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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. HLAING (Burma): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to extend to you the very warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma on your unanimous election to the high office which you hold. Your vast experience in the activities of the United Nations and your diplomatic skill and perception are certainly well known to all of us, and it is most fitting that you should preside over the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your able guidance the deliberations of this session will help further to develop and consolidate moves towards a more peaceful world.

2. The delegation of Burma also takes this opportunity to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, whose distinguished services have contributed in no small measure to the successful conclusion of the session of the Assembly that has recently ended.

3. We should also like to say how glad we are to welcome Brunei Darussalam to the family of the United Nations. We offer our warm felicitations and friendly greetings to its delegation, whose presence in our midst will surely give added strength and be a positive contribution to the Organization.

4. We meet in the Assembly once again to examine collectively the problems of our time and, it is to be hoped, exercise our influence for the betterment of world conditions. We are gathered here together in the belief that all Member States, be they big or small, powerful or weak, rich or poor, have a shared responsibility to make their contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. The fact that 159 Member States, irrespective of differences in their political, economic and social systems, gather here each year is proof enough of the interest of Governments in seeing the continuance of the United Nations system as a pervasive force in maintaining world peace. Hope is therefore kindled anew that with the development of mutual understanding and co-operation and the fostering of a spirit of compromise, which are essential for the success of the Charter, the welter of conflicting interests of many nations and peoples may find a degree of order and harmony.

5. Many are aware of these requirements, but the irony is that we have so far failed to translate this awareness into practice. The effectiveness of the

United Nations in fulfilling its role is also largely determined by the political and power realities of the world environment in which we live. Unhappily, factors in the international climate have not helped the Organization to measure up to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks.

6. The delegation of Burma would therefore venture to think aloud and suggest that, when the Assembly considers many of the items on its agenda, it is of vital importance to take note of the global perspective and search deeply for the root causes, instead of the mere surface symptoms. Nor is it enough to reiterate the lofty principles and ideals of the Charter, which embody the hopes and dreams of mankind and especially of the small nations, for which they represent a safe haven in the stormy seas of fast and far-reaching changes. The Charter, often quoted, is all too readily ignored, misinterpreted or even brushed aside when it seems to stand in the way of some nations all too obsessed with self-interest or emboldened by their strength and power.

7. If we are to see the United Nations develop into a really effective instrument for the performance of the functions outlined in the Charter, it is our duty as Member States to endeavour to be more worthy of the principles and more loyal to the purposes of the Charter. No organization with aims so sublime can hope to fulfil its promise without the whole-hearted support and commitment of its membership.

8. The General Assembly embarks on its thirty-ninth session at grips with a whole range of problems and issues that transcend geographical and ideological borders and call for a new dimension in international co-operation.

9. The increasing crisis in international, political and economic relations reflects the slow and painful progress of nations and mankind. Of particular concern is the political tension and growing incidence of aggression in many areas of the world. Equally upsetting are the unremedied economic disparities between the rich and the poor nations and the growing inequality of international economic relations.

10. As at past sessions, once again the General Assembly is exposed to the same unresolved issues which have been on the agenda for several years. The pattern of difficulties faced by the United Nations in resolving them stems largely from the seriously deteriorating state of relations between the super-Powers, which are the leading Members of the world Organization. The essential co-operation between them has given way to confrontation, which has retarded the work of the General Assembly. The inter-bloc politics which they personify have also hampered the normal functioning of international relations. The prospects of an early solution to the many questions on the Assembly's agenda will not be

bright so long as this climate prevails. Surely, it is in the genuine interest not only of the super-Powers but of the entire world community that they should re-establish a working relationship.

11. It is in this spirit that the delegation of Burma welcomes the recent resumption of the high-level talks in Washington between the Soviet Union and the United States. These talks may or may not have any immediate palpable or dramatic impact on the scope and direction of the deliberations which the Assembly is about to embark upon. It must also be recognized that the assessments of such possible impact could well be quite varied and naturally far from identical. Notwithstanding these facts, the fact that these regular talks should once again have become feasible after a lapse of a considerable number of years should in itself be a source of gratification for us all. It is to be hoped that they will prove to be a harbinger of a new era marked by more intensified co-operation, better understanding and a spirit of mutual accommodation not only between the two super-Powers but between all nations of the world. The delegation of Burma therefore considers the holding of the high-level talks as a step in the right direction which will surely help to place the present state of affairs in the world on a more even keel.

12. It is not enough to content ourselves with merely passing resolutions. The time has come, we believe, for a more conceptually clear and operatively more effective response to the numerous challenges and dilemmas of contemporary world problems. The time has also come for the two super-Powers to ponder the possibility of placing their relations upon a new basis so that they might be put on a more stable and constructive footing.

13. Seen in this perspective, the Secretary-General's call for holding a meeting of the Security Council at the highest level is both timely and important for the development of an effective common approach to contemporary world problems. It would be a tremendous boost to the United Nations processes if the permanent members of the Security Council were forthcoming in support of the Secretary-General.

14. Need we recall that the United Nations was founded on the assumption that the permanent members would remain united, beyond their wartime coalition and, with the United Nations as the instrument, strive in mutual efforts to ensure world peace and contribute to a system of universal collective security. So far, this assumption has proved illusory.

15. We live in a dangerous era. The most important and pressing problem of our times—the achievement of nuclear disarmament—does not appear to be receiving the attention it deserves. The world community is unhappy about this situation. The negotiating processes between the two super-Powers have been at a standstill ever since the breakdown of their nuclear disarmament talks in November last year. Not only is the essential element of mutual trust completely absent; it has been replaced by complete mistrust. It is a distressing paradox of the world today that all these years, in spite of the endless flow of talks, of conferences and well-meaning sentiment in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament, we are no further removed from the threat of nuclear war and no nearer towards promise of its solution. We are now well through the fourth nuclear decade and the

world community has yet to arrange its affairs in such a way as to shackle the nuclear threat forever.

16. From day to day, we witness the growing intensity of the arms race, which increasingly reduces world stability and endangers the survival of mankind. The world bristles with a whole range of armaments as each side seeks to match the other in keeping up the military balance of power. The awful danger of the present approach to military balance is that it goes on prodding each side to arm themselves. Each party is bent on outdoing the other in the invention of ever newer types of virulent weapons and systems. As we see it, this posture cannot lead us anywhere except into a hopeless maze of arming and counter-arming out of which it will be very difficult to emerge. It may well condemn both sides to an arms race in perpetuity.

17. The lesson of balance, as commonly perceived, carries with it a demand for co-ordination, for interrelationships and intercommunication between various domains, if meaningful equilibrium and stabilization are to be achieved. We see no alternative to negotiations between the super-Powers, and their alliances, so as to arrive at just such a mutual achievement if world peace and security are to be assured.

18. An increasingly acute problem is the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The delegation of Burma joins others in expressing deep concern over the dangers connected with the militarization of outer space. Space-borne systems have a two-sided function, for either benign or offensive operations. It is extremely difficult to make a clear distinction between their military and civilian uses. As such, the extent to which the world community stands to benefit or be endangered by rapidly developing space technology depends very much on whether the foremost space Powers are co-operative or antagonistic in their use of space. Concern for the welfare of mankind dictates that they co-operate.

19. Let me now turn very briefly to some of the problems which preoccupy the Assembly at successive sessions. These include the Middle East and Palestinian problems, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and the unresolved question of independence for Namibia.

20. It is difficult to foresee just how these many specific problems can be resolved effectively without the co-ordination of joint political action on the part of the principal opponents. Each situation tends to become entrenched in their positions with the passage of time and compounded by ever-new developments adding to their complexity. The more they become protracted the more they become vulnerable to the diplomatic gambits and stratagems in the interplay of world politics. While the contestants involved contend, and we, here in the Assembly, hopefully debate and draft our texts carefully, the victims of the situations continue to suffer. To them, the desperate need is to survive and live in peace.

21. The present difficulties between various States are to a large extent due to the failure to uphold the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Both are cardinal norms of international conduct. We must recognize that if States fail to tolerate and respect the rights of other States to ways of life they

cannot and do not share, then we shall be no nearer to realizing the high hopes and ideals of mutual co-operation and mutual endeavour envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

22. The search for a Middle East peace settlement remains a vital concern of the world community. However, the Assembly must face up to the fact that there is as yet no solution in sight. The prospects for a settlement continue to be elusive, owing to the complexities of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the uncertain path of developments in Lebanon.

23. The most important aspects of any settlement in the Arab-Israeli conflict are the right of every State in the Middle East, including Israel, to exist in peace within secure and recognized borders and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. No progress can be made without an agreement which guarantees to both the Israelis and the Palestinians the right to security and the right to exist in their own State.

24. A related question is the control of territories. While Israel's central concern is for the attainment of security, the primary concern of the Arabs is the return of the lost territories. As it stands, essential steps for progress require that Israel withdraw its forces from territories occupied in 1967, change its policies of incorporating Palestinian lands into its State and halt the establishment of new settlements in these territories. Equally, it would be up to the Palestinians to state explicitly and clearly their willingness to recognize the right of Israel to a secure existence. The reality of the situation calls for the possibility of such an accommodation. Unhappily, the present attitude of both sides does not hold any promise of development along these lines.

25. As regards the situation in Lebanon, the overriding concern is to restore to the country its full sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. The factor of internal sectarian strife must somehow be overcome by a process of national reconciliation so as to help to extend the authority of the legitimate Government and ensure the withdrawal of foreign forces from the country.

26. At present we face stagnation in the entire Middle East situation. The recent visits of the Secretary-General to the region in pursuit of a framework for a renewed Middle East peace conference are a welcome initiative in the right direction. The problems of the Middle East have been with the Assembly for the past 36 years. To our mind, the question of convening an international conference for peace in the Middle East cannot be excluded for all time if we are to work for the goal of a comprehensive and lasting settlement.

27. The delegation of Burma shares the concern of the world community over the escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, which has dragged on for the past four years. The recent attacks by both sides on neutral ships in an international waterway show how potentially dangerous the situation has become. It threatens to bring an international dimension to the conflict and clearly points to the urgency of halting the hostilities by peaceful means before the pressure of events leads to a wider confrontation.

28. For six years the General Assembly has been concerned with the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Both situations continue to cause tensions and threaten regional peace and stability. Like the rest of the members of the Assembly, we are anxious to see improvements in the prospects for

peace and a negotiated political solution of the two problems. Despite diplomatic initiatives from time to time to secure movement by all parties concerned, no formula has emerged to bring about a process of negotiation.

29. The position of the delegation of Burma is simple. Our wish is to see a political settlement in Afghanistan and Kampuchea on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign forces and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of both States. Our wish is to see a process of reconciliation and the restoration of unity to the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the return of conditions in which they can work out their own destiny free from all external interference and pressures. It is a sad state of affairs when the people of both States are being uprooted and continue to suffer from deprivation and hardship. We are therefore very much distressed at the protracted conflict and unresolved nature of the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

30. Again this year, there is no immediate prospect of Namibia achieving independent statehood. Over the past several years, the Assembly has repeatedly given expression to the Namibian people's inalienable right to freedom, independence and territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, and under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which provides a United Nations framework for Namibia's independence, has been accepted in principle by all the relevant parties as a basis for settlement. However, South Africa has not shown the least inclination to change course, but insists on broadening the question by injecting extraneous issues as a prerequisite for Namibia's independence. This linkage is incompatible with the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978) and constitutes an impediment to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Furthermore, no breakthrough has been achieved in the direct talks which took place this year between South Africa and the parties seeking independence for Namibia. We see no progress likely until South Africa reverses its position and forgoes its repeated assertion that Cuban troops must be removed from Angola before it withdraws from Namibia.

31. In South Africa today, the Government's *apartheid* policy continues to exclude the majority black population from constitutional reform with a view to creating the so-called independent homelands. As such, there is as yet no sign of South Africa turning away from its basic policy of *apartheid*, which is institutionalized racial discrimination and universally condemned. South Africa's contemptuous defiance of the world's moral indignation is a matter of increasing concern to all nations of good will which believe in the essential worth and dignity of the human person. The world would be happy if South Africa conformed with reality, abandoned its policy of *apartheid* and worked for a more constructive relationship with its neighbours.

32. Permit me to make a few brief remarks on the world economic situation. There is no doubt that, to the greater majority of the world's people, the main issue that interests them is the economic situation, and not so much the political. The ends for which people strive are food, work, security and housing, which taken together mean freedom from want and the right to survive. To a certain extent, the present

processes in the economic sphere are somewhat a paradox. After 30 years of development-related international conferences, of summits, strategies and economic expansion, the results so far achieved have been minimal for the majority of the world's people, principally those living in the developing countries. There is today no unity, but disorder, in the world economic situation. Nations compete against nations and man competes against man, in a desperate effort to establish economic stability and security.

33. Since the start of the 1970s, the world economy has struggled from crisis to crisis and has spared no nation or region from the consequences of economic turbulence. The energy crisis, the collapse of the world monetary-financial system, and the serious structural disturbances arising therefrom, have led to the emergence of recessions, which have culminated in the present world economic crisis.

34. Having experienced two major recessions in the past 10 years, the world economy is now considered to have registered a measure of recovery. This may be visible in the economies of the major developed countries but does not sufficiently hold true for the rest of the world, the developing world. We understand that even in the economically more advanced countries there is widespread doubt about the stability of the current trend. The prospects for a sustained recovery remain precarious because of the high interest rates pursued in the domestic policies of the world's strongest economic power. This has reduced the scope for and increased the cost of investments in the economies of both developed and developing countries. Without an increase in productive investments it would be difficult to overcome the present economic crisis.

