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Thursday, 11 October 1984,
at 10.25 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Wasiuddin
(Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. JACOBS (Antigua and Barbuda): I must first of all congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election is a tribute to the outstanding diplomatic skills which he has brought to the work of the Organization. It is also recognition of the important role played by his country in its attempts to bring peace not only to Africa, but to the world as a whole. I am confident that he will bring a steady hand to the helm in the deliberations at this session.

2. It is fitting that in this year, 1984, a son of Africa should preside over the activities of the world's nations in convocation, for 1984 marks the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the passage of Acts of Parliament to end slavery in the former British Empire. That slavery was the slavery of Africans snatched from their native lands and transported across the Atlantic. Those slaves endured conditions of human deprivation and moral degradation on a scale that defies civilized comprehension. It is a stain on the conscience of mankind that the justification for the brutality and savagery of African slavery was founded on a doctrine of racism—the assertion that Africans were less than human. But, if African slavery as it existed in the so-called New World, in the United States, in the Caribbean and in Central and South America, if that African slavery was a cause of moral indignation because of its foundation in racism, then it was even more a reason for universal shame because of its brazen exploitation of man by man. It remains one of the tragic symbols of human injustice that, when African slavery ended, the slave owners were compensated while the slaves were only delivered to destitution.

3. In an attempt to remedy this grotesque blemish on the face of humanity and to recall mankind to its highest ideals, my country has proposed that at this thirty-ninth session the General Assembly should commemorate the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery. The world community can make little reparation for the past, but we can ensure that there is no need for retribution in the future. In this connection, my delegation looks

forward to the support of every nation represented in the Assembly.

4. While 1984 marks the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the formal end to African slavery, it fails to herald an end to modern-day slavery in South Africa, where *apartheid* holds the majority African people in bondage. The year 1984 also fails to record the independence of Namibia, to which the Assembly has dedicated itself year after year.

5. Each day that passes with no change in the conditions in southern Africa diminishes the prospect for mankind's total freedom and enlarges the spectre of a major conflagration in Africa. These developments will have grave repercussions for the world as a whole, for, as Abraham Lincoln asserted, no society can exist half slave and half free. In this connection, the world will not subsist at peace while southern Africa remains troubled by the oppression of many by a few.

6. My delegation wishes to place on record its repudiation of the efforts of the South African régime to perpetuate its *apartheid* policies by the farcical elections recently held and the fraudulent constitution recently proclaimed. The constitution continues to deny the majority Africans a voice in the political life of their country, and the election ignores more than 80 per cent of the Coloured and Indian population, who showed their opposition to *apartheid* by refusing to vote.

7. In a statement I made before the General Committee [*1st meeting*], I asked, on the question of South Africa: "Where are the super-Powers?". And I will ask that question again: "Where are the super-Powers?".

8. It is not sufficient for us to make high-sounding moral statements about the excesses of the régime in South Africa and Namibia without recognizing that many, in this Hall, are contributors to *apartheid's* continuance. *Apartheid* could not survive without the support of the world's more powerful nations. *Apartheid* will only end when those nations are ready to place principle before profit and justice before avarice.

9. It is well known that gold is the most crucial element in South Africa's strength. On the supply side, South Africa produces two thirds of all the gold that comes from non-communist countries, yet only about one fifth is utilized for practical purposes. But the price of gold is maintained artificially by the holdings of several Governments. The stock of refined gold in government hands is 30 times annual production and six countries alone have stocks greater than annual production. If even a small portion of these holdings were to be released, the total supply of gold in the world would rise and the price would collapse, bringing the South African régime down with it.

10. Will the Governments with the power to do so act in the cause of human justice? Will they end the iniquity of *apartheid* and set the black people of South Africa free? Or will they falter and hesitate as they did with slavery until outrage turns to carnage and bitterness to bloodiness? Let no nation leave the Assembly absolved of the sin of support for *apartheid*, for if we do not act against it then, unpardonably, we act for it. *Apartheid*'s greatest friend is hopelessness. My delegation calls on the Assembly to reaffirm its commitment to end *apartheid*, to renew its resolve to free Namibia, and by so doing to turn hopelessness to resolution and resolution to victory.

11. In addressing the question of *apartheid* in South Africa and the comfort which is given to the régime, my delegation is mindful of South Africa's involvement in the Antarctic Treaty¹ of 1959. We noted, with sympathy, the position adopted by the delegation of Sierra Leone during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, at the 42nd and 46th meetings of the First Committee, that South Africa should be excluded from the present Treaty arrangement. We recognized that, while this view was not included in the resolution on the question of Antarctica adopted at the thirty-eighth session [resolution 38/77], it was none the less a view supported by many countries.

12. That is as it should be, for as long as South Africa sets its people apart at home it sets its people and itself apart abroad. And the Consultative Parties to the Antarctic Treaty should understand quite clearly that the world will regard South Africa's continuance in the Treaty arrangements as an act of betrayal of international opinion.

13. At the current session, the General Assembly will receive a study from the Secretary-General on all aspects of the question of Antarctica. My delegation does not wish to pre-empt the findings or recommendations of that study, but we must make it clear that the growing tendency for nations, rich and poor, to seek solutions to international problems through confrontation rather than negotiation and the widening chasm between the developed and developing countries intensify our sense of alarm over the arrangements which currently subsist in Antarctica.

14. We still fear that Antarctica could become a final frontier for human conflict. It is of more than passing significance to us that all the nations with the capacity to participate in a scramble for Antarctica are parties to the Antarctic Treaty and therefore are able to initiate a review in 1991. Doubly significant is the fact that poor developing States with no vested interest in Antarctica have no voice in decision-making about the area and are unable to influence the activities of other nations.

15. But small States such as mine cannot abandon international responsibility for developments in Antarctica simply because they lack military might or economic clout. And nothing that the powerful nations have done so far in their relations with each other has convinced us that they should be the sole arbiters of the world's future.

16. To add to all this, the world has changed enormously since the Antarctic Treaty was signed in 1959. There are now 159 Member States of the United Nations, most of which are developing countries. In 1959, they had neither the opportunity nor the sovereign competence to participate in events in Antarctica. It is not only unfair, it is unjust, to

suggest that we should abide by decisions made without our involvement. Indeed, we would warn the world that if the *status quo* in Antarctica is maintained and further institutionalized a confrontation is bound to develop between the Consultative Parties and the rest of the world.

17. In our view, it is in the interest of global peace and stability to address the democratization of Antarctica now, for delay will only divide still further an already divided world.

18. Antigua and Barbuda is not so naive as to believe that the Consultative Parties would accept our tearing up the Antarctic Treaty and declaring the region the common heritage of all mankind to be administered by the United Nations. Nor do we see them agreeing to the area's being declared a repository for science or a park for the conservation of wildlife. Since a number of the Consultative Parties have benefited from fishing in the area, and over the last few years have been working on a régime to exploit the mineral resources, it is obvious that they will not surrender Antarctica to the world. However, no country can ignore growing world opinion that Antarctica should not be managed by an exclusive club, particularly when the ecology is so vitally important to global climatic patterns. In this connection, my delegation proposes the following: the retention of the Antarctic Treaty as a basis for administering the region; the creation of an authority, under the umbrella of the Treaty, to manage the Antarctic, with the existing Consultative Parties as members of the authority and equal membership by representatives of every region of the world; environmental non-governmental organizations with an established record in Antarctica to be observers at all meetings of the authority, with the right to speak; and the establishment of a system of international taxation and revenue-sharing administered by the proposed authority for Antarctica.

