without the total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 6 June 1967, and the full exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole legitimate representative, including the right of return, self-determination without external interference and the right to national independence and sovereignty, including the right to establish an independent Palestinian State in its homeland, Palestine" [*ibid.*, para. 9].

To this end the Ministers of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries expressed their support for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East in conformity with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C.

211. On the question of Lebanon, the Ministers "decided to intensify efforts to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli forces, as the continued Israeli occupation is the main factor obstructing national reconciliation in Lebanon" [*ibid.*, para. 7 (d)].

212. On the question of Cyprus, the Ministers "called for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces" and "pledged their full support to the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General in the solution of the problem and urged him to continue and intensify his current efforts" [*ibid.*, para. 10].

213. Finally, the Mediterranean non-aligned countries made it clear that they envisage the process of Mediterranean security and co-operation as involving a dialogue of full equality between them and the aligned States of the Mediterranean. They identified two major areas in which this dialogue has to be conducted with the utmost urgency. One concerns the process of confidence and security-building. It was stressed that, "for the process begun at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe to unfold effectively, adequate measures for the Mediterranean region must be agreed to, through a dialogue on the basis of equality" [*ibid.*, para. 14]. The other concerns the economic relations between non-aligned Mediterranean countries and the European Economic Community [EEC]. It was stressed that co-operation must "take due account of the legitimate concern of the non-aligned Mediterranean members, especially in the sectors of human resources, trade and economic development" [*ibid.*, para. 19].

214. The results of the Valletta meeting therefore provide a sober and firm basis for action aimed at reversing the tension and confrontation which exist in the Mediterranean and which pose a threat to the

peace and security not only of the region itself but also of the international community in general. We expect other countries in our region and the super-Powers themselves to take up the challenge which has been set. They should recognize that the Valletta Declaration, far from being an isolated and soon forgotten expression of solidarity, reflects with precision and clarity the political realities of our region. Mediterranean countries, not only the non-aligned among them, are seriously concerned at the security situation in the region; they are worried and dismayed at the growing manifestations of super-Power confrontation around them; they are keen to see a peaceful, just and lasting resolution of the problems of the region, notably the question of Palestine and that of Cyprus.

215. It has to be recognized that in the background of the Valletta Declaration lies the political will and action of the various protagonists in our region aimed at resolving the problems which exist. It would be a great mistake on the part of either super-Power to ignore the positive implications of recent developments regarding problems in North Africa, to misjudge the common desire for national reconciliation and the return to full sovereignty over their territory of the people of Lebanon, or to bypass the process of healing of wounds taking place in Cyprus.

216. The members of the EEC should accept the hand of co-operation which is being extended to them by the developing countries of the Mediterranean. They should respond to this call by transforming their present tight-fisted and protectionist attitude into policies which open their markets for the products of other Mediterranean countries on equitable terms and conditions and which utilize resources available in the region on the basis of mutual benefit. The forthcoming Venice seminar on economic, cultural and scientific co-operation in the Mediterranean of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which in its turn is a follow-up to the Valletta meeting of February 1979, offers an ideal opportunity for the EEC member countries to demonstrate a new and more positive attitude towards co-operation in the Mediterranean. We shall go to Venice expecting that the EEC will not miss this opportunity, albeit already belated, to reverse a trend which, if maintained, could not but contribute towards a further polarization of attitudes in the region.

217. The nations participating in the Conference on Confidence-and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, should now respond to the call for a full dialogue on Mediterranean security, in the light of their acknowledgement that there can be no security in Europe without security in the Mediterranean. The attempt to hide behind such technicalities as the assertion that the whole of Europe does not include the European waters of the Mediterranean, or that the massive naval deployment in the Mediterranean can somehow be considered a phenomenon independent of what happens on the European mainland, is certainly not the proper spirit in which to consider the question of Mediterranean and European security in a serious manner.

218. Non-aligned Mediterranean countries want to ensure that their territorial waters are fully respected, that their enclosed high sea is used scrupulously and exclusively for the purpose of peace and that the question of whether or not nuclear weapons should

be deployed barely 100 or so miles from their populations should be a matter on which they are fully consulted. Unless these questions are considered in detail both within the Conference on Confidence-and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and in separate and equal dialogue between Conference participants and the non-aligned Mediterranean countries, security and confidence-building cannot be achieved either in the Mediterranean or in Europe itself.

219. The non-aligned Mediterranean countries are determined steadfastly to pursue and reinforce the regional process which they launched at Valletta. For this purpose, they have agreed to meet again in the future and to utilize all available forums, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries itself. Those of us who are participants in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will also follow-up at Stockholm all the relevant questions raised at Valletta.

220. What non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean are doing in their region forms an integral link with what other non-aligned countries are doing elsewhere. Reference has already been made to other regional initiatives. I should also like to mention here the initiatives concerning transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, as well as the efforts by the front-line States of southern Africa to bring justice and stability to their region.

221. The people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it must be remembered, are also still struggling to reunite their divided country. In this context, Malta wishes to reiterate its support for the proposals for tripartite discussion, and the eventual solution of setting up a confederal republic in Korea. We urge all the parties concerned to approach these constructive proposals in an open and co-operative spirit. Like many other countries, Malta fails to understand the justification for a continuing presence of foreign troops in South Korea after a number of recent developments have taken place which significantly alter the factors which contributed to the placing of those troops there in the first place.

222. A few peoples, notably the Palestinian and Namibian peoples, are still engaged in the struggle to achieve freedom and sovereignty. To them we extend our fullest support, sympathy and encouragement.

223. For the large number of other emergent peoples, the national liberation struggle is today almost a whole generation away. However, we can look back and recognize that our struggle for liberation did not end when our people became free to hoist their own flag and play their national anthem on their own territory. Liberation means much more than that. It means, most significantly, the freedom to adopt those social and economic policies at the national level which we consider most just and applicable for our particular developmental and cultural conditions.

224. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the economic and social policies we adopt at the national level inevitably interface with the realities beyond our own frontiers. The structures supporting international economic relations, the methods governing the flow of information and the strategic conditions encompassing our regions both affect and in turn are affected by the social and economic policies we adopt at the national level.

225. Given the inequitable structures of existing international economic relations and information flows and the predominant position of a few industrially advanced nations, the realities beyond our frontiers have hitherto been more of a constraint than a help to our development process. It is for this reason that the developing countries have raised the call for new international orders both in the economic and in the information fields. It is equally for this reason that they are increasingly seeking an active role in matters relating to the security as much as to the economic situation in their regions.

226. It is in this spirit that Malta has been pursuing its national and regional policies under a socialist Government. Thanks to the far-reaching and comprehensive social and economic reforms we have introduced over the past 13 years, Maltese society today presents a much more humane and just picture than was the case while we were still under post-colonial tutelage. Our health and education policies, our pension systems, unemployment and sickness benefits, and a vast range of allowances for children, orphans and widows today ensure that no member of our society is downtrodden or forgotten. It has been our consistent endeavour to ensure that, while each individual in our society is given the fullest opportunity to enlarge and fulfil his or her own personality and pursue his personal aspirations, that person will not be permitted to do so at the expense of the legitimate rights and aspirations of other members of society.

227. In our economic and other relations with other countries we expect our partners in our region and elsewhere to co-operate with us in applying complementary and mutually beneficial measures to improve the well-being of our respective populations. Time and time again, the developing countries have emphasized that the existing structures of international trade and technology flows do not facilitate mutually beneficial relationships, but on the contrary favour the strong against the weak. Time and time again, we have complained how the terms and conditions of international payments are continually manipulated to work against our interests.

