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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Miss CHIEPE (Botswana): I should like, Sir, to join preceding speakers in extending to you the congratulations of the delegation of Botswana on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The honour and pride that we feel in seeing you presiding over our deliberations derive not only from the fact that you are a Zambian and that Zambia and Botswana are bound together by deep-rooted ties of friendship, culture and history, but also from the happy realization that you are the first son of southern Africa to assume this high office. We repose in you our confidence that the thirty-ninth session will, commensurate with the brilliance of your stewardship, produce the desired results.

2. I should like to express my sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the efficient manner in which he presided over the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session.

3. I should like to pay an especial tribute to the Secretary-General for his stable and enlightened leadership of the United Nations. We particularly commend him for his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1]. The message conveyed by his report is timely and must receive the attention it so richly deserves as we embark upon the preparations for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

4. The admission of the new independent State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations is an occasion for joy and celebration, for it represents another nail in the coffin of colonialism. It is a confirmation of the fact that the existence of the United Nations is incompatible with the existence anywhere in the world of colonial outposts tenaciously dedicated to the preservation of socio-political values, beliefs and practices that have long been discredited and consigned to the scrapheap of history. But in welcoming Brunei Darussalam to our midst let us also reaffirm our determination to struggle even harder to rid the world of all the remaining pockets of colonial resistance.

5. There has been no improvement in the world situation since the last session of the General Assembly. The arms race between the super-Powers has continued unabated, while the fury of the cold war has persistently threatened to consume all of us.

Admittedly, the super-Powers have now started what we hope will be sustained overtures to each other; otherwise, world stability will remain seriously at stake as the East and the West continue to communicate with each other across the widening ideological divide with virulent verbal abuse.

6. Almost everywhere else on our globe, bloody conflicts persist, conflicts which may or may not have anything to do with super-Power rivalry, as nations large and small seek habitually to settle their disputes on the battlefield. Wasteful ideological wars have become the popular means to which nations resort in the pursuit of dubious and narrow national objectives. Warmongering seems to have become a habit, an addiction, in many places.

7. My own part of the world, the region of southern Africa, has endured much conflict and bloodshed in the last two decades. Since the early 1960s, we have had continuous wars of liberation, some of which have happily ended in victories, as in the case of the people of the former Portuguese colonies and of Southern Rhodesia. But, although the Portuguese empire in Africa is no more and Southern Rhodesia has become the proud, independent Republic of Zimbabwe, southern Africa remains poised on the edge of a dangerous precipice. Thanks to South Africa's intransigence, the international Territory of Namibia is yet to be delivered from foreign occupation, while South Africa itself continues to totter on the brink of a revolution.

8. The question of Namibia has been a burning issue in the United Nations, particularly in the past six years. It is six years since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) as a blueprint for the peaceful decolonization of Namibia. That resolution has not been implemented, but not because the people of Namibia do not want independence or because our friends of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] have been found deficient or wanting in their commitment to the peaceful liberation of that country. There has been no progress towards the implementation of the resolution for two reasons: first, South Africa continues to refuse to cooperate in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), the provisions of which it accepted without reservation six years ago; and secondly, the resolution no longer stands on its own; it is linked to an issue on which neither SWAPO nor South Africa, and neither the Western contact group nor the front-line States, have *locus standi*: the issue of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

9. The Foreign Minister of South Africa was reported recently as having said that, because of the uncertainty about the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, "an all-out effort should be made now to achieve a cease-fire"—not the United Nations supervised cease-fire, but one prior and in addition

to it. This is another linkage—a cease-fire designed to stop the liberation struggle in Namibia in return for a new lease on life for the *status quo* in that Territory.

10. Botswana remains adamant in its view that a solution to the Namibian question acceptable to all can come only out of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), undiluted by the injection into it of extraneous and irrelevant elements. The surest way to kill the resolution and thus destroy the whole process of peaceful change in Namibia is to encumber the resolution with endless pre-conditions. If South Africa wants peace in Namibia, the road to the achievement of that peace is via the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

11. And the occupation of Namibia by South Africa must end for another reason. The front-line State of Angola has suffered a great deal as a result of South Africa's acts of aggression committed from the territory of Namibia long used by South Africa as a military base from which the bandits of UNITA¹ are supplied, and Angola is subjected to an endless series of incursions and invasions. Even at this moment, South African troops are still ensconced in N'giva, in southern Angola, seven months after their promised withdrawal. And they have wreaked untold havoc in that part of Angola which they have occupied for more than two years.

12. The situation in South Africa itself has developed into a crisis of frightening proportions. At their Summit Meeting, held at Arusha on 29 April 1984, the front-line States reiterated in their Final Communiqué² that "the root cause of the problems in South Africa is *apartheid* itself". And yet, five weeks ago, the world watched helplessly as the minority white rulers of South Africa introduced a new constitution, the obvious purpose of which is to consolidate and entrench *apartheid* by confirming the irreversible permanence of Bantustans and the disenfranchisement in perpetuity of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. Instead of initiating steps to abolish the abhorrent system by which the people of South Africa are graded like animals, the white minority rulers of South Africa have recruited South Africans of Asian origin and the so-called Coloureds into the ranks of the white minority as junior partners in a futile attempt to escape reality.

13. The historic Manifesto on Southern Africa makes our position abundantly clear. We persist in our demand—the collective demand of the people of Africa—that an unfettered opportunity be afforded all the people of South Africa, "together as equal individual citizens, to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of Government under which they will, by general consent, live together and work together to build a harmonious society".³ The so-called reforms now going on in that country beg the question. They amount to nothing more than tinkering—reckless tinkering with a very dangerous situation.

14. The 23 million black South Africans who have been so callously left out of the new constitutional dispensation are not likely to suffer in silence, for, as one wise man has aptly observed:

"It is one of the oldest laws of history that where there is no democracy to provide for the counting of heads, men denied those rights and brutalized by oppression inevitably turn to violence as what

they believe, however wrongly, to be their only way to obtain their rights."

So it is that black South Africans treated as aliens in their own country are being given no other choice but to resort to violence, the weapon of desperation, to recover their rights—violence which, tragically, knows or respects no frontiers, violence against whose ghastly consequences the independent States of southern Africa cannot be insulated.

15. Indeed, many of them have already fallen victim, not to the consequences of liberation violence as such, but to South Africa's acts of aggression known as destabilization. Dissident movements, the purpose of which is clearly to force South Africa's neighbours to coexist submissively with *apartheid*, are being spawned everywhere in the region.

16. Then there is Pretoria's sudden obsession with the signing of non-aggression pacts with its neighbours. My own country has been under pressure in the past several months to sign a non-aggression pact with South Africa, a country with which Botswana has historically maintained peaceful relations despite the political and philosophical differences that characterize those relations. The harsh facts of history and geography which confronted us as we regained our independence 18 years ago have dictated that we coexist in peace with South Africa, for not only do we depend almost entirely on that country for our economic survival, but it would be sheer lunacy on our part even to dream of seeking confrontation with a country as lethally powerful as South Africa. That is why, like most of our sister countries of southern Africa, we decided at independence that we would not allow our country to be used as a military base for attacks against our neighbours. We have strictly enforced this policy, for we are in mortal fear of the alternative to it. We have often taken strong measures against those who violate it and have done so publicly, secure in the knowledge that the international community appreciates our geographical predicament.

17. This is why we cannot comprehend South Africa's insistence that we sign the so-called treaty of good-neighbourliness as if we have been a bad neighbour. In sum, we refuse to sign a non-aggression pact or a good-neighbourliness treaty for the following reasons.

18. First, we have never committed an act of aggression—not even one—against South Africa. We are incapable of committing acts of aggression against South Africa.

19. Secondly, to sign a non-aggression pact or treaty of good-neighbourliness with South Africa would imply that we have been found seriously wanting in our enforcement of our policy of not allowing our country to be used as a stepping-stone for guerrilla attacks against South Africa—which is far from being the case. The record is there to attest to the strictness of our enforcement of the policy.

20. Thirdly, signing a non-aggression treaty with South Africa would compromise the peace and stability of our country, as we would be seen, wrongly or rightly, to be joining the ranks of the white minority in South Africa in its confrontation with the black majority. So far, our policy of not allowing guerrillas in our country is respected because the reasons for it are understood. This understanding would be impaired if we signed a treaty which would virtually force us to join the South African Govern-

ment in its war against South African liberation movements.

21. Fourthly, if, unbeknown to us, freedom fighters pass through our country and perpetrate acts of sabotage in South Africa, we could not be any more to blame than South Africa, whose wider and finer net—sophistication, financial and manpower prowess—they continue to elude.

22. Change will come from within South Africa. In March 1984, *The United Democratic Front News* in the Western Cape aptly had this to say:

“The *apartheid* Government can make as many peace agreements as it likes, it can talk to as many leaders of other countries as it wants to. We know that it is to us and our leaders that the *apartheid* Government must talk. There will not be any peace while our leaders are banned, gaoled and in exile. There will not be peace while *apartheid* rules our land. In the end Mr. P. W. Botha must make peace with the people of South Africa.”

23. For the sake of the security and survival of our country, we are committed to continuing co-operation with South Africa to ensure that the spirit of good-neighbourliness which has, on the whole, characterized the relations between our two countries for so long is not disturbed.

24. If I have spoken at length on the situation in southern Africa it is because the situation causes a great deal of concern to us. The international community has to be sensitized to it and to the very serious ramifications of its persistence and intractability. But perhaps even more intractable is the situation in the Middle East, to which I must now turn.

25. The Middle East situation remains volatile and tense, as no movement whatsoever was recorded in the past year in the search for a lasting solution to the Palestinian question. The Palestinian people remain homeless and stateless, and there does not seem to be any end in sight to their misery. The dehumanizing squalor of refugee camps and the hopelessness, precariousness and emptiness of life in the diaspora have become their persistent lot. Thousands of them have been brutally hounded out of their sanctuaries in Lebanon, while hundreds of others have lost their lives in a brutal cycle of violence perpetrated against a people whose only crime is to want to regain its freedom and its home in its ancestral homeland, Palestine.

26. The Middle East will never know peace as long as one of its nations, the Palestinian nation, remains a nation of refugees. None of the countries of the region, including Israel, will enjoy peace and stability as long as the aspirations of millions of Palestinians remain frustrated. The building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza will not enhance security for Israel; it will engender more violent bitterness among the Palestinians towards the Jewish State.

27. So will the occupation and annexation of the Golan Heights, which can never give Israel the security it so desperately needs; Syria is rightly embittered by the usurping of its territory and will employ every means to regain it. The occupation and ransacking of southern Lebanon by the Israeli army during the past two years also can only have earned Israel the bitter enmity of the people of Lebanon. All these are the deeds of a country which seems bent on ensuring security for itself literally at all costs—not

only at the cost of the very security it seeks but also to the detriment of the security of all its neighbours.