19. We believe that our proposals, if implemented, would go a long way towards democratizing Antarctica and should be acceptable to all, except those with sinister objectives in the region. We have advanced the idea of a system of international taxation and revenue-sharing because we accept that certain countries will continue to exploit the marine life of Antarctica. But we feel they should do so in a controlled manner and within a framework in which the world, and Antarctica itself no less, benefits from revenue derived from taxation. We propose that the revenues raised from taxes on fishing and, in time, mining should be placed in a special development fund for maintaining the Antarctic environment and advancing global human development. The fund should be subdivided in three ways: expenses for the maintenance of the Antarctic environment, hard loans to developed countries and soft loans and grants to less developed and least developed countries.

20. It is only in these conditions of global participation in decision-making and global sharing of the benefits of Antarctica's resources that the region will be genuinely safe for all mankind. The alternative is an intensification of global confrontation and a fatal step towards the final frontier of human conflict.

21. Much has been made of the close co-operation that exists between the two super-Powers in Antarctica. Indeed, their representatives have drawn attention to the fact that, while they cannot agree on arms

control matters, goodwill and a genuine desire to find mutually acceptable solutions have made it possible to make Antarctica a zone of peace. But it is precisely this unprecedented level of co-operation between the two super-Powers which intensifies suspicions about Antarctica.

22. Why can this co-operation not be repeated in other parts of the world? If the super-Powers could bring to Central America the same level of collaboration that has obtained in Antarctica, the problems of that region could be brought to an end, with enormous benefits for the people of the area and with a corresponding reduction of tension between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

23. The world would breathe a sigh of relief if the super-Powers concentrated their efforts not on military escalation in Central America but on economic improvement. For, apart from a hard core of activists in the troubled countries of Central America, people want bread, not bullets. In this connection, would it not be a better role for the super-Powers of the world to act as intermediaries for peace rather than agents for war? The question needs no answer, for the response is self-evident. We must all hope that in time the super-Powers will come to recognize the value to the world of co-operating internationally in the same way as they have done in Antarctica.

24. In the mean time, developing countries can offer an example of responsibility. In Central America, Belize has proffered the hand of friendship to Guatemala. These two countries can show the world a new way to peace by reaching out to each other and constructing a lasting solution to their problems, based on recognition of each other's sovereignty and co-operation in the social and economic development of their peoples. We would urge Guatemala to take the first step along the road to global peace by showing the super-Powers that developing States have the maturity and capacity to settle their problems in peace.

25. Other developing States also have it within their power to demonstrate to the super-Powers that conflict resolution is not the exclusive preserve of those with the greatest might. The peoples of North and South Korea can strike a blow for dignity in the third world by acting on the proposals put forward by South Korea to normalize the relations of the Korean people.

26. Action by developing States to establish peace and promote social well-being should cease to be dependent on the influences of one super-Power or another. Developing States should strive to change the image that we are incapable of dealing with our own affairs. We should eschew big-Power politics in our countries and seek our salvation by our own efforts. We should create the conditions for international respect for third-world States and reverse the derision to which we are so constantly subject.

27. Far too many of our problems, which have their genesis in economic inequality, have provided opportunities for protagonists in East-West rivalry to interfere in our affairs. It is time for third-world countries to free themselves from such rivalry and assert their independence with dignity and pride.

28. In the case of Cyprus, which has suffered the torment of strife for so long, my delegation would once again appeal for support for the Secretary-General in his efforts to extinguish the flames of conflict which so persistently threaten to set Cyprus

alight. The people of Cyprus are remarkable for their ability to build on the ashes of ruins. They are surely able to transpose this great strength to the future of their country by establishing a united, free and fully independent Cyprus in which the interests and rights of all are fully protected and guaranteed. The international community would bring a welcome respite to the people of Cyprus by promoting peace, not partition; unity, not disunity; nationalism, not separatism.

29. I turn now to the question of the development of third world States. Developing countries have learned the hard way that voting strength in the Assembly and in other United Nations agencies does not convey authority in decision-making. Resolutions, laboriously drafted and painfully negotiated, produce no meaningful results. Hence, in the context of a North-South dialogue on development, there has not only been no progress, there has been nothing. Nothing has happened in the General Assembly; nothing happened at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade; nothing resulted from the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún; nothing came of the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

30. While nothing has occurred to advance a North-South dialogue on development, the nations of the world have rushed dangerously close to disaster. The one thing that has delayed the moment of catastrophe is that suffering and pain in many developing States is a norm.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

31. The norm of suffering is what has stopped the developing countries from exploding into violence despite the fact that the majority have experienced no growth for the last three years. The norm of suffering is what has pulled back more than 24 countries in Africa from absolute chaos, despite the fact that 30 million people will die this year and next from malnutrition and related diseases. The norm of suffering is what has saved developing countries from economic collapse, despite the fact that in 1983 the loss in income through reduced exports to developed countries was some 50 billion.

32. Paradoxically, it is this same norm of suffering in third world States that has helped to maintain the resoluteness of developed States not to enter into a dialogue on development. For third world suffering is expected in the equation of international politics. It is first world suffering that is not expected.

33. Hence, it seems that the developed countries will only enter into a dialogue on development when their own economic conditions reach the point of inflicting pain upon their own peoples. It is a sad commentary on the state of human relations that mankind has reached such a woeful point.

34. Given this situation and the further dimension of declining official development assistance and a constraint upon the international financial institutions to carry out reforms necessary to discharge their responsibilities, third world States may find value in promoting the concept of a greater co-operation among themselves. Indeed, there may even be relevance in creating a third world secretariat to institutionalize trade and other commercial arrangements among third world States and to provide expertise for

more co-ordinated and beneficial negotiations with developed countries.

35. My delegation agrees with the sentiment of Thomas Paine, so eloquently cited by the President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan, in this very Hall on 24 September last, at the 4th meeting: "We have it in our power to begin the world over again". My delegation would urge developing States to ensure that, in any efforts to begin the world over again, we have a strong and effective voice.

36. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Reform Institutions and Minister of External Communications of Mauritius, the Honourable Anerood Jugnauth. I invite him to address the General Assembly.

37. Mr. JUGNAUTH (Mauritius): Mr. President, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to address the Assembly. I bring to you and to the eminent personalities gathered here the warm greetings of the Government and people of Mauritius. We welcome Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

38. Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you very warmly on your election to this high office. The Assembly could not have made a better choice—a choice which bespeaks your proved personal abilities, your diplomatic skills and your commitment to the high ideals of the Organization. Indeed, Sir, it is a tribute to your great country and an acknowledgement of Africa's role and importance in world affairs.

39. I should like also to express the whole-hearted appreciation of my Government and myself to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, for the highly distinguished manner in which he presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. He marked our last deliberations with the stamp of wisdom, justice and fair play. I salute this noble son of the third world.