228. As long as these calls remain unheeded we have to take our own independent remedial action to safeguard our interests and hard-won gains. Over the past 13 years under its socialist Government, Malta, lacking all forms of indigenous natural resources, has built up, through careful planning, the collective efforts of its people and the assistance of its friends, an external reserve which permits it today to possess at least one sure means of defence against adversity. An indication of the extent of our collective effort emerges from the fact that for the last two years the Maltese people have succeeded in freezing both prices and earnings.

229. Obviously we are not prepared to see our years of effort and sacrifice undermined through the unjust and biased trading systems the industrialized market economy countries are seeking to perpetuate. To those countries that enjoy a continuous and substantial trading surplus with us we have made it clear that means of redress must be found on a mutually agreed basis. We are not prepared to keep on purchasing goods and services from those who are not ready to give us something in return—be it in terms of increasing their purchases from us, or in terms of a transfer of technology in our favour which would help us operate more effectively on their markets, or

in terms of some other form of industrial and commercial co-operation which is acceptable to us.

230. We are certainly far from proposing some form of passive co-operation in which a one-way flow of assistance or aid does more to undermine our sovereignty and harm our productive capacity than anything else. On the contrary, what we seek is a partnership on the basis of equality where the efforts and benefits are shared both ways. We can offer to our partners the skills and expertise of our workers which have grown and developed over the years, as our economy has itself grown and diversified. We offer them the benefits of our many political initiatives through which, on the basis of reciprocal trading and banking arrangements with countries ranging from the Mediterranean region to the Far East, we have obtained for our products and services access to new and expanding markets.

231. The opportunities these achievements offer to the small number of industrialized countries that still need to reduce the huge trading surplus they enjoy with us are not limited simply to the possibility of increasing their purchases from us. There also exists the vast potential of joint investment with us, as our successful experience with some of our partners already demonstrates. For those countries who have yet to take up these opportunities, we continue to extend the offer of mutually beneficial co-operation. But we must make it equally clear that we will not tolerate any longer a biased and lopsided relationship where the benefits are only in their favour.

232. The battle cry of the developing world has always been "trade not aid". The Maltese people expect their legitimate rights, not any form of charity. With distant Japan, negotiations on this basis can now start.

233. All the more did the Maltese people expect Italy to translate good-neighbourly relations into positive acts. Our commercial disequilibrium with Italy has reached alarming proportions. This is no longer tolerable. From now on, no Maltese will buy anything from a country which does not buy Maltese products in return. Malta's legitimate rights cannot be assured by Italy's empty promises but by concrete actions—actions alone speak louder than words.

234. Together with other countries in our region, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, here in the United Nations and elsewhere, we are determined to continue to work in pursuit of just and equitable relationships. The difficulties facing us are indeed daunting, but not unavoidably overwhelming. What many like us in Malta have achieved at the national level, what so many non-aligned and other developing countries are achieving at the regional level, are elements of hope and encouragement for ourselves and for others.

235. We realize that without the full co-operation of the more fortunate and advanced members of the international community our difficulties will be unduly compounded. We trust that they will finally appreciate the desire for peace and justice which inspires all our endeavours and will join us in seeking to transform this planet from one of crisis which it currently is to a home of serenity and prosperity which it has such an immense potential of becoming.

236. Mr. NZEYIMANA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Once again I am honoured to head the delegation of Burundi in the work of the annual session of the General Assembly. I can say that I see

in this not a ritual presence but a special responsibility and a very acute awareness of the numerous serious concerns of all Member States, of regions and of the entire international community assembled here.

237. But my first duty is to tell Mr. Lusaka how gratified I am at the confidence which the General Assembly, in electing him President of this session, has shown in Zambia, a neighbouring friendly country, as well as in its distinguished President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. I whole-heartedly congratulate him as well as the other officers of the Assembly.

238. My delegation also is happy to welcome Brunei Darussalam. We warmly greet it as a new Member of the United Nations family.

239. Recently, following presidential elections by direct universal suffrage—the first which were ever held in the history of our country and which marked the culmination of the process of the establishment of definitive democratic institutions in our political system—a solemn ceremony was held for the investiture of the President of the Republic of Burundi, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, for a new term of office. On that occasion, Colonel Bagaza stated the following, which is quite appropriate in this forum:

“We appeal to all countries throughout the world to join efforts to ensure the development of all parts of the world, to contribute to the acquisition of and respect for the freedom and independence of countries and peoples and to struggle for international peace and security.”

240. That message by the most authoritative spokesman of our people shows that the Republic of Burundi places great hopes in international solidarity and co-operation, for which the United Nations is the best possible instrument. None the less, we must note that the era when the United Nations was established—an era when wisdom, resulting from fear, prevailed—has long since passed, and the Organization is now tending to fall apart and to lose the essence of its ideal. It seems to be lending itself to immobility, to impotence, and public opinion appears to have lost faith in it.

241. How can one assess what has happened since the last session of the Assembly without using the word “failure”? This is seriously disquieting both in regard to peace and security and in regard to world development—and yet these are the two major concerns of our time.

242. With regard to peace and security, one would seek in vain any reasons for satisfaction—whether we are talking about wars, conflicts, tensions or the rights of peoples to freedom or independence in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf, in South-East Asia; whether we are talking about the intolerable situation in southern Africa or the insecurity reigning in Central America; whether we are talking, finally, about rivalries of ideological blocs or about disarmament negotiations. The only ray of light in this rather sombre international picture is the recent initiative to resolve the situation in Chad. With all our hearts, we desire for that country so dear to our region a process of national reconciliation, unity and reconstruction.

243. As for world economic development, the situation has become even worse, for the majority of countries, in the last 12 months. Indeed, a turning inward, resulting from both selfishness and incomprehension, is seriously compromising international

co-operation. The economic recovery which is spoken of in some industrialized countries is scarcely noticeable in the developing countries, which are more than ever before burdened by debt, the fall in the prices of raw materials, the trade deficit, the effects of natural disasters, and the slowing down of economic and commercial activities. The recession which has struck the developed countries has strengthened protectionism, thereby worsening the debt burden of third-world countries and their balance-of-payments difficulties.

244. And so it seems that the world is in the grip of a multidimensional crisis, which has tragic effects on the developing countries. Despite the great achievements of research and of scientific and technological development, which opened up prospects of unlimited progress, a large part of the world's population has no access to the fruits of those achievements. The gap between the developed world and the developing countries, between the rich and the poor, is constantly widening.

245. At the same time, the United Nations system—which was to be the framework for dialogue and joint efforts and was designed to harmonize varying positions—engenders neither cohesion nor compromise. On the contrary, it is becoming a place for confrontation, for cruel indifference, for the sterile expression of hitherto repressed feelings, for contradictory or propaganda speeches. But, in establishing the United Nations, the international community entrusted it with the objectives of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation. Those objectives were the reflection of the sentiments of reconciliation and generosity of a world that had just emerged from the horror of war. Its sole ambition was to ensure the full development of the human being.

246. To be sure, during the almost 40 years of the Organization's existence, progress has been made and should continue to be made. For instance, the establishment and functioning of the United Nations, of its specialized agencies and of its operational instruments have contributed to the improvement of human well-being, to the decolonization of many countries, to the elaboration of a wide juridical system of international norms. I am ready to recognize that the co-operation between Burundi and the United Nations system has been a real source of satisfaction and hope to my Government.