28. We support Israel's right to exist, but only within internationally recognized boundaries. Yes, like all the countries of the Middle East without exception, Israel deserves the right to exist in security and peace, but not at the expense of the security and peace of its neighbours. In other words, just as we shall never support the destruction of the State of Israel, the State of Israel must in turn understand that we shall never support its expansionist wars.

29. The war between Iran and Iraq has in the past several months shown that it still has the potential to set the world aflame, as it has increasingly involved third countries which have nothing to do with it. The sinking of innocent oil tankers owned by countries as far away from the Gulf as Japan and Panama can only fuel the flames and escalate the conflict. The war must be stopped before it goes too far.

30. South-East Asia also remains at war with itself. Kampuchea is yet to be relieved of the unwanted presence of foreign troops on its soil, the purpose of which is to maintain in power, a régime which derives its authority to govern from the will of a foreign Power. The General Assembly must once again insist on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and must continue to call for the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea to enable the people of that tormented country to shape their political future at the conference table rather than on the battlefield.

31. The non-aligned country of Afghanistan continues to bleed, as the troops of a super-Power seek “to pacify” its people against their will. Once again, we deem it our duty, in the name of peace and non-alignment, to call on the super-Powers to respect the independence and territorial integrity of small, peace-loving, non-aligned countries. We join in the call of the non-aligned for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan so that the efforts of the Secretary-General may bear fruit.

32. The Korean question remains troublesome. The two Koreas have long accepted the desirability of peaceful negotiations to attain the reunification of Korea, and yet every year they talk about negotiating without actually getting anywhere near the negotiating table. The North has recently proposed tripartite negotiations, in which the United States would be involved, while the South has continued to call for the resumption of “direct inter-Korean negotiations with a view to taking measures to remove the existing mistrust and antagonism”. Both sides are thus agreed on the need to talk peace, and yet nothing beyond talking to each other across the forbidding tension of the demilitarized zone has been achieved.

33. Botswana continues to support the peaceful reunification of Korea, for we shudder to contemplate the alternative. We will support any plan, any proposal, regardless of its author, which is genuinely designed to achieve that end.

34. The situation in the Central American region has caused us a great deal of anxiety for some time now. The endless bloodshed in El Salvador and the persistent unwarranted provocations to which Nicaragua has been subjected since the fall of the Somoza dictatorship have seriously compromised the peace and stability of the region. The southern African region desires for the people of Central America the very same peace, progress and prosperity it has

wished for its own people for so long with very little success. That is why we fully support the Contadora Group's laudable exertions for peace and commend Nicaragua for promptly agreeing to sign the historic Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America prepared by the Group [A/39/562, annex]. We call on all others concerned to give the Contadora Act a chance.

35. The state of the world's economy today continues to place the developing countries in a position of extreme hardship. Despite some evidence of economic recovery in the countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the developing world on the whole has yet to see improvement. Indeed, the shortfalls in resources for development have increased more rapidly, while the need for assistance has grown.

36. In large parts of the developing world, levels of per capita output fell for the third consecutive year and are below those recorded in 1979. The impact of this continuous economic erosion is increasingly being felt in the social and economic spheres. Unemployment, underemployment and poverty are on the rise in many of those countries. Social infrastructures and public services are frequently under severe pressure. There is growing evidence of difficulty in insulating health and education from the effects of the economic crisis. Physical investment is also being severely constrained in a large number of countries, reflecting both a drying up of private investment in the face of economic recession or contraction and the falling of public investment following pressures to reduce public spending. The impact of the crisis on health, education and investment places future development in jeopardy.

37. The forces underlying this severe set-back to development have been gathering momentum for a number of years. Although the precise causes vary from region to region and from country to country, severe strains in external payments are a common factor. The debt crisis in Africa, Latin America and some parts of Asia has been characterized by a cut-back in new private and public financial flows, which has led to a slow-down in economic activity.

38. No region has had to face this stark reality more directly than Africa. The Secretary-General has clearly described the magnitude of the challenges facing most of sub-Saharan African countries. As is well documented by reports prepared by the Secretary-General, the African economic crisis calls for simultaneous action on several levels. In the most immediate time-frame, the international community must work closely with the affected countries to respond to the emergency needs. Among the requirements are adequate supplies of food and water and steps to counteract desertification, as well as others related to population displacement, unemployment and debt-servicing. In the medium- and long-term, we must seriously address the need for developing institutional infrastructure which will enable these countries to deal more effectively with future emergencies.

39. In reviewing the African economic crisis, it is highly important to appreciate that the emergency, short-, medium- and long-term implications and ramifications are not only interrelated but are very closely intertwined. Any measures to be taken, be they at the national, regional or international level, must ensure internal consistency between the differ-

ent requirements in the short-, medium- and long-term.

40. Indeed, as long ago as April 1981, the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, at its seventh meeting, held at Freetown, when considering a paper entitled "Africa's rapidly escalating crisis—proposals for a short-term immediate programme for survival", emphasized the linkage between emergency programmes and short-, medium- and long-term structural adjustment programmes. What was stated then remains as valid today as it was in 1981. Emergency programmes of action in the critical areas of food, drought, energy and balance-of-payments difficulties are not in any way meant to replace development strategies and plans of action adopted by the various United Nations agencies. These emergency programmes should be envisaged to clear the ground and lay the necessary foundations for the successful implementation of the long-term strategies and programmes of action.

41. Underlying the current crisis is Africa's underdevelopment and economic backwardness, its failure to achieve a clear break from its colonial, dependent economic inheritance, with a production structure heavily dominated by export-oriented agriculture, a small industrial base, fractured and only minimally linked with its natural resources base, with mining output being predominantly for export and with the most open and exposed economy in the world. As is well known, external trade normally constitutes a major stimulus to spur internal socio-economic progress even where this is affected by the narrowness of export commodities and dramatic price shifts over which Africa has no control.

42. The economic and social transformation of Africa, which started in the 1960s after the attainment of political independence by most African countries, is not only coming to a halt but also gradually reversing. Throughout the 1970s, Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, experienced a deterioration in all major economic and social indicators. While the gross domestic product grew at an average annual rate of 3 per cent between 1970 and 1980, this rate has persistently fallen and is at present negative. On the other hand, population has been rising consistently at an annual rate of 3 per cent. Consequently, per capita income has been declining. Today, 26 of Africa's 50 independent countries are classified by the United Nations as least developed among developing countries. Because of the severe drought which has negatively affected agricultural production in a large number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa since 1982, food is the most critical aspect of the crisis.

43. The Special FAO/WFP Task Force, established in 1983, estimated food deficit for 1983/84 for the 24 food-aid dependent African countries at about 5.4 million tons. Despite reports of good rains in West Africa, the projections remain valid for the 1984/85 period. I wish at this juncture to thank the international community, especially the donor countries, for responding very generously and expeditiously to our appeals. Without their assistance whole populations would have perished. However, there remains a lot to be done, and I hope we can continue to count on the generous support demonstrated so far. Because of the continued drought, poor harvests are expected for the 1984/85 period in eastern and southern Africa, resulting in a food deficit of about 2.6 million tons,

of which 1.35 million tons are required as food aid. My country, Botswana, is among the most affected.

44. In most of the 24 food-aid dependent countries, deteriorating health conditions and severe malnutrition are reported. UNICEF and WHO, with the financial support of the donor community, especially the non-governmental organizations, have been very active in providing relief. We are most grateful to them.

45. The rehabilitation, reconstruction and revitalization measures for the African economies will have to focus on three major sectors: food and agriculture, industry, and the provision of essential infrastructure. Such measures must tackle not just the symptoms of the crisis but also its root causes if they are to be consistent with long-term policy objectives. In this connection, one cannot over-emphasize the crucial role of domestic policy reforms for accelerating the process of rehabilitating, reconstructing and revitalizing the African economies.

46. A consensus has long emerged among African countries as to what these measures should be. The Lagos Plan of Action⁴ and the Final Act of Lagos⁵ are clear testimony to the resolve by Africa to tackle its problems squarely. It is heartening to note that a similar consensus has emerged among major donor agencies such as the World Bank, the European Economic Community, the Asian Development Bank and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa on what needs to be done to pull the African continent out of the economic pit in which it finds itself.

47. In order to restore growth and to enable African countries to rely mainly on their own resources, it is essential to devise special short-term measures which will ensure that their export earnings are stabilized at remunerative levels. Export earnings of most African commodities have dropped by as much as 20 to 47 per cent since 1980.

48. In this connection, the implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, especially the entry into operation of the Common Fund for Commodities, as well as the early conclusion of new commodity agreements, are an important element in the realization of this objective. Also important is the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers against African agricultural and mineral products.

49. To enable African countries to face the Herculean tasks of rehabilitating, reconstructing and revitalizing their disintegrated economies, massive external resources will be needed. The Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa in May of this year,⁶ proposes some concrete measures, which include: first, an increased flow of concessionary resources to the African least developed countries, especially those most seriously affected by natural calamities; secondly, the increase of resources by the World Bank to Africa to enable it to cope with the current external debt crisis; to that end, we urge that structural-adjustment lending should be expanded to constitute a major lending programme and that it should be spread over a longer period; thirdly, the substantial increase in IDA resource flows to Africa for the implementation of the World Bank Special Programme for Sub-Saharan Africa; fourthly, the expeditious completion of negotiations for supplementary funding of at least \$3 billion for the seventh IDA

replenishment and the taking into account of the current crisis in Africa in allocating the existing and the new IDA resources; fifthly, the increase in Africa's share of special drawing rights to meet its current economic crises; sixthly, the full implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,⁷ especially the transfer by 1985 of 0.15 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries as official development assistance to least developed countries; seventhly, the early replenishment of IFAD and a substantial allocation therefrom to Africa; and eighthly, liberation of IMF conditionalities, including facilitation of access to other IMF windows, such as the cereal window; and the restructuring of lending programmes and policies as well as aid-disbursement procedures by the World Bank, regional development banks and other multilateral financial institutions with a view to a speedier and more flexible flow of resources to Africa.

50. It is essential that the international community accept the fact that the economic crisis facing the African continent is a challenge not only to African Governments but to humanity as a whole. The international community must respond positively, magnanimously and speedily to the various proposals put forward by the various United Nations agencies in order to resolve the present economic and social crisis that is crippling the African continent. It is also important, and even more important, that the African Governments themselves should continue with their efforts to institute fundamental domestic policy reforms which enable them to accelerate the process of structural change for achieving the objectives set forth in the Lagos Plan of Action. In this vein, at Lusaka on 1 April 1980, the Heads of State and Government of the nine independent countries of southern Africa adopted the Lusaka Declaration, entitled "Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation",⁸ which established the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference [*SADCC*] and set in motion a historic process of growth and change and a strategy for integrated regional development. The objectives enunciated in the Declaration include: the reduction of economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on South Africa; the forging of links to create genuine and equitable regional integration; the mobilization of resources to promote the attainment or implementation of national, inter-State and regional policies; and concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework of a strategy for economic liberation.