40. I pay a tribute also to the Secretary-General for his untiring and unflinching efforts in the cause of international peace and, in particular, for his patient and ceaseless endeavours to complete the process of decolonization in Africa. In the exercise of his duties, onerous certainly, but so vital for mankind, Mauritius stands firm behind the Secretary-General and is ready to co-operate in the search for lasting peace. To this end, we are fully committed and we shall strive within our capabilities to ensure that the United Nations is in a position to perform the tasks entrusted to it under the Charter.

41. It is a matter of deep regret that this thirty-ninth session still faces many of the problems which bedevilled previous sessions. The world, which our forbears sought to create in order to protect succeeding generations from the scourge of war, is altogether different now. Man holds in his hands the power to annihilate all forms of life on this planet. And the existence of weapons of mass destruction has sown the seeds of discord and distrust amongst us and has struck terror into the hearts of mankind. War machines have far outpaced the instruments of peace.

42. The world situation today is more than ever fraught with danger. The spectre of a thermonuclear holocaust becomes more and more haunting, while the renewed escalation in the nuclear-arms race continues unabated. Resources of an unprecedented scale are being expended by certain countries while elsewhere drought, famine and diseases have claimed

a heavy toll in lives from the undernourished, the old, the weak and the newly born.

43. We have no moral or other right to stand by and witness the slow death of mankind. We can all live only if we are courageous enough to combine our efforts and resources in the struggle for peace. We have already made a step in the right direction by tacitly recognizing our capacity for self-destruction. We are also all too aware of how massive military expenditure delays and inhibits the elimination of poverty, hunger and economic inequity. Let us therefore be bold enough to engage in meaningful talks for general and complete disarmament. Let us start now, for we all desire peace and security. Let there be a renaissance in values that characterize international relations. If we are truly men of dedication, then let love, mutual understanding, co-operation and trust be our guiding principles. Let us build anew a world where the strong are just and the weak secure and where peace is sacred.

44. In the name of humanity, I call upon the nuclear Powers fully to assume their responsibilities towards mankind so that tomorrow's world may be free from threat, conflict and greed and free from the terrors of mass destruction. Only general and complete disarmament can provide such credible guarantees. We therefore propose that disarmament negotiations resume promptly and continue without interruption until meaningful agreement is achieved.

45. I speak today in an hour of international peril, at a time when the world is being held ransom by the protagonists of war, neo-colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Peace, which should have been a vital part of mankind's heritage and a dominant element in our interdependent world, remains as elusive as ever. We have, instead, a situation of greater international rivalry and tension and conflicts. Nations tend to belong to specific spheres of influence, established and nurtured by the super-Powers. And more and more often, regional conflicts, armed intervention, foreign interference and occupation are the direct results thereof. These in our view constitute the most dangerous threats to world peace and international security.

46. We firmly believe that peace and freedom are inseparable. One cannot exist in the absence of the other. Any denial of this basic concept cannot but lead to confrontation, tension, instability and a total lack of faith in man. We have no doubt in our minds that the threats that loom large on our horizon and the catastrophe that threatens us can be averted. We have only to show courage by fully assuming our responsibilities and by standing firmly by our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. It is because of our deep-rooted belief in such principles that we favour a world of free and equal States.

47. It is disappointing and, indeed, alarming to see how our efforts to achieve lasting peace are being frustrated by power politics. The continuous flouting of international norms of behaviour by the super-Powers, their lack of respect for their obligations under the Charter and their constant endeavour to strengthen their spheres of influence have brought about regional conflicts, tension, aggression and war. Not far from our shores, southern Africa offers a spectacle which is repulsive and abhorrent. No one can, in his heart of hearts, remain insensitive to the ordeals of the downtrodden and oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, whose legitimate aspira-

tions for freedom, equality and dignity are being stifled and trampled upon.

48. We view with grave concern the events taking place in that part of the world—events which will weigh heavily against us when we stand trial in the high court of history. For years now, we have condemned the inhuman policies of *apartheid* practised by the immoral régime of South Africa. We have repeatedly affirmed the right of the South African people to accede to full independence and sovereignty. It is now most disheartening to note that those were mere words, hollow and devoid of significance, uttered with characteristic cynicism and hypocrisy by those who hold the key to this thorny issue.

49. Let us resolve now to do away with the shameful situation prevailing there. Let us heed the cry of the oppressed. Let us combine our efforts to bring home to those concerned that the continued denial of fundamental rights and freedoms to the people of South Africa cannot but push us further towards disaster.

50. The illegal occupation of Namibia, the unlawful exploitation of its natural resources and the repressive policies of the racist régime against its people constitute further grave threats to regional as well as international peace and security. We want the Namibian people to know that we fully support their heroic struggle for freedom, equality and justice. We stand committed to their noble cause and to the war of liberation that is being waged by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. Our aim is to see a stable and prosperous southern Africa and this cannot be achieved as long as the occupying administration violates the Charter of the United Nations and flouts the basic principles of international law. The prevailing situation is one of grave anxiety and calls for united and determined action.

51. Mauritius stands firmly by Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. We deeply regret the inability of the Western Powers to ensure the early implementation of the independence plan. And we consider the linkage between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a lame argument, trumped up by the racist régime and supported by vested interests. We appeal to the world body to join us in our struggle to secure the early independence of Namibia.

52. It seems that the lot of mankind is one of misery, threat, tension and anxiety. From Africa to the Middle East, the ugly head of confrontation, aggression, occupation and war is reared. The explosive situation in the Middle East threatens our existence and is central to the political, economic and military stability of the world. As long as uncertainty, discord, distrust, frustration and violence prevail in that region, the world will continue to live with a profoundly destabilizing element in its affairs. A just and lasting peace can be achieved only through a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the question, including, and in particular, the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people.

53. All States in the region should live within secure and recognized international frontiers. Aggression and occupation of the land of others will not guarantee the security of any State or nation. The crying need of the hour is therefore negotiation, accommodation and recognition.

54. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] has our full support in its valiant struggle to secure the inalienable and fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. We call upon all parties concerned to review their positions and seriously engage in meaningful negotiations for a lasting settlement of this problem.

55. As I said before, the world is so closely knit and interdependent that conflicts or tensions anywhere affect us all because we are citizens of one world.

56. The situation in Cyprus continues to threaten peace and international security and is a cause of deep concern to us. We strongly urge the peace-loving countries of the region and others to desist from any action that may further aggravate the explosive situation that prevails in Cyprus.

57. We fully support the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus and we condemn any effort aimed at changing its demographic situation. We strongly favour the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces and the resumption of intercommunal talks. We are convinced that settlement of this issue must be based on Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

58. Yet another problem, which is assuming alarming proportions and to which we must address ourselves, is the unresolved conflict between Iran and Iraq, a conflict that has weakened both countries economically and has claimed a heavy toll of human lives on both sides. This fratricidal war should be stopped forthwith. We therefore call upon both parties to show restraint and to cease all hostilities. Any further escalation of this conflict cannot but disturb regional stability and peace. We urge both Iran and Iraq to engage in serious and meaningful negotiations with a view to ending this dispute peacefully.

