

STATEMENT BY
HIS EXCELLENCY SALIM AHMED SALIM
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF
THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
TO
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TUESDAY, 12 OCTOBER 1982

Mr. President,

May I begin by extending to you our sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of this Session. This is a fitting tribute to your country and to you personally. We are gratified to note that at this crucial time, when the United Nations is being put to severe tests by the ever-escalating tensions and conflicts, as well as the increasing economic problems, the membership of this Organization has entrusted a conscientious and able statesman with the task of steering us through this difficult course.

Allow me also to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Ismat Kittani, who presided over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly with efficiency, dignity and wisdom.

We have noted with appreciation the commendable efforts continually expended by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in reasserting the authority of this Organization and putting it to the service of nations in time of conflict. In extending a formal welcome and hearty congratulations to the Secretary-General on his election to the post, allow me to pledge my country's fullest co-operation with him in the years to come.

Since the last session, the international community, particularly this Organization, has been confronted with

trying times and challenging issues. The world watched in horror at the carnage in Lebanon. We stood helpless as the conflict in the Falkland/Malvinas degenerated into armed confrontation and took its toll. There is an almost subtle sense of resignation as apartheid continues to devise the most brutal means of subjugating the people in South Africa. The Namibian people continue to be condemned to racist South Africa's illegal occupation and colonialism. And an end to the sad Iran/Iraq war continues to elude us.

We are presently witnessing one of the most disturbing periods in the post war era. The delicate balance so painstakingly fashioned out over the many years through the process of international dialogue and detente is giving way to tension and confrontation. The mechanisms for settlement of disputes which were so laboriously created have almost lost grip over the trend of international relations. Today, tensions prevail in all areas of the world. Confrontation and outright resort to force have become common means of settling disputes. The fundamental question is whether peace and security can be maintained in an environment where there is a genuine concern that recourse to lawlessness will go unpunished by the international community or, at the worst, be received with acquiescence by members of this Organization.

The politics of force so reminiscent of the Cold War

era seem to be creeping back, thus poisoning the international political atmosphere. As a consequence, the global consensus that had evolved regarding various problems in the world, stands to be brushed aside by this resurgence of Cold War politics. In various parts of the world, perennial problems have continued to be resistant to solutions and new crisis situations have emerged.

Peace is a deliberate process. To achieve peace we must embark on a clear, deliberate and determined road in the search for solutions to the existing conflicts and look into viable means of averting the simmering ones. But we cannot do so unless our resolve is definite and our determination unflinching. We cannot do so unless we remain faithful to the ideals of the Charter of this Organization and be willing to give it a chance to work. For Member States will be defeating the very purpose of their signatures to the Charter if, on the one hand, they extol its ideals and, on the other, pursue policies aimed at undermining them.

Apartheid constitutes a constant aggression against the people of South Africa and a serious threat to international peace and security. It is a fact that apartheid is not invincible. But the struggle towards its elimination is frustrated by the direct or indirect support that the apartheid regime receives from some members of this Organization. These members, nonetheless, increase their co-operation with, and

support to, that regime. We need not recount the number of times when the international community was prevented from taking action by the use of veto. We need not remind the Assembly that the issue of comprehensive sanctions against that regime remains frozen solely due to the unwillingness of some permanent members of the Council to seriously consider it. We need not spell out all the areas of economic, political, as well as military co-operation.

Regrettably, these obstacles, placed on the path of the freedom struggle in South Africa, have the effect of reinforcing the apartheid regime and making it even more insensitive to reason and more defiant of world opinion. The overall effect is to block the peaceful means towards the elimination of the scourge of apartheid. When peaceful avenues are thus blocked, the freedom fighters are left with no other option but to resort to armed resistance. The message which comes out loud and clear from the land of apartheid is that the people of that unhappy land are prepared to make supreme sacrifices for their freedom and for their dignity. In concert with the rest of free Africa, we reaffirm our support for and solidarity with the South African people. And we reiterate our conviction that the international community can make an important contribution to that struggle if it assumes its proper responsibility and institute appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Today, almost two decades since this body terminated the mandate of South Africa and assumed direct responsibility for the territory, the Namibian people continue to be deprived of their most basic human rights. It is indeed a sad commentary on the efficacy of the United Nations that Namibia should continue to be subjected to racism, colonialism and human suffering. The continued illegal occupation of that international territory by South Africa is a flagrant violation of international law and constitutes an affront to world conscience and to the fundamental dignity of mankind.

The apartheid regime has a unique record of flouting international opinion. Inside Namibia, it has unleashed a reign of terror against the people of international territory, and particularly the leadership and the heroic combatants of SWAPO. The regime has also been busy propping up internal surrogates in an attempt to facilitate the imposition of a neo-colonial solution to the problem.

On the other hand, South Africa has been engaged in a systematic campaign of destabilization of the neighbouring African States. Using the international territory of Namibia as a launching pad, it has repeatedly committed blatant acts of aggression against the Peoples Republic of Angola and, in the process, inflicted damage and destruction to life and property. Women and children and other innocent civilians

have been its constant victims. And for more than one year now, it has occupied parts of Southern Angola, notwithstanding international outcry and condemnation. Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe have also been aggressed while the apartheid regime has continued its pressures on Botswana and subversion against the Kingdom of Lesotho. As part of its conspiracy against these African States, South Africa has been training, financing and equipping mercenaries to cause instability in some of these States. All these acts constitute a clear threat to the security and stability of the region with dangerous implications for international peace and security. They can be ignored only at our collective peril.