35. The world-wide recessions have had a damaging impact on almost all developing countries. The issue before the Assembly is how to reduce the developing world's predicament. To our mind, the current image of the world economy is not encouraging at all for them. Their economies are still marked by low growth, adverse external factors and problems in attaining a satisfactory balance-of-payments situation. Falling prices of primary commodities, together with declining export volumes and adverse terms of trade, have all compounded their external imbalance. Having to curb their essential imports for the familiar reason of balance of payments, their development efforts have undergone serious set-backs. They face difficulties in obtaining investment for development and in providing employment for their growing labour force.

36. The central problem in the world economy today is the international debt situation of the developing countries. Many countries are just unable to repay their debts in the face of high interest rates and reduced export earnings, the only source from which debts can be serviced internationally. Massive debt rescheduling is also increasing accumulated debts. International lending, once perceived as a principal instrument for the stimulation of economic growth, has become today the factor causing a reverse flow of capital and retarding the growth prospects of developing countries.

37. As we see it, there can be no lasting world economic recovery without a solution to the international debt problem. And the problem of debt cannot be resolved without structural adjustments for a

more balanced financial and monetary system and the revival of world trade.

38. We believe that the world economy is at an acute phase of a changing process in international economic relations. The economic upheavals faced by the world community in the last several years have enabled us to understand the interdependence which inextricably links all nations, both developed and developing. The dimension of mutual dependence has been discovered and come to be accepted as a reality. We live in an interdependent world of problems which require mutual accommodation. We would hope that this mutual interdependence can be transformed into active solidarity and collective response to a world which is badly in need of restructuring of the pattern of international economic co-operation.

39. In concluding, the delegation of Burma wishes to place on record its appreciation, surely shared by others, of the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at the achievement of a constructive course in world affairs. His recent visit, on a personal mission, to the Middle East, his talks with the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, his successful initiative concerning the halting of attacks on civilian targets in the Iran-Iraq war, and his ongoing efforts to solve the Cyprus problem are praiseworthy moves which have not gone unnoticed. He has brought new confidence to the office he occupies. We venture to express the hope that the Secretary-General's earnest endeavours will be rewarded with concrete results.

40. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has by the unanimous decision of its members, Sir, elected you President of its thirty-ninth session. That outstanding election had been expected, since Africa's continental organization, the Organization of African Unity [OAU], adopted two resolutions recommending your candidacy for that office, at Nairobi in June 1981 and at Addis Ababa in June 1983. Your country's many friends throughout the world supported that recommendation, thus reaffirming their confidence in and friendship for Africa, Zambia and you, personally—confidence and friendship of which we are justly proud. We ask you, therefore, to accept our warm fraternal congratulations. As President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, you have shown discreetly and effectively your eminent qualities as diplomat, statesman and champion of the right of peoples to independence. I had the honour of presiding at your side over the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris in April 1983, and I am therefore in a position to say how great was your positive contribution to the success of that gathering. There is no doubt that, with such qualifications, you will be able to guide the work of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to a most successful conclusion.

41. I wish also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who, as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session and at a particularly difficult time in world affairs, worked with courage and clear-mindedness to reaffirm the mission of the United Nations: to promote peace and harmony among nations.

42. In this connection, I cannot fail to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, whose broadmindedness, analytical abilities, independence of judgement and

fidelity to the ideals of the United Nations we were able to appreciate yet again when he visited Senegal in January 1984. His journey to the furthest corners of our continent was an act of faith which provided further proof that, with goodwill and using the right means, the plight and the hopes of a great part of mankind can be calmly identified, and that solutions can be sought and found if we are imbued with a spirit of international solidarity and praiseworthy generosity and brotherhood.

43. I wish finally to welcome the sister country of Brunei Darussalam—like Senegal, a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference—to membership of the United Nations. Its devotion to the ideals of peace, justice and harmony as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations are the best guarantee that Brunei Darussalam will be able to contribute with determination and effectiveness to the promotion of the United Nations and to the achievement of its purposes.

44. Once again we, the representatives of the world's peoples, States and Governments, have come together to consider the situation and future of mankind, and to do so despite the differences in our ideological choices, political systems, spheres of culture, traditions and customs, aware that the civilizations of which we are the products and the authors are complementary, aware also that 159 nations cannot in a meeting lasting only a few weeks together work out exactly what action must be taken to improve the lot of mankind without first being convinced that common interest must prevail over the obstacles to dialogue and solidarity.

45. Rich countries and poor, wealthy peoples and those stricken with the despair and pessimism which result from the world crisis, are we not all assailed by the same anxieties and obliged, if we are not to be destroyed, to stand shoulder to shoulder in the face of the many dangers threatening man and his environment?

46. It was in the spirit of the need for such reflection by the international community that the head of State of Senegal, President Abdou Diouf, called on me to come here to address the Assembly.

47. I shall begin by referring to the political problems with which the United Nations is once again confronted, together with the economic issues with which the third world in general and Africa in particular are constantly concerned, in the ever-diminishing hope that peoples and individuals will unite to prevent an apocalypse which, if it were to occur, would certainly spare no people and no country.

48. Given that risk, are we capable of taking the leap forward which the nations of the world expect of us and which we must take if we are to put to good use the immense potential of the human mind and the wealth of imagination granted to us by nature?

49. For nearly 40 years, a *modus vivendi* seems to have been established among the industrial nations, in particular those of the northern hemisphere. Those nations have thus achieved technological progress and economic stability, guaranteed and protected by a system of relations which safeguard the essential element: the continuance of that technological progress and the maintenance of the economic stability which, despite the ups and downs of our times, we see today.

50. At the same time, we note in various parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East numerous hotbeds of tension and conflict which rend the peoples asunder and set against each other neighbour countries which reason dictates should co-operate in trust and friendship. Sometimes, even within a single population, civil war breaks out, costing the lives of children, the elderly and people in the prime of life, sowing death and destruction in the name of opposing ideologies, and heightened and exacerbated by a conflict of interests often alien to that country.

51. In this tense situation, is it not time for the nations of the world, both rich and poor, industrialized and developing, to agree to overcome their rivalries and tensions, through joint efforts and constructive dialogue, in order to guarantee to all the free command of their common destiny?

52. Today, South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally, despite the relevant United Nations resolutions designed to enable the brother people of Namibia to recover, without any hindrance, its full right to freedom, independence and dignity. In this regard, my country, Senegal, solemnly reaffirms its complete solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the glorious people of Namibia, and we support Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Namibian question is a decolonization problem, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which recognizes that those countries and peoples have the inalienable right to self-determination and national sovereignty.

53. The countries members of the contact group should, to that end, bring direct pressure to bear on the Pretoria Government, in pursuance of the efforts that they are now undertaking and that, in all honesty and objectivity, we must emphasize. Since contact has been established, we feel it is appropriate to continue and even increase it so that South Africa will be brought to accept the United Nations settlement plan.

54. I cannot conclude this section of my address without welcoming, on behalf of my Government, the praiseworthy initiatives repeatedly undertaken by the Secretary-General. Thanks to him, the technical aspects of this matter, involving the composition, status and deployment of the military element of UNTAG and the choice of the electoral system provided for in the settlement plan, have already been agreed upon.

55. Notwithstanding the slow pace of the talks and the acknowledged limits of the progress recently made at Lusaka, Zambia, and Sal, Cape Verde, on the way towards negotiations between the parties involved, Senegal encourages those efforts and advocates a cease-fire conducive to the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) as a whole.

56. South Africa, because of the abhorrent practice of *apartheid*, which the Pretoria régime persists in further refining by successive reforms, such as the recent bogus constitutional reform, deserves to be once again unreservedly condemned by the international community. My country, Senegal, denounces this inhuman policy of racial segregation and expresses again its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and its legitimate representatives, the African National Congress of South Africa and the

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. We also energetically repudiate the infringements repeatedly committed against the territorial integrity, sovereignty and security of the front-line countries, and particularly the constant threats made by South Africa against Angola and Mozambique, whose Governments and brother peoples aspire only to peace and development.

57. In west Africa, the question of Western Sahara continues to be the subject of the international community's attention. My country, Senegal, wishes to see a peaceful settlement of that dispute, in accordance with resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX), 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 1983,¹ and endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/40.

58. With regard to the question of Chad, we can only hope that the recent developments emanating from the Franco-Libyan disengagement agreement of September 1984 may lead to national reconciliation in Chad and to scrupulous respect for the integrity and sovereignty of that country, under the leadership of its legitimate Government—now recognized by the OAU and by the international community—without any outside interference. It is truly high time for that martyred country, rent by internal conflicts and assorted kinds of intervention for the past 20 years, to be able finally to enjoy the peace, national unity and stability so essential to the flourishing of its people and the development of its economy.

59. Just as in Africa, the racist Pretoria Government continues to trample the Charter of the United Nations under foot by oppressing peoples aspiring to peace, so in the Middle East, Israel has been maintaining an atmosphere of tension through its aggressive and annexationist policy against the Arab peoples of the area in general, and the Palestinian people in particular. Israel's systematic recourse to force has inevitably blocked all the peace initiatives undertaken in recent years. The long list of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly is, in this regard, highly indicative of the indifference and cavalier disregard shown by the Tel Aviv Government for the international community's decisions.

60. Now, more than ever before, we must reaffirm the inalienable right of the brother people of Palestine, regrouped within the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole and legitimate representative, to dignity, self-determination and independence, and to the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State on the land of Palestine, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions. We must, by all legal means, induce the international community to compel Israel to put an end to the settlements. We must actively support the Lebanese people, which is now gravely divided, to achieve its unity and territorial integrity and regain its stability, free from the acts of aggression perpetrated daily against its sovereignty. We must spare no effort to obtain total withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied by Israel by force since 1967. We must, finally, foster the conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, with due respect for the right of all the peoples of the region to live within secure and recognized boundaries.

61. My country, Senegal, had the great honour, thanks to the confidence placed in it by the international community, to preside over the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983. We know that since then the Secretary-General, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as the Al-Quds Committee, presided over by King Hassan II, of Morocco, have made repeated efforts to ensure progress on this question. Those efforts should be encouraged and continued, because my country, which presides over the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, believes that an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the full participation of the PLO, should be able to bring about a definitive solution to the Middle East question.

62. As is well known, for four years now there has been a fratricidal conflict between Iran and Iraq that has taken the lives of thousands of innocent persons; huge material losses have occurred and vast resources have been wrested from the development of the two countries in a deadlocked conflict, and all this has been to no avail. Given this sorry state of affairs, all the initiatives that have been undertaken have proved fruitless. Senegal, which is a member of the Islamic Peace Committee seeking peace between those two countries, takes this opportunity to repeat to the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference that it has always supported and will continue to support them in actions designed to obtain a rapid and definitive cease-fire between Teheran and Baghdad and peace negotiations on the basis of the fundamental principles of international law and the stability of the countries of the region.

63. On the Asian continent, Afghanistan and Kampuchea continue, as is known, to be subjected to the laws and domination of foreign Powers. It is therefore only proper to hold that the people of Afghanistan and the people of Kampuchea are entitled to just recognition of their legitimate aspiration to the free choice of their political system and their leaders. In this connection, Senegal will continue to press actively for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those two countries and for just respect for the Charter of the United Nations with regard to them, through the peaceful application of the good offices machinery of the Secretary-General and the quest for a negotiated solution between the parties concerned. So far as Senegal is concerned, in both cases the main objective is to enable the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples to exercise their right to decide, in all sovereignty, their own destiny.

64. In Kampuchea, more particularly, after three years of praiseworthy and sustained diplomatic efforts, the implementation of the relevant resolutions on this question is still encountering certain obstacles, but they should not deter us from our goal, which is the restoration of peace to Kampuchea and the region. To that end, it should be emphasized that the work of the United Nations, through the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, presided over by Senegal, far from being directed against this or that State is, rather, designed to secure conditions necessary for a constructive dialogue between all the parties concerned. In this connection, certain States should reconsider their attitude and join the international consensus on the

question of Kampuchea, particularly as that consensus takes into account the concerns of all the interested parties. Experience has shown that the use of force is not the way to solve this dispute. It is through constructive and responsible dialogue that all the parties concerned can put an end to this conflict, which has lasted far too long.

65. In the Korean peninsula, we keep coming back to the idea of the peaceful reunification of the two sides within the framework of a sincere and fraternal quest for common ground. Our country will therefore continue to support any idea designed to secure this objective and based on the free will of the entire Korean people.

66. Finally, in Central America, if the principle of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination is observed by all, in the sub-continent and elsewhere, there is some hope of seeing the peoples of the region co-operate effectively in easing the many tensions and eliminating the hotbeds of conflict that prevail there. It is in this spirit, and this spirit only, that Senegal intends to continue to give active support to the efforts of the Contadora Group.

67. The picture of the world situation is certainly not an encouraging one. However, like the weather, international political developments are always characterized by a predictable alternation of overcast periods and periods when the elements of nature come together to produce fine weather. Thus, there is no room for despair; rather, we should be optimistic and organize our efforts. Today more than ever those efforts must be applied to the constant search for the most appropriate solutions to the varied economic and financial problems affecting the world and, more particularly, the developing countries.

68. The world is currently experiencing an unprecedented economic crisis, which must not be viewed as a short-term phenomenon, much less as a cyclical occurrence, because it is deeply rooted in the super-imposed imbalances and accumulated inequalities which have dominated the international economic system during the 1980s.

69. I shall not refer here to the elements of that crisis nor to its many manifestations, because other speakers have already done this and the United Nations itself, at various levels, has considered all the aspects of this crisis with admirable conviction and determination.