59. The world is still plagued by localized wars. The complex situation in Afghanistan is yet another example of the flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a sister country. We want the Assembly to know that we strongly oppose external interference of any kind and from any source in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, or of any country for that matter. We fully support the Secretary-General in his efforts to secure a peaceful solution acceptable to all parties concerned, and we eagerly await the day when Afghanistan will resume its non-aligned status.

60. The smouldering crisis in Central America continues to threaten peace in that region and is an impediment to the efforts of countries of the area aimed at strengthening their unity, solidarity and co-operation. The traditional repressive power structure has further aggravated the situation. We firmly believe that every effort should be made to facilitate the necessary dialogue between the parties concerned for the achievement of a political and negotiated solution of the problems of the region. Such dialogue and negotiations should take place within the Contadora framework.

61. The continuing state of affairs in South-East Asia is precarious and explosive. While much effort and time has been lost in superficial matters, the tragic plight of the peoples of the region has been lost sight of. The untold sufferings of the people of the area, bearing witness to the further escalation of tensions in the region, are all the more aggravated by external interference and the use of force against

sovereign States. We condemn such action, and we strongly urge the international community, in particular the countries concerned, seriously to work for a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the area, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, including Kampuchea. We applaud the efforts being made in this direction within the framework of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, an association we fully support.

62. The international community has for some time been discussing the question of Korea. We once again reiterate our firm belief in the urgent need for direct negotiations, without any outside interference of any kind, between the two parties concerned for a realistic and lasting solution to their problems. We call upon both North Korea and South Korea immediately to resume inter-Korean negotiations for the peaceful settlement of issues impeding the reunification of the two Koreas.

63. We have always upheld the principle of universality of membership of the Organization. We feel strongly that, for the sake of peace and international security and also because of the larger interest of the peoples of both Koreas, we should seriously consider the admission of North Korea and South Korea to the Organization.

64. I do not want to appear to be a prophet of doom, but threats, tensions and conflicts cannot but hamper political and socio-economic development, peace and international security. My own country, Mauritius, is in the midst of it all. The activities of the big Powers and the arsenals of death and destruction they have deployed in the Indian Ocean constitute one of the major threats to the countries of the region—countries which are still vulnerable to external influences. This continued refusal to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] is highly indicative of their avowed policy of establishing spheres of influence in the Indian Ocean and of continued domination. We strongly condemn such policies and attitudes, and we call upon those concerned not to vitiate efforts aimed at the complete demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. We urge them to give their full support to the United Nations so that the Conference on the Indian Ocean may be convened as early as possible.

65. Finally, I should like to address myself to yet another problem which is fast assuming alarming proportions, a problem which transcends political barriers and which is at this very moment threatening more than two thirds of mankind. I am referring to the economic plight of the developing countries, taking into consideration the world economic situation in the period 1980 to 1984.

66. The world economic scene in the 1980s has been characterized by persistent recession in the developed countries, high rates of interest and the appreciating dollar. Growth in the industrial market economies, as a group, slowed down sharply in 1980 and remained sluggish during the years 1980 to 1983. There are evident signs that, in spite of the fact that the international economic scene is picking up, the monetary market continues to be severely perturbed. Major industrial countries are pursuing restrictive monetary policies to restrain inflation. This has resulted in declines or low rates of growth in gross

domestic product among almost all developing countries of the world. Unemployment rates have also reached alarmingly high levels.

67. This continuing recession in the industrial world has severely constrained growth in the developing countries through a series of direct and indirect interactions. The drop in demand in industrial countries resulted in declines in both the prices and the volumes of primary exports of both oil-exporting and non-oil-exporting countries. Growth in these countries was therefore affected by monetary, trade and fiscal policies adopted by the industrial countries to combat the recession.

68. The restrictive monetary policies pursued in a number of industrial countries, to control inflation, for example, maintained interest rates at high levels, thereby greatly increasing non-oil-producing developing countries' debt-service payments on their floating rate. The current account deficits of the oil-importing developing countries have continued to increase, from 2.3 per cent of gross domestic product in 1978 to 4.4 per cent in 1980 and this trend has kept increasing in the early 1980s.

69. The balance-of-payments position of oil-importing countries was severely affected by increases in the price of oil, coupled with increases in interest payments. A number of countries were therefore unable to meet their loan repayment obligations and, indeed, many had to pursue drastic deflationary policies to contain their growing current account deficits, with all the accompanying evils of reduced demand, lowered standard of living and higher unemployment levels. Therefore, although the long-term solution for these countries lies in the recovery in the world demand and a determined restructuring of their own economies, their immediate requirement is for continued inflows of capital to ease their liquidity shortage.

70. This need has been recognized and various formulas have been proposed, but these have not, unfortunately, proved adequate to meet the requirements of the developing world. During this period, several countries have had recourse to debt rescheduling, although this is not the solution for countries with deep-set economic and financial problems. There is, therefore, an urgent call for better and closer collaboration among creditor Governments, and for a better understanding of our commercial banking system and among international financing institutions. It is this and only this which can facilitate our long-term adjustment and pave the way for a quicker world recovery. While steps are being taken to ease the debt difficulties of the main middle-income borrowers, too little has been done to assist the low-income countries seriously affected by the recent recession, the effects of which have not yet left our doorsteps.

71. The continuing appreciation of the United States dollar and the resulting weakness of our currencies has further fuelled inflationary tendencies in most countries, and in particular developing countries, which would normally have benefited from the gain in competitiveness of their exports. This comparative advantage has been mitigated by the extremely low levels of economic activities in most developed countries and in the pressures for restrictions on imports. The benefits of the recovery in the world economy have not been felt in any significant manner by the underprivileged of this

world. Industrial countries continue to resort to protectionist measures and to invoke safeguard clauses in the various agreements—some of which were held out to be models of co-operation only a few years earlier—thereby threatening the very survival of the developing countries. The developed countries are not playing by the rules of the game and often use flimsy arguments to resort to protectionist measures. Such an approach was reflected in the outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade in 1983.

72. The debt problem of developing countries needs to be emphasized. Of all constraints facing us today, none is as damning in its consequences as the burden of debt. We continue to reel under the burden of successive increases in oil prices, recession, high interest rates and decreases in the price of our raw materials. Our exports to world markets have suffered drastically because of the growing surge of protectionism. And, to crown it all, debt servicing has brought development in all spheres of economic life to a grinding halt. As far back as 1981, Luis Echeverría Álvarez, former President of Mexico, gave a pertinent diagnosis of the reasons for the tensions and conflicts in the third world, emphasizing the formidable dangers of inequality.

73. In fact, at no other time in history—living as we do in the nuclear age—have the problems of humanity been so severe in their causes and in their consequences. Inequality has become for us the most outstanding institutional form of conflict among nations and peoples.

74. Above and beyond possible and foreseeable changes that might take place in the East and the West, it seems impossible to speculate regarding peace and development in the absence of an adequate solution to the traumas of the South. In short, although the East-West confrontation could lead to a nuclear war and the general destruction of civilization, on the other hand, a fruitful dialogue between the North and the South could mean a stage of reconstruction, as well as bringing about the most important change that mankind has witnessed in recent centuries—that is, the creation of a new international economic order, the only logical outcome of the North-South dialogue. The only alternative is a yearly get-together for rhetorical discourse, a dialogue of the deaf.