247. But the United Nations system has gradually become discredited. Within it, trends have emerged that are contrary to the feelings which prevailed at its birth. There is an ever more marked lack of faith in multilateral co-operation.

248. And have not the United Nations conferences on trade and development become the almost living symbol of a world at odds with itself? That kind of conference is no longer anything but a forum for false meetings, for dialogues of the deaf, or, quite simply, for the lamentable confrontation of two monologues: that of the North and that of the South. The developed countries have become less and less interested in this framework on which the developing countries had based their future. The aspirations of peoples and countries have once again met with the opposition of forces that are doing everything possible to perpetuate the unequal relations and the privileges that history gave them.

249. UNIDO is also a long way from meeting the challenge of the industrial take-off of the developing countries. Its most recent conference—the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984—only confirmed, unfortunately, that the selfishness of the privileged countries is still very much with us.

250. Whether on the monetary, financial, commercial, industrial, or development aid level, international co-operation has come to a standstill. This situation has been a catastrophe for entire peoples.

251. The 1984 study on the world economy⁵ is clear on one point: the situation in the sub-Saharan regions of Africa is especially serious. That part of the continent is experiencing a crisis that is unfortunately accelerating and worsening. Per capita income is constantly decreasing, the rate of production growth is lower than the rate of population growth, the cost of debt-servicing continues to rise and the budgetary and balance-of-payment situations continue to deteriorate. Forecasts by such highly respected technical authorities as the World Bank and the Economic Commission for Africa predict a very dark future for Africa, going from a 1 per cent decrease to an infinitesimally small annual growth of 0.1 per cent in per capita income—I repeat, a 1 per cent decrease to an infinitesimally small annual growth of 0.1 per cent in per capita income.

252. Unfortunately, contingent problems accompany such structural problems. Unpredictable weather conditions have caused a noticeable decrease in agricultural production, which has, in turn, created a serious food crisis and led to a massive population exodus.

253. A high-ranking United Nations official, speaking of Africa, recently said: "Today, a kind of permanent state of emergency prevails there." It is imperative, therefore, that the urgent measures be taken that alone can enable Africa to escape from this situation into which it has been plunged by the constraints of history and an economic system built on inequitable foundations. These odds cannot be overcome without the active goodwill and solidarity of the entire international community. The assistance of the most advanced countries is indispensable to Africa, a land of unexploited potential, a continent experiencing acute growing pains.

254. Indeed, in the history of nations, each people, each country, each continent, is indebted to the contributions of others—in culture, in technology, in inventions, in natural resources; every empire and every economic power has been built thanks to the assistance of others. It is only fair that Africa be given its chance. And it is important to emphasize that assistance based purely on specific cases will not meet the situation. It is necessary, as the French Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasized in his statement to the Assembly [8th meeting], to support and put into effect the proposal to establish a special fund. Such a fund would be used to support the programmes of structural reform and recovery measures which the majority of African countries are now courageously undertaking.

255. This also seems to me to be the moment to make a new appeal to the sense of responsibility of the leaders of those developed countries that have not yet met the target set by the United Nations for official development assistance. In this connection,

we must congratulate those countries that have met or exceeded that target and that have shown that the standard of living and well-being of their own citizens have not been adversely affected thereby.

256. Similarly, we must follow closely the efforts and attempts being made to implement the special programme for the least developed countries, which are not prepared to resign themselves to relegation to the scrap heap of development.

257. At a time when we are preparing to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the Organization should become a driving force for international co-operation. But that cannot happen without the massive, increasing and continued support of the international community for the restoration of multilateralism. Confidence in the capability of international institutions is in the interest of all peoples.

258. However, it will take more than good intentions and mere hopes to get the world out of the present crisis, which is a structural one. Development must become the problem of all the peoples. Decision-making on questions of vital interest to the peoples must no longer be the monopoly of certain countries. The developed countries must make up their minds to engage in serious negotiations to find workable solutions to the world economic crisis, which has been created and is exacerbated by the inequalities and injustices in international economic relations. In a world in which resources are limited and unequally distributed, where poverty, deprivation, ignorance and destitution are the daily lot of the majority of peoples, only the establishment of a new international economic order can provide a lasting source of peace and security.

259. Similarly, we consider that the negotiations under way on the establishment of a new information order should be pursued. Is it not partly owing to the unilateral nature of information that there is no equality or equity among the different cultures mentioned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany just two days ago [8th meeting]? Is it not because information is unilateral that the problems of development are poorly or little understood by the world public?

260. How, in an interdependent world, can we ignore the implications and the importance of communications in establishing harmony among the peoples, avoiding disputes and wars and establishing peace and collective security?

261. Just as it longs for economic prosperity, so the world of today also longs for peace and security.

262. Current trends in the international situation give real cause for concern. Recourse to the threat or use of force, military intervention, interference in the internal affairs of States have become everyday practice, in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

263. The developing world, a realm of poverty, is also becoming the realm of violence. The third-world countries are also, unfortunately, the testing grounds for the new weapons of the Powers that produce them.

264. Every year at this rostrum we deplore the state of war that has now become a familiar background in certain regions. The Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Central America, southern Africa, South-East Asia—to mention but those few—have gradually become accustomed to war.

265. Mankind has retained only a distant and rapidly fading memory of the collective peace that was called for at the end of the Second World War. Each day, pacifism loses ground to militarism. Every country, beginning, paradoxically, with the most powerful, is seeking so-called security based on the stockpiling of weapons, and every country claims that it is arming solely in order the better to defend itself.

266. Would it not be wiser and more sensible to forestall the event, to avert the outbreak of war, than to resign oneself to awaiting it as if it were a predestined and natural phenomenon, by establishing a framework of good-neighbourliness, co-operation and solidarity that would lead to a climate of mutual trust?

267. In keeping with the principles that led to the establishment of the United Nations, as well as those on which the OAU is based, my Government, for its part, will contribute to anything that can promote the stability and security of the countries of our region. Thus, in our own geographical environment, thanks to formal or tacit agreements of good-neighbourliness, Burundi lives in total peace and security with bordering countries, notwithstanding the problems that may exist in any one of them. This is an essential pre-condition of the development of our country and we cannot allow countries from outside our region to disturb this balance which we have not always enjoyed in the past. We believe that this is the best way to behave if we are to act in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to contribute to establishing a climate of peace and security for the whole world.

268. With regard to troubled regions, the most disquieting and dangerous situation in Africa and the one which can least be tolerated is to be found in the southern part of the continent. We must not only condemn but vigorously combat the system of *apartheid* institutionalized by the racist régime of Pretoria. The inhuman policy practised by South Africa is a source of instability for the subregion and constitutes the most outrageous violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The non-white peoples of South Africa are humiliated daily. They live like foreigners in their own country.

269. The so-called consultations of the people recently organized by the Pretoria régime and intended to mislead world opinion can deceive nobody. The so-called constitutional reforms, which exclude blacks from participation in the power structures, are nothing but a perpetuation and further strengthening of *apartheid*.

270. South African attacks on neighbouring countries hostile to the Fascist policy are an affront to all States faithful to the principles of the United Nations. The entire world has followed with great interest the most recent developments in the region. The recent agreements concluded between the Republic of South Africa and its neighbours, Angola and Mozambique, a test of good faith for South Africa, must not lessen the vigilance of the States concerned and must give rise to no illusions as far as the African countries are concerned as to the real intentions of the South African régime.