70. In May 1974, at the urging of the countries of the third world, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]; then in December that same year the Assembly adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. This new international economic order was and is still supposed to correct inequalities, remedy injustices and close the immense gap that exists at all levels between the rich and the poor countries. It is in the light of these objectives that I wish, on behalf of Senegal, to emphasize, in this last half of my statement, two fundamental subjects of particular interest for almost all African countries: the indebtedness of the third world and the phenomenon of drought and desertification.

71. Our countries in particular have felt the full force of the world crisis. To varying degrees in recent years, they have recorded large balance-of-payments

deficits, aggravated by a sharp decline in their industrial and agricultural production, thus bringing about a steady fall in their per capita income. On top of this, the phenomenon of decreased rainfall has caused a marked foodstuffs deficit. Moreover, the prices of their raw materials and commodities have consistently dropped while the costs of importing capital goods, manufactured articles and finished products have experienced an unprecedented exponential increase. This has led to a considerable fall in the export earnings of our countries.

72. The well-known inadequacy of financial resource flows and the structural difficulties we have experienced have forced us, in order to ensure a minimum of development, to contract major debts for the purpose of breaking the deadlock. Thus, the foreign debt of the developing countries increased from \$244 billion in 1977 to \$625 billion in 1982 and at the end of 1983 stood at \$785 billion.

73. The result of such a situation could not fail to be a serious reduction in the gross national product of our countries and a drastic restriction of their capacity to absorb the effects of the world crisis.

74. At the same time, and on the international level, we have the effects of the following factors: persistent monetary instability; fluctuations in exchange rates, over which we have no control; the particularly high level of interest rates; new protectionist barriers imposed by the industrialized countries; the increase in shipping rates; interest payments on commercial credits; and the constant rise in energy prices and in the cost of oil products and derivatives.

75. As the final blow to our development efforts, we then have, on the monetary side, the inadequacy of financial resources, particularly on concessional terms, the stagnation or even decline of the real value of official development assistance when considered in the light of the cumulative effects of inflation and the drop in the prices of raw materials and, to crown it all, the conditions imposed under the lending policies of official and private financial institutions.

76. The developing countries are certainly not prey to despair, but how can they hope to see any light at the end of the tunnel tomorrow unless specific measures are taken today gradually to end a critical situation whose consequences could, like a shock wave, reach those tomorrow that believe today they are well out of its reach?

77. A few months ago, the Secretary-General undertook the praiseworthy initiative of visiting several countries in the black continent with a view to mobilizing additional resources to support the already fragile economies of the African countries. While we congratulate him on this move, we at the same time renew our appeal to the international community and the specialized financial institutions to organize a world conference on indebtedness to seek the best ways to study this contemporary phenomenon, analyse its evolution and define the most appropriate remedies, in order to give a new impetus to our countries' economies and free them of the bottle-necks and other obstacles trapping them in the maze of mechanisms which are now in place and which have led to the present state of affairs.

78. Throughout this period, drought and desertification have inexorably dominated and invaded our continent. In 1983 no fewer than 35 African countries were afflicted by the phenomenon of drought,

which is no longer limited to certain areas of west Africa but has spread to east Africa, central Africa and even southern Africa, where on both sides of the equator the existence of vast forest areas with dense vegetation stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans should guarantee regular rainfall; this, however, is now threatened.

79. Some countries of Asia and the Americas are seriously worried by the prospect of the same calamity as is threatening the African countries.

80. Drought is a phenomenon characterized each year by the virtually complete absence of precipitation in areas where irrigation is little known or unknown, thus ruling out any chance of normal agriculture and therefore of a harvest. Desertification occurs like a disease that wherever it goes destroys vegetation and watercourses, dries up rivers, streams, lakes and ponds and wipes out the food plants and aquatic and land animals on which man usually feeds.

81. Every year the Sahara desert in the north of Africa, from Mauritania to the Sudan, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, moves tens of kilometres southwards, making hundreds of thousands of hectares unfit for agriculture and causing the movement of thousands of people and their livestock, separating them from their traditions and way of life and causing problems for the people in their new grazing areas.

82. The African countries concerned, thanks to the support and understanding of the international community, have organized themselves into subregional and regional zones to tackle the problem of this dual phenomenon of drought and desertification. As has been indicated by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office [UNSO]:

"The purpose of the fight against the effects of drought and desertification is essentially to rehabilitate and protect the productive potential of the land, water and other natural resources and, at the same time, to develop and strengthen man's ability to exploit these resources . . ."

It was in this spirit that the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, composed of eight West African countries, was set up.

83. In 1973 the Secretary-General created UNSO, which between 1973 and 1978 developed into the leading organ of the United Nations system directly mandated by the General Assembly to co-ordinate the activities of United Nations agencies designed to help the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region in their struggle against the effects of drought. UNSO's mission has since developed to cover, in particular, in addition to the Sudano-Sahelian zone, that situated north of the Equator, and to deal with the implementation of the Plan of Action to Combat Desertification, adopted by the United Nations Conference on Desertification, held at Nairobi in 1977.²

84. Just a few weeks ago, in July, on the initiative of President Abdou Diouf, a ministerial conference on the two phenomena—drought and desertification—was held at Dakar, with the participation of the European Economic Community, the United Nations, FAO, UNDP and UNEP, as well as UNSO, which played a particularly active role in the preparation and conduct of the conference and in the achievement of results.

85. Among the conclusions of that conference, which we have communicated to the competent

organs of the agencies I have mentioned, the concept of countries stricken by desertification has been accepted, with all the practical consequences that logically follow the adoption of such a concept by the United Nations. My Government hopes that at this session the General Assembly will draw up and adopt a resolution defining precise measures and appealing to the international community to make available increased resources to give effect to the conclusions of the Dakar conference. We are glad that the question of countries stricken by desertification and drought has been included in the agenda of this session.

86. The three fundamental ideas of UNSO—and here let me pay tribute to the officials of that agency for their hard work in seeking solutions to the thorny problem of countries stricken by desertification—are the following: first, aid to the various countries and their regional institutions in the field of planning and formulating projects and programmes designed to fight the effects of drought and desertification; secondly, aid in the mobilization of the necessary resources for the implementation of the various projects and programmes, either on a bilateral or a multilateral basis or through the United Nations Trust Fund for Sudano-Sahelian Activities, with a considerable increase in the resources made available to UNSO, which at present are insignificant compared with the magnitude of the problems; and, thirdly, the management of the Trust Fund and the implementation, through the resources of that Fund, of the projects and programmes to which UNSO contributes.

87. It is obvious that the work of UNSO cannot exclude a range of decisive actions jointly conducted by the countries concerned to help them work out and implement a coherent policy for combating this phenomenon.

88. In conclusion, let me say that our world is today burdened with difficulties of all sorts. Besides our political problems, we now have many questions to ask about the economic future of the peoples whom we represent. Should we not at last be emphasizing what unites us and casting a veil of reason over what divides us, in order to concentrate on what is essential: fostering our solidarity and giving each other reciprocal support. This means that we must act together to eradicate focal points of war, reduce tensions between peoples and turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the sirens of discord and over-armament. To support each other reciprocally means that we must pool the immense technological progress achieved by mankind for the service of mankind and against the policies of the mass destruction of the resources of our planet. To support each other reciprocally means to be responsible and show solidarity with the poor peoples, impoverished by nature or threatened by calamities, those living in the more arid areas of our world or in islands surrounded by the oceans but without rainfall. We must help them to confront this real everyday hardship.

89. Only then need we not despair of ourselves, for we shall be men—men of peace, men of dialogue, men of generosity; men of a generation which will not have lived for nothing and which, having explored the moon, skirted the planets Mars and Saturn, circled Venus and admired Orion, will come back to Earth to control, with head held high, its own destiny, the destiny of mankind.

90. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): In electing you, Sir, President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly the international community has honoured a man of remarkable talent and experience. Your contribution in the United Nations has been outstanding and you have served Zambia and Africa with distinction. For us from Guyana there is special pleasure in seeing you guide our deliberations for there are long-standing and unshakeable bonds which unite your country, Zambia, and mine. On a more personal note, we greatly appreciate the role you played in cementing those bonds during the period you served as your country's first accredited representative to Guyana.

91. It gives me no less pleasure to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, for the efficiency and dignity with which he discharged his duties as President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session.

92. With the admission of Brunei Darussalam as its 159th Member, the United Nations has moved another step closer to the goal of universality. In welcoming this new State, Guyana extends the hand of friendship and co-operation.

93. Each year the Assembly's general debate provides an opportunity for a review of the state of international relations. For the past few years, this review has indicated persistent negative trends and tendencies. This year the situation offers little reason for optimism.

94. The scourge of war, from which there is a pledge in the Charter of the United Nations to "save succeeding generations", is a danger now more pressing than it ever was. It is a prospect made grim not only by the gruesome rumination over the use of nuclear power on a limited basis, but also, even more chilling, by the awesome capacity possessed by some States to annihilate us all.

95. The Charter also expresses a resolve "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". This is being seriously undermined, for there is a single-minded determination to demand that all of us pursue the same model of development.

96. The militant resurgence of the power politics of yester-year has done violence to another Charter principle, that of the "equal rights . . . of nations large and small", and relegated that principle almost to the realm of mythological musings; and the naked use of power is invoked in circumventing "the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law", sometimes even with the aim of fendering such law effete.

97. A state of generalized crisis permeates international relations. The use and the threat of the use of force in conflict resolution are on the increase. There is today aggravated resort to the military as a means of achieving nationally determined political objectives. Indeed, some Member States may already have reached the stage where, especially in relation to small States, diplomacy and negotiations have been made subservient to the exercise of military might. What we are witnessing is a re-emergence of the militarization of foreign policy and the use of organized violence as an instrument of State policy.

98. Deep-seated economic problems aggravate and are aggravated by political tensions. Freely embraced international co-operation is under serious threat. The evolution of a sense of global community seems

to have come to a halt; and there is a frightening tendency to seek recourse almost exclusively to activities within the competence of the individual nation State and a selective bilateralism for development and security.

99. Development is today in many places deferred, and some Governments are faced with the prospect of, or are confronted by, social upheavals and the concomitant political unrest produced by the current environment. Despite the clear need for collective action, there is a resistance to global solutions, a resistance that is manifested in numerous ways. The North-South dialogue, for example, remains stymied by opaqueness and obscurantism.

100. Similarly, in their negotiations with the IMF, developing countries are confronted with inductive prescriptions for economic recovery. General concern over the inflexibility and appropriateness of these measures was highlighted at the Latin American Economic Conference, held at Quito on 12 and 13 January 1984, when leaders of Latin American and Caribbean countries, in the Quito Declaration and Plan of Action, urged the necessity for a revision of IMF conditionality criteria which, in their present form, can endanger stability and development. The leaders called for greater importance to be attached to "the countries' development priorities and their political and social limitations so that they may realistically cope with the internal adjustment need imposed by the present world-wide economic recession" [see A/39/118, annex].

101. Recently, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, failed to yield any results beyond general commitments to greater co-operation and adherence to agreed principles. In effect, what has happened over the past few years is the continued postponement of the democratization of international relations, including reform of relevant institutions and modification of their operations.

102. In the area of international economic relations, many are the interpretations of recent developments, the analyses of the performance of the global economy and the prognoses for its future direction. Signs of recovery are visible in developed market economies, but its durability is uncertain. Furthermore, the impact of incipient recovery remains a matter of some conjecture, and its benefits have not had a positive effect on the developing countries as a whole.

103. What is undeniable, too, is that the international community continues to face an accumulation of severe economic problems. Indeed, some of these problems have worsened precisely as a consequence of policies pursued in the name of national recovery. I will, however, refer to only a few of those problems: debt, trade issues and interest rates.

104. The international community is divided on how the debt problem should be properly approached. At the heart of this difficulty is the unwillingness of some States to recognize and appreciate that the debt problem is a global one which requires joint action. It is no longer sufficient for individual debtor and creditor countries to meet and agree on general policy guidelines for resolving the debt problem. Rather, a consensus should be found within the framework of a multilateral political dialogue which includes the participation of con-

cerned international banks and multilateral financial institutions.

105. The countries of the Caribbean Community, which met at Nassau, Bahamas, from 4 to 7 July this year, acknowledged this imperative when they agreed that "the debt problem must be treated internationally, as a matter of urgency, if the developing countries are to play their part in the global economy".

106. On trade issues, protectionism commands attention. Curiously enough, protectionism is everywhere criticized. When some representatives of the developed countries met in London last June at their annual Economic Summit, they enjoined all States, industrialized and developing alike, to resist continuing protectionist measures, to reduce barriers to trade and to make renewed efforts to liberalize and expand international trade in manufactures, commodities and services. Yet protectionism is being increasingly resorted to, sometimes in quite innovative forms, with the principal effect of denying exports from the developing world access to the markets of the developed countries.

107. Those among us who profess the inherent values of free trade have a special responsibility to promote and effect the dismantling of obstructions to it.

108. The trade problem is, however, wider than that of market access. It encompasses the demand for primary commodities and commodity prices which are today weak and unstable. In our efforts to deal with this question, it is necessary to ensure arrangements which afford developing countries just and remunerative prices.

109. The factor which straddles these issues is that of interest rates, whose high level aggravates indebtedness and inhibits our capacities to discharge our debt obligations. A rise in those rates represents the transfer of resources from developing to developed countries. Such a rise also reduces the resources available to developing countries to be applied to productive activities so that such countries might be better enabled to discharge their debt obligations. Additionally, increased returns from exports can, when applied in some cases to debt servicing, produce the classic treadmill situation, that is, moving faster to avoid falling backwards, and in effect standing still.

110. So dramatic are the consequences of high interest rates that the President of the World Bank noted that the punishing effect of today's high interest rates on developing countries stood out in stark relief, and he called upon developed countries to make their reduction a priority policy matter.