51. The southern African leaders knew their strengths and weaknesses. They knew the power of collective self-reliance as well as the value of extra-regional co-operation. They were aware that their nine countries constituted a population approaching 60 million people, inhabiting a geographical area replete with rich natural resources—agricultural and mineral—which could be harnessed efficiently and equitably for the benefit of the masses of the local populations and, indeed, for mankind as a whole.

52. The member States of *SADCC* realized that pragmatic, realistic and attainable objectives were essential for the attainment of their noble goals. They picked on selected and specific tasks and functions to be undertaken by chosen members among themselves. *SADCC* recognized, to begin with, that one of the first economic objectives to be pursued by member States was the provision of basic infrastruc-

ture without which their economies could not function.

53. Transport and communication was selected as a priority among priorities. Anybody who has travelled in our part of the world will easily understand why. Energy and food security are among the top priorities. This, however, does not diminish the importance of other sectors.

54. For the African countries to be able to achieve their noble objective of collective self-reliance they will, more than ever before, need the full support of the member States of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the other developing countries in a position to do so, as well as that of bilateral and multilateral institutions.

55. I am convinced that, given the necessary support, Africa is capable, in the not-too-distant future, of moving from its current position of an economically crisis-ridden continent to that of an economically dynamic one. It is within the means of the international community to help African Governments to turn the current despair into hope and I have no doubt they will do so.

56. Let me conclude my statement by reaffirming my country's undiminished fidelity to the principles and purposes of this, our United Nations. A great deal has been achieved by the Organization in the past 39 years of its existence in its search for solutions to the many problems that face our troubled world. But that is obviously not enough. A great deal more remains to be done to bring into reality the kind of world envisaged almost 40 years ago by the founding fathers of the United Nations—a world without colonialism and imperialism, without racism and intolerance, without hunger, disease and ignorance, a free, peaceful and safe world.

57. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Daniel Francis Annan, Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

58. Mr. ANNAN (Ghana): Mr. President, on behalf of the Provisional National Defence Council and the people of Ghana, I bring you warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is indeed a tribute to your personal qualities and your outstanding contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa. It is also an honour for your country and for Africa as a whole.

59. I should like to take this opportunity also to express the gratitude and appreciation of my delegation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, for the skill, fair-mindedness and wisdom with which he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly.

60. Ghana is particularly proud and happy to welcome Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations. This addition to our number not only enhances the universal character of the Organization but also reinforces the principles of self-determination and independence, which are basic to the Charter of the United Nations.

61. It is indeed because of our unflinching commitment to those principles that we cannot countenance the continued denial to the people of South Africa and Namibia of their inalienable rights to the

enjoyment of political freedom and human dignity. The racist régime's undisguised ambition to play the totally unacceptable role of a regional super-Power in southern Africa should be recognized as the driving force behind its brutal terrorism against its neighbours. We would be untrue to ourselves if we failed to observe this fact. The destabilization of the front-line States through terror and oppression and the indiscriminate killing of defenceless women and children in villages across southern Africa is the direct result of South Africa's determination to maintain its policy of racism and its system of *apartheid*.

62. Those who had given *apartheid* South Africa the benefit of the doubt must have realized in recent months that, even after the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [A/39/159, annex I], the people of Mozambique continue to suffer from acts of terrorism perpetrated by the so-called National Resistance Movement, a movement financed and equipped entirely by South Africa. Now an even more dangerous situation has been created for the liberation struggle in southern Africa by the reported cease-fire arranged by racist South Africa between Mozambique and the dissident National Resistance Movement.

63. We therefore now expect that the international community, particularly those States which claim to have influence with Pretoria, will recognize this fact and adopt such policies in support of the United Nations as would bring a speedy and meaningful change in South Africa.

64. We salute the valiant Asian and Coloured communities in South Africa for their massive boycott of the recent elections to the so-called three-chamber, but radically segregated, Parliament. It is a show of solidarity and unity with their black compatriots which must be applauded by all those who seek to uphold the principle of racial equality. It should be obvious that the purported separate Asian and Coloured representation in Parliament is nothing more than a device to entrench *apartheid* more firmly in South Africa.

65. The Government of Ghana remains ever committed to the total eradication of *apartheid* and to the establishment of a democratic society under majority rule in South Africa. We believe that this is the only way in which all of its peoples, irrespective of their race, colour, sex or creed, can enjoy equally and fully all the fundamental human rights and freedoms provided under the Charter and other covenants of the United Nations.

66. With regard to Namibia, South Africa continues to raise uncertain hopes and expectations, but the reality is that there has been no practical change in the situation in spite of recent talks between SWAPO and representatives of the *apartheid* South African régime. The Territory regrettably remains in bondage and its people still under racist oppression and far from freedom and independence.

67. As we understand from the reports of the Secretary-General, all outstanding issues over Namibia have been cleared to the satisfaction of even racist South Africa. Why, then, does the *apartheid* régime of South Africa continue to use the extraneous and irrelevant presence of Cuban troops in Angola as an excuse for delaying freedom, justice and

sovereign independence to the people of Namibia? Ghana cannot accept that there should be any trade-off between the inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to independence and the unfettered exercise of Angola's sovereign right to enter into genuine security arrangements for the preservation of its independence and territorial integrity. We again recommend strongly that steps be taken without further delay by the Security Council to implement its resolution 435 (1978) in order to bring Namibia rapidly to independence.

68. With regard to the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, the Government of Ghana remains equally committed to respect for their inalienable rights to self-determination and sovereign independence. We therefore once again call on the two parties to the dispute to enter into direct negotiations in accordance with the resolution of the Organization of African Unity on the matter.⁹

69. With regard to Chad, we remain convinced that a lasting and peaceful settlement of the conflict can only be found on the basis of national reconciliation and territorial integrity. We welcome the reported agreement between France and Libya to withdraw their respective forces from Chad as a positive step in easing tension in that country and creating the necessary conditions for a negotiated settlement. We urge all the internal parties to the conflict and the people of Chad as a whole to seize this opportunity to work together to find a fraternal and peaceful solution to their differences.

70. It is distressing to see that, in the Middle East, Israel continues to practise a reign of terror and intimidation against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people of the area. Its illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories continues to undermine stability and to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. There can be no basis for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws from all the Arab territories it has illegally occupied and annexed by acts of war. Israel must comply with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other relevant United Nations resolutions. It must also now resolve the core of the Middle East problem, which is the denial to the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to their homeland, self-determination and national independence.

71. Developments in Cyprus in recent months have also given the Government of Ghana cause for grave concern. As we have stated before, the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish minority in Cyprus is clearly the unfortunate and regrettable culmination of efforts on the part of Turkey to maintain a permanent division of the island and to achieve a complete separation of its Greek and Turkish communities. The decision of the Turkish-Cypriot minority puts in permanent jeopardy the peaceful coexistence of Turks and Greeks on the island. It undercuts all decisions and efforts of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Ghana, for its part, will continue to support a unified and independent Cyprus, free of external interference, and the resolution of communal differences by peaceful dialogue. It is our sincere hope that the Turkish-Cypriot leadership will reconsider its decision and work for the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

72. The relentless fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq continues to cause the Government and people of Ghana great anguish. It is a war that is as unnecessary as it is wasteful of some of the human and material resources that the third world so vitally needs for urgent productive and developmental purposes. Faced with this unending carnage, we appeal once again to all our brothers and sisters in Iran and Iraq to end the war and resolve their differences by peaceful means.

73. Central America continues to be an area of turmoil and conflict that poses a serious threat to international peace and security. The search for a peaceful solution to the conflicts in the region through the Contadora process must be supported and not undermined by acts of sabotage and destruction of infrastructure, calculated to do the greatest economic damage to the real interests of Nicaragua. The efforts of the people of Nicaragua to establish a truly democratic society which correctly reflects the realities of the historical experiences of Nicaragua must be supported and properly assessed and the reactionary forces of oppression and destruction must be condemned. We endorse the process of democratization of Central America and repeat the call for foreign military interference in that process to cease in favour of a negotiated settlement of the conflicts in the region by the people of that region.

74. Ghana cannot condemn foreign intervention in Central America, be it covert or overt, and condone the foreign occupation of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, in persistent defiance of United Nations resolutions. We are particularly disappointed that, in spite of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, a dialogue on the future of Afghanistan has still proved elusive. The people of both Afghanistan and Kampuchea deserve to live under conditions which will permit them to determine freely their own system of government.

75. Overshadowing all these troubling but none the less local conflicts in various regions of the world is the threat of nuclear war. Unlike the threat posed by all the conflicts I have already mentioned and many others which are no less serious, the threat of nuclear war does not endanger international peace and security alone; it menaces humanity with total annihilation. In addition, it consumes such vast sums of money as to constitute an obstacle to the global developmental process.

76. It is for these reasons that we appeal to the international community as a whole, and the super-Powers and other nuclear States in particular, to make a supreme effort to save mankind from nuclear extinction.

77. We are encouraged by the recent resumption of high-level contact between the United States and the Soviet Union, and we hope that it will soon lead to a return to the bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations of Geneva, as well as to a meaningful thaw in the relations between the two super-Powers.

78. While we recognize the value of the bilateral approach within the context of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks at Geneva, it is our firm conviction that other disarmament issues should be discussed within the multilateral framework of the United Nations. Only when the United Nations is involved will the voice of the non-nuclear-weapon States be heard and their interests and concerns taken into account in the search for those agreements that will,

it is to be hoped, bring an end to the arms race in all its forms, as well as save the world from nuclear war.

79. Turning to the global economic situation, we cannot but bemoan the fact that over the past year most developing countries have remained in the throes of severe economic crisis. The majority of them continue to be caught in a vicious spiral of declining production, employment and trade. As a result, most have had to undertake further contractional adjustments, at a heavy cost to their economies and with adverse social and political consequences. Their import capacity has been further impaired. They have had sharply to curtail investments in agriculture, industry and basic services, which are at the heart of the development process. And many of them have had to seek a rescheduling of debt-service payments. Nowhere has the crisis been more devastating than in the low-income countries, particularly those in Africa.

80. To be sure, there has been improvement in the economic performance of a few developed market-economy countries, but this recovery has not spread convincingly to other countries in that category. It has not pulled up commodity prices appreciably, nor has it been accompanied by a meaningful decline in interest rates. International mechanisms for the transmission of growth have in any case been weakened by recent developments. The recovery has therefore barely touched the developing world, and the prospects of most of these countries remain dim. In many African countries, these set-backs have been aggravated by prolonged drought and desertification, by the widening gap between food production and population growth, by acute dependence on food imports and by the consequent threat to their social and economic systems.