75. The contemporary world's greatest challenge indeed lies ultimately in the discovery of a formula to integrate science and technology into the struggle against misery, poverty and the misuse of economic and military power. This can take place. It is not a third world Utopian dream, for the world possesses outstanding and significant human resources and a great reserve of human wisdom. We have more educated people living today than during the whole of human history. Are we really to dedicate such an immense potential for creativity and change to the agony of a perpetual and implacable arms race? This undoubtedly would be a senseless tragedy.

76. Today's economic disorder, in which inequality has become the dominant institutional form of development, has changed the problems inherited from colonial times into dilemmas that are more far reaching than those involving East and West, North and South, and calls for the return to one of the most outstanding periods in international life in recent years, 1974—the year in which the United Nations

condemned the old international economic order and proclaimed as imperative the establishment of a new international economic order.

77. The current world situation should make us comprehend the impossibility of maintaining an economic, monetary and institutional structure founded upon the equilibrium of terror or the explosive disarticulation of zones of influence. Such a disarticulation would affect all geopolitical fields and means of control stemming from the international division of labour.

78. The problems of the third world have assumed calamitous proportions which affect all cultures, ideologies and economic systems equally. The resulting turmoil has adversely affected the development strategies of the developing world. All nations must now take an interest in seeking a rational answer to a crisis which can no longer be resolved in the old way, one that is now impossible and unworkable, the way of areas of influence and the balance of terror. It is essential to find practical, concrete and humane solutions that will bring about a new order in the face of world economic disorder. This challenge will determine the future path of our civilization.

79. May I also state that we are anxiously awaiting the Secretariat's comprehensive study on Antarctica. I am sure the study will help the international community to fathom Antarctica. I hope that the Assembly will take the necessary and appropriate measures for the review of the existing régime. Antarctica must become part of the common heritage of mankind.

80. Before concluding, I should like to make two points which are of particular significance to Mauritius. I would like first of all to commend the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations family and, in particular, to say a few words about the IMO. For developing countries, and especially for island countries, maritime transport is of crucial importance. Recently Mauritius has had the benefit of valuable practical help from the United Nations system by way of advice and assistance from the IMO in respect of the efforts of Mauritius to update and revitalize its shipping and related maritime programme.

81. The work of the IMO in relation to shipping, and in particular to the technical co-operation programme of that organization, is of great importance and increasing relevance to my country and to other developing countries, both in our efforts to participate more effectively and equitably in world maritime transport and also in considering new and improved programmes arising from the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

82. The financial support that UNDP gives to the programme of technical assistance of IMO is therefore of special significance to developing countries, and any action taken by the General Assembly to maintain and increase that support will be greatly appreciated by my country.

83. This year and next, we in Mauritius are organizing a series of activities to mark the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery and of the beginning of Indian immigration. We are confident that the Assembly will wish without hesitation to acknowledge the contributions of those innumerable men, women and children to the struggle for freedom and dignity and, at the same time, at the cost of their sweat, tears and tribulations, to the

prosperity and wealth of the then colonial Powers. Mauritius wishes to recommend strongly to the Assembly that we celebrate in a resounding fashion the abolition of slavery.

84. Let us pledge here and now our whole-hearted support to humanity, and let us work towards change and improvement in the quality of life for all peoples. Let us have a more humane world system. Let us resolve to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, be it political or economic.

85. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Reform Institutions and Minister of External Communications of Mauritius for his important statement.

86. Mr. JABANG (Gambia): Permit me at the outset, Sir, to extend to you the warm congratulations of the entire Gambian delegation on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It is for us a source of immense satisfaction and pride to see the presidency of the Assembly entrusted to a son of Africa as distinguished as yourself and representing the sister republic of Zambia, with which my country enjoys the most warm and friendly relations and whose commitment to the principles and objectives of the United Nations is exemplary. Your own broad international experience and proven diplomatic skills enjoy the highest respect—nowhere more so than here in New York, where you have distinguished yourself in your dual capacity as representative of your country to the United Nations and as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. I place absolute confidence in your ability to guide the deliberations of this important session to a successful conclusion and wish to assure you in this regard that you may count at all times upon the full co-operation of the Gambian delegation.

87. I also wish to pay a tribute to your able predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who presided with admirable skill over the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session. There can be no more eloquent testimony to his statesmanship and political acumen than his elevation earlier this year to the presidency of the Republic of Panama.

88. I also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the untiring efforts which he has continued to exert in pursuit of the objectives of the Organization. He has, moreover, taken a particular interest in the problems of Africa. This was exemplified by the special initiative which he launched earlier this year in response to the economic and social crisis afflicting our continent.

89. Finally, I take great pleasure in congratulating the Government and people of Brunei Darussalam upon their accession to independence, and in welcoming the recent admission of that country as the 159th Member State of the Organization.

90. Four decades have now elapsed since the genesis of the United Nations at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, D.C. Few, if any, will disagree that the intervening years have witnessed tremendous progress in terms of both the establishment and development of the Organization and the progressive universalization of its membership. However, as we look forward to the International Year of Peace, which will be marked by the fortieth session of the General Assembly, the moment is propitious for

a review of the Organization's record in terms of the principles and objectives set out in the Charter.

91. Such an exercise provides few grounds for complacency. The dismal state of relations between the super-Powers has spurred on the already frenzied arms race, thereby heightening international tension and exposing the entire planet to the constant threat of an all-engulfing nuclear apocalypse. In international relations, meanwhile, the peaceful settlement of disputes remains the exception rather than the norm. As a result, while we may have been spared a direct military confrontation between the most powerful nations, regional conflicts often of considerable ferocity darken the horizon on every continent. In the area of fundamental freedoms, to which my Government attaches the highest importance, the most basic human rights remain more honoured in their violation than in their observance. And, notwithstanding the impressive advances that man's creative genius has continued to achieve in the field of science and technology, poverty, hunger and disease remain the miserable lot of the overwhelming majority of the Earth's inhabitants.

92. These are the principal symptoms of the crisis of multilateralism addressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [4/39/1]. There can be no more graphic illustration of this disturbing phenomenon than the deteriorating situation in South Africa. There, a racist minority régime, representing the very antithesis of the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, has continued its ruthless and systematic oppression of the majority non-white population.

93. A year ago, the racist régime adopted a series of so-called constitutional reforms aimed in reality at entrenching white supremacy at home while at the same time rehabilitating Pretoria's pariah image abroad. Although cautious support was expressed by a small number of South Africa's traditional partners, those constitutional manoeuvres were immediately and categorically rejected by the General Assembly. Disregarding this almost unanimous verdict, South Africa proceeded last August to organize sham elections for seats in the Asian and Coloured chambers of its new tricameral Parliament. Appropriately, this electoral farce was condemned as null and void by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Any residual doubts regarding Pretoria's real intentions will have been firmly dispelled both by the climate of harassment and intimidation in which the so-called elections were conducted and by the vicious repression which continues to be unleashed systematically against any opposition to the new constitutional dispensations.