111. One unchallenged growth point of international economic relations, however, has been the progressive development of economic and other forms of co-operation among developing countries. South-South co-operation has been pursued in an effort to reap the value of enhanced self-reliance, both individual and collective. Organs of the United Nations system have rendered valuable assistance in this regard. It is a matter of regret that the postures of some developed countries have been at best ambivalent or at worst downright hostile to the involvement of the United Nations system in schemes and programmes encouraging South-South co-operation. It seems inconsistent to contend that developing countries should do more to help themselves and, at the same time, withhold support from, or deliberately obstruct,

efforts at assisting the self-reliance of developing countries through the activities of international organizations.

112. Turning to the course of international political relations over the last year, we note that tension has escalated to new and more dangerous levels, feelings of insecurity have intensified, and an increasingly pervasive fear of the present, and for the future, stalks many a land and grips many a people.

113. The single most disturbing factor has been the sharp deterioration in the relations between the super-Powers. The rhetoric has been shrill and bristling with hostility. A toning down of that rhetoric in favour of constructive dialogue has long been urged by many of us in the international community. It is good to note that quite recently there has been some indication of the possibility of movement in that direction. Guyana's hope is that this is no mere tactic of the moment.

114. The armaments culture, especially in the nuclear field, has developed almost with a logic of its own. It is time for the benevolent intervention of human reason for the sake of human survival.

115. Let us all at this session of the General Assembly issue a stirring call for the embrace of serious dialogue to bring an end to the maddening spiral. I believe that it would be of advantage for the Secretary-General to be given an enhanced role in that dialogue. All humankind has a stake in the successful outcome of such dialogue.

116. Pursuit of dialogue would acknowledge a concern voiced not only in the corridors of international politics, for in offices, fields and factories, in every aspect of human endeavour, the common people are expressing their deep concern about the threat to human survival. They seek to build restraints on policies which can only lead inexorably to a holocaust. The young people who in 1985 will celebrate International Youth Year stand as a potent challenge to policies which promise them little hope and security and which are not based on an ethic of survival. People all over, including the youth, demand a world which is safe, one which offers more hope for the future. Guyana is on their side.

117. In the general field of disarmament, there is a curious situation. No Member of the United Nations speaks against disarmament. Yet in the professed cause of security, armaments become more sophisticated and more numerous. At such levels of refinement, the room for error and recall becomes considerably reduced. There is, as a result, a corresponding increase of the likelihood that, by some fickle and faltering twist of fortune, war may become the inevitable consequence of miscalculation. In the absence of agreed restraint, such armaments are themselves purveyors of insecurity and vectors of fear.

118. A prime task is, therefore, to decelerate the feverish preparations for war. International efforts must be urgently intensified to put a stop to the arms race and to accelerate the process towards genuine disarmament.

119. It is perhaps in the Middle East, a continuing hotbed of tension and instability, that we see demonstrated most vividly the futility of policies which seek security based on force of arms. Durable peace in that region will remain an elusive goal so long as Israel pursues, and is encouraged so to do, policies of occupation and annexation and continues to stifle

the genuine political aspirations of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland.

120. I reiterate here Guyana's support for the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including, naturally, the PLO.

121. The tragic war between Iraq and Iran continues to be a matter of deep concern. Immense losses have been inflicted, and many of us have felt anguish and pain. Its prolongation heightens the level of tension in the region, with consequences already extending well beyond it.

122. Significant changes have taken place in the economic and political configuration of southern Africa. Certain conjunctural factors have shaped and influenced those developments, but the basic generic problems of colonialism and *apartheid* persist and fester.

123. The recent convulsions within the South African society, engendered through protest by the oppressed, stand as incontrovertible evidence of the disposition of the majority of the people of that country. The lukewarm reaction of the so-called Coloureds and the Indians to the vaunted constitutional changes also point unmistakably to the deep malaise that afflicts that society. The vast army of the disenfranchised and despised in South Africa is entitled to ask whether the international community cannot do more to support their own efforts and so hasten the demise of the abominable *apartheid* system. Condemnation of *apartheid* is not enough. What is required is practical action to abolish it.

124. There can be no more temporizing in relation to Namibia. The independence of that country cannot be linked to any extraneous issue. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be implemented in its entirety. The people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, must no longer be frustrated in their march to freedom and independence. This vestige of colonialism must be extirpated once and for all.

125. How much longer must the people of Korea suffer the division of their country? The situation in the peninsula remains tense. It can, however, be improved if sincere efforts are exerted for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea without outside interference. The proposals made earlier this year by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for tripartite talks are constructive and warrant our support.

126. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) continues to be the corner-stone for a solution to the Cyprus problem. Efforts at the implementation of this and other pertinent resolutions have, unfortunately, not yet produced the desired results. Within the past year, the situation has been compounded by unilateral actions by the Turkish Cypriot community, actions which have no legal validity. The Secretary-General has sustained an intimate involvement in the search for a solution, the vicissitudes notwithstanding. We stand firmly behind him in his current initiatives.

127. My own region, Latin America and the Caribbean, is not immunized from tension and threats to peace and security.

128. In Central America, radical forces are counterposed in a deepening crisis. Addressing themselves to this issue, the heads of Government of the Caribbean Community when they met at Nassau in July of this year declared: "Notwithstanding ideological factors,

the fundamental crisis faced by the people of that region was rooted in deep-seated social and economic ills." What is of the utmost importance is the avoidance of external military intervention in seeking a solution to that crisis. I wish to reiterate Guyana's support for the efforts of the Contadora Group in its patient search to find peaceful political solutions to the problems of the subregion. All States should respect and fully support those efforts. Indeed, intervention as a policy mechanism must be abandoned in the region as a whole.

129. The independence and territorial integrity of Belize continue to be under threat from neighbouring Guatemala. Guyana once again affirms its irrevocable support for the desire of the Government and people of Belize to consolidate their independence and to guarantee their territorial integrity.

130. The explosive events in Grenada nearly a year ago caused deep trauma. The General Assembly gave its own determination on those events. Its records, which include a statement of the position of Guyana, speak for themselves. The Commonwealth heads of Government, when they met at New Delhi in November 1983, agreed, in their Final Communiqué, that "the emphasis should now be on reconstruction, not recrimination".³ Guyana has acted within this framework.

131. The passage of time, in relation to Grenada, can dull the memory and heal wounds, but it should not anesthetize us to the extent that we either forget lessons or abandon principles. We must take cognizance of the fact that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 38/7] is still unfulfilled in all its parts. We must also, in the wake of that circumstance, strengthen the capacity of the United Nations for increasing the security of small States.

132. For the entire period of Guyana's existence as an independent country, relations with our neighbour, Venezuela, have been dominated by the controversy that has resulted from the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899, which settled the boundary between our two countries, is null and void. Both the facts of the case and their impact on our relations with Venezuela have been presented by us to the General Assembly for the past three years. We are still some considerable way from reaching an agreement on the basis of which we can lay to rest once and for all this ghost of the past.

133. Under the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1966,⁴ the Secretary-General has been entrusted with the task of selecting a suitable means of settlement. If the search for a peaceful solution is to be undertaken in earnest, a climate conducive to success is a prerequisite. Suspicion and distrust, which have too often infected past relations, must give way to understanding. Confidence flows from respect.

134. The Secretary-General was prescient when he asked for and obtained from both countries assurances that we would do everything necessary "in order to foster and maintain the most favourable climate for the effective application of the Geneva Agreement". Guyana gave that assurance readily since it has always been our wish to develop friendly relations with Venezuela. Since early this year, we have noted signs from Caracas of a desire to reciprocate and extend the hand of friendship. As it has consistently in the past, Guyana pledges that it will co-operate fully towards the attainment of a peaceful settlement in an atmosphere of friendship.

135. The future of international organizations is at this time a matter of major concern, for notions are abroad that these organizations should subscribe to a single ethos and that national priorities must be imposed upon mutual co-operation in the wider context of international peace, security and development. The practice is also recurring among the powerful of bypassing international organizations, such as the United Nations, in settling issues properly the concern of those organizations.

136. Let us recall that the Charter of the United Nations advocates universality and therefore presupposes pluralism. Diversity of perception, of position and even of posture must therefore logically follow. Thus, if international organizations are to function properly, they must reflect, in debate no less than in decision, the variety of values held by the membership. Therefore to attempt to impose a uniform value system on this or any other international organization is to endeavour to make that organization a clone of that system. Such a development would be contradictory to the purpose of international organizations and therefore self-defeating.

137. No Member of the Organization can assert with conviction that the United Nations system is sufficient to ensure its security and to protect fully all its interests. But it does provide us all with a forum in which the reconciliation of divergent and sometimes conflicting interests can be engineered. For small States like Guyana, the United Nations is also an important part of our security shield.

138. International relations are changing and complex. Our ability to cope with such a dynamic situation will be dependent on the capacity and ingenuity applied to adapting institutions to make them more adequately responsive to current needs. To desire that institutions function as if the objective conditions in which they operate are the same today as in times past is to retreat from reality, to indulge in fantasies and to pursue a chimera. But, in seeking to correct deficiencies and make organizations more effective, we must be careful lest in the fervour of our efforts some of us in effect swim against the tide of human development and perhaps inadvertently bring about a roll-back of democracy.

139. The phenomenon we are dealing with is an assault upon institutions and principles which constitute the very basis of international co-operation.

140. We are also faced with a paradox. The institutions under attack are universalist in nature and generally make extensive use of the majority principle in decision-making. On the other hand, those institutions based on a different model and dominated by the wielders of economic power are extolled as exemplary.

141. The paradox of the threat to international co-operation deepens when we consider that there is an acknowledged movement towards greater regional and subregional co-operation, especially in the economic and other functional fields. Yet it is precisely at this time of enhanced endeavours at regional co-operation that a retreat from multilateral activities that at once transcend and encompass regional co-operation is being vigorously advocated and pursued.

142. In promoting effective democratic international organizations, no one calls for the abandonment of the pursuit of national interests. On the other hand, it must surely be possible through commitment and common purpose to utilize international organiza-

tions in a way that can smooth the contours of conflict and confrontation and advance the prospects for co-operation.

143. I suggest that what is required is the elevation to a universalist plane of the reconciliation of our separate interests and agreement upon appropriate restraints on the application of power in its various forms and manifestations, all in the interest of the common good of mankind.

144. Next year, the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations will be marked. Preparations for that anniversary have already begun. Those celebrations should not be merely ritualistic. They must be invested with meaning and with purpose.

145. Guyana believes that out of our deliberations this year should come agreement on action for strengthening the United Nations and better realizing the purposes and principles of its Charter. In this context, we should also consider measures which will have as their objective the strengthening of regional and subregional organizations and which will assign an enhanced role to the United Nations system.

146. Since assuming office, the Secretary-General has expressed profound concern for the vitality and effectiveness of the United Nations and has advanced a number of valuable ideas for action by Member States to achieve this end. Once again, in his report on the work of the Organization [4/39/1], he has provided us with a frank and clear analysis of current deficiencies of the United Nations and ourselves and a framework for activities in the future which shows great insight. As he said,

"Let us look back at the road we have travelled, distil the experience and set out again refreshed and with a new determination. The purposes for which the United Nations was set up are essential for the future of our planet. The vision expressed in the Charter remains, and we should rally to it."

147. There is a serious challenge before us. The imperative is a political no less than a moral one. It is to mobilize the world's people in support of the cause of the United Nations—that of survival, of development and of peace.

148. The real alternatives are between the maintenance or the quest for supremacy and the building of a co-operative global partnership. I believe that agreed arrangements are possible through the resolute pursuit by all of us of a policy of active and peaceful coexistence. It is, I venture to suggest, a necessary condition of peace and stability and of the real security of all States. But that condition is not sufficient. Such a policy must be buttressed by complementary ones which do not frustrate actual and nascent processes for securing peace.

149. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been in the vanguard of the forces working for a harmonious global environment. That Movement, to which Guyana is proud to belong, brings together the collective experience and yearnings of the peoples of more than 100 countries and movements. We are of different ideological backgrounds, but we share a common platform for peace and common aspirations to development.

150. Our Movement, which provides a viable alternative to bloc politics, has, the odds notwithstanding, indefatigably alerted the international community to the prospects of nuclear disaster and fought strenuously for the adoption of genuine and complete

disarmament, a task now made most urgent. Despite external and internal difficulties, we as a collectivity have consistently advocated respect for the fundamental principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention and the non-use of force.

151. Non-alignment has never wavered in its support for the strengthening of the United Nations in the attainment of those objectives. Multilateralism and internationalism beckon us forward.

152. Mr. AL-NUAMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is an expression of the international community's recognition of your experience and ability, and an assertion of the important role played by your friendly country, Zambia. We are confident that your ability will contribute positively and effectively to the realization of the hopes pinned on this session.

153. We are pleased to extend our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who skilfully presided over the thirty-eighth session; we highly praise his efforts aimed at the settlement of international disputes.

154. We should like to seize this opportunity to renew our expression of confidence in the endeavours undertaken by the Secretary-General and to reaffirm our support for his persistent efforts aimed at ensuring adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and enhancing its role in the settlement of the international disputes that threaten the security and existence of mankind.

155. My country's delegation is pleased warmly to welcome the admission of the State of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations; we look forward to the establishment of mutual co-operation with that friendly country based on our common ties.

156. As we are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we hope that the day will come when the countries still under colonialism or foreign occupation will become free and join the United Nations.