271. The Government of the Republic of Burundi deplores the political, economic and military support given by certain Member countries of the United Nations, without which the Pretoria régime could not

have gone so far along the path of intransigence. It is important to stress that the contempt shown by that régime is a challenge to the entire international community.

272. As regard the South African presence in Namibia, neither law nor common sense can justify this in the eyes of the international community. The Government of Pretoria continues to occupy Namibia illegally, violating the many relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

273. Even more than the occupation of Namibia, nothing could justify the present intensive exploitation of that Territory. What will become of an independent Namibia deprived of its enormous resources by the Pretoria régime and its allies?

274. The Government of the Republic of Burundi opposes any attempt to establish a link or a parallel of any kind between the independence of that Territory and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. The presence of those Cuban troops in Angola, through an act of sovereignty by the latter, could not lend legitimacy to a blatant act of aggression.

275. In any event, the situation which results from the policies of oppression applied by the Pretoria régime against the Namibian people and the policy of intimidation and terrorism against neighbouring countries constitute in themselves a serious threat to international peace and security and should therefore discourage support of Pretoria by its allies.

276. For its part, the Government of the Republic of Burundi reiterates its support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO and calls for the application of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It rejects the policy of Pretoria, with all its forms of oppression, exploitation and domination based on inequality and discrimination.

277. The southern part of Africa is unfortunately not the only danger point in the continent. The situation which prevails in north-west Africa is a cause of great concern to my Government, which condemns all manoeuvres aimed at blocking the process to self-determination of the Saharan people under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.⁶

278. The resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, and endorsed by the General Assembly in resolution 38/40—which contains the text of that resolution—should be followed up. My Government hopes that the parties to the conflict will enter into negotiations with a view to reaching a just and lasting solution. That is the only way to restore peace and stability in the region and avoid foreign intervention and the internationalization of the conflict, which could only increase the suffering of the peoples involved. The OAU has done everything possible to bring about the decolonization of Western Sahara. The obstruction of the process is the fault not of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic but rather of the party which has rejected the organization of the referendum.

279. Also in Africa, Chad is a cause of particular concern and interest, especially for my country's region. The peace plans prepared outside the region, and satisfying foreign interests only, should give way to a Chadian plan drawn up within the society and based on the desire for unity and national reconstruction. In line with this, the international community

should assist the people of Chad to bury the hatchet of war. Support for the rebuilding of Chad must be based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and the cessation of hostilities, so that negotiations among the people of Chad may begin. In this connection, we welcome the decision with regard to the withdrawal of foreign troops, which should be followed by a process of national reconciliation and the definition by the people of Chad themselves of a final, stable institutional framework.

280. The situation prevailing in the Middle East is another source of great concern to my Government. The fate of the Palestinian people, the instability in Lebanon and the war between Iran and Iraq are all obstacles to lasting peace in the region. The current session of the General Assembly must give those questions the attention they deserve.

281. The deadlock over the Palestinian problem, which is the greatest obstacle to peace in the Middle East, continues, owing to the obstinacy of Israel. The refusal of Israel to recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to existence and to self-determination is dangerous and threatens the future of the entire subregion. Israel is jealous of its own rights; it should act constructively and recognize its obligations to other peoples, in this case the Palestinian people.

282. Convinced that no respite in the Middle East is possible without recognition of the Palestinian people, followed by the free exercise of its rights, Burundi supports the courageous Palestinian people in its struggle to recover its homeland and its fundamental national rights.

283. In addition, the situation in Lebanon, another hot spot in the Middle East, is a threat to regional and international peace and security. The Government of the Republic of Burundi, in solidarity with the people of Lebanon, supports that country's efforts to maintain its security, its territorial integrity, its independence and its sovereignty, within its internationally recognized borders.

284. Also in the Middle East, the war between Iran and Iraq is acquiring increasingly alarming dimensions and is threatening to extend to neighbouring countries. The Government of the Republic of Burundi encourages the various initiatives and the mediation aimed at ending that painful, fratricidal and costly conflict. In that connection, the parties to the conflict should show sufficient wisdom to open negotiations. That would be a major contribution to peace in the region and to the development of the third world, which has been seriously harmed by a host of ills resulting from that war.

285. Peace must also be built on the other side of the continent of Asia. The Korean people, whose unity was broken 30 years ago, has legitimate aspirations to reunification. My Government firmly supports the peaceful reunification of Korea. Aware that the solution of the Korean problem requires a political settlement, Burundi encourages the holding of talks to permit a reduction of tension in the Korean peninsula and the peaceful reunification of the country. It supports the holding of tripartite talks.

286. Burundi continues to be concerned about the serious tensions resulting from the ongoing conflicts in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. My Government reaffirms its firm support for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the

inadmissibility of the use of force against sovereign States. We remain convinced that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Democratic Kampuchea and from Afghanistan is the only way to end these grievous situations once and for all.

287. Latin America and the Caribbean, which form another region of the third world, is also the scene of instability brought about by all kinds of foreign domination and interference in the internal affairs of States. Burundi supports the Latin American peoples, and the Contadora Group in particular, which are working for peace and stability in Central America.

288. While the world lacks the means to achieve economic prosperity and peace and security in its various regions, it seems, on the other hand, to possess a talent for self-destruction. Never before has the arms race accelerated at such a pace as today. In some countries, resources devoted to weapons are far greater than those devoted to economic activities. At the world, continental and regional levels, States are arming themselves in a frenzy which finds expression in the atrocities of localized wars.

289. What is even worse, the world accepts the possibility of nuclear war. Now then, what more serious danger hangs over us than that to which a nuclear conflagration would expose the survival of mankind? Scientific and technological advances, which should serve to enhance our well-being, are resulting in the deployment of new generations of nuclear weapons and increasingly deadly chemical weapons. As if our planet did not provide enough scope, there is a risk that the arms race may be extended to outer space.

290. It is pure hypocrisy, in these circumstances, to speak of peace and security. In their absence, it is Utopian to think of the well-being and future of mankind. International peace and security cannot be assured without general and complete disarmament. The arms race, which threatens the survival of mankind, cannot be halted without a freeze on the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons and the rapid conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

291. In this context, the major Powers with the most destructive weapons have a major role to play, and history will judge them by their sense of responsibility. The peoples of the world, including those of the nuclear Powers, are demanding that these Powers sit down at the negotiating table without further delay and without pre-conditions, in order to agree first on a freeze of nuclear and chemical weapons, then on their limitation and reduction and finally on the destruction of stockpiles. It does not matter who is right and who is wrong; the only reasonable person is he who decides to assure the survival of mankind.

292. It is clear that the future of the world depends on disarmament, because that will guarantee not only survival but the quality of life for future generations. It is no longer necessary to prove the considerable impact that it would have on the socio-economic progress of peoples.

293. I could not conclude without stressing that the world today longs for peace, security and co-operation. The aspirations expressed in 1945 remain unfulfilled. The world must also return to its roots. Only by becoming convinced that the three purposes of the United Nations form an essential whole and by uniting in good will can our States achieve them.

294. In that connection, as is deplored in the report on the work of the Organization by the Secretary-General [A/39/I], whom my delegation congratulates on his courageous efforts, it seems pointless to go over the same questions year after year and leave them with a clear conscience after shifting the responsibility to the Secretary-General and asking him to produce another report. No! The time has come to re-examine the working of the United Nations in order to make it credible.