81. Immediate steps are accordingly required on a number of fronts. The stance of macro-economic policies in the developed market-economy countries needs to be shifted so as to broaden and deepen the incipient upturn in economic activity. More than that, action must be taken to relieve the strains on the external financial positions of developing countries. Deliberate and vigorous measures must be pursued to revitalize the development process in the third world. In particular, there is need to augment the financial resources of the multilateral lending institutions and to improve access to them by developing countries; there is need for a fresh and substantial allocation of special drawing rights; there is need for systematic debt relief for low-income countries; and there is need to replace the present *ad hoc* treatment of commercial bank debt with longer-term approaches. Moreover, recent developments show that the present trade and payments system is serving increasingly to destabilize the developing countries rather than protect them, as it should. It is important, therefore, that the necessary processes of reform in the international economic system be set in motion with urgency. All these measures require intensified international co-operation; yet, paradoxically, multilateralism has been weakening.

82. In these circumstances, the critical economic situation in Africa cannot but arouse grave concern. Living standards in sub-Saharan Africa have shown a sharp decline. Net capital flows to the region are still substantially below the volume required to have an impact on the developmental process. The Secretary-General and the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations are

to be warmly commended for the role they have played in drawing international attention to the human tragedy unfolding in that part of the world. But it is no less important that an agreed framework for purposeful international action, taking into account the recent initiative by the World Bank, be developed urgently to support the efforts of the African countries in dealing with the situation.

83. We in Africa are fully conscious that it is our primary responsibility to tackle our economic problems ourselves. In the Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis, adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa in May 1984,⁶ and in the Lagos Plan of Action⁴ this fact has been given full recognition.

84. Even more important, African countries, Ghana included, are making strenuous efforts to meet the exigencies of their current plight. In Ghana, the Provisional National Defence Council initiated two years ago a series of comprehensive and far-reaching economic reforms which included decisive measures to rehabilitate the productive sectors of the economy by giving remunerative prices to producers for their efforts, improving their access to essential inputs, realigning the currency to restore incentives to export and improving revenue collection, and revamping the administration and management of the economy. The broad aim of these reforms is to create the material conditions for implementing the national objectives of social and political transformation, including the restructuring of the basic institutions of the economy. We have made considerable progress towards this objective, but, as in other African countries in a similar position, the full success of our efforts depends on whole-hearted international support. Unless such support is forthcoming, the credibility of those who urge policy reform and adjustment on African countries will be sharply compromised.

85. In this regard, we are encouraged that, after a period of scepticism, our efforts in Ghana have now won the respect and support of the financial community. We hope that support will be even more forthcoming in the critical months and years ahead.

86. The last 12 months or so have been especially traumatic for Africa, and we must together seek solutions to its critical problems. The Secretary-General has stressed this international responsibility several times, and we must help to save millions from starvation and misery. I hope that Africa can count on the General Assembly to lead the way.

87. Turning now to the domestic political scene in Ghana, our revolution is a process initiated by citizens of Ghana, some in uniform and others not in uniform, who courageously took up the challenge, one no longer to be denied or devalued, posed by the continued inability of successive Governments and the political organizations that sponsored them to resolve the economic, social and cultural issues which have for some time now obstructed the development of our nation in the true interests of our people.

88. I wish to reiterate that the ultimate and irrevocable objective of the Ghanaian revolution is the development of a viable democratic system which genuinely reflects the political will and creative power of all our people, a system that derives its strength from their active and dedicated participation in a Government which is fully committed to the cause of our people and which therefore makes

democracy a living reality in the day-to-day lives of the ordinary citizen.

89. It is no longer open to us to continue to legitimize social and economic injustices and acquired cultural attitudes and irrelevancies by uncritical adherence to constitutional transfers which nominally guarantee norms and institutions but which have completely failed to institutionalize true democratic values of social justice, accountability and responsibility as an objective reality in the formulation and implementation of national policies by the elected representatives of the people. It is the ardent desire of the Provisional National Defence Council to work ceaselessly against the re-emergence on our national scene of those situations and conditions which have resulted in the past in recourse to the military as an instrument of change and so to preempt the very real danger of institutionalizing military rule as a political fact of life in our society.

90. In conclusion, I wish to assure the General Assembly of my Government's commitment to the United Nations and to multilateralism generally. The United Nations may have failed to find solutions to all the problems of mankind, but it has thereby merely reflected the reality of international relations. On balance, it has achieved more for the international community than any other international organization of its kind. It should be clear to the critics, therefore, that the United Nations can only be as effective as its Members allow it to be. We thus have a common duty to ensure that this priceless instrument for international peace and advancement should be reinforced and made more effective if we are indeed to save succeeding generations from conflict and perdition.

91. As we prepare to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations next year, it is necessary for all States to rededicate themselves to the ideals of peace enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

92. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Vice-Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana for the important statement he has just made.

93. Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): On behalf of the Nigerian delegation, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My delegation fully shares in the accolades and warm sentiments expressed by preceding speakers on your personal ability, competence and well-known achievements as an outstanding diplomat and untiring fighter for peace and freedom. I pay tribute to your dedicated service in the cause of the United Nations as the indefatigable President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and also to the consistent voice and role of your country in the common search for regional and global peace, justice and understanding. I feel confident that under your wise and able guidance this session will witness movement in most of the issues before the Assembly. It is therefore with great pleasure that I pledge to you the full support and co-operation of the delegation of Nigeria in the discharge of your difficult task.

94. Permit me also to pay tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, President of Panama, for the skilful manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly.

95. My gratitude also goes to our distinguished Secretary-General for his work on behalf of the Organization in the cause of world peace and for persistently drawing attention to the economic problems confronting the world, and particularly the economic problems of Africa.

96. We welcome Brunei Darussalam to the comity of nations. Its admission as the 159th Member of the United Nations stands out as a reaffirmation of the principles of universality and self-determination, which constitute the corner-stones of the Organization. Nigeria extends its hand of goodwill to the new Member of this body and looks forward to working closely with Brunei Darussalam in the promotion of peace, progress, and economic and social justice in the world.

97. The world is today gripped by fear and uncertainties arising from an unprecedented degree of tension in relations between the super-Powers and their allies. In particular, the unending cycle of the growing military competition between the super-Powers has led to a new round of deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, feverish work on new systems of strategic nuclear weapons and intensified research into anti-satellite weapons. Ominous calls for the fresh accumulation of chemical weapons are being made by the leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in a manner that is certain further to hinder the negotiations on a convention on chemical weapons. The result of this intensified competition is reflected in the enormous sum of almost \$700 billion, which represents world military expenditure for 1983. All this race to destruction is proceeding notwithstanding the existing arsenals of the two super-Powers, which are enough to create a nuclear winter that will engulf both the northern and southern hemispheres and perhaps end all civilization. It is no longer only the imagination of those whom some may call alarmists but also the well-documented research of eminent scientists that have shown the possibility that up to half of humanity may be the immediate victim of a major nuclear war. The other half will, to a lesser or greater extent, become secondary victims sooner or later. What is sure is that there will be no hiding place for any of us even though we have no part in, and indeed have continued to warn against, this irrational diversion of human and material resources for the accumulation of these terrible weapons of destruction.

98. For us in Africa it is particularly painful that this unprecedented threat to the existence of humanity coupled with greater diversion of resources should coincide with Africa's acute economic crisis. Natural calamities such as the widespread and persistent drought, the destabilizing policies of the *apartheid* régime of South Africa in relation to its neighbours, and the world economic recession, with the attendant selfish policies of the industrialized countries, have combined to produce a desperate economic condition, which alarmed the Secretary-General when he visited some African countries at the beginning of the year. True to his vocation, he immediately called the attention of the international community to the explosive situation and set up a high-powered group to make specific recommendations.

99. The current economic crisis in Africa has its immediate as well as its medium- and long-term dimensions. The emergency aspect emanates mainly from the devastating impact of the drought, which

within the last decade has progressively spread to areas hitherto not affected by it. The prolonged drought has exacerbated the already inadequate food situation in the region. Over the years, food production has lagged behind the increase in population, and by 1983 the drought-stricken countries were importing over 28.7 million tons of cereals, as against only 4 million tons in 1970.

100. In addition to the climatic disaster suffered by African countries, there has been the profound impact of the adverse economic recession on the region. As the most exposed in the world, because of its unusually high degree of dependence on external sources for almost all critical and essential input for development activities, the African economy has been the principal victim of the global recession. The export earnings of African countries have tumbled with the collapse of commodity prices. The stagnation and decline in official development assistance in real terms and the increasing privatization of capital flows have hit Africa hardest, while escalating debt and debt-servicing and unprecedentedly high interest rates have spelt financial disaster for most of the countries of the continent.

101. Recognizing that the primary responsibility for the development of their economies rests on themselves, African countries have looked inwards and, at the tenth meeting of the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, held in May 1984, their Ministers of economic development and planning formulated and adopted a Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,⁶ which is a framework for action for dealing with the crisis in its emergency, short-, medium- and long-term dimensions. This was closely followed by the Conference of African Ministers of Finance, held at Addis Ababa from 18 to 20 June 1984, during which the Addis Ababa Declaration on Africa's External Indebtedness was adopted¹⁰ to focus special attention on the region's growing external debt of over \$150 billion and to suggest ways to address the problem concretely.

102. Africa is not alone in feeling the crushing impact of the severe debt crisis. Most developing countries have had to bear the same burden. The huge size of the debt of the developing countries and its impact on their economies make it imperative for the international community, as well as the international financial institutions, to address the subject with urgency and great imagination. In this connection, we recognize the important role of the IMF in helping members cope with their balance-of-payments problems. However, in so doing, the IMF should endeavour to show greater flexibility in its approach when prescribing adjustment programmes for each country.

103. Unfortunately, the experiences of several developing countries, including my own, that have had to resort to the IMF have shown a certain deliberate insensitivity on its part to the possible consequences of its prescribed package as the price for its loan. Let me hasten to say that the present military régime in Nigeria accepts, and has indeed taken the initiative in instituting, realistic sacrifices to turn back the slide in the economy. However, such sacrifices must be within tolerable economic and social limits. The application of the IMF's conditions is unfortunately rather stereotyped and should be reviewed with the objective of paying more attention than ever before to the underlying circumstances of each State, in

order to prevent severe and avoidable unrest stemming from the corrective measures and to provide the stability necessary for the achievement of the State's domestic economic, social and political goals. It is a bad doctor indeed who prescribes the same medicine for all his patients, irrespective of their ailments. This is what the IMF has been doing.

104. As we observe the world economic situation unfold, what emerges for most developing countries, particularly African countries, is that prospects of significant progress are extremely bleak. Even though it is being said that recovery by most industrialized countries from the recent global economic recession has manifested itself and taken hold, we must continue to ask when the light at the end of the dark economic tunnel will appear for developing countries. It is now clear that recovery in other regions does not necessarily produce a positive impetus or act as a catalyst, even in tentative forms, for economic development in developing countries, because of the fundamental barriers to their participation in international economic activities.