157. The Secretary-General has indicated, in his report on the work of the Organization (A/39/1), that the past year has been characterized by great-power tension and by violence or threatened violence in various parts of the world. The cycle of violence referred to by the Secretary-General and undoubtedly involving almost all parts of the world, is caused by lack of good sense, by the obstinate adherence by States to concepts of self-interest and by the exertion of pressure on third-world countries to prevent them from achieving stability and devoting their national resources to the development of their economic potential. Hence, security has become the preoccupation of individuals and nations in our contemporary world.

158. Our region, the Gulf area, is one of the regions of the world where tension has increased as a result of the destructive war raging between two neighbours—Iraq and Iran. The consequences of that war have affected international shipping lines, thus seriously endangering international navigation in the Gulf area and inflicting severe damage not only on the economies of the Gulf countries but also on those of the entire world.

159. Events have shown that the course of that war, and its consequences, will only bring havoc to the two Muslim peoples in particular and to the security of the Gulf area, as well as to world peace in general. The real beneficiaries of the continuation of that war are those who exploit regional disputes for the attainment of their own aims, namely, the extension of their spheres of influence in the world through the creation of regional climates conducive to that end.

160. In view of our responsibility with regard to the region's stability and security as well as the maintenance of international peace, we have supported all the efforts being exerted by the Secretary-General, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the halting of this haemorrhage, bringing the combatants to the negotiating table to settle their differences through peaceful means, infusing a spirit of peace and leading to an accord between the two States.

161. In our endeavour to achieve these lofty goals, we have not only supported those initiatives, but we have also contributed, in co-ordination with the member States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, by contacting both parties in an attempt to put an end to that war in a manner guaranteeing the legitimate rights of both countries.

162. In this context, we put on record with appreciation the positive response exhibited by brotherly Iraq towards the initiatives taken and its declared readiness to end the war immediately. We look forward to the day when the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran will do likewise and respond positively to the efforts and initiatives undertaken for that purpose.

163. We, in the Gulf, attach particular importance to freedom of navigation because of its close connection with the development of our resources and economy, in addition to its significance to the world economy. We are opposed to any action which hinders or restricts freedom of navigation on the high seas. Hence, we were gravely concerned over the recent events in the Red Sea, given their inherent danger and threat to navigation in that vital waterway.

164. On the basis of this understanding and in view of our area's direct link with the Indian Ocean, my country continues strongly to support the efforts undertaken for the adoption of the necessary measures for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (*resolution 2832 (XXV)*) and for effective compliance with it on the part of the international community.

165. The United Arab Emirates has affirmed on more than one occasion that the security of the Gulf area is exclusively the security of its States and they are directly responsible for it. This principle is an extension of the general principle that my country continues to adhere to, namely, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

166. The Middle East is one of those regions that continues to suffer from tensions. It witnesses daily, in an unprecedented manner, displacement, murder, destruction, wars, occupation and violence. The region has become the scene of the most violent acts of aggression in the contemporary world. An entire people has been denied stability and peace in a free and independent homeland, while other peoples are threatened with the same destiny. Calls for help and denunciations have been made on an almost daily

basis from this and other forums; but the world stands helpless, despite all the progress made in various fields and at all levels, unable to put an end to the destructive violence which has already lasted too long and has almost become the inevitable destiny of man in the region.

167. The conditions which prevail in the Middle East region stem, in their origin and development, from Israel's continued persistence in perpetrating aggression and its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the international community. For this reason, the question of Palestine remains unresolved. It constitutes a source of continued concern because of the suffering of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and the risk of global confrontation which could lead to a destructive war extending in its effects beyond the State of the region, to engulf the whole world.

168. The true reasons behind the continuation of this problem are well known to the international community, namely, Israel's desire to achieve the Zionist dream by means of expansion and hegemony over the States of the region, the convergence of this desire with the goal of certain States to play havoc with the destiny of the region's peoples and the pursuance by these States of policies hindering the Security Council from adopting resolutions aimed at putting an end to aggression and holding the aggressor responsible for its aggression.

169. We maintain and stress the conviction that the Middle East problem is a clear expression and an inevitable outcome of the failure to settle the core question, namely, the question of Palestine. The conclusion of a just and comprehensive settlement should be predicated, fundamentally, on the following: first, recognition of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine to return to its homeland and to establish its independent State on its national soil under the leadership of its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO; and secondly, Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

170. The continued absence of such settlement could lead only to further deterioration of the situation and greater tension and, consequently, to the creation of new problems, as is the case with the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. Thus, the world finds itself, once again, confronted with derivative issues that require further efforts that may drag on indefinitely.

171. Lebanon, a vivid example of this, has been the victim of Israeli aggression and occupation for over two years. In spite of all the efforts made and resolutions adopted by the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces immediately and unconditionally to the internationally recognized borders, the Israeli forces continue to occupy southern Lebanon and to subject its population to all forms of military and economic pressures in order to force them to leave their lands. In this context, we regret the exercise by the United States of its right of veto last month, thus preventing all the other members of the Security Council from adopting a humanitarian draft resolution,⁵ calling upon Israel to desist from its inhuman practices against the population of the south and to comply with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

172. The separate attempts and the partial solutions aimed at addressing the Middle East problem will remain, in their essence and ramifications, insufficient for establishing a sound basis for the desired just and comprehensive settlement. Therefore, we affirm that General Assembly resolution 38/58 C, which calls for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties, including the PLO, offers the appropriate framework for the establishment of the conditions for a just and durable peace in the region. We hope that certain major Powers will reconsider their position on the convening of this conference in conformity with their international responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

173. Southern Africa, like the Middle East, continues to suffer from the abhorrent yoke of colonialism and the practices of racial discrimination, which constitute an affront to humanity. Such practices cast doubt on the ability of the international community to shoulder its responsibilities towards a large segment of mankind in the realization of justice, equality, freedom and human dignity. We salute the heroic struggle of the nationalists for freedom, equality and independence, and we reaffirm our belief in their just cause and our firm determination to continue to support their legitimate struggle.

174. We condemn the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Government of South Africa. We consider that policy a crime against humanity, whose elimination requires concerted international efforts. This applies to the so-called new constitution introduced recently by the Pretoria régime and aimed at consolidating the policy of *apartheid*. Hence, we support Security Council resolution 554 (1984) and the recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 39/2] which condemned that act with all its implications.

175. On the same premise, we salute the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, and we affirm our continued support for the self-determination, independence and territorial integrity of Namibia. We are very confident and unshaken in our belief that no matter how oppressive and evil aggression may be, it is inevitable for justice to win and for man's dignity to be respected.

176. In accordance with the basic principles upon which our foreign policy is predicated, together with our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and international norms and our conviction that non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is conducive to the alleviation, to a great extent, of international tension, we call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and for the freedom of its people to establish the régime they choose. This applies to Kampuchea, whose people have long suffered from foreign interference. It also applies to the problems facing the States of Central America. In this connection, we endorse the principles and concepts adopted by the Contadora Group for the settlement of those problems. Likewise, we urge that the dispute between North Korea and South Korea be settled through free dialogue between the two countries in order to achieve the aspirations of their people for unity.

177. With regard to the question of Cyprus, we commend the recent efforts made by the Secretary-

General to help the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus to arrive at a solution to this problem that would guarantee the rights of both communities, ensure security and coexistence for the people of the island and guarantee the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

178. We believe that arms control and disarmament are of vital importance for international peace and security and that they can be realized only in an atmosphere of political stability and mutual confidence, particularly among the States possessing nuclear weapons.

179. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I] that the lack of concrete progress in disarmament and arms control has aroused deep fears of a nuclear confrontation. We are deeply concerned over the escalation of the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and their storage in various parts of the world. Moreover, our concern is aggravated by the stalemate in the negotiations between the two super-Powers and the failure to resume them with regard to control of the development and production of certain kinds of nuclear weapons. Because of this grave situation, it is becoming more and more difficult to live in an atmosphere of escalating fear and panic from the possible outbreak of nuclear war. Furthermore, it is no longer possible to overlook the enormous resources that are wasted on armaments at a time when mankind is in dire need of those resources for the purposes of economic and social development.

180. The United Arab Emirates welcomes the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, including the region of the Middle East. We hope that the international community, and in particular the great Powers, will view this matter with the importance it deserves, since it constitutes a fundamental element in the maintenance of security and stability in the region.

181. The political situation cannot be examined separately from the prevailing economic problems. The economic problems in the world today indicate that the economic crisis continues to affect all countries. The current situation is not only disappointing but also a source of deep concern over the possible consequences.

182. While economic stagnation, low growth rates and high rates of unemployment and inflation have all become constant aspects of the world economy, their effects are most severely felt by the developing countries. Those countries are unable to sustain their economic and social development programmes and to arrest the continued deterioration in their already low standards of living. There is overall agreement that the continuation of such a situation could ultimately have catastrophic consequences.

183. Although in some developed countries the economy has experienced relatively slight recovery, that does not call for much optimism because that recovery is limited and has not brought about any real changes in economic policies with respect to current problems. In their economic policies, the developed countries have not always been willing to address the basic problems of the world economy.

184. Hence, the economies of the developing countries have continued to suffer a great deal from the consequences of such practices as continued protec-

tionism, congestion of export markets, deterioration of the terms of trade, decline in export revenues, exacerbation of foreign debts, high level of interest rates and increasing pressure for instituting external structural adjustments. All of this has created enormous difficulties for the developing countries and made them unable to pursue their economic development programmes and to halt the erosion of their standards of living, thus creating a situation that could seriously threaten their social stability.

185. This critical situation of the world economy calls for serious and responsible consideration on the part of all in order to alleviate its negative effects within a comprehensive framework, with the participation of the developing and developed countries alike. It is therefore imperative to strengthen the role of the United Nations and its collective framework in a process of international economic reform.

186. It is also imperative to establish sound and objective foundations to be observed by all other international institutions in the consideration of the economic problems of the world on an interdependent, balanced and comprehensive basis, in order to lead ultimately to the establishment of a just and effective international economic order.

187. This appeal has its roots in numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, particularly those pertaining to the establishment of a new international economic order; it also stems from the continued efforts of the developing countries, represented by the Group of 77, which have been reflected in the positive decisions adopted by that Group in various economic forums; and it has been clearly expressed in our persistent pursuit to launch global negotiations, since we believe in the important role such negotiations could play in reforming the world economy.

188. We aspire to a world built on the solid foundations of justice, amity and peace, a world in which each State, big or small, will enjoy stability and a secure future.

189. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly was concluded only a few days ago, under the distinguished presidency of Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, to whom, on behalf of the delegation of the Niger, I should like to pay a most sincere tribute for the dedication and skill with which he discharged his responsibilities, despite the constraints and numerous problems he encountered due to the high position he occupies in his country.

190. The unanimous will of this prestigious Assembly has given you, my dear brother Lusaka, the heavy responsibility of guiding the work of the thirty-ninth session. That choice does honour to you and your country, Zambia, and to our continent, Africa. We welcome that choice and wish to congratulate you most warmly.

191. I personally have had the great privilege of knowing you, Sir, for a long time here at the United Nations. Indeed, I have known you as a brother in our struggle, and I have been able to appreciate your great capacity for work and your deep knowledge of the functioning of the Organization. Humanism has characterized all your actions and the wisdom of each of your acts. It is by no means fortuitous that since 1979 you have been presiding over the United Nations Council for Namibia, which certainly would have carried out its historic task long ago if the

manoeuvres and delaying tactics of those responsible for making decisions in the world had not time and again blocked your initiatives and your efforts. It is our hope that your spiritual and intellectual qualities will enable you successfully to carry out the new task entrusted to you. You may count on the constant support of my country's delegation.

192. I should like also, on behalf of President Seyni Kountché and the Government of the Niger, to convey to the Secretary-General our great appreciation of his tireless and diverse efforts in the service of the world since his election as head of the Organization. When he took office he devoted much study to the strengthening and renewal of the United Nations, and he has taken numerous initiatives since then; all of this deserves our appreciation and our support.

193. I wish finally to express to the State of Brunei Darussalam—which it has already been our great pleasure to welcome to membership of the Organization of the Islamic Conference last January at Casablanca—the warm congratulations of the Government and the people of the Niger on its admission to the United Nations.

194. The evaluation of the international situation given here at the thirty-eighth session on behalf of the Government of the Niger [30th meeting] was not an optimistic one. The events we have already deplored and others that have occurred since that time have unfortunately not dispelled our apprehensions.

195. For years, the collective attention of the nations and Governments represented in this Hall has been focused on the continuing deterioration of the international situation and on its potential dangers for us all. But as though this were inevitable—which makes one despair of human nature—the situation seems to continue to deteriorate day by day, despite the considerable means at our disposal to establish the conditions for a better life on earth and to resolve all the problems facing today's world.

196. In South Africa, violence continues, and when I speak of violence I am not referring to the glorious spirit of revolt which increasingly rouses and encourages the blacks: I am referring to the savage, blind, continuous oppression which the whites of that country impose daily on those blacks, martyred by a despicable system which they are determined to combat and destroy. We in the Niger have been consistent on this issue, and we shall not change. As long as *apartheid* continues to humiliate and dehumanize our brothers, and as long as the white minority, with stupid stubbornness and perverse selfishness, continues to cling to this racist hydra, which holds it up to ridicule and makes it an international outlaw, we shall continue to fight this régime and shall refuse it any recognition as a part of mankind.

197. Similarly, the question of Namibia continues to be one of high priority for the United Nations. We have waited long, and we had long hoped that, thanks to efforts throughout the world, and particularly in the Security Council, this Territory, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, would achieve independence before 1984. Unfortunately, our faint warnings and the complacency which many of us have shown towards the minority racist régime of Pretoria have made it impossible thus far to attain that result. Today, the chances for success in achieving a negotiated settlement seem to be slimmer than ever. Therefore, the international community must react

more firmly to South Africa's constant refusal to co-operate with the United Nations with a view to implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

198. I wish to reaffirm the Niger's active support for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and for the national liberation movements of South Africa. We also assure the front-line States of our commitment to them. We express the hope that no respite will be given to the minority racist régime of Pretoria and that Africa, and the entire international community, will remain resolutely united in the face of South Africa's racist, colonial defiance.