295. On the eve of the celebration of the Organization's fortieth anniversary, the time has come to take a critical look at the past. Each Member State should ponder its contribution to the realization of the Organization's noble purposes and should honour its own commitments. The United Nations can only emerge strengthened, for the greater happiness of all the peoples of the world.

296. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like first to extend our warm and sincere congratulations to Mr. Lusaka for his well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly at this thirty-ninth session. His predecessor, Mr. Illueca, of Panama, deserves high praise for the dedication and skill with which he directed the affairs of the thirty-eighth session and we also wish to express our appreciation to him for his achievements.

297. I also wish to extend my congratulations to the delegation of Brunei Darussalam on its admission as the 159th State Member of the United Nations.

298. The year that has passed has seen the Secretary-General once again employ his renowned diplomatic skills and his good offices to strengthen the role of the United Nations in international affairs. We pay a heartfelt tribute to him for his valuable efforts.

299. On the other hand, there must be grave concern over the lack of progress towards the solution of certain other political problems, whether they are of long-standing or of more recent origin. The continued increase in, and escalation of, regional conflicts is particularly troubling. The world community can ill afford the consequences of tension and conflict in the Horn of Africa, in Afghanistan, in Kampuchea, the Arabian Gulf and elsewhere, while it is still far from achieving a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, the elimination of *apartheid* and all forms of colonialism in Africa, the peaceful resolution of the Cyprus and other issues and, above all, the halting of the suicidal nuclear-arms race.

300. There should be wide recognition by all States and groups of States that new destabilizing political problems which increase human misery and threaten regional and international peace and security can be of benefit to no one in our interdependent world. Strong and renewed efforts should be made to resolve long-standing disputes and those of more recent origin before they, too, become fixtures on the international scene.

301. It is our earnest hope that efforts at mediation will soon bring to an end the tragic conflict between Iraq and Iran—two non-aligned neighbouring States. That fratricidal war continues to exact a terrible toll in human lives and wasted material resources. Neither State can hope to profit from a continuation of the fighting. We appeal to Iraq and Iran alike to respond positively to proposals and appeals for negotiations which can lead to lasting peace in the region.

302. My Government also hopes that the world community will intensify its efforts to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and from Democratic Kampuchea. The military occupation of Afghanistan and of Democratic Kampuchea have had strikingly similar consequences. Large-scale armed interventions in the internal affairs of neighbouring States have inevitably given rise to protracted and bloody civil wars, to the disruption of development plans and national life, to disastrous refugee flows and to the heightening of regional and international tensions. Certainly, they have added greatly to the sum total of human misery in the modern world.

303. In our own region, the Horn of Africa, tension, conflict and human suffering remain endemic as a result of foreign military intervention, military aggression, the violation of basic human rights and the harsh denial of the right to self-determination and independence for colonized people—all with the gravest consequences for Somalia.

304. The central destabilizing factor in our region's turmoil is the continued denial by the Ethiopian empire-State of the right to self-determination to colonized people still languishing under its rule. The territories in the Horn of Africa acquired by European colonizers during the nineteenth century have all long since gained their independence in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Ironically, the people of territories acquired by Ethiopia at the same time or later and with the collusion of the European Powers are still struggling for their inalienable rights.

305. It was to suppress the liberation struggles waged by the peoples of Western Somalia, Eritrea, Tigre and other areas that the Ethiopian régime called in the forces of a super-Power and its surrogates, making the Horn of Africa once again a focus for super-Power rivalry. Policies of extreme repression, even genocide, are enforced, causing the mass exodus of refugees from the occupied territories into Somalia and other countries in the area.

306. As the world community is already well aware, Somalia continues to be gravely affected by the overwhelming burden occasioned by so many refugees. Thousands are in camps and settlements, and perhaps an equal number eke out a living in the countryside and towns. It has been truly stated that every family supports its refugees; nor does there seem to be any end to this human tragedy; substantial new flows have been reported this very month.

307. My Government is, of course, particularly grateful that the international community, at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, and bilaterally, has recognized the intolerable burden that massive refugee flows place on weak and fragile infrastructures in the least developed countries. The principle of burden-sharing is to be implemented to some extent through the support of specific projects, but periodic and often severe shortages of fuel and balanced foodstuffs still occur. The day-to-day sustenance of so vast a refugee population is an enormous problem. In truth, the whole situation has been allowed to go on far too long. As we concentrate, in line with our undoubted humanitarian duty, on the alleviation of the problems of today's refugees, we must never forget that those problems are but a symptom of the most

serious underlying issues: persistent colonialism, racism, genocide and drought. It is they that are the real problems: refugees flee from persecution and oppressive policies which a just world should declare unacceptable, and from deteriorating environmental conditions which are not invariably beyond the possibility of amelioration.

308. It is the hope of the Somali Government that the necessary political climate will be created which will encourage voluntary repatriation. This hope remains unfulfilled, since repressive policies continue to be enforced in Ethiopia. The continued arrival of refugees in Somalia attests to this fact. Furthermore, the claim of the Ethiopian régime that there have been substantial numbers of refugees returning for whose rehabilitation it needs international assistance is without substance. International workers in the field have seen at first hand the unwillingness of the vast majority of refugees to return to their homelands until their safety and their basic human rights can be guaranteed.

309. The refugee problem is not the only one suffered by Somalia as a result of Ethiopia's imperialist policies. Over the past two years, the Ethiopian Army, made bold by the support of surrogate forces, has repeatedly launched military aggression by land and air against our country. Somali territory has been invaded, townships captured and occupied and hundreds of innocent people killed—including recently 36 children whose school was destroyed in a wanton and barbarous air attack on the town of Borama and a nearby refugee camp on 30 January of this year.

310. Even today, Ethiopian forces are still occupying two portions of Somalia's territory, and an insidious policy of destabilization is being actively pursued in a vain attempt to undermine the sovereignty, integrity and national independence of my country. We call once again on all Member States to condemn the Ethiopian régime for its acts of aggression and to demand that it withdraw its forces from Somalia's territory and end its unwarranted attacks. Moreover, let me state clearly that no peace can be achieved in the region unless the Ethiopian régime totally and unconditionally withdraws its forces from Somali territory and also guarantees to the colonized people of Western Somalia and Eritrea their inalienable right to justice and self-determination. For its part, Somalia will continue to deploy all possible efforts to bring about the peaceful resolution of the problems in the region.

311. The persistence of southern African problems on the Assembly's agenda signifies one of the most serious failures of the United Nations. Although external details may change, the core of these problems continues to be South Africa's racist and colonial policies, which have given grave cause for concern since the earliest days of the United Nations.

312. In our view, the United Nations must continue to insist on the isolation of the South African régime until it puts an end to the crime of *apartheid* and truly represents the people. It must recognize the legitimacy of liberation struggles against *apartheid* and against the illegal occupation of Namibia. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the only valid and legal basis for Namibia's independence, and its implementation should be vigorously pursued in the General Assembly and the Security Council.

313. The most recent flare-up of conflict in the Middle East has subsided for the moment, but, as

elsewhere, unless the root causes of such conflicts are removed, the area will continue to suffer from violence and bloodshed. Nor can there be any permanent and just peace in the region while Israel remains in illegal occupation of Lebanese, Palestinian and other Arab territories, while it persists in illegal settlement and annexationist policies and while the Palestinian people are denied their inalienable right to self-determination.

314. We believe that the General Assembly must continue its support for recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people and must demand Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and from all other occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The time has surely come for concrete global actions aimed at bringing about a comprehensive settlement of Middle East problems.