105. We cannot run away from the truth that for genuine economic recovery to take place in the world there must be willingness on the part of all members of the international community to redress those structural imbalances that contribute and condemn African and other developing countries to a life of poverty and economic underdevelopment.

106. The only way that vigorous global economic growth can be achieved and sustained over time is by the active participation of all countries, developed and developing, in mutually beneficial and equal partnership in global economic processes and activities. This calls for the adoption and the faithful implementation of a package of measures, both short- and long-term, which truly respond to the needs of all countries and regions, and of developing countries in particular. There must be a deliberate attempt and effort to resist the growing tendency to resort to protectionism, in the interests of a truly free world trade. The drift from the multilateral spirit must be arrested. We cannot reduce international relations increasingly to the bilateral level in a tumultuous world such as this one. Let us bear in mind that universal understanding and willingness to co-operate have been—and still can be—an engine for so much change and so much good. We must not, therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, turn our backs on this rich heritage and reservoir of multilateral partnership which holds so much hope for our universe. We must return to the spirit of co-operation which is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

107. It is for this reason that Nigeria, along with other members of the Group of 77, has consistently underscored the necessity for a global dialogue that will lead to reform of the structural imbalance which lies at the heart of the global economic malaise. My Government strongly believes that, until the structural imbalance in the economic relations between countries is redressed, friction and ill-will will remain to trouble and undermine the real and steady growth of the world economy. It is, therefore, unfortunate that, in spite of almost five years of strenuous efforts, nothing positive has taken place to permit the launching of the global negotiations. My delegation appeals to the Assembly to live up to the spirit of the Charter and embark on a course that will permit the early launching of genuine negotiations, so as to

accelerate the attainment of the new international economic order.

108. The situation in southern Africa, particularly the question of *apartheid* and the issue of the independence of Namibia, is as explosive as ever. The inhuman system of *apartheid*, which is at the heart of the southern African problem, continues to thrive and to develop deep roots, partly through the manoeuvres of the *apartheid* régime, but also thanks to the support of certain Members of the United Nations. Those Member States, which profess a commitment to freedom and human rights and which therefore should be in the vanguard of the struggle to eliminate *apartheid*, have unfortunately chosen to appease and reinforce that inhuman system through their open collaboration with it. How else are we to interpret the visit by the leader of the *apartheid* régime to Portugal, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom and the warm reception accorded to him? By their action, these countries have helped Botha to break out of the isolation to which the international community had condemned him and his inhuman régime.

109. There seems to be a well-orchestrated attempt to hoodwink the world about a non-existent process of democratization in South Africa. It is a strange democracy which enshrines in its constitution the exclusion from the electoral process of 23 million blacks, who constitute over 73 per cent of the population. We are therefore not surprised that the Coloureds and the Asians, whom the apostles of *apartheid* tried to delude, saw through the mask and massively boycotted the elections in their separate assemblies. That was an eloquent verdict on the so-called constitutional reform. The non-white people of South Africa have refused to be fooled. The international community has endorsed their judgement and unreservedly condemned this chicanery. However, the international community should go further and totally reject the deceptive image of peace-maker in southern Africa which South Africa tries so hard to project. By a sheer war of attrition, by aggression, by sabotage and by every conceivable means of destabilization, South Africa has succeeded in forcing unequal agreements on some of its neighbours. Even as the General Assembly is in session, the *apartheid* régime is continuing to exert pressure on Lesotho to enter into a defence pact with it.

110. South Africa is unrelenting in its bellicose posture, its subversion and its expansionist policies. Its post-Nkomati tactic has been to deceive the other party to the so-called non-aggression pact. In spite of that pact, South Africa has surreptitiously strengthened the Mozambique National Resistance Movement. The consequence of this has been an increase of pressure on the Government of Mozambique and the stage-managing of another sham truce. Last week's scenario, which was intended to create a cease-fire, was hypocritical and clearly promoted South Africa's ultimate objective of destabilization of the entire region. The world community must not allow an illegitimate régime, which tortures, dehumanizes, denationalizes and engages in numerous other atrocities against humanity, to assume for itself the mantle of a regional peace-maker and peace-broker.

111. The Government of Nigeria calls upon the international community to play a decisive role in the liquidation of *apartheid*. This is an inescapable obligation to Africa and to the world as a whole.

Nigeria wants to make it abundantly clear that appeasement, concession and accommodation will only set back the clock of progress towards the final liquidation of *apartheid*.

112. Let South Africa be warned that, notwithstanding the millions of dollars spent on subverting and misleading world public opinion and the world's conscience, one thing is certain: it will not get away with its heinous crimes against humanity.

113. Let the international community bear in mind that in this age of global interdependence no one will be spared the consequences of a racial war in southern Africa. Let the world know that history will not fail to record the Western world's unpardonable neglect of its responsibility to Africa, to the international community and to the United Nations over this issue of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa.

114. Nigeria has always been in the forefront of the struggle to wipe out *apartheid*. The present federal Government, in its determination to explore new ways to combat *apartheid*, sponsored, together with the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, a Seminar on the Legal Status of the *Apartheid* Régime and Other Legal Aspects of the Struggle against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos from 13 to 16 August 1984. The seminar brought together jurists and social scientists representing the main legal systems all over the world.

115. In its Declaration [see A/39/423 and Corr. 1], the seminar concluded that the institution and operation of *apartheid* made the South African Government a colonial régime; that its constitution, unique in the world, excluded the overwhelming majority from the exercise of sovereignty, specifically because they were of indigenous origin. Thus, the 23 million Africans in South Africa, representing 73 per cent of the population, have been treated as a colonized people since the Union of South Africa was created in 1910. The seminar accepted that *apartheid*, the most monstrous form of racial discrimination, which also contains elements of genocide, constituted a special case of the violation of *jus cogens*. Moreover, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, adopted in 1973 [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex], linked that crime to a serious threat to international peace and security and imposed international criminal responsibility on all who committed the crime of *apartheid* and their accomplices. The seminar agreed that the General Assembly, speaking for the international community, was entitled to proclaim the South African régime as having placed itself in a situation of illegality. By its persistent violation of *jus cogens*, the South African régime has therefore isolated itself from the system of fundamental values which constitute the very essence of the international community. A State Member of the United Nations which has placed itself in a situation of illegality could be and should be expelled from the Organization.

116. Those are the conclusions of eminent jurists from all over the world. The General Assembly must take appropriate action.

117. Fourteen years ago, the Assembly rejected the credentials of South Africa because those who purported to represent that country were in fact unrepresentative. Ten years ago, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3207 (XXIX), in which it called

upon the Security Council “to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”

118. The Security Council considered in depth the request of the General Assembly, and it was clear that the overwhelming majority of members concluded that the application of Article 6 of the Charter of the United Nations was the answer. A draft resolution to that effect was, most unfortunately, vetoed by three permanent members of the Council—France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Thus, the *apartheid* régime continues to enjoy the honour of membership of an organization whose basic norms it violates. With a solid legal opinion to proceed upon, the United Nations should now be in a position to rid itself, once and for all, of this canker. The time for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations is overdue.

119. Another component of the problem of southern Africa is the issue of the independence of Namibia. The efforts of the international community to achieve independence for Namibia have been consistently frustrated by the intransigence of South Africa, through the introduction of extraneous considerations. Recently we have witnessed nefarious attempts by the South African régime to settle the Namibian question outside the framework of the United Nations. The question of Namibia is a classic case of decolonization, falling squarely within the purview of the United Nations; therefore, any attempt to bring about the independence of Namibia outside the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) constitutes a serious challenge to the international community and must not be allowed to succeed; otherwise, we shall be abdicating our responsibility towards the oppressed people of Namibia.

120. My Government totally rejects the pernicious attempts to establish a link between the withdrawal of Cuban defensive forces in Angola and the independence of Namibia. The United Nations must take positive action to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and bring about the immediate and unconditional implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

121. Turning to the Middle East, we note with regret that the situation today remains as volatile as it has been in previous years. The question of Palestine, which is the core of the problem, has so far defied a just, equitable and comprehensive solution, owing largely to the continued intransigence of Israel and the total support which it receives from the United States.

122. The international community has in the recent past witnessed the futility of attempting to find a military solution or of imposing a lopsided super-Power solution to the Middle East problem. The invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 1982 and the tragic failure of the ill-advised mission of the so-called multinational force in Lebanon are both classic examples of the limits to the use of military power.

123. The solution lies in a negotiated peace, a peace that is just, equitable and fair, a peace that recognizes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to establish their own independent State in Palestine. The United Nations has already called for such a

negotiated peace. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, called among other things for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. Such a conference should include the Palestinians themselves, the other interested parties in the region, the Soviet Union and the United States. We strongly support that proposal and call upon the United Nations to convene such a conference without further delay. We also call upon the international community and upon all concerned, particularly Israel and its supporters, to respond positively to this challenge of peace, under the auspices of the United Nations. To conclude in advance that such a conference will be unfair to any of the parties is to underrate the determination of the United Nations to find a permanent solution to this problem.

124. The situation in Kampuchea also remains troubling. We urge the Secretary-General and the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea to redouble their efforts to find a comprehensive political solution to the problem. Such a solution should be based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations which call for respect for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for all States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force in international relations, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. On this basis, my delegation supports the relevant General Assembly resolution on Kampuchea [*resolution 35/6*], which called, among other things, for the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea, with the participation of all the conflicting parties and other interested parties, with the aim of finding a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem. We also strongly support the call for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and for the strict observance of fundamental human rights, which should lead to the holding of United Nations supervised free elections that will enable the people of Kampuchea to exercise their right of self-determination and restore peace and stability to the region.

125. The unsettled political situation in almost every part of the world is unfortunate evidence of the persistent violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, whose fortieth anniversary we plan to commemorate next year. Whether in southern Africa or the Middle East, whether in South-East Asia or Central America, whether in Korea or Cyprus, the resort to force or the threat of the use of force, the violation of the right of self-determination and the violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States continue to pose a severe threat to international peace and security. But much more alarming is the escalation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

126. The world, which is our common heritage, is being ominously imperilled by the nuclear-arms race, which has become the pastime of a few countries. There is great apprehension, which is fast becoming panic, that the world is on the brink of a catastrophe of immense and universal proportions arising from the unprecedented nuclear rivalry of the two super-Powers. No country can afford to be unconcerned about the present precarious situation, which may give the super-Powers and their allies cause for doctrinal or strategic satisfaction but which for the rest of the world evokes a constant nightmare. The

concept of security, in the eyes of the super-Powers, is unfortunately related to the narrow interests of their alliances. The rest of the world is expected to feel secure as long as the two super-Powers continue their nuclear balancing act in the name of the doctrine of deterrence.