94. The Assembly has been seized of Pretoria's *apartheid* policies since its inaugural session, some 40 years ago. Evidently, more forceful measures are now called for to ensure the elimination of this barbarous and inhuman system, which my delegation unreservedly condemns. At the same time, I wish to reaffirm my Government's total support for the heroic struggle for liberation being waged by the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

95. My Government is no less preoccupied by the situation in the Territory of Namibia, which has now endured 100 uninterrupted years of foreign occupation and colonial domination. Although the adoption

in 1978 of the United Nations plan for Namibia appeared to portend an early end to South Africa's illegal occupation, the racist régime has since then invented one pretext after another for delaying its withdrawal from the Territory.

96. In the first quarter of this year, we witnessed certain developments in the southern African subregion which were hailed in some quarters as a diplomatic watershed heralding an early transition to independence in Namibia. Predictably, such optimism has proved unwarranted, for Namibia remains under the oppressive yoke of South Africa's occupation. Meanwhile, the racist régime has formally reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of "linkage", which was categorically rejected by the Security Council in its resolution 539 (1983). This situation represents a brazen affront to the authority of the United Nations and is clearly unacceptable. Moreover, as past experience has demonstrated, it poses a grave threat to the security and stability of the entire subregion. South Africa's recalcitrance must therefore be met with appropriately firm action to compel it to withdraw from the Territory, thus enabling the Namibian people, under the dynamic leadership of SWAPO, to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination.

97. In addition to the critical situation in southern Africa, the unity and security of the continent remain threatened by the persistence of a number of other regional disputes. With regard to the situation in Western Sahara, my Government deplores the continued conflict over the issue of self-determination in that Territory. It is our view that the settlement of this dispute can and must be brought about within the framework of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, whose resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX)² has already provided the outlines of a negotiated settlement.

98. With regard to the question of Chad, the Gambia has followed with deep dismay the tragic fratricidal conflict which has denied peace and stability to the people of this founder member State of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] since their attainment of independence. My Government fervently hopes, therefore, that recent developments regarding the withdrawal of external forces will contribute to restoring the unity and territorial integrity of the sovereign Republic of Chad.

99. The highly charged situation in the Middle East represents another issue of grave concern to my Government. Here, the achievement of regional peace and stability remains effectively precluded by the continued frustration of the legitimate nationalist aspirations of the Palestinian people. In the West Bank and Gaza, which represent the last vestiges of the Palestinian State originally envisaged by the General Assembly under its resolution 181 (II), the Arab population continues to endure the rigours of Israeli occupation. In this regard, my Government deplores the illegal settlements policy and condemns, in particular, the organized terrorist activities of Jewish colonists.

100. Meanwhile, Israel's expansionist ambitions remain apparently limitless. In addition to the West Bank and Gaza, it continues illegally to occupy the Syrian Golan Heights. At the same time, it has, with equal disregard for international law, occupied fully one third of Lebanon's sovereign territory for over 20 months. At its thirty-eighth session, the Assembly

endorsed the call for an international peace conference to be attended by the various parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including, *inter alia*, the authentic representative of the Palestinian people, the PLO. The Gambia is firmly convinced that such a conference represents the only prospect of securing the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and restoring peace and security to this troubled area.

101. In the eastern Mediterranean, meanwhile, political normalcy has continued to elude the island of Cyprus, with which the Gambia enjoys close ties within the framework of the Commonwealth and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We were therefore disappointed by the breakdown in August last year of the intercommunal talks, and by subsequent unilateral moves regarding the status of the northern portion of the island. However, my Government has noted with appreciation the recent resumption, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, of proximity talks between the representatives of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. We fully support the search for a political solution based on a bizonal, bicomunal federation, which alone can satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the island's two communities.

102. Elsewhere in the Middle East, the unresolved hostilities in the Persian Gulf, which have now entered their fifth year, continue to provoke the concern of the international community. The Gambia is deeply saddened by this tragic conflict which has pitted against each other two sister Islamic States with which we share the warmest cultural affinities. In addition to the enormous human and material costs, the continuing hostilities represent a grave and pressing danger to international peace and security.

103. Earlier this year, the President of the Gambia, Elhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, acceded to the chairmanship of the Peace Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of which my Government has been an active member since 1981. We have since redoubled our efforts in the search for a negotiated settlement. I wish at this point to appeal to the two parties to continue to co-operate fully with the Islamic Peace Committee in order to permit the restoration of lasting peace and stability to this troubled region.

104. I now turn to the completely unacceptable situation which continues to prevail in Afghanistan, almost six years after the invasion of that non-aligned nation. At its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted, by a majority even more overwhelming than in previous years, resolution 38/29, which reiterated the call of the community of nations for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops. Not only have the terms of that resolution been disregarded, but the military occupation of Afghanistan has actually intensified. This was illustrated with ferocious clarity by the massive onslaughts this year in the Panjshir and Shomali valleys, in which thousands of civilians were killed, maimed or displaced.

105. In recent months, moreover, the army of occupation has expanded the scope of its bloodthirsty activities beyond the territorial limits of Afghanistan, resorting with increasing frequency to attacks upon the territory of the sovereign republic of Pakistan, which already bears the brunt of the refugee problem emanating from this conflict. The Gambia deeply deplores this ominous trend. At the same time, we wish to pay tribute to the Special Representative of

the Secretary-General for Afghanistan, Under-Secretary-General Mr. Diego Cordovez, whose indefatigable mediation efforts we continue to follow with the closest interest.

106. In South-East Asia, the situation in Kampuchea remains equally disturbing. Here, too, the illegal presence of foreign troops has transformed a large section of the population into refugees. This has placed an intolerable burden upon neighbouring countries of first asylum, particularly Thailand. Meanwhile, the serious danger to international peace and security posed by this situation has been demonstrated by the repeated eruption of hostilities along the Thai-Kampuchean border. My Government is of the view that the normalization of this unacceptably volatile situation demands the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly, thus permitting the Khmer people to determine their own future, through free and fair elections.

107. On the Korean peninsula, the situation of the divided people of Korea is still a tragic reality. My country reaffirms its position that the reunification of the two Koreas can be achieved only through peaceful and genuine dialogue between the two parties, without external intervention. With the establishment of meaningful dialogue aimed at fostering mutual confidence and improved relations, the cause of the peaceful reunification of the Korean people would be greatly enhanced and tension eliminated from the peninsula.

108. In Central America, meanwhile, peace and stability remain gravely threatened by the acute tension prevailing in the isthmus. It is the hope of my delegation that a negotiated settlement of the current disputes can be found within the framework of the regional Contadora initiative.

109. These are some of the more pressing political issues confronting the international community. In addition, however, the Assembly will have to address itself to a host of economic problems which pose no less of a threat to world order, for, although there is now indisputable evidence in the industrialized countries of the North, at least, that the recession is finally drawing to a close, this welcome recovery is unlikely in the present circumstances to be translated into improved living conditions in the developing countries of the South.

110. Already crippled by the soaring energy costs of the last decade, these countries are now having to grapple with the problem of foreign debt, which, in this period of unprecedentedly high interest rates and currency fluctuations, is further devastating their fragile economies. As a result of this crisis, developing countries have had to adopt severe retrenchment policies, which have necessitated the reduction of social programmes in such essential areas as health, education and housing.