315. A new and balanced initiative is likewise urgently needed in the case of Cyprus, where differences of long standing are rapidly becoming irreconcilable.

316. I turn now to the international economic situation, which is as significant for peace and progress as any political question on the Assembly's agenda. Regrettably, the deadlock in the dialogue between countries of the North and the South remains unbroken. This situation represents the blunting of an important purpose of the United Nations—namely, the solution through international co-operation of international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature.

317. While deadlock continues, developing countries are reeling under the impact of closely related economic forces which are beyond their control. High interest rates, increasing debt burdens, rising protectionism, declining export earnings and low levels of development assistance severely affect even the more prosperous developing countries, but they can reduce least developed nations to most desperate straits.

318. The adverse effects of the current international economic situation are most apparent in Africa—the continent with the greatest number of least developed countries. The widespread return in recent years of catastrophic drought conditions and other factors, including the presence of large refugee populations, have dealt additional cruel blows to economies already weakened by external forces.

319. The Secretary-General has launched a most timely initiative in calling the attention of the world community to the critical economic situation in Africa. We congratulate him on this initiative and welcome the emphasis he has placed on Africa's special needs. Indeed, the extent and gravity of the crisis in Africa must not be underestimated. The problems of our continent, translated into human terms, could mean the disintegration of the social and economic fabric of many African societies. It could spell hunger, malnutrition and untimely death for millions in the years ahead. Africa today stands in need of massive assistance to combat drought and desertification more widespread and devastating than in the two previous decades, when they took hundreds of thousands of lives and displaced millions of people. Today, food aid for the starving is an immediate, primary need, but more fundamental approaches must also be set in motion. In many cases

infrastructures must be strengthened before relief and development projects can be implemented.

320. The Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa⁷ makes it clear that African States are quite prepared to accept primary responsibility for their own development. We understand well the need for integrated national policies and for closer economic and technical co-operation with each other. We know that agriculture must be high on our list of priorities so that food sufficiency can be attained.

321. We appeal to the developed countries to recognize that the interdependence of North and South is an inescapable reality. The easing of debt burdens, the promotion of just and stable commodity prices and the roll-back of protectionism are fundamental remedies to restore the health of African and other third-world economies. Significant infusions of international economic assistance remain of vital importance for tiding African States over the present crisis and for giving us the boost we need to put us firmly on the road to economic recovery, stability and true independence.

322. Without doubt, there is no issue on the agenda of the General Assembly that is as pressing and as important as disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.

323. If the world survives the nuclear age, future generations studying our history may well ask how we were able to plan, to build and to organize our affairs at local, national and international levels while living under the threatening shadow of opposing systems of nuclear weapons. They may well ponder the priorities of an age when unimaginable sums were spent on the production and refinement of weapons capable of global destruction while millions of human beings suffered the deprivation and indignities of abject poverty. The consequences of the nuclear-arms race and of the arms race in sophisticated conventional weapons are evident in every aspect of world affairs. We see their effects in world inflation, in the widening gap between rich and poor countries and in regional tensions, which have increased under the pressures of super-Power confrontations.

324. It is clear that a new resolve is needed on every front—political, humanitarian and technical—to work for the attainment of the goal of disarmament. Sanity and common sense call for a comprehensive test-ban treaty and, as a further step, a freeze in the production, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Nor should a supposedly advanced civilization have any place for chemical weapons; they should be totally prohibited without further delay.

325. The difficulty of containing the quantity and destructive capacity of existing nuclear weapons points to the folly of extending the nuclear-arms race to space. We hope that negotiations for the banning of space weapons along with other weapons of mass destruction will soon be undertaken. My Government has always welcomed initiatives such as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, which can make a valuable contribution to general and complete disarmament. As an Indian Ocean State, for example, we strongly support the principles that underlie the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace[resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

326. We appeal once more to the nuclear Powers to work with urgency to remove the nuclear threat and to allow the world's people to plan and build a future of hope, security and peace.

327. Finally, the annual session of the General Assembly provides both large and small Member States with an opportunity for renewed dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Clearly we must all find the political will to work for the solution of the many problems that confront us all and endanger world peace and security. We must all contribute to the search for peace and progress.

328. Mr. da LUZ (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*):* It is with great pleasure that, on behalf of the delegation of Cape Verde, I extend to Mr. Lusaka our warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His experience in the sphere of diplomacy and, in particular, his deep understanding of the United Nations system and his known competence are for us a guarantee that he will successfully guide the General Assembly in the conduct of its work and the discussion of the items on its agenda, some of which are extremely complex and of vital importance for the harmony of the international community and for the very survival of mankind. His election is a cause of special satisfaction and pride for the African continent and, in particular, for Cape Verde, which maintains ties of solidarity and brotherly co-operation with his country, Zambia. We are therefore delighted to be able to assure him of the co-operation of our delegation in the fulfillment of his delicate task.

329. We should like also to convey to his predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, our full appreciation and our gratitude for the capable and intelligent manner in which he guided the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and for the sense of balance which he brought to the analysis of the questions debated by the Assembly during his term of office.

330. To the Secretary-General we reiterate our deep appreciation of his commitment and dedication to the promotion of the ideals of the United Nations and for the dynamism which has inspired his action. This has contributed greatly to the strengthening and the effectiveness of the United Nations. We also want to thank him for the enlightened and responsible way in which he has undertaken new initiatives for the peaceful promotion of just solutions to the problems raised by the important questions of our time.

331. Similarly, the admission of Brunei Darussalam as a Member of the United Nations is another step towards the achievement of the Organization's goal of universality. In welcoming this new Member, we are certain that our capacity for collective analysis in the search for peaceful solutions to problems will be enhanced.

332. Cape Verde has been following with deep concern the systematic deterioration of the political climate and the progressive worsening of the international situation. The present climate in international relations and the recent alarming increase in tension between the major Powers have made the international political situation very precarious and disturbing. In several regions of the world we are witnessing the use of force as a means of resolving conflicts

*Mr. da Luz spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

among States; military intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States are proliferating, in flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations; and attacks are being made on the right of peoples to decide freely on their own socio-economic system. The extreme gravity of the situation, which is reaching alarming proportions virtually everywhere, and its inevitable social and political consequences are threatening stability, progress and peace in the world.

333. The arms race, especially the nuclear-arms race, is ever more increasing the possibility of a nuclear confrontation. At the same time, partly as a consequence of that situation, the economic and social gap between the developing and developed countries is widening. The enormous material and human resources consumed every year by the war industry could be used to contribute significantly to alleviating the hunger and underdevelopment affecting the majority of the world's population were they put at the service of the well-being and development of peoples. Given such a situation—which has not been experienced since 1945 and which some have likened to real anarchy—it is becoming more evident that in today's world there can be no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, détente and co-operation among States, regardless of their economic and social systems, region or geographic location.

334. Faithful to the principle of peaceful coexistence, Cape Verde has been advocating the practice of dialogue and entente as the only way to solve international conflicts, and it has been categorically and firmly rejecting the positions and attitudes of those who would build a system of international security based on strength.

335. The current crisis situation has also contributed in large measure to the weakening, and now the vulnerability, of international institutions. The idea of an organized world, where war would no longer have a place, was at the root of all the declarations and all the plans developed since 1941, culminating in the San Francisco Conference. The hopes and aspirations of mankind, based on the will to avoid the catastrophe of a new war, led to the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and gave birth to the idea of a collective security system which, in turn, presupposed the renunciation of force by individual States whose protection against foreign aggression would continue to be guaranteed by the United Nations through its enforcement machinery.