199. But it is not only southern Africa which is a source of concern to the world today; in the Horn of Africa, instability has become endemic and has resulted in numbers of refugees never before seen by our continent. Peace there is exceedingly precarious, and war and famine have wrought ravages of which only the indifference of the media allows the broad masses to be unaware. To be sure, solutions have been sought, but these have apparently not been commensurate with the seriousness of the situation and the growing magnitude of events. The United Nations could still do more, and that is why we urge it to act vigorously.

200. In Chad—plunged into gloom and nearly destroyed by an excessively long and murderous war—we must say that we begin to see a glimmer of hope in the comparative normalization, over a period of something more than two years, of the economic and social life of that country. The recent announcement of the withdrawal of foreign forces stationed on the territory of Chad gives rise to new optimism—to the extent, and only to the extent, that the commitments undertaken by the parties concerned are scrupulously observed, that any impulses to return in one or another guise are blocked or avoided, and that neither the territorial integrity nor the sovereignty of this fraternal country are compromised or crushed in the course of this operation. We have always said and reiterated that, in our view, the solution to the problem of Chad is a matter for our brothers in Chad alone, free from all expansionist, annexationist, ideological and colonialist designs. Today, more than ever, we maintain that position.

201. With regard to Western Sahara, we cannot but deplore the damage done to the OAU by this question, on which Africa has laboured so long at councils of ministers and at summit conferences, but of which the mere mention outside of such meetings gives rise only to delays and confusion. We in the Niger take it as given that the right of the Saharan people to self-determination must be respected and that the full implementation of the resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), 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—in favour of which my country voted unreservedly and without any ulterior motives—must constitute a decisive step in the right direction.

202. Since you too, Mr. President, are an African brother, this may be the place to express our regret that in a continent such as ours, where the structural weakness of our States should in the normal course of events strengthen our collective devotion to the ideals of dialogue, tolerance and peace, a mere

transitory disagreement on one question or another should paralyse us and eclipse our greatest achievements and the joint efforts we should be making to help each other rehabilitate ourselves after centuries of foreign domination. What a catastrophe for mankind and for the world it would be if, for lack of consensus—on the question of disarmament, for example—the next General Assembly session should be adjourned or jeopardized!

203. Therefore, the Niger here appeals to Africa to do all in its power to save its prestige and its place in the world by saving the OAU, that is, by fulfilling its duties of cohesion, solidarity and unity.

204. Despite the constant preoccupation by the United Nations with the establishment of a stable order in the Middle East, and despite all the efforts that have been made to that end by each of our States, the situation in that part of the world remains explosive. Israel persists in occupying Arab territory and carrying out acts of aggression and sabotage against its neighbours. The Palestinian people is still waiting for the international community to redress the injustice from which it has suffered for many years now and to ensure thereby the recovery of its inalienable national rights.

205. The establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is an obligation of the United Nations and is in keeping with the vital interests of world peace. Therefore, it is indispensable that we continue to seek, under the auspices of the Organization, the beginning of an active process of negotiations in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. And this is an appropriate time to stress that, to be just and lasting, the peace we are seeking must be based on the following principles, which have already been repeated time and again: the inadmissibility of the occupation of territory by force, and hence Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; recognition of the Palestinian people's right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent and sovereign State in its homeland, Palestine, under the leadership of the PLO; and, finally, the full and total participation of the PLO in any peace process.

206. At this stage, I would assure the martyred Palestinian people and battered Lebanon, as well as all the brother Arab countries of the battlefield, of the unwavering and active support of the Government and people of the Niger. The Niger, as is well known, spares no effort to ensure the triumph of justice and right in that part of the world.

207. When speaking of peace, how can we forget the war that has been raging for four years now between Iran and Iraq? The great loss of human life and the considerable material damage caused by this war to both sides and the disturbances it has created in international maritime navigation, and hence in international trade, call for energetic action by the community of nations to put an urgent end to hostilities. The efforts undertaken to that end are highly commendable, and they must be encouraged and stepped up. I have in mind particularly the efforts undertaken in the framework of the Islamic Peace Committee, those initiated within the framework of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the initiatives of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

208. We note also, with great anguish and concern, other hotbeds of tension, particularly in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, two independent and sovereign countries, Members of the United Nations and members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that have been struggling for many years now against foreign occupation. The Niger calls for the speedy implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, which call, in particular, for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of those two countries and for respect for their independence and their status as non-aligned States.

209. I have in mind also the Korean peninsula, a hotbed of great tension, which today is divided as a result of the vicissitudes of history, but whose people aspire to national reunification. In the spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,⁶ we encourage and support the efforts to achieve a peaceful and negotiated solution to this problem.

210. To sum up, everywhere in the world our action must be designed to encourage and systematize recourse to peaceful means for the settlement of disputes between States and to cultivate patiently and staunchly the spirit of détente and peaceful coexistence among all nations. That is one of the most reliable ways of making an effective contribution to the achievement of peace in the world, the highest aspiration of the peoples we represent.

211. Along with these many conflict situations, the world is also facing a severe economic crisis, which has had adverse effects on all our countries, particularly the developing ones. The drop in the prices of primary commodities, the decrease in development aid, the difficulties of access to international capital markets, the generalized monetary disorder caused, in particular, by the rampaging dollar, the high interest rates, the dizzying rise of public debt servicing, and the increase of protectionism have created an untenable situation in many developing countries.

212. The indicators in this regard are alarming. In 1981 the gross national product of the developing countries, taken as a whole, increased by only 1.5 per cent. In 1982 this rate fell still further. The per capita growth rate was therefore negative. Today the total foreign debt of those countries is more than \$900 billion. The prices of their primary commodities, on the exporting of which many of them still depend, have fallen, in real value, to the lowest level since 1945. Thus, according to statistics furnished by UNCTAD, in 1981 and 1982 the non-oil-exporting developing countries lost \$34 billion as a result of the deterioration of their terms of exchange. Today the figure is probably close to \$70 billion or \$80 billion.

213. The situation of the African countries, on which I should like to dwell, is even more drastic. The years 1982 and 1983 were, as noted by experts of the Economic Commission for Africa, years of crisis for the African continent. Global production of goods and services was in a state of stagnation in 1982 and, contrary to forecasts, the growth rate for 1983 was very low; it was estimated at only 0.2 per cent as compared to 1982. Hence, since 1980, there has been a continued decrease, in absolute terms, of about 10 per cent per year in the per capita production in our continent.

214. The significant drop in their rates of exchange, together with other factors linked to the international markets, has slowed down or stopped the process of development in many African countries, whose abili-

ty to meet their investment needs has considerably decreased. It is no exaggeration to say that many of our countries now work solely to pay their debts, to survive or to try to manage their meagre gains. At the same time, the food situation of the continent has dangerously deteriorated not only because of the low level of agricultural production and discouraging problems in the rural areas, but also because of the unceasing drought besetting entire regions, particularly the Sahel. Thus, the food situation remains precarious in at least 24 African countries stricken by drought.

215. The Secretary-General, who visited the countries of the Sahel last January, brought back most useful information on the effects of the drought on human beings, on cattle and on the ecosystem. While he noted that after the terrible drought of the years 1970-1973, which caused considerable damage to the Sahel as a whole, commendable efforts had been made by the Governments of the countries concerned to replenish their decimated livestock and to lay down a real agricultural policy both at the national and the regional levels, he also had to note that those countries have not really gained anything yet; the paucity of their gains is quite obvious, not only because of climatic disasters and the adverse effects of desertification, but also because of the present serious international situation, which makes any real continuity in the majority of their development programmes impossible.

216. We are grateful to him for the attention he has given to our problems and in particular for the structures he decided to set up immediately both here and at Nairobi in order to follow developments in the situation in Africa. However, we know that the scope of the situation goes beyond his efforts and the means currently available to the United Nations family, whose resources are dwindling and drying up.

217. What we need is a global effort that requires the organization of a dynamic chain of international solidarity to assist the millions of men, women and children threatened by hunger, thirst, disease and death. We must also give these States the means to assume their duty of participating in the maintenance of balance in societies and world peace. Continuing to ignore their present difficulties could lead to explosive situations which would then have to be settled by perhaps asking the world to come together as a matter of emergency to assess and redress the damage caused by its own selfishness and ungearing attitude. Africa is indeed an integral part of this planet. We must not be indifferent to its current difficulties and deficiencies.

218. After all, this great and beautiful continent cannot be considered indefinitely as a continent of famine and hunger, of disasters and victims, of poverty and the poor, of incurable suffering and unrelenting problems. After having been the cradle of mankind, it is still capable of great fruitfulness, which will one day undoubtedly benefit all peoples and all nations.

219. It is therefore high time to act resolutely to stop the continuing fragmentation of the world economy and to cure those ills from which the most disadvantaged countries suffer. Any salutary action implies greater justice in trade relations, stabilization of the prices of raw materials, judicious monetary reform, a courageous solution to the debt problem of the third world, increased development aid—in brief,

the search for ways and means to achieve the establishment of a new international economic order.

220. In May 1980, during a seminar organized here jointly by UNITAR, the Centre for Economic and Social Studies in the Third World and the Club of Rome, I stressed that "... the violations of the dignity of man that arise from unjust poverty and destitution and the intense feelings of frustration that come from the wrongful distribution of the wealth of the earth intensify dissension among peoples and lead to confrontation and war between nations".

221. We must put an end to this state of affairs if we really wish to contribute to harmony among men and to give a gathering such as ours the greatest meaning and effect possible on the course of the world and full credibility in the eyes of all the men, women and children who are waiting expectantly—they know not for what—but who are nevertheless waiting.

222. President Seyni Kountché would have come here personally and in his capacity as acting Chairman of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel [CILSS] had not the most catastrophic harvests the Niger has ever known obliged him to remain with his people to share their concerns, calm their fears and actively consider with them the measures to be implemented in order to save our herdsmen and our brave peasants, who are the victims of a combination of unfortunate factors and who have been deprived of the harvests they justly expected from their hard work. On his behalf and on behalf of all the CILSS countries, it is therefore my pressing duty to remind all Governments and institutions represented here that they must act in solidarity with regard to this situation.

223. Mr. EASTMAN (Liberia): Sir, I hail, salute and congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You bring to this high position a wealth of experience and personal qualifications that should serve you well in the performance of your duties. Africa is proud of you as its son and wishes you success as you preside over the deliberations of this lofty body. You can rest assured of the fullest co-operation and support of my delegation.

224. I also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who ably conducted the affairs of the Assembly during the past year. He will be remembered as decisive and fair.

225. The Secretary-General deserves commendation for his efforts in the search for international peace and understanding. We know that under his authority, the Organization will continue to strive for the maintenance of peace and will endeavour to achieve social and economic stability for mankind.

226. We welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam to membership of the United Nations. This act was a significant step in the affirmation of the role of the United Nations and the principle of universality. We are confident that Brunei Darussalam will make every effort to promote the goals of the Organization and join in the struggle for the total elimination of the remaining pockets of colonialism.

227. During the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [6th meeting], my Head of State, Samuel K. Doe, made a comprehensive report to this body on the progress towards a return to civilian government in Liberia. At that time he informed delegations that a national constitution commission had completed a

draft constitution which had been turned over to a constituent Advisory Assembly comprising representatives from each of the political subdivisions of the country for review and recommendations to the People's Redemption Council. A revised draft constitution, which was presented to the People's Redemption Council by the constituent Advisory Assembly was subsequently accepted and thereafter presented to the people of Liberia in a referendum. The Liberian people voted overwhelmingly for acceptance of the draft constitution.

228. Today, with the Assembly's kind indulgence, I shall update that report. The People's Redemption Council has been dissolved and replaced by a National Interim Assembly, comprising representatives from all the political subdivisions of the country, to guide the transition process. The ban on politics has been lifted, making possible the formation of political parties. So far, 11 political groupings have been announced. It is with such encouraging progress that the Government and the people of Liberia look forward to a peaceful transition to civilian rule.

229. As we continue on this path, we are mindful that the transition to civilian government is fraught with difficulties but filled with challenges. We firmly believe that the ultimate success of this process will rest primarily upon the intentions and the resolve of the Liberian people and the goodwill and understanding of the international community. We therefore use this opportunity to call upon friendly Governments and all who are gathered here today to identify with us and lend your fullest support to these endeavours.

230. The United Nations is increasingly experiencing many difficulties and a pervasive sense of frustration. The high hopes with which the Organization began its existence in 1945 continue to dwindle considerably. The search for peace has been marked by blurred achievements. Apart from the development of permanent institutions exclusively devoted to peace, and a general acceptance, even if one that is not fully applied, of principles such as the equality of States and human rights—including the right of self-determination, the right to work, the right to education and to self-fulfilment and the right to an equal share in the world's limited resources, as well as the right to full participation in the decision-making processes of international relations—peace has neither been assured nor freely maintained.

231. If there is a constant danger of war in the midst of the universal desire for peace, it is perhaps because we are not all equally committed to peace. There are some of us who pay lip-service to its pursuit. If the United Nations is to be an effective instrument, Member States must be not only peace-preachers but also peace-seekers and peace-keepers and must redouble their efforts to carry out the noble ideals and principles for which the Organization stands. If international peace and security are to prevail, we must be totally committed to it and defend it at all times and not only at the hour of expediency or maximum danger.