111. On the African continent, this alarming situation has been further aggravated by the twin ravages of drought and desertification, which now afflict some 24 of our countries. This scourge has drastically reduced agricultural production throughout the region, resulting in a significant decline in export earnings, while at the same time precipitating a widespread food emergency. Paradoxically, therefore, African countries have become net importers of food at a time when their foreign reserve position is at its weakest. Our Governments, of course, realize

that the primary responsibility for improving our economies rests with ourselves. It is for this reason that we in the Gambia have recently embarked upon certain internal adjustment measures, while continuing to participate at the subregional level in such collective development programmes as those of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel and the Organization for the Development of the Gambia River Basin.

112. These vigorous efforts, however, need to be complemented by international assistance and co-operation. Appropriately, international attention has been focused upon the economic and social crisis in Africa since the launching in February of the Secretary-General's timely initiative [see A/39/594],³ of which Africa remains deeply appreciative. At the same time, we are grateful for the high priority the international community has continued to accord to this crisis, as exemplified in the statements of solidarity and support emanating from the London Economic Summit and the more recent IMF-World Bank meeting in Washington. Indeed, the decision taken by the Assembly upon the initiative of our confederal partner, the sister republic of Senegal, to inscribe on its agenda the question of "Countries stricken by desertification and drought" [item 141] is a further manifestation of this encouraging trend.

113. In this connection, I am pleased to announce that a three-day round-table conference is scheduled to meet at Banjul from 28 to 30 November 1984, under the auspices of the United Nations. Therefore, I avail myself of this opportunity to renew our invitation to the international donor countries, as well as international organizations and agencies concerned with development, and to appeal for generous assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Gambia. It is our ardent hope that the conference will effectively address the medium-term and long-term economic needs of the Gambia, particularly in the sectors of agriculture, transport and communications, and health.

114. I have dwelt at some length upon the particular concerns of my own country with regard to international economic relations. Our national situation, however, is essentially a microcosm of the economic circumstances of the developing world in general. Concerted international action is, therefore, required to redress the structural imbalances that this generalized pattern clearly reflects. For several years, developing countries have called in vain for the launching of a comprehensive North-South dialogue on the fundamental issues in international economic relations. They have called, in particular, for more equitable terms of trade, increased financial resources for development and a restructuring of the international monetary system, all within the context of a new international economic order. The Gambia remains committed to the early launching of the related global negotiations.

115. This is the background against which the thirty-ninth session is convening. As custodians of the hopes and aspirations of mankind for peace and social justice, we have the task of translating these ideals into reality. These important responsibilities have assumed a vital urgency at a time of increasing uncertainty for the majority of the human race. I speak of those who live under the threat of war and persecution, of those who languish under the spectre of starvation and disease and of those who continue to eke out a miserable existence unfit for human

beings. Let us, therefore, through collective action, rededicate ourselves to the lofty ideals and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in order to ensure the continued peace and progress of all our peoples.

116. Mr. MNISI (Swaziland): It is with pride and a sense of profound gratitude, Sir, that I have the honour, on behalf of the delegation of Swaziland, to address the Assembly during the presidency of a man who not only hails from our part of the world but is a true son of Africa. Your beloved country, Zambia, and the Kingdom of Swaziland share the best of relations in harmony with our common historic and cultural heritage. As Members of the United Nations, members of the OAU, of the Commonwealth and of non-aligned organizations, our sister nation States continue to share identical views and aspirations in the international arena. We are both founding member nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a united group of southern African States that seek to widen the scope of their economic development.

117. Congratulations, Sir. Your election to the high post of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly is clear testimony to your outstanding ability, pleasant personality and diplomatic skills. The delegation of Swaziland is convinced that under your stewardship the proceedings of the General Assembly will be conducted in a constructive manner, and wishes to assure you of its wholehearted co-operation.

118. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our warm appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, of Panama, who presided over the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session with skill and competence.

119. Let me also convey my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General and the entire staff of the United Nations for the excellent work they continue to render the international community through the United Nations system in the maintenance of global peace and security.

120. My delegation is pleased to welcome into this great family of nations the newly independent State of Brunei Darussalam. We look forward to its contributing to the success of the Organization.

121. Today we live in an unstable world, a world threatened by all kinds of conflicts, whether inter-State or global. It is therefore incumbent upon us as Member States of the United Nations to uphold the Charter and to implement its provisions with utmost care. Peace and security seem to be illusive nowadays. Many nations tend to be indifferent to General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Should such a trend persist, the world will soon find itself in Armageddon, and peaceful co-existence and good-neighbourliness will be things of the past.

122. The world is in dire need of complete disarmament. The accumulation of dangerous weapons for mass destruction by both large and small nations threatens the very existence of humanity. While many people are concerned more about a nuclear holocaust of some sort, let us remember that many of the wars fought in the past, and those that are being waged today, have resulted in the loss of millions of lives by the use of conventional weapons.

123. It is common to hear complaints about the inability of the United Nations to deal with armed conflicts around the world. Indeed, such criticism is

disquieting, and it is the duty of all Member States of this Organization to abide by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and to implement the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions without fail. The United Nations is not a world parliament. It does not enact laws but recommends appropriate action by means of resolutions. Thus, peace and security can be upheld only if Member States respect such recommendations.

124. Over the years, we have witnessed gross violations of the Charter, particularly of Article 2, paragraph 4. Interference in the internal affairs of others runs counter to civilized conduct and is a direct cause of tension around the world. My delegation hopes that those nations that have fallen into the temptation of not respecting the Charter will reconsider, for the sake of international peace and security.

125. Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter of the United Nations states:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

126. Respect for human rights is of cardinal importance in the world. It is unfortunate that we still learn of torture, disappearances and wanton killings in some parts of the world. The international community has a fundamental duty to encourage respect for human rights and freedoms. Practices such as racism and racial discrimination, *apartheid*, exploitation of child labour and the like are all violations of human rights which are to be condemned and discouraged.

127. Efforts to restructure the international economic order continue to be thwarted by theories tending to favour the haves and not the have-nots. Many of the industrialized countries continue to hide behind economic theories and monetary policies which place very little or no value on the lives of other people.

128. My delegation views with intense shock the fact that in our present world many millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to live in abject poverty, with unemployment and mass starvation. The problem of economic subservience is not the only humiliating constraint which faces the developing nations.

129. As a member of the OAU and of the United Nations, my delegation strongly believes that the harmonious development of the African continent and its bargaining power would be greatly enhanced by closer economic co-operation and development between African States and the rest of the third world countries, particularly in the fields of trade, industry, agriculture and natural resources. My country therefore welcomed the Treaty establishing the Preferential Trade Area for eastern and southern African countries, negotiated under the auspices of ECA.

130. Allow my delegation to place on record the mention of one of our vital contemporary economic institutions in Africa, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. The international community should not lose sight of its importance. It is an expression, in practical terms, of the political will of the Governments and peoples of the nine member States to improve their development and eventually assert their economic independence. It is through the Conference that we shall be able to

dictate the course of our socio-economic development on the basis of the profound knowledge of our needs and actual conditions and inspired by our own ethics of development.