336. We are witnessing a blocking of that system by the unjustifiable use of the right of veto, with the consequent bipolarization and political instability of the world. In practice, the Security Council has been rendered incapable of meeting its responsibilities as the guardian of international peace and security.

337. Ineffectiveness in the use of institutional machinery has led to an increase in criticisms recently directed against the United Nations, stigmatizing its incapacity, often even its paralysis, in resolving the great problems facing the international community. While some of these criticisms from certain sectors are meant to denigrate the role of the United Nations and to justify activities contrary to the Organization's goals, others legitimately voice the concerns and questions of a large part of the international community about the proper functioning and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for

development, co-operation and international peace and security.

338. These criticisms reflect the difficulty and complexity of the present situation and show that, in spite of the difficulties and listlessness, the process of adaptation of the United Nations to new circumstances and requirements is of concern to all those who see in the Organization the best possible, if not the only, instrument for establishing a permanent political dialogue maintaining and strengthening international peace and security.

339. Indeed, in spite of the difficulties and obstacles the United Nations faces, it has demonstrated its usefulness as an instrument available to the international community for pursuing collectively objectives; and it is through the United Nations that for the first time in history small countries have an input in the discussion of world issues.

340. As the international community is preparing to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we think it is time to carry out an in-depth analysis of the system of international institutions. We are convinced that the United Nations constitutes the most valuable instrument for the creation of a climate of peace and co-operation among peoples. As indicated in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], its role in this area, in spite of obstacles, has been crucial. Indeed, the results thus far show that the United Nations has become in today's troubled world an irreplaceable instrument for dialogue on the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

341. It is in that context that we view with concern the present trend to abandon the United Nations as the main instrument in seeking solutions to world problems, for there can be no doubt that the Organization is the appropriate framework for joint efforts and for harmonizing the interests of all, provided we accept the implications of our interdependence. For us, a world without the United Nations would be a set-back for international morality and legality and would give licence to the strongest to rule as they pleased.

342. The survival of mankind and the acuteness of international relations at present make it incumbent upon all of us, without exception, to do everything possible to strengthen our commitment to the United Nations system. Common sense and the need to preserve peace in the world require all countries and the international community in general to be unyielding in defending the United Nations system.

343. The fragility of international relations at present is having an impact on the African continent, worsening conflicts the solution of which must be found within a regional framework without foreign interference. Cape Verde, which is an integral part of that region, is making every effort, along with other African countries, to promote negotiated solutions to conflicts and to preserve our regional unity.

344. The situation in the southern part of the continent remains especially sensitive. With regard to Namibia, South Africa is continuing to defy the international community and United Nations decisions relating to the independence of that Territory.

345. Given its constant concern to make its contribution in the search for negotiated political settlements to international conflicts, the Republic of Cape Verde has done everything in its power to assist interested parties in finding a just and peaceful

solution leading to the independence of the Territory of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It is within this framework and in this spirit that the efforts that Cape Verde has made to facilitate dialogue between South Africa and SWAPO must be understood.

346. Recent developments in the situation in southern Africa can be analysed correctly only if we consider the impasse in the process of independence for Namibia and the attempts at destabilization that must be faced by the countries of the region, with resultant risks to their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

347. Nor can those developments be dissociated from the sincere desire for peace and development on the part of the peoples and Governments of the front-line countries or from their urgent economic needs, which demand action now. The developments also reflect the acute sense of responsibility that motivates the peoples and Governments of those countries.

348. We repeat our condemnation of the *apartheid* system, the baseness of which is repugnant to human conscience and dignity. The denial of their rights on the basis of race, which is the fate of most of the population of South Africa, can only get worse from day to day and lead to further violence such as that which recently brought grief to the martyred South African people.

349. We think that any measure that does not have as its aim the eradication of *apartheid* and the creation of institutional conditions that would guarantee equality of rights and opportunities for every South African citizen, regardless of race, should be rejected by the entire international community.

350. Decolonization will go down in history as one of the most valuable contributions of the United Nations to the building of a world of freedom and justice. History, none the less, also records in several regions of the world attacks upon the right to self-determination of peoples which have thus far been subject to foreign domination.

351. We would like to express our concern over the situation in other parts of our continent, especially because of the repercussions those events have on regional solidarity.

352. With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, the spirit of consensus which prevailed at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, must be maintained as the only way to achieve a just solution. Cape Verde renews its appeal to the two parties to the conflict, Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO,⁶ to join as soon as possible in the search for a satisfactory solution on the basis of respect for the principle of self-determination of the Saharan people.

353. With regard to Chad, we still firmly hope that the urgent need for peace for the martyred people of that country will triumph over external influences and internal dissensions, regardless of their origin or reason. Cape Verde encourages every effort under way in the African context to find understanding among the different parties to the Chad conflict.

354. The Middle East remains one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world because of the continuing bellicose and expansionist policy of the Government of Israel. Cape Verde reaffirms its conviction that peace can be found in that region

only if we take due account of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and only if Israel withdraws from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

355. In Lebanon, despite recent developments, there has as yet been no possibility of putting an end to the instability and violence that prevail throughout the country. We hope that the Lebanese people will succeed in overcoming that situation and return to a normal life.

356. A war between fraternal peoples continues between Iran and Iraq, the grave consequences of which are reflected in the loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of goods and property acquired with such great effort by the peoples of those countries. Unfortunately, persistent efforts at mediation, which have taken place because of this war, have not yet achieved appreciable results. On the contrary, we see a trend towards the internationalization of the conflict, in view of the fact that it is taking place in a very sensitive region of the world.

357. We view with concern the situation that has developed recently in Central America, and we therefore support the efforts of the Contadora Group to establish conditions that will permit the people of that region to come up with the best formulas for restoring peace and promoting economic and social development.

358. With regard to Korea, it is our opinion that replacing the armistice agreement by a peace agreement would open the way to a negotiated solution between the parties concerned with a view to the peaceful reunification of the territory and re-establishment of the national unity of the Korean people.

359. The situation in East Timor is a typical case of a people deprived of freedom. The territory continues to be occupied by Indonesia in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. The occupation of the territory, which is an obstacle to the free exercise of the right of self-determination of the Maubere people, should be rejected by the entire international community. Many of us here have in the past experienced the situation which the fraternal people of East Timor are now going through. The most elementary rules of justice impose on us the moral duty to co-operate in the creation of the necessary conditions for the free exercise of the right to self-determination in this territory. We would like to reaffirm our firm support for the cause of the Maubere people and its avant-garde, the FRETILIN,⁸ which has managed, at enormous sacrifice, to maintain a firm and courageous position in the face of the forces of occupation. We would like also to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the efforts he has made to carry out the mandate given to him by the General Assembly in its resolution 37/30. It is still our hope that in continuing his efforts with the parties concerned, especially with regard to Portugal, which has a special responsibility *vis-à-vis* the Maubere people and the international community, he will be able speedily to find ways of restoring justice and the rights of people which have been trampled upon by the invasion and occupation of the territory of East Timor by Indonesia.

360. The present international economic situation is the consequence of structural imbalances the repercussions of which have a negative effect on the economy of the developing countries, especially the

least developed among them. This situation is reflected in a whole range of negative manifestations which work against the growth and economic development of all countries and increase the vulnerability of the developing countries.