232. We believe, moreover, that the Charter of the United Nations contains all the principles and precepts needed to assure peace and guarantee security. If, however, we have failed to secure peace it is not that the Charter is weak or inadequate or that some of its provisions are outmoded, as some would claim; it is only that we cannot summon the moral courage

and political will to subordinate our own interest to the common interest of all, in accordance with the Charter.

233. No other issue or policy in world affairs in the last three decades has caused so much disgust, bitterness, hostility and strife as the South African Government's policy of *apartheid*. The entire world continues to voice condemnation and to heap scorn on this strange and diabolical policy—without a dent being made in the armour of its practitioner.

234. This year the international community has witnessed an upsurge in the policy of *apartheid* in one of its cruelest forms and in the guise of reform or superficial change in the bogus elections conducted last August by South Africa to vote on a new constitution which would further divide the population and entrench *apartheid*, making its implementation more efficient. Liberia was pleased that those elections were boycotted, as was only right, by an overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa and that, prior to the election, the Security Council, on 17 August 1984, declared both the new constitution and the elections null and void [resolution 554 (1984)].

235. How can a nation which professes Christianity preside with seeming delight over the systematic separation of races through legislative enactments aimed at the physical uprooting and displacement of the African majority? South Africa is infested and misled by cruel and unkind men who belong to the past, who appear not to worry about potential enemies, who seem to have no desire for allies and who have no real friends.

236. How can we, as a collective entity, members of the world community, continue to permit the majority of the people of that land to be victims of tyranny and oppression, of exploitation and degradation, of poverty and hatred? What, I ask, does our moral conscience tell the United Nations we should do now on their behalf? What do we make of the proliferation of resolutions on the policies of *apartheid* of the South African Government and the decisions of the United Nations which the racist régime continues to defy and ignore? How much longer can we afford to listen sympathetically to complaints made to the Organization by neighbouring African countries and by the South African majority against South Africa while at the same time ignoring their plea for effective action?

237. Liberia, for its part, remains firm in its total rejection of *apartheid* and of the racist régime which practises it. We believe that comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations are the only effective weapon against *apartheid*. Individual and collective efforts in the United Nations and elsewhere must be encouraged and sustained for the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria régime until that bastion of racism crumbles.

238. South Africa's *apartheid* system, its destabilization policies and economic blackmail are danger signals to the people of that region. Namibia has been virtually transformed into an *apartheid* inferno and a base for South Africa's aggressive attacks against neighbouring countries. South Africa's colonial and illegal occupation of Namibia is being increasingly consolidated, with utter disregard for the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

239. My delegation considers the question of Namibia a priority item. More than six years ago, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was adopted, calling for free and fair elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control; yet the settlement plan for Namibia's independence has not been implemented. In the meantime, the South African racist régime continues to intensify its militarization of the Territory and to subject the Namibians to the cruelest form of human humiliation and degradation, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions.

240. The untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and the exemplary manner in which he has carried out his mandate on the question of Namibia deserve our commendation. We note in his report on the question of Namibia that, notwithstanding all the progress made in the negotiations this year, the United Nations has not yet been able to proceed, for reasons which are well known. Indeed, the reasons have to do with extraneous issues that were not introduced at the time of the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) but have subsequently received international attention and been rejected. Liberia, for its part, finds it difficult to accept the concept of parallelism, which links the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of troops from Angola.

241. It seems clear that the United Nations needs most urgently a new set of commitments and a collective resolve to end South Africa's intransigence and the sufferings of the Namibian people.

Mr. Gouara Lassou (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.

242. Liberia has pledged to encourage the efforts undertaken by the front-line and other well-meaning States to make Namibia's independence a reality and to bring about relaxation of tension and peace and security in southern Africa. While we are grateful to Western contact groups for spearheading Security Council resolution 435 (1978), we are of the view that the question of Namibia should be resolved within the framework of the United Nations. However, Member States that have leverage over South Africa should not be discouraged or prevented from using their good offices to bring about stability and the Organization's objective in that region.

243. We urge the international community to continue the financial and moral support to Namibia, SWAPO and the front-line States as well as the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the United Nations Fund for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia, at Lusaka.

244. As though colonialism, institutionalized racism, the misery of outright deprivation and scarce resources were not enough evils to reckon with, the refugee situation and food crisis have added new dimensions to Africa's intractable problems.

245. Four million refugees, the largest in any one area in the world, are scattered all over the continent and, worst of all, are dependent on countries whose economies can hardly sustain their own citizens.

246. The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, must be supplemented by worldwide concerted efforts to alleviate the plight of Africa's refugees. This group of unfortunate people must be provided the means of developing their abilities and skills to be able to earn a livelihood and to contribute to the communities in which they live.

We, on the continent, must do as much as lies in our power to eliminate some of the causes of this problem, for we know that this situation has not always been the result of natural phenomena. At the same time, we must intensify and redouble our efforts to assist our uprooted brothers and sisters in easing their endless miseries and sufferings and helping them to regain their confidence and normalize their lives.

247. Hunger, prolonged drought and desertification pose serious threats to the social and political fibre of our continent. According to FAO, 100 million Africans will suffer from severe hunger and malnutrition due to food deficits this year, and FAO has appealed for emergency food assistance without delay, assistance which is necessary if massive starvation, malnutrition and the loss of thousands of human lives are to be avoided. We commend FAO for the efforts being made to bring this unfortunate situation under control and we hope the assistance needed will be forthcoming from the international community.

248. Liberia's resumption of diplomatic relations with the State of Israel has not altered its Middle East policy. We continue to believe in, and will give support to, a just and lasting peace which cannot be achieved in the Middle East without: first, the due recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a State of their own; secondly, the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from all Arab lands; and thirdly, the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live freely within secured and internationally recognized boundaries, with the fullest respect for their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

249. The Government of Liberia also believes that peace in the Middle East cannot come through a policy of isolation of one of the major parties to the conflict. We believe also that it is through the language of exchange of views among all the peoples of the region that the path to peace and understanding lies. Peace will continue to elude us if we are not prepared to accept that all the States in the region have the right to live freely within secured and internationally recognized boundaries.

250. The tragic story of Lebanon is one of continued sufferings, destruction and war. It is a situation that remains unstable, fragile and explosive. The international community should go on record again in urging the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon as well as stress the due recognition of and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of that country.

251. The prolongation of the Iran-Iraq conflict, a conflict between two Muslim neighbours, can only add to the fragility of the area. Liberian ships and those of other countries have been arbitrarily attacked and damage done to life and property with impunity. We believe that the Security Council should again intervene in this long-standing conflict before it takes on unmanageable proportions.

252. The Central American region has witnessed unrest and violence for some time now and on an increasing scale.

253. The Government of Liberia has always adhered to, and will continue to adhere to, the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. While there are still wide differences between the Government of Argentina and the Government of the United Kingdom on the question of the Falkland

Islands, we urge the continuation of meaningful negotiations for the peaceful solution of that dispute.

254. Another perennial issue which continues to evade the collective resolve of the United Nations is the question of Korea. My Government has always stressed the need for the resumption of direct negotiations between the South and the North. Such talks, we believe, are likely to resolve enmity and distrust and promote reconciliation and reunification between the two sides. It is therefore our hope that both sides will bury the hatchet, as it were, and sincerely resume talks aimed at the achievement of those important objectives.

255. As is generally conceded, the arms race consumes a disproportionate share of the scarce resources of our planet and continues to do so at an ever-increasing rate. It utilizes much of our finest scientific talent in sterile and destructive pursuits.

256. Despite the danger and waste of the arms race, the States of the world have continued to stockpile armaments at an alarming rate, a clear indication that no State is prepared to disarm if it feels its security is not guaranteed. Each year, the two nuclear Powers seem to produce new weapons which are more efficient in deadliness and which, when adopted by their armed forces, immediately require a matching effort by the other side.

257. While we advocate a halt to the arms race, we equally stress the urgent need for an answer to the security question, thereby removing the need for the constant increase in military expenditures and rivalry between States.

258. We believe that security can be found only in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that it is only through the goodwill of all nations, coupled with mutual trust, confidence, understanding and co-operation, that we can achieve the international stability and security so urgently needed in our world.

259. It is therefore interesting to note President Chernenko's answers to questions posed to him during a recent interview and the reaction of the Government of the United States. We sensed from President Chernenko's answers a readiness to negotiate complete disarmament, despite the rhetoric. We are inclined to believe that the Soviet leader expressed his Government's preparedness for honest and serious talks with the Government of the United States. Let me quote a particular paragraph of President Chernenko's response:

"I wish to reaffirm with all certainty our readiness for dialogue, for honest and serious talks aimed at finding accord that takes into account the security interests of all countries and peoples."

260. We have noted also the response of the United States: that it is seriously seeking agreement with the Russians, that it welcomes the statement of President Chernenko, and that it is ready to resume the Geneva negotiations. We noted with added interest President Reagan's address to the General Assembly on 24 September [4th meeting], with its reference to United States-Soviet Union relations, and the "comprehensive and broad" talks held between the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, on Wednesday, 26 September.

261. In his statement to the General Assembly on 27 September [10th meeting], the Soviet Foreign Minister stressed that the Soviet Union would fully

co-operate with all States prepared to help ease international tensions by practical deeds and to create an atmosphere of trust in the world in order to consolidate the foundations of peace.

262. We loudly proclaim the need for curbing weapons in outer space and for stopping the arms race and the continuous buildup of military armament; we want disarmament. We therefore endorse what appears to be a reasonable closeness of the positions of the two sides, though the approaches may appear divergent, and we urge them to get on with this important business and translate their pronouncements regarding genuine disarmament efforts into meaningful action. We are watching closely and with keen expectations the results of the assurances given by both sides.

263. The seriousness of our global economic crisis can be determined by the fact that it encompasses all nations of the world; rich or poor, developed or developing, large or small, we have all been affected in one way or the other. We have seen the economic havoc it has wrought in developed countries. In the developing societies, vulnerable as their economies are, it has created in its wake enormous balance-of-payments deficits, mounting debt burdens and worsening terms of trade, owing to a drastic fall in commodity prices and a sharp rise in the prices of imported goods.

264. The crisis has introduced new dimensions into the debate on world development. There is a growing awareness that the fates of the developed and the developing countries are interlinked in the crisis. I hope that one good thing it has brought forth is the realization by the industrialized countries that the prosperity of the developing countries is vital to their own economic survival.

265. The threat of default by debtor developing countries and its implications for the international financial and banking system have brought into sharp and disturbing focus the inherent danger and inadequacy of the present world economic system. Although borrowers and lenders have endeavoured to avoid such default, the efforts have amounted to no more than short-term rescue operations, providing temporary support only.

266. While various remedies have been suggested to resolve the debt crisis, we believe that a concerted policy effort by debtors, creditors and international financial institutions to address the crisis now presents the best alternative. Long-term measures should include modifications in the objectives and an increase in the resources of multinational institutions concerned with finance and development, as well as changes in the framework of the commercial banking system.

267. It is particularly important that a co-ordinated economic expansion in industrialized nations be accompanied by low interest rates and a relaxation of trade restrictions, in order to contribute to an economic upturn and provide relief to debtor nations.

268. In order to reverse the tremendous transfer of resources from developing countries to the industrialized world and thereby improve the economic outlook of the developing countries, and in particular African countries, financial institutions and industrialized countries should write off long-standing loans and turn some of the loans that have been rescheduled more than once into grants-in-aid. Such a moral

gesture on the part of the creditors would reduce the debt burden of some developing countries and enhance their economic recovery.

269. The magnitude of the crisis of the world economy dictates the need to summon our political will and make the concerted efforts necessary to launch the negotiations on reforming and restructuring the existing economic order without delay. This process, we continue to believe, would serve as a major step in achieving a more orderly and equitable world economy and at the same time foster greater co-operation among nations.

270. The economic situation in Africa is critical and precarious, and it poses a serious threat to the social and political well-being of our people. It is true that the global economic situation affects all developing countries, but its impact on sub-Saharan Africa is tremendous. These countries continue to experience negative growth, and their export earnings are still on the decline.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) resumed the Chair.

271. While we recognize that the development of Africa is our primary responsibility, as enshrined in the Lagos Plan of Action,⁷ concerted efforts by the international community and donor countries, which have the enormous capacity to correct the critical economic situation, would complement the national efforts of African Governments in reversing the negative trend of their economies.

272. The people of Liberia fully endorse the Secretary-General's initiative with regard to the critical social and economic situation in Africa. We wish to thank him for his efforts and urge him to continue to regard the economic situation in Africa as a priority issue that requires the moral and political support of the international community and donor countries for its amelioration.

273. We welcome the World Bank plan to aid sub-Saharan African countries, in spite of the lack of substantial pledges for the \$2 billion that the Bank would need to implement the programme. The effort of the Bank to highlight the economic malaise of African countries deserves the full support of all true friends of Africa. We call upon the industrialized countries and those developing countries which have the capacity to do so to pledge funds to the Bank programme for improving the economic situation in Africa.

274. At this point, the Government of Liberia wishes to thank all those friendly States and international organizations that participated in the Liberia round-table conference, which was held at Berne in October 1983. It is our hope that we can continue to rely on their understanding and assistance as we go through a critical economic period in our national life. We wish also to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and all those in the United Nations system who worked so tirelessly for the convening of that conference.

275. Earlier I reflected on various achievements in the search for international concord, especially the evolution of permanent institutions for peace and the development of principles and rules of conduct of States. I should like to close by focusing on the serious nature of our present assignment.

276. Every time the General Assembly has met in the past 38 years, hopes have arisen that the world body would be able successfully to address some of the major problems haunting man's struggle for

progress and development. Speeches of hope and promise are made, couched in triumphant phrases; resolutions are adopted and then ignored; thereafter, representatives go back home to their Governments and begin all over again doing what they best know—acting in the supreme interest of each individual's country, whether it be planning for war, raising the interest rates, causing a flood of refugees to spill over into someone else's territory or something else.