131. It may well be said that over the past three years our country has suffered the worst economic set-backs in history as a result of the years of severe drought and a catastrophic cyclone, Domoina, evidence of which is well documented in a recent United Nations study dated 17 August 1984. In that report, the Secretary-General observed that:

“The total losses to the Swazi economy represent an amount equivalent to 45 per cent of total annual government expenditure or 12 per cent of the country's gross domestic product. This is a major set-back to Swaziland after many years of substantial developmental progress and represents a burden that in proportional terms would jeopardize the growth of even the most developed country.”⁴

132. These two calamities left an indelible mark of devastation on our fragile economy, to say nothing of all the great works of post-independence Swaziland that were completely washed away in less than three days of heavy rainfall—our modern, technologically constructed roads and bridges, houses, schools, offices and intensive agriculture networks, and to say nothing of the loss of precious human lives and of livestock. Economic experts have also stated that over \$100 million will be needed for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of our roads and bridges that were badly damaged by cyclone Domoina.

133. On the other hand, the disastrous situation of my country's economy was compounded when Swaziland was inundated with an unprecedented influx of refugees early this year. It is a fact that maintenance of the refugees places a heavy burden on the country's resources, already exhausted by years of severe drought and by cyclone Domoina.

134. However, these multiple problems have not deterred the Kingdom of Swaziland from honouring its international obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees,⁵ for we are still committed to offering all possible humanitarian assistance to all genuine refugees. We are also grateful to the United Nations and other organs that continue rendering assistance to the fragile economy of Swaziland.

135. It is now a known fact that it was not only Swaziland that sustained drought conditions recently, but 23 countries of Africa. This has led to acute shortages of food and medicines, which have resulted in the deaths of millions of people, more especially children and the elderly. A good number of countries have come to the aid of Africa, and we thank them for their efforts. However, the problem is far from being solved. My delegation urges those that have food and money to lend a helping hand. The countries affected are trying their best to improve their economies, difficult as that is. As time goes on, we hope to be in a position to stand on our own feet and to feed our people.

136. Permit my delegation to reaffirm my Government's policy, the modern foundations of which were laid down by our late beloved King Sobhuza II. Our policy is based on concrete factors of pragmatism rather than narrow political and ideological expediency. The Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland remains committed to the sacred principles enshrined in the charter of the OAU and the Charter of

the United Nations respected by the non-aligned countries, particularly the principles concerning the self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial rule and all other forms of oppression. We wish to reiterate Swaziland's commitment to the settlement of disputes by peaceful negotiation and non-use of force as wisely advocated by our late King. Thus, we salute the salient features of Chapter VI, in particular Article 33, of the Charter of the United Nations which advocate the pacific settlement of disputes.

137. Therefore, my Government is inspired by the noble principles of peace, democracy, freedom and justice. It is my Government's objective to enhance the economic and social welfare of our people, in unity, freedom and love for one another. Our people are resolved to ensure that our generation enjoys the fruits of peace, unity and stability while respecting the dignity and freedom of the individual.

138. My delegation wishes to state that, as a peace-loving nation, the Kingdom of Swaziland is greatly perturbed by the major conflicts that characterize the contemporary international political scene.

139. My country views with great alarm the continued conflicts in the Middle East. We recognize the difficulties in attaining international peace and security, and wish to appeal to the conflicting parties to exercise both moral and political constraint.

140. My delegation is very much concerned about Lebanon. We commend the people of Lebanon for their untiring efforts towards the continuation of their socio-economic and political development. My delegation remains firmly convinced that peace in Lebanon can be brought about only through the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from its territory. Only then will the Lebanese be in control of their own destiny.

141. The ongoing war in the Persian Gulf is also a cause of great concern to the international community. My delegation humbly urges Iran and Iraq to exercise moral restraint and resolve their differences through peaceful contacts. My country calls upon Member States of that region to adhere to Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations, in order to safeguard international peace, security and justice.

142. In pursuance of world peace and security, it is important that we refer to the sensitive political situation that continues to divide North and South Korea. My delegation submits that the reunification of Korea is a matter to be decided by the Koreans themselves, in direct inter-Korean negotiations. It remains for the United Nations to continue to encourage the resumption of those talks without preconditions or external interference.

143. With regard to the conflicts in South-East Asia and South-West Asia, the Kingdom of Swaziland firmly supports the urgent call for all States concerned to exercise both political and moral restraint to avoid any further endangerment of peace and security in that troubled region. We call for respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity and for non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Above all, we are convinced of the urgent need to bring about a relaxation of tensions through a solution providing for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that region.

144. My delegation fully shares the grave concern over the unresolved problems and continuing con-

flicts in Latin America and the Caribbean. Further, we make an appeal to the parties involved to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Above all, it should be clearly noted that history shows that violence, apart from being a true exercise in self-destruction, has never profited anybody. We welcome the efforts of the Contadora Group in seeking a permanent solution to these problems.

145. The situation prevailing in Africa, particularly in those areas which are of major concern to the OAU, continues to disturb us profoundly. My Government is deeply perturbed by the conflicts in Chad and Western Sahara. We share the agony of our brothers and sisters who continue to suffer the terrible scourge of the bitter conflict. Above all, the Kingdom of Swaziland wishes to commend the good efforts of the OAU and the international community in their endeavours to find a genuine and permanent solution. We also wish to add our voice to those that have requested all the conflicting parties to exercise both moral and political restraint, for violence has never served as a basis for the peace and security of nations.

146. Regarding the thorny problem of the serious contention prevailing in southern Africa, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its known policy based on the Kingdom of Swaziland's commitment to the noble principles and objectives of self-determination, national independence and majority rule for all peoples.

147. My delegation wishes to thank and congratulate the Secretary-General, the front-line States and all others concerned for their relentless efforts in seeking a peaceful solution of the Namibian question. We stand committed to urgent implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the independence of Namibia.

148. The position of my country regarding the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa remains unchanged. My delegation has stated our stand in previous years, and we continue to reiterate our Government's position that the Kingdom of Swaziland is unswervingly committed to the noble principles of non-racial democracy, non-alignment

and complete respect for human dignity, justice and peaceful coexistence with all.

149. Once again, it is my country's humble submission to the Assembly that the problem in South Africa can be solved only if all concerned, irrespective of the colour of their skins, their creeds or their ideological affiliations, will come to the negotiating table. Indeed, my country has deep-rooted faith in and commitment to the mission of peace, and adheres firmly to Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Charter of the United Nations.

150. We appreciate the efforts of the United Nations and the international community, the concern they show with regard to the problems of southern Africa and their clear understanding of the major handicaps facing the independent States which are neighbours of South Africa.

151. The Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland welcomes the expression of the need to relax the tension between the two super-Powers and we support the call to resume these vital negotiations.

152. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm the Kingdom of Swaziland's trust and uncompromising faith in the United Nations. It is our sincerest belief that the United Nations remains the only apposite and appropriate international forum for finding solutions to major problems that beset contemporary international relations. It is therefore incumbent upon all of us as Member States to renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

²A/38/312, annex.

³See also E/1984/68.

⁴E/1984/135/Add.1, para. 27.

⁵Signed at Geneva on 28 July 1951. United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545.