361. This discouraging picture, to which the widespread deadlock in the North-South dialogue is no stranger—constitutes a harsh reality for the developing countries. The efforts of those countries to establish more just economic relations and to build a truly interdependent world have unfortunately not found a response in the attitude of some industrialized countries, which have not shown the political will that is desired in the situation.

362. The most recent manifestation of this absence of political flexibility was found during the negotiations this year within the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and during recent activities in the process of launching global negotiations.

363. The Group of 77, on the basis of the proposal of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, guided by a spirit of co-operation and wishing to contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for launching those negotiations, proposed a two-phased approach. We deeply regret that despite this new demonstration of good will and flexibility on the part of the developing countries, no progress was made during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

364. None the less, we have confidence in the sensitivity of our partners of the North so that we can work together in this difficult but indispensable process of negotiations, of which the North-South dialogue is a part. All of us need to find a common solution to the common problems which affect us all.

365. As a representative of a developing country, I could not fail to express our deep concern over the low level of growth of the economies of the third world countries. The imbalance between economic reality in the developing world and the objectives laid down in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] is a challenge to our collective capacity to resolve economic problems which affect a great part of the world population.

366. Africa is the continent which is most dramatically undergoing the effects of the prolonged crisis affecting the world. It is immersed in internal contradictions which are typical of a phase of accelerated change. Africa is undergoing a phase in which it is laying foundations for an economy which will be in keeping with national realities and objectives and will satisfy the aspirations of its peoples. It is therefore no surprise that the crisis should be felt in Africa with special intensity.

367. We are deeply concerned at the alarming proportions of the economic and social deterioration in the African region. It is becoming urgent to seek solutions to meet this situation. Although the main responsibility for solving these problems lies with the African countries themselves which are affected—because we are aware that realizing national objectives for economic development is a task which first of all lies with our countries—we think that, bearing in mind the collective effort required in the search

for a global solution to the most acute problems in the underdeveloped countries, the international community as a whole must give them the necessary support so that they can, within the framework of their own development plans and priorities, get through the critical phase.

368. The emergency situation, particularly in terms of food, requires joint action by the international community. The initiative of the Secretary-General and the appeal of the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to alert world opinion to the critical food situation in Africa are praiseworthy measures and deserve an adequate international response.

369. The profound economic crisis in which the African continent has been plunged requires firm, coherent and immediate action at the national and regional levels, as well as at the international level, with a view to finding integrated solutions to the urgent problems and the development problems.

370. There is no doubt that several factors which have given rise to the present difficult situation in Africa are to be found within Africa itself, but it is no less certain that the international situation has a profoundly negative impact there. We are thus witnessing in our continent an attempt to impose the strategic interests of countries or groups of countries in order to perpetuate relations of domination which are incompatible with the interests of the African countries.

371. In the conviction that the present situation threatens peace and hinders the economic and social development of our countries, we think that Africa must grow stronger in order to overcome the crisis through a collective effort to make co-operation and dialogue the essential instruments in relations between States. But for this effort to be fruitful it must include above all a reduction in the internal imbalances and distortions which affect the economic and social system of each African country.

372. Last year, at the thirty-eighth session [*7th meeting*], the President of the Republic of Cape Verde, Mr. Aristides Pereira, in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, made an appeal to the international community to increase its collaboration with the member countries of that regional organization in carrying out programmes for development and to combat desertification. In his statement, the President of Cape Verde hastened to point out, given the extent of the consequences of the drought and the extension year after year of the phenomenon of desertification, the serious dangers threatening the survival not only of the populations of the Sahel area but also, and more and more, of those countries in the peripheral zone which thus far had not suffered such disasters.

373. Over and above an awareness and limited or sporadic interventions, the international community must acquire the necessary means to act effectively and in concert and to assist the peoples and countries affected to face these calamities and to protect other areas from their effects. This should be done by finding global, simultaneous and permanent solutions.

374. In this context, there is clearly a need for the States concerned to define coherent development policies, to find adequate formulas for more active

participation by the people, to adapt structures to development needs and, finally, to undertake important actions in the fields of training and research. These measures are necessary because they are decisive factors for diminishing the food shortage, which is going to increase, and also for favouring agricultural production, which has now become a priority for the Sahelian Governments.

375. Several actions have begun for the purpose of mitigating the effects of drought and desertification. Resources have continued to be mobilized by the Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel and the Club of Sahel. Considerable efforts have also been made at the national, regional and international levels. Recently, more sustained attention has been devoted to the question of combating drought and desertification through the work of international meetings held at the initiative of FAO. Moreover, coherent food strategies, as well as integrated development plans, are being progressively implemented.

376. The Inter-State Committee, the Institute of the Sahel, the Agrymeht Centre and other regional bodies are in this sense useful instruments for co-ordination, support and common thinking. They have been called upon to play a more and more important role in integrated regional development and in establishing the necessary conditions for food self-sufficiency and restoring the ecological balance in the Sahel.

377. We firmly believe that, through a united will and solidarity at the local, regional and international levels, we shall succeed in breaking the circle of desertification and drought and bringing about a favourable change in the present situation.

378. In Cape Verde, since independence, we have worked in this area to pursue a policy in harmony with our own concrete reality. To meet drought, which has now become endemic, our efforts have been directed not only towards the preservation of the soil and a systematic reafforestation policy, but also towards the development of our human resources. Popular participation in the fight against erosion and for reafforestation in our country has become a satisfactory approach, in spite of the difficulties created by the persistence of the drought.

379. In this huge effort to overcome the great difficulties imposed by a hostile nature, international assistance has been a fundamental and an indispensable component. We are sure that this effort will continue to find generous support and international solidarity.

380. The world today is a world of glaring paradoxes. One of the paradoxes is characterized by the persistence of hunger and underdevelopment at a time when world production is capable of meeting the needs of the population of the entire earth.

381. The survival of mankind demands a peaceful, unified world in which man is the centre of the great political decisions and the ultimate beneficiary of the moral and material progress which all aspire to. The creation of this world requires the active participation of all.

382. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

383. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Peru joins in the appeal for understanding and unity in international relations just formulated by the Foreign Minister of Ecuador.

384. It would be difficult to find two countries as close as Ecuador and Peru. They have the same ethnic origins, the same historical and cultural experiences, the same view of the world and an identical concept of man. It is our wish that all of that will increasingly facilitate our coming closer together and aid the dialogue and co-operation which are essential for our common interests and our destiny of solidarity.

385. Peru, together with Ecuador, believes that the Andean Group represents not only an idea but also a concrete hope for the future of our countries. It believes that the parallel efforts of the South Pacific Permanent Commission and the titanic endeavour of imagination and labour which has gone into the Amazon Pact are irreversible paths towards international improvement in our region. That is why my delegation wishes to reiterate that "any doubt or disagreement" which might disturb this trend towards an historical *rapprochement* between Peru and Ecuador must be resolved within the existing applicable legal framework.

386. Mr. TERÁN TERÁN (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador wishes to express its satisfaction with the words spoken by the representative of Peru, since they indicate a will towards understanding between the two countries. Ecuador, of course, maintains that differences on matters both *de facto* and *de jure*, the presentation of legal theses or points of view between States, must be resolved by peaceful means and mutual understanding.

The meeting rose at 8.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹The delegations of Burkina Faso, the Dominican Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Jamaica, Liberia, Panama, Qatar and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

²See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, 2551st meeting*.

³See A/38/343, annex.

⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982, document S/15510, annex*.

⁵*World Economic Survey 1984: Current Trends and Policies in the World Economy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.II.C.1).

⁶Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁷A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁸Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.