127. The fact that the need to ensure peace and security globally may be unrelated to the level of nuclear armament is totally ignored by the super-Powers in their pursuit of the ever-elusive parity in nuclear-weapons deployment. Yet, as the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries stated during their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, it is unacceptable that the security of all States and the very survival of mankind should be held hostage to the security interests of a handful of nuclear-weapon States. Nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war must therefore remain a priority task for the international community, particularly at this time when détente has collapsed and confrontation has become the watchword of the super-Powers. The General Assembly must insist that active negotiations on nuclear disarmament be resumed at the bilateral level between the super-Powers. The Assembly should also deplore the hindrances being placed in the way of meaningful negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament.

128. In this connection, Nigeria believes that the super-Powers must show determination to undertake the most basic step towards the non-proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, of nuclear weapons. Over the years, such a basic step has been identified as the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. It is already 21 years since the conclusion of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,¹¹ in which the parties expressed the objective of "Seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time". The General Assembly has since made the achievement of the test-ban treaty the topmost priority. All the technical studies that can facilitate the conclusion of such an agreement have been undertaken. Yet no progress has been made. The vital missing element is the political will on the part of some nuclear-weapon States to reach an agreement. Yet it must be made clear that those who obstruct the conclusion of a nuclear-test-ban treaty cannot at the same time claim to be the champions of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. For so long as they show unwillingness to honour their commitment under article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] whereby they undertook "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament . . ." for so long will they constitute impediments to an effective non-proliferation régime. If the viability of the Non-Proliferation Treaty is to be maintained, the nuclear-weapon States must, in the course of this session of the General Assembly, commit themselves firmly to negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

129. It is clear from all available evidence that the only effective defence against nuclear weapons is never to use them; any use would constitute the greatest crime against humanity. To that end, the decision of the General Assembly with regard to negotiations on a convention on the prohibition of

the use of nuclear weapons should be pursued with the utmost vigour. Any obstacle placed in the way of the work of the Conference on Disarmament in this respect should be seen as a great disservice to the maintenance of international peace and security. Similarly, negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space and on a convention on chemical weapons should be an urgent concern of the international community. Progress in these areas is of the utmost importance for global security.

130. I have highlighted some of the major problems facing the international community today in the belief that we can honestly work together to solve them. The United Nations serves as a unique forum for the promotion of understanding and peace among all nations. It also provides a unique opportunity for Member States to engage in constructive dialogue and co-operation in our common quest for a better world. We must, therefore, strive to work together to uphold the principles of the Charter in the interest of mankind. I am confident that, with determination and given the necessary political will, we can overcome all obstacles in the way of lasting international peace and security and the achievement of an equitable international economic order.

131. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): It is indeed a great honour for me and my delegation to felicitate you, Sir, on your election to the esteemed office of President of the General Assembly. We endorse the confidence placed in you by this body. Your election represents a well-deserved tribute not only to your reputation as a distinguished diplomat with a long association with the United Nations but also to your country, Zambia, which contributes through its vital role in the promotion of the true aspirations of Africa in particular and the third world in general. We are confident that your formidable knowledge and diplomatic skills will enable you to steer the work of the current session to a fruitful conclusion.

132. My delegation associates itself with previous speakers who have more eloquently expressed their sincere appreciation for the excellent manner in which your predecessor carried out his enormous task, despite his new responsibilities as Head of his Government. We salute Mr. Illueca, the President of Panama, on the wise and able manner in which he conducted the work of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session.

133. Maldives is proud and happy to welcome the newest Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, which has many things in common with us in history and culture. Its admission is a strengthening link in the chain of universality of nations, furthering the noble objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

134. We are meeting at a time when the Organization is reaching the mature age of 40 years. My country is fortunate to have shared with it the last 20 years of its varied but rewarding experience. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/39/1*], has most aptly and wisely cautioned us about the enormous importance of the continued existence of the Organization. We are of the opinion that the United Nations cannot and must not be replaced, in view of the important institutional responsibilities that it was founded to fulfil. We believe that the great problems that we confront as a world community, such as those of the obstacles to economic development and the nuclear-arms race

and the need for disarmament, cannot be solved through bilateral or regional efforts alone. My country is happy to record its appreciation of and admiration for the clear and thorough manner in which the Secretary-General has informed us through his report on the work of the Organization. He has spared no effort in carrying out his diverse and complex responsibilities as the executive head of the United Nations.

135. We endorse his submission that our prime objective at this crucial moment should be to reconstruct the concept of collective action for peace and security to make the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary mission of maintaining international peace and security.

136. We are gathered here at a time of increasing tension and anxiety. The problems and challenges which face us today are so pressing that we need more than ever before a sharing of responsibility and a high level of political will. All available means must be utilized to stem the growth of forces which undermine the United Nations and peaceful international relations. The imbalances in the state of affairs we are currently experiencing are leading the world to an intolerable situation, and, unless we all sincerely join together to eliminate its causes, the future generations of mankind will have no choice but to suffer the consequences of our failure, for which they will rightly condemn us.

137. We should assert the principles of peace, justice and equality. These and other noble principles which humanity has evolved from its sufferings and experiences are clearly inscribed in the Charter of this great Organization. It is our solemn duty to uphold these principles and to fulfil our commitments to our peoples.

138. As a true non-aligned developing country, Maldives believes that amongst the major issues confronting our universal body special emphasis should be given to the problem of disarmament and the escalating nuclear-arms race. We cannot help expressing our anxiety over the lack of a viable solution to that problem, for countries such as my own must admit that the contribution they can make to bringing the situation closer to solution is rather limited. However, we humbly share our concern and pledge our support to any endeavour to eliminate the shadow of the threat and the perils of a nuclear confrontation.

139. We urge all States Members of the United Nations, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to co-operate and enter into relevant international agreements and arrangements that will be instrumental in limiting the production and stockpiling of nuclear and other destructive weapons in order to insure the world against global suicide.

140. We live today in the presence of a chilling and unprecedented phenomenon. It is very unfortunate that, at the pinnacle of world power, there exist enough nuclear weapons to destroy all life on our planet. At the intermediate level of world power, there exist vast quantities of sophisticated, so-called conventional weapons. These weapons are, by comparison with those of former times, immensely destructive, as their use has so horrifically demonstrated. They are also the object of a highly profitable international trade.

141. Yet, at another level, we have the poverty of the vast proportion of the world's population. We

must not be deterred from continuing to emphasize the immorality of mankind's precious resources being used in the production of weapons of destruction at a time when so much of humanity has a dire need for those same resources to be used in the war against poverty and disease. It is not only a political but also a moral objective, which we must never relinquish.

142. We strongly support nuclear-weapon-free zones in Asia, in the Pacific and in other regions. Our support of the resolutions calling for the establishment of such zones, and of all actions at fulfilling that objective, is based on a strong conviction that they will contribute towards the reduction of arms and armed conflicts. We strongly oppose the continued testing of nuclear weapons, not only because of the direct dangers they pose but also because of the destruction such testing could finally cause to man and his environment.

143. Maldives firmly supports the initiatives and efforts of the United Nations in the search for general and complete disarmament, including the banning of nuclear testing and the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

144. The question of Palestine continues to remain one of the outstanding major international concerns. The situation in the Middle East in all its aspects, including the tragedy of Lebanon, continues to give rise to frustration. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the continued Israeli presence in Lebanese territory have aggravated further the already explosive situation created by Israel's refusal to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

145. The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and freedom remain at the heart of the issue. The key to any lasting solution and for peace in that crucial area is, as evidently seen through the sequence of events, the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to have their own independent homeland.

146. The world witnessed with anger and dismay the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, while it continued its illegal occupation of Palestine, including the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, the city of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. Israel continues to perpetuate its policies of expansionism through the establishment of illegal settlements, ignoring and rejecting numerous United Nations resolutions and violating all norms of international behaviour. Maldives joins the international community in its repeated condemnation of the Israeli aggression against Arab territories and Israeli atrocities in the occupied land.

147. The invasion of Lebanon under the cruel pretext of liquidating the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which symbolizes the legitimate will of the Palestinians, has clearly revealed the true nature of Israeli policies in that area.

Mr. Sallam (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

148. Every State Member of the United Nations has pledged its commitment to the provisions of the Charter. Therefore, action should not be delayed any further regarding the delicate situation in the Middle East. The Security Council should invoke the relevant provisions of the Charter with regard to the arrogance and defiance with which Israel is trampling underfoot the inalienable rights of the Palestinians.

149. The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has the full right to participate in any step that may be taken to achieve a lasting solution. In the opinion of my delegation, the Geneva Declaration on Palestine, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983,¹² represents a sound framework for the international community and the parties concerned to work for a durable solution.

150. My country associates itself with other nations in expressing its deep regret at the continued bitter armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. We urge the parties concerned to bring about a cease-fire and to find a solution to their dispute by peaceful means. Maldives pledges its support to the United Nations mediation efforts and to the Secretary-General's recent personal appeals to spare civilians. Both Iran and Iraq must heed the appeals of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and halt this seemingly purposeless conflict. These bodies are trying to bring about an honourable settlement of the dispute, and we wish them every success.

151. The question of Namibia and the tragic plight of the people of South Africa have remained a matter of grave concern to the world community. The task of the United Nations to seek a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia remains a special responsibility. The continuation by the racist régime of South Africa of its illegal occupation of Namibia, despite the vigorous efforts to grant independence to the deprived people of that Territory, constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and endangers the security of the southern African region. Here again, like Israel, the racist minority régime in Pretoria has scorned the numerous resolutions adopted by this august body in full accord with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

152. It is our bounden duty to maintain and enforce political and economic pressure on South Africa, with a view to forcing it to concede to the logic of humane behaviour. We must continue our support for the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO.

153. The hope for a peaceful future in southern Africa lies in political change and the creation of greater trust through regional co-operation and international support. We believe that it can be achieved peacefully. My delegation joins in the unanimous insistence on an early implementation of the plan endorsed by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This would enable the people of Namibia to decide their destiny in a free, fair and democratic manner. The delay in the realization of the plan is greatly disappointing. It would be most unfortunate if at this late stage the process leading to the independence of Namibia were to be impeded by issues extraneous to the question itself. My delegation fully recognizes the continued efforts of the Secretary-General for an early solution to this vital issue.

154. *Apartheid* is a crime against humanity itself. Maldives is firmly convinced that peace and stability in southern Africa require the total eradication of *apartheid* and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of South Africa, irrespective of their race, colour or creed.

155. My delegation wishes to express its concern over the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea,

two countries which, in the view of my Government, have been victims of foreign military intervention and invasion. We express our deepest concern and fully endorse the United Nations resolutions which condemn foreign intervention and call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from those countries. That will enable the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea freely to decide their own destiny. The peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea must be given the opportunity to exercise their rights without outside interference, including the right of the refugees to return to their homes with security and honour. My delegation notes with deep appreciation and commendation the unceasing efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representatives to find political solutions to those two major issues.