277. This year the General Assembly meets for the thirty-ninth time in regular session. It is meeting at a time when the two super-Powers have hardly been on speaking terms. It meets under the threat of a nuclear cloud, with both East and West looking at each other through a palisade of nuclear missiles. It is meeting at a time in our world history when the poor nations—and there are many of them—are poorer and the threat of human sufferings through famine, drought and oppression is becoming not only widespread but uncontrollable.

278. In short, the United Nations has serious business to discuss this year. But this is not all: the United Nations must resolve to be resolute and tackle the problems facing mankind. It must decide to take some positive steps in the direction of curbing the arms race, in bridging the gap of poverty, in stemming the lucrative arms trade which aims at defeating the very purpose for which the Organization was founded: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations must restore the people's faith in its ideals, its objectives and its functional ability.

279. The new generation today is crying out for that United Nations which once had the will to help resolve the problem in the Korean peninsula; obstructed the partition of the Congo during the 1960s; voted for the establishment of new States; aided in the liberation of many African States. The United Nations should arm itself with that tenacity of purpose to address the burning issues of mankind and pull the world away from crises.

280. In the early days of the formation of the world body, the United Nations adopted the decision made at Bretton Woods that gave birth to the current world economic order. If it now appears that Bretton Woods no longer serves the best needs of mankind's economic order, we think the United Nations as a moral force should put pressure on the economic Powers so that a reconstruction of the economic order suitable to the demands of the time may be accomplished.

281. In June this year, the allied forces of Europe and the United States commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the invasion of Europe, which history tells us was the turning-point in the Second World War. Next year, the United Nations will celebrate its fortieth anniversary as the corner-stone of peace and progress. But before it can do that, it needs to restore hope to mankind by lessening tensions and making the two super-Powers play a more positive role in maintaining a world order based on peace and harmony, not by competitive polemics and harsh rhetoric, not by confrontation and stockpiling weapons, but by devising constructive proposals calling for joint efforts in addressing the issues of the day.

282. If this session of the General Assembly can take some positive steps in a direction that would lead the super-Powers to appreciate their role and thereby work jointly for the progressive attainment of

world peace, it will accomplish more than many of its resolutions ever have since Day One.

283. I know that the nations of the third world which make up a large part of this world body are committed to this serious assignment this year. I hope all the nations of this family are also so committed.

284. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have requested to exercise the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to 5 minutes for the second intervention and should be made by delegations from their seats.

285. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): It is with considerable regret, and indeed with some surprise, that my delegation has noted the remarks of the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea on Indonesia-Papua New Guinea relations in his statement in the Assembly two days ago [15th meeting].

286. Papua New Guinea is Indonesia's immediate neighbour to the east. Our two countries share a 600-mile land border which cuts across one of the most difficult terrains in the world, as well as across traditional ties of custom and kinship between border inhabitants on both sides. Thanks to foresight and mutual goodwill on the part of both Governments, however, close co-operation and arrangements on a wide array of common border issues have been instituted from the moment Papua New Guinea acceded to independence in 1975. This includes a comprehensive Basic Agreement on Border Arrangements, signed in 1979 and now in the process of being revised and updated.

287. Indonesia has at all times strictly adhered to these border arrangements, as it has also been Indonesia's consistent policy to abide by the numerous border agreements, covering both land and sea, with all its neighbours to the south, north and west of its national territory. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are fundamental tenets of Indonesia's foreign policy.

288. We were painfully surprised, therefore, to hear the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea accuse us of having wilfully violated his country's territorial sovereignty. In support of this serious allegation, the Foreign Minister referred in his statement to certain events and incidents which we thought had long been resolved and clarified by our two Governments.

289. On the alleged intrusion by an Indonesian military aircraft into Papua New Guinea airspace in March of this year, my Government has given, both publicly and through diplomatic channels, a full account of what in fact took place in the course of a search operation for a lost missionary plane. At no time did any Indonesian aircraft cross into Papua New Guinea territory, as claimed by certain habitually biased and hostile press media of another neighbouring country, the original source of the allegations.

290. Again, after a thorough investigation by my Government, no evidence could be found of the involvement of any Indonesian army units in another alleged border incident in or near the village of Suwampa.

291. In those instances where indeed an unintentional intrusion occurred, as was the case with the construction of a highway in the eastern part of Irian

Jaya along the common border, Indonesia has been prompt in acknowledging the mistake and correcting it and has even gone so far as to tender a public apology.

292. In short, whenever irritations or misunderstandings have arisen which threatened to mar the friendly relations between our two countries, my Government has consistently sought to resolve them in a spirit of goodwill, co-operation and mutual respect. What is more, in responding to certain incidents and situations which were clearly harmful and inimical to Indonesia's interests, we have always tried to show the utmost restraint and understanding, eschewing public protests and preferring quiet diplomacy through established bilateral channels.

293. When the Indonesian missionary plane already referred to was attacked, several of its Indonesian passengers brutally killed and two others, including its Swiss pilot, forcibly abducted into Papua New Guinea territory, Indonesia had to accept the explanation of the Papua New Guinea Government that it did not consider itself in any way involved in the incident and that therefore its ability to intervene was limited.

294. In the face of incessant cross-border incidents and acts of harassment and subversion against its border population by separatist elements who continue to find refuge on Papua New Guinea territory, Indonesia has shown great restraint, and this despite the joint undertaking contained in the 1979 Basic Agreement not to allow our respective border areas to be used as "sanctuary, staging areas, bases or for illegal activities against the other".

295. As regards the sudden influx of large numbers of Indonesians crossing into Papua New Guinea, to which the Foreign Minister referred, this is indeed a serious problem, which is being faced by both Governments. Indonesia has no doubt that this unprecedented flow is the direct result of provocative rumour-mongering by the very same separatist elements who have found the simple border-village dwellers an easy prey to their seditious incitements. Be that as it may, my Government has extended its full co-operation to the Papua New Guinea Government in arranging the prompt and orderly return of these border-crossers. To this end, we have agreed on a framework of principles that would govern the process of returning these people, with explicit assurances concerning their safety, well-being and reintegration. Meanwhile, we are contributing materially to the alleviation of their desperate plight, housed as they are in temporary camps, which has already resulted in the death of some 90 border-crossers. We have welcomed the humanitarian assistance of UNHCR in this respect, but we see no reason for UNHCR also to monitor the crossers' re-entry and resettlement in Indonesia, for we have already agreed to allow Papua New Guinea officials to do so. We believe that this problem is best handled through bilateral arrangements already in place and agreed upon. We therefore regret that our sense of independence and self-respect in being able to solve the problems on our own without unduly involving an already overburdened UNHCR is being misinterpreted by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea.

296. It is clear that the problems that have arisen have either been or are in the process of being amicably resolved between our two Governments, as is appropriate between neighbours genuinely interest-

ed in maintaining friendly and mutually co-operative relations. We are at a loss, therefore, to understand the need for and the implications of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea.

297. Despite all that has happened, Indonesia's actions will continue to be guided by the spirit of goodwill, accommodation and restraint which has always characterized its relationship with Papua New Guinea. We seek nothing but genuine friendship with Papua New Guinea, our closest neighbour to the east. We are neither interested in nor intent on interfering in their domestic affairs or national development. In the light of the remarks made by the Foreign Minister of Papua New Guinea, it may be pertinent to ask whether his Government is indeed guided by the same spirit. We shall await the answer to this question, as always, in patience and in all serenity.

298. Mr. MARTÍNEZ-GUTIÉRREZ (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Regarding certain concepts mentioned this morning by the representative of Cuba in the course of the general debate [18th meeting], the Government of El Salvador rejects those concepts since what Cuba said was simply a confirmation of its policy of intervention and support for the armed rebels of the extreme left.

299. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Cuba referred to Uruguay. It is ironic that that delegation should try to arrogate to itself the position of arbiter of freedom and democracy. It is such paradoxical assertions that threaten the prestige of the United Nations.

300. We hope that one day the noble Cuban people will recover its freedom and responsibility for its own destiny. As we have announced, and in accordance with its democratic traditions, Uruguay will be holding general elections next month, in an atmosphere of dignity and the free and full exercise of its political sovereignty.

301. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): The delegation of Papua New Guinea reserves the right to exercise at a later date its right of reply to the remarks just made by the representative of Indonesia.

302. The PRESIDENT: The observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to the statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

303. Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Since the delegation of the PLO is speaking for the first time at this session, Sir, may we offer our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency.

304. This morning [18th meeting] we heard many words from the Zionist Minister Shamir about peace, terrorism and famine in the world. We should like to comment here very briefly on two subjects: terrorism and peace in our region.

305. The Zionist Minister should be the last person to speak about terrorism since he personally and his party are well known to us and to the world for their past and present terrorist record. The heinous Deir Yassin massacre, the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, when a number of people were killed, including Count Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator for Palestine, both of which terrorist acts took place in the 1940s, are but two examples of the various terrorist operations which were personal-

ly supervised by the two notorious terrorists, Shamir and Begin, and which caused the British Government to offer at the time a reward of £10,000 to anyone who would come forward with information leading to the arrest of those two international terrorists.

306. Nor do we wish to speak about the official terrorism of the Zionist Government, led by the Likud Party, which organized the most hideous official terrorist operations during three months in the summer of 1982 in southern Lebanon, in the Bekaa region, in the mountains and in Beirut. Such activities led to the outbreak of war there, to the destruction of many Palestinian refugee camps and of entire Lebanese cities and villages, and to the death or dispersal of all their inhabitants, as well as to the hideous massacres of Sabra and Shatila, for which the bloodthirsty Sharon and Begin were found responsible by Zionist justice itself. These are but a few examples of the activities of professional Zionist terrorists led by the leaders of Israel. Can we give any credence to the words of the terrorist Shamir about terrorism, or should we believe the acts, the history and the record of his Government *vis-à-vis* terrorism against our people?

307. When the Likud Government—that of the terrorist Shamir—assumed power in Israel in 1977 and resorted to the policy of the "big stick" against Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories and the renewal of the establishment of settlements, this had a big impact on Zionist settlers in that area, who began to organize themselves into special internal security bodies and to exert, in their capacity as settlers and political and extremist terrorist movements, all kinds of pressure on the Israeli Government to allow them to extend their field of activities and play a repressive role against Arab citizens. They wished to serve as a terrorist reserve army to give effect to the official "big stick" policy and ensure the attainment of its objectives, which the occupation army was unable to do, despite its resort to all kinds of inhuman and arbitrary procedures, because of the determined national opposition of the Palestinian Arab masses in the occupied territories.

308. This led the Israeli Government to adopt, protect and foster terrorism and provide a favourable climate by encouraging, organizing and providing it with all the means necessary to develop and direct its activities to serve and consolidate the settlement policy. This is the foundation and mainstay of its policy aimed at terrorizing, intimidating and expelling as many of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied areas as possible in order to spread frustration in their ranks, force them to submit, consolidate the occupation and settlement policies, and annex the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

309. The various investigations and the questioning of some members of the secret terrorist organization whom the Likud Government was compelled to arrest—and whose identity and activities it sought to keep a secret—established the fact that many of them were high-ranking army and police officers and officials of the civil administration with very strong links with some Ministers and other members of the Knesset of the Likud Government at the time. These people used their influence to set free many of the arrested terrorists despite their unquestionable guilt. This clearly proves that the Israeli Government and its various departments at various levels are mixed up in the terrorist activities against the Arabs. In the light of the results confirmed by the last Israeli

elections, which showed an increase in extremist, rightist, Fascist tendencies, it is clear that the occupied areas can expect a new phase of organized Zionist terrorism.

310. The world in general is fully aware of the stumbling-block to a just peace in our region. Last December, the world community adopted a historic resolution in this Hall. I refer to resolution General Assembly 38/58 C, which calls for the convening of an International Peace Conference on the Middle East in which all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, would participate.

311. I should like to remind the Zionist Minister and all those who, unlike the PLO, shed crocodile tears over the fate of the Palestinian people that our people has made known and continues to emphasize every day, through all its leaders in the occupied territories and outside and even those behind the bars of the prisons of the neo-Nazis, as well as our prisoner-fighters now on strike in Nablus—whose message to the Secretary-General and to United Nations delegations has been distributed as a United Nations document [see A/39/548, appendix]—that the PLO and only the PLO is the sole representative of our people.

312. The General Assembly resolution to which I have referred reflects the overwhelming desire of the international majority, not the desire of a single State. So far, Israel and its master, the United States, have refused to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions and with the international will.

313. All the world realizes that Israel is not a peace-loving country and does not work towards peace. Shamir and all the other leaders of Israel may shed crocodile tears over peace to mislead the world as to their real policies and practices, which are against

peace in our region. Those who truly strive for peace should realize that the path to peace is clear and has been well defined by the United Nations in its resolutions. Israel and the United States have only to comply with the universal will.

314. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker, but he has already spoken for 10 minutes. I therefore ask him to be kind enough to conclude his statement.

315. Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The professional Zionist terrorists, led by Sharon and Shamir, are in no position to give lessons in peace-making to the representatives of world States, hundreds of which have struggled against imperialism, occupation and aggression, or to the heroes of the national liberation movements of the world.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

¹For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

²See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Desertification* (A/CONF.74/36), chap. 1.

³See A/38/707, annex, para. 10.

⁴Agreement to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 561, No. 8192.)

⁵See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1985*, document S/16732.

⁶See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27 (A/27/27)*, annex 1.

⁷Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa (A/S-11/14, annex 1).