156. It is with alarm, dismay and frustration that we witness the increasing instances of foreign intervention in Africa and Latin America. We recall here the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States [resolution 36/103, annex]. There is no difference, in my opinion, between intervention and interference. The final result in either case is tragically the same: tension, unrest, internal strife, conflict and even bloodshed.

157. We view such developments with the utmost concern because they destroy the very fabric not only of international peace and security but also of the concept of peaceful coexistence. Never for a moment should we forget that we are a family of interrelated and interdependent nations, with diverse political ideologies, economies and social systems, which must live together in an atmosphere devoid of suspicion, envy and animosity.

158. In Cyprus, the United Nations has been tirelessly trying to promote a settlement and the Secretary-General continues to maintain his personal involvement. My Government welcomes those unceasing efforts. Despite some limited progress in intercommunal talks held under United Nations auspices, a peaceful and lasting settlement regrettably still appears to be distant. My delegation would like to reiterate its support for the people of Cyprus in their efforts to consolidate their independence within the framework of national unity and equal rights for all Cypriots.

159. While making reference to the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, may I mention also the yet unsolved question of Korea. Peaceful reunification has been, and continues to be, a matter of great concern to us. My Government feels that all efforts must be made, collectively and individually, to facilitate a dialogue between the divided North and South. The international community should extend every possible support, opportunity and encouragement to the people of Korea to achieve their objective of peaceful reunification.

160. With regard to our part of the world—the Indian Ocean—Maldives is committed to the policy of non-alignment and is determined to keep its territory free from nuclear weapons or the establishment of any foreign military base on it. Furthermore, Maldives will continue to work with the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean towards making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We are concerned over the escalating tension created by the great-Power rivalry for military superiority in the Indian Ocean and the introduction of nuclear weap-

ons there. We reaffirm our full support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and support the efforts of the United Nations to implement that Declaration.

161. It is our earnest hope that, through co-operation among the countries of the Indian Ocean and other concerned parties, we will be able to find practical ways to fulfil the aspirations of the peoples of our region. The proposed Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held at Colombo in early 1985, will, we believe, form a corner-stone in the path to realizing our cherished objective. We appeal to the world community to support us in achieving that objective.

162. The world economy has experienced increasing difficulties during the last decade. The period has been characterized by a generally unsatisfactory and erratic growth of output and trade, high rates of inflation and fluctuating exchange rates. While the crisis has affected all countries, it has inevitably had the most serious impact on the developing countries, whose economies are particularly vulnerable. The developed countries have experienced unprecedented rates of unemployment and idle industrial capacity, accompanied by high interest rates. The developing countries have faced increasing balance-of-payments deficits, mounting debt burden and deteriorating terms of trade.

163. The economic gap between the developed and developing countries is widening and the latter are being denied effective and equitable participation in the benefits of international development.

164. At a recent meeting held at Malé, in my country, the Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Maldives, member countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, expressed their concern over the conditions in the developing countries. In the final communiqué, the Ministers reviewed the current world economic situation and expressed their concern over the deteriorating economic and social conditions in the developing countries. In the past three years, sharply falling commodity prices, deterioration in the terms of trade, intensification of protectionist measures, excessive debt burden and a decline in the flow of financial resources had caused unprecedented balance-of-payment problems and serious loss of development momentum in the developing countries. It was agreed that without redoubling of efforts by the international community, including immediate measures, the goals and targets of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] and the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries⁷ could not be attained. They expressed their deep disappointment at the lack of progress in putting international support measures into place and at the continued stalemate in the negotiations on international co-operation. In this connection, they noted with deep regret that no appreciable progress had been made in meeting the concerns of the developing countries at the London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries, held from 7 to 9 June 1984, despite urgent actions suggested by various leaders from the non-aligned and developing countries.

165. That important meeting at Malé endorsed the desire to communicate with leaders of industrialized

countries the immediate concern of the States of South Asia, namely, that the financing of the seventh replenishment of IDA had not been augmented to a degree whereby an increase in real terms was achieved over the level of the sixth replenishment of IDA. This timely request has already been conveyed by my Government as the Foreign Ministers desired.

166. That co-operative endeavour in our part of the region aims at harnessing support and co-operation in economic development, and cultural and social exchange. The Foreign Ministers at the Malé meeting recorded their satisfaction with the progress that had been made in a relatively short period of time in the areas of co-operation identified.

167. I am happy to inform the Assembly, on behalf of my country as the current Chairman, of the important leverage that the recent meeting provided to the eventual holding of a summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation countries by late 1985.

168. Mr. Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, President of Maldives, in his opening address at the ministerial meeting, said of the member countries: "Our societies are quite diverse but their hopes and expectations do not vary. Together our peoples are sure of themselves, confident of their identities and confident too of their ability to control their own destinies." He said, further, that the moving spirit and the objective of the very principles which gave birth to our association is one of working together, which has as its basic foundation the promotion of the interests of our region, an essential aspect of which is the maintenance and, indeed, the strengthening of our people's political, social and economic independence. These words of wisdom give us confidence that the outcome of the forthcoming summit will further strengthen the global aspirations and efforts made by the United Nations.

169. The Government of Maldives whole-heartedly supports the call of the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 for the removal of the structural imbalances and inequalities of the present pluralist economic system and the restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of a new international economic order. This should be done through North-South dialogue and global negotiations among developed and developing countries. Maldives also considers co-operation among developing countries themselves, both for economic and social development and to minimize their dependence on developed countries, to be vital. Maldives welcomes the establishment of the South Bank as a practical step in the right direction and hopes that it will prove very useful to developing countries.

170. The delegation of Maldives noted with satisfaction the adoption, in 1982, of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea¹³ as a historic achievement in the progressive development of the law of the sea. The Convention was adopted by an overwhelming majority of States and has already been signed by 136 States, including my own, and ratified by a number of them. My Government is now in the process of ratifying it. The Convention establishes a new legal order for the rational use of the seas as an instrument of justice, peace, development and international co-operation. It represents a rare example of global interests and ideologies striking innumerable practical bargains. It is a most comprehensive international Convention, consisting

of 320 articles and nine annexes, with four related resolutions.¹⁴

171. The delegation of Maldives appeals to all States which have signed the Convention to expedite the process of ratification so as to enable the Convention to become effective and operative.

172. The continent of Antarctica has considerable environmental, climatic, scientific and potential economic significance for the world. The delegation of Maldives firmly believes that, in the interest of all mankind, Antarctica should continue for ever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, should not become the scene or object of international disputes and should be accessible to all nations. The exploration of the area and the exploitation of its resources should be carried out for the benefit of all mankind and in a manner consistent with the protection of the environment of Antarctica.

173. Maldives supported the proposal for a comprehensive study on Antarctica by the United Nations, taking into account all relevant factors, with a view to widening international co-operation in the area.

174. Like Antarctica, outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only. Recent proposals for intensified militarization of outer space are a cause of grave concern, and measures should be undertaken with urgency for the rejection of such proposals.

175. My delegation also notes that the distribution of the benefits of outer space among the countries of the world has to date been uneven. To remove that imbalance, the principle of guaranteed and equitable access should be the essence of any new regulatory mechanism, which should take into account the particular needs of the developing countries, especially those of an equatorial nature. We firmly believe and sincerely hope that the benefits resulting from the peaceful use of outer space will be shared equitably for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

176. My delegation is fully convinced that the United Nations is indispensable in a world fraught with tensions and peril. Institutions such as this are not built in a day; they require constant constructive work and fidelity to the principles on which they are based. We must seriously consider the practical ways in which the Organization should develop its capacity and be used as an essential institution in a stormy and explosive world.

177. Primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security has been entrusted to the Security Council. We believe it is still the best device for defusing tensions, solving problems and maintaining peace and security. While it tends not to have much of a pre-emptive capacity, it is our duty as Members of the United Nations to strengthen its role by resisting the attempts of individual countries to assume the primary responsibility of the Security Council. If the Security Council fails to act or react in a given situation, it is not the institution that is at fault but the countries that constitute it. It is for us to convince ourselves and the generation we are responsible for that the world is interdependent, and to act accordingly and be guided by that reality.

178. The United Nations system should play the role of a catalyst in creating mutual understanding and co-operation. We should not allow it to become the arena in which to battle out our differences. Rather, it should and must be a place where hatred and animosity towards others are avoided. The agencies of the United Nations came into existence

not only because the prominent men who created them were wise but because those agencies are directly related to the aspirations of mankind, irrespective of race or region.

179. We are concerned by the trend that has emerged recently as a result of the fact that certain Member countries repeatedly express their pessimism about the viable functioning of important specialized bodies of the United Nations system. We hold the view that their development justifies the wisdom by which they were created and that they need to be strengthened now more than ever before. My Government does not believe in any endeavour to politicize specialized bodies whose executive functions are purely technical in nature. It is therefore essential to maintain a high degree of professionalism and to orient programmes carried out by those bodies towards the achievement of more tangible results.

180. We in Maldives are happy to be associated in the noble tasks prescribed under the WHO Global Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000, which should ensure humanity a better world in which to live. We are confident that the work of UNICEF, whose primary responsibility lies in the care and welfare of the children of the world, will strengthen the future of humanity through its dynamic programme launched in 1983 as the child survival revolution.

181. My delegation still believes that amid the various perils that now threaten the orderly progress of humanity, we can rally once again to the standards of the Charter of the United Nations, beginning with the peaceful settlement of disputes and steadily progressing towards the other objectives of that prophetic document.

182. In all sincerity, Maldives pledges its fullest co-operation and support to the United Nations system.

183. Mr. OULD MINNIH (Mauritania) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at the outset to congratulate Mr. Lusaka, on behalf of the Mauritanian delegation, on his election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. We are indeed proud that this lofty post is occupied by one of the sons of our struggling African continent. We are fully confident that, with his outstanding personal qualities, he will guide the work of the General Assembly with great experience and wisdom.

184. To his predecessor, Mr. Illueca, the President of Panama, we also extend our congratulations for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

185. We should like to thank the Secretary-General, who discharges his enormous responsibilities with complete devotion to the Organization. It gives me pleasure, on behalf of the Mauritanian delegation, again to assure him of our renewed support for the great efforts he is exerting in order to realize the goals of the Organization and to surmount the difficulties of the current international situation.

186. On behalf of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, I should like to congratulate the fraternal Muslim State of Brunei Darussalam on its admission to the United Nations. We are indeed confident that it will lend its support to the cause of right, justice and peace in the world.

187. A glance at the international scene gives little cause for optimism concerning the future of mankind. The continuing deterioration of the world economy, and especially the collapse of the econo-

mies of most of the developing countries, the escalating arms race and the continuing hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, all portend the perils that jeopardize mankind's future and threaten the destruction of the very bases of human civilization.

188. The international economic situation is deteriorating day by day, and therefore a true dialogue aimed at arriving at acceptable solutions is now more necessary than ever before. The economic recovery that has begun in some industrialized countries has not had a positive effect on the economies of the developing countries. With great regret, we note the absence of any constructive dialogue between the developed and the developing countries with a view to arriving at solutions to international economic problems. We had hoped that global negotiations would begin and that there would be a positive response from the industrialized countries to the desire for dialogue expressed by the Group of 77. Regardless of our dismay at the obstacles some have placed in the way of global negotiations and the injustice of present international economic relations, we are happy at the increase in voluntary contributions to UNDP. It is our hope that the improvement that has occurred in the situation of UNDP will constitute the beginning of a new era of international co-operation and an incentive that will encourage the rich countries to increase their contributions to UNDP with a view to consolidating its funding activities in the developing countries.

189. Mauritania believes that comprehensive and radical reform of the world economic system would lead to the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equality and that that is the only path that will lead to progress, stability and security for all.

190. The Sahelian countries, in addition to suffering from the international crisis and the continuing deterioration of international economic relations, are experiencing a relentless and unprecedented drought, which has destroyed all vegetation. The situation is aggravated by a continuing decline in the prices of raw materials, a reduction in international development aid and higher interest rates on foreign loans, all of which has imposed an enormous burden on the economies of those countries, placing them in an intolerable situation.

191. With regard to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the advancing deserts, the decline in groundwater levels and the sparse and irregular precipitation have to a great extent reduced arable lands and destroyed vast pastures, wiping out more than 70 per cent of the livestock. All of this has adversely affected conditions of life in a country that used to be essentially pastoral and agricultural.

192. We have mobilized all our limited resources to confront this natural disaster. The numerous appeals launched by the President of Mauritania, Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydalla, calling for self-reliance and support for the rural population have had a positive result in alleviating the sufferings of the victims of the devastating drought. All levels of our society, within the framework of mass guidance structures, have responded to these appeals, extending different forms of assistance and carrying out many social projects such as the drilling of wells and the building of earthen dams. Assistance in various forms from fraternal and friendly countries and international organizations, though still insufficient, has played an

important and positive role in supporting our efforts in the face of this problem.

193. Here I should like to thank all who have stood alongside us as we have confronted the lean years, years unprecedented in the history of our region. The past year has been no more fortunate than previous years. Rainfall was restricted to certain areas and came too late and was too scattered. The peasants have not been able to profit from the rainfall, and there have been serious human and material losses in the northern region of Adrar.

194. In addition to the efforts deployed at the national level, Mauritania has in recent years, in co-operation with fraternal Sahelian countries, consolidated and developed the efforts of regional organizations working for the development and implementation of a comprehensive plan aimed at reducing the impact of drought and desertification on the population of the region.

195. In this context, we have the activities of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, which is attempting to mobilize the financial resources needed to implement national and regional projects to combat drought in the region. I would like to pay a tribute to the important role played by the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office in support of such efforts.

196. We would also like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to commend the positive results achieved by the conference held recently at Dakar, organized by the fraternal Government of Senegal, which took the form of a comprehensive diagnosis of the phenomenon of desertification and the identification of ways and means of combating it in the short, medium and long term. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, which participated in that conference, expresses its satisfaction at the inclusion of this question on the agenda of the General Assembly. We hope that, in view of its importance, especially with regard to the future of the Sahelian region now afflicted by drought and desertification, the international community will make special efforts to implement the recommendations of that conference.

197. There can be no doubt that efforts to confront the economic crisis now facing the African continent, and especially the fight against drought and desertification, require enormous resources that far exceed the region's potential. We should therefore like to praise the role played by the Secretary-General in mobilizing world public opinion to cope with the tragic situation now confronting most of the countries of Africa. We support the efforts of the *ad hoc* consultative working group established to monitor the situation in the countries afflicted and the appointment of a personal representative of the Secretary-General to co-ordinate financial and technical assistance.

198. At a time when the world economic crisis is becoming ever more acute and hunger, disease and ignorance still prevail in most developing countries, vast sums are being squandered to develop and stockpile the means to destroy mankind. Is it not amazing that lethal weapons consume \$1 trillion a year—that is, more than \$2 billion a day? The arms race constitutes one of the major obstacles hindering the implementation of development programmes to serve human progress. That is why we call upon all countries, and especially the super-Powers, to enter into serious negotiations to reduce nuclear arma-

ments with a view to achieving genuine disarmament.

199. The international situation continues to be characterized by uncertainty and instability. Many countries and peoples continue to suffer from colonialism, expansionism and hegemony, while international peace and security continue to be hostage to super-Power rivalry and confrontation. In many parts of the world, countries and entities are engaging in aggressive activities against neighbouring States in violation of all international laws, rules and customs. Tension continues to mount and hotbeds of war continue to rage in more than one region, consuming enormous human and material resources in countries that are striving towards development and that see their efforts to build their countries hampered and thwarted.

200. In the Middle East, international peace and security are constantly being threatened because of the intransigence of Israel and its defiance of world public opinion and of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and its organs, including the Security Council. Everyone is aware that for the past 37 years Israel has persisted in its aggression and expansion, occupying ever more Palestinian and other Arab territories and attempting to distort their demographic and historic structures with a view to final annexation, to such an extent that even the sacred Muslim and Christian sites in Al-Quds al-Sharif have not escaped desecration and destruction.

201. The policy of intransigence and *fait accompli* jeopardizes respect for the United Nations and its credibility and thus represents a serious threat to international peace and stability. Any just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question and the problem of the Middle East must be based on recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, national sovereignty and the establishment of their independent State on their land under the leadership of the PLO, their sole, legitimate representative, as well as the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Al-Quds al-Sharif.

202. In Lebanon, we are pleased at the efforts being made by the fraternal Lebanese people and its Government to achieve reconciliation and to preserve the country's territorial integrity despite the yoke of the Israeli occupation, which affects not only Lebanese territory but extends to the repression of Lebanese national resistance. Israel has this year intentionally carried out a scheme to take possession of the waters of southern Lebanon by diverting the courses of certain rivers in the area under Israeli control to serve that country's aggressive designs in occupied Palestine. The international community must resist such pressure and remain faithful to its noble position in the face of Israeli practices in southern Lebanon.

203. In southern Africa, the racist Pretoria régime is continuing its odious policy and intransigence with a view to consolidating racial discrimination, on the one hand, and hindering Namibia's movement towards independence, on the other. The farce of the so-called constitutional reforms does not delude the people in southern Africa, who have heroically resisted them despite campaigns of intimidation and massacres in various parts of their homeland. The malevolent intent behind such manoeuvres has been

clear to the international community, which has condemned them from the very beginning. We are convinced that the policy of racial discrimination, as an unjust philosophy of Government, is not capable of partial amelioration. Any measure purporting to achieve that will represent a new challenge to the dignity of man and the freedom of peoples. Mauritania is convinced that any just and lasting solution to the South African problem will depend on the complete elimination of the policy of racial discrimination and the establishment of a democratic system based on justice and equality.

204. With regard to the question of Namibia, the international community and, first, the countries that bear special responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, should seriously strive to implement the resolutions of the international organizations and put an end to the violation of international law and legitimacy.

205. We reaffirm our full support for the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, for independence, freedom and territorial integrity, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

206. With regard to Chad, my country continues to make earnest efforts in the interest of the restoration of peace in that brother country. We hope that the withdrawal of foreign forces will mark the dawning of a new era of national harmony, stability and security in all parts of that African land.

207. As for the conflict in the Gulf, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, while deploring the continuing bloodshed and wastage of the human and material resources of the two brother peoples of Iraq and Iran, wishes to record its satisfaction at the agreement by one of the parties to the conflict to enter into peaceful negotiations. We repeat our appeal to our brothers to put an end to that destructive war, which only serves the interests of the enemies of our Islamic nation. We stress the need to prevent the conflict from spreading throughout the region and to respect the sovereignty and independence of neighbouring States.

208. On the Afghanistan question, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania continues to urge respect for the sovereignty of that brother Islamic country and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghan territory.

209. With regard to Kampuchea, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania reiterates its support for the relevant General Assembly resolutions and for the Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in 1981.¹⁵ We reaffirm the need for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Democratic Kampuchea, respect for its territorial integrity and the cessation of foreign intervention in its internal affairs.

210. My country is concerned about the situation in Central America and hopes that the efforts being made there will lead to peace and security in that region.

211. Directly across our borders, the Saharan war continues between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. That fratricidal war drains enormous human resources, overburdens the Moroccan and Saharan peoples and jeopardizes security in the whole region. This year in particular has seen an alarming rise in tension, thus dampening

the hopes that we all shared after the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983. The historic resolution of that session⁹ not only determined the two parties to the conflict but also clearly defined the framework and measures for a just settlement of that dispute by peaceful means. As is well known, that resolution was endorsed by the Assembly at its last session.

212. It is indeed regrettable that the efforts to give effect to that resolution have not yet borne fruit because they have come up against the refusal of one side to implement it. Those who put obstacles in the way of implementation of that resolution must bear the consequences historically of such acts, which harm the interests of the people of the region and the future peace and security of the African continent.

213. Having contributed to the adoption of the Addis Ababa resolution, Mauritania remains convinced that direct, frank and constructive negotiations between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic are the only way to bring about a cease-fire and practical arrangements for a comprehensive referendum to enable the people to exercise the right of self-determination free from any administrative or military pressure.

214. Our country, which pursues a policy of open co-operation, good-neighbourliness and understanding with all the countries of the region, is determined to continue its efforts to bring about the lasting, peaceful solution of this painful conflict, thus allowing our peoples to devote their efforts to building the great Arab Maghreb. Mauritania works for such a Maghreb by participating in the laying of sound, strong foundations, for which purpose we have joined our brothers in Algeria and Tunisia in a treaty of brotherhood and understanding. The conclusion of that treaty was not dictated by transient interests at the expense of the independence of peoples and the stability of States, as is the case with certain agreements in the region. On the contrary, it fully recognizes the objective facts and truly fulfils the hopes and aspirations of the peoples.

215. The clouds that loom large over international economic and political horizons make it essential for us to fulfil our responsibilities so as to enhance the

authority of the Organization and ensure compliance with all with its decisions.

216. Salvation lies in establishing a system of economic relations that is more just, replacing selfishness with fruitful co-operation, sterile differences with constructive dialogue, hatred and fanaticism with concord and brotherhood, in accordance with the principles on which the United Nations is based and with its high ideals and human values, so that the human community may enjoy peace, security and justice.

217. In our view, this is the only way to fulfil our duty to future generations. Let us never forget that the annals of history will record our acts and that sooner or later history will pronounce its verdict.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

²A/AC.115/L.611.

³See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 8.

⁴Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in April 1980. For the text, see A/S-11/14, annex I).

⁵A/S-11/14, annex II.

⁶E/1984/110, annex.

⁷See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁸A/38/493, annex I.

⁹For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

¹⁰E/1984/110/Add. 1.

¹¹United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964.

¹²See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A.

¹³*Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, document A/CONF.62/121, annex I.

¹⁵*Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.