Mr. President,

Negotiations on the question of Namibia have become a saga of disappointment and frustration. Whenever there were prospects for a light at the end of the tunnel, those prospects were shattered by introduction of new and unreasonable demands in the negotiating process. While we have been engaged in negotiations aimed at securing a peaceful settlement to the Namibian question, we have maintained that: Firstly, Resolution 435 (1978) remains the basis for achieving independence for Namibia and thus the need to have it implemented without delay. Secondly, that the Western Contact Group, at whose diplomatic initiative the Plan for

the independence of Namibia was originally conceived and who possess considerable leverage over South Africa, have a duty to see to it that it is implemented. And thirdly, that the central role of this Organization in working for the independence of the territory must be underlined.

Over the last few months, the Frontline States, SWAPO and Nigeria, have been engaged in constructive consultations with the Western Contact Group regarding the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). While some progress has been made, we regret that some issues remain outstanding. But the main obstacle remains the intransigence of the South African regime. And this defiance of the South African authorities is regrettably assisted by the introduction in the negotiating process of an extraneous issue.

It is thus a matter of deep regret that a non-issue is made to pose as a difficulty. The attempt to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola poses a serious danger of derailing the entire exercise. The fact that this concept of linkage is now euphemistically called parallelism, does not in any way change the substance of that policy. We have made it clear that this issue is against the letter and spirit of Resolution 435 (1978) and constitutes an interference in the internal matters of a sovereign state. This position was reiterated by the Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States and the President

of SWAPO in their Communique issued at their Summit in Lusaka on 4 September 1982. Considering the painstaking efforts that have been made by all concerned with a view to achieving a negotiated solution to this seemingly intractable problem, it would be very sad indeed if these efforts were eventually to crumble because of an insistence to inject into the negotiations an issue which is totally alien to Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).

Mr. President,

Freedom and independence to peoples and countries are principles we hold sacrosanct. It is consonant with this policy that we have, and shall continue to support the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. It is a right which is ingrained in the Charter of this Organization and that of the Organization of African Unity. Thus, while we search for a solution to the problem of Western Sahara, my country will continue to be guided by its commitment to these principles.

Mr. President,

Another tragic example of the powerlessness of the international community is the situation in Lebanon. The ongoing tragedy, with its implications for the sovereignty and integrity of a nation and the elementary human rights of

the Lebanese and Palestinian people, is threatening to lead the entire region down the path of total conflagration. The Israeli occupation of Lebanon, the brutal war it has perpetrated against the Palestinians, the seige of Beirut, the dreadful massacres at Sabra and Shatila, are a clear demonstration of the dangerously deteriorating situation in the area. Israel has invaded and continues to occupy the territory of a sovereign member of this Organization. It bears responsibility for the murder of innocent Palestinian women and children. Perhaps one cannot express in adequate words the suffering, the torment and the humiliation which those surviving people are being subjected to under Israeli occupation.

We pay homage to the Lebanese and the Palestinian people for their heroism and steadfastness. We honour their monumental sacrifices made in the cause of preserving their dignity and fighting for what is right and just. We also pay tribute to the Palestine Liberation Organization, which in time of such a profound crisis has demonstrated outstanding courage and statesmanship.

Mr. President,

Tanzania reiterates its firm belief that the restoration of peace and security lies not in the politics of military adventurism on the part of Israel, but in the promotion of the fundamental attributes of peace. A genuine and lasting

peace hinges upon the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state of their own. The acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and hence Israel must withdraw from all the occupied territories. Consistent with this principle, it must equally be underlined that the respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in the area is a necessary condition for the attainment of ^a genuine, viable and lasting solution to the problem.

The war between Iraq and Iran continues to be a matter of great concern to my country. We regret the fact that the two non-aligned neighbours are still engulfed in a seemingly unending war which has already claimed heavy casualties and led to appalling devastation of property. My country has actively supported and will continue to support the mediation efforts of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic Conference, as well as of those individual countries which have sought to find a speedy, peaceful and lasting resolution to the conflict. In this connection, we note with appreciation the considerable efforts expended by the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. We therefore once more renew our appeal to the parties to the conflict to bring, through negotiations, an end to the current conflict.

Last year we expressed optimism over the situation in Cyprus. The momentum that had been injected into the inter-communal talks with the submission of comprehensive proposals encompassing both the territorial and constitutional aspects of the problem seems, unfortunately, to have lapsed. The persistence of this problem continues to plunge that tormented country into deeper division. My delegation will continue to support the efforts to promote dialogue and search for a political framework within which the problem can be settled. We remain hopeful that the parties to the conflict will demonstrate genuine willingness to co-operate fully with the representatives of the Secretary-General in evolving a mutually acceptable framework of bringing an end to the tragedy through the restoration of the unity and territorial integrity, as well as the preservation of the sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of that country.

Tanzania supports the noble efforts of the Korean people towards the peaceful reunification of their country. We, at the same time, firmly believe that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area would be a significant step towards the ushering in of dialogue between the two parts of Korea aimed at eventually bringing about peaceful reunification.

Whether in Afghanistan or Kampuchea, there must be concerted efforts on our part to settle the outstanding problems on the basis of the respect for the principles of

sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-intervention in the internal affairs of these states. To do so however, there must be a willingness on the part of everyone to evolve a political framework within which these problems can be solved. On our part, we shall continue to support initiatives which are aimed at finding a political path to their final settlement.

Mr. President,

We look with deep disappointment at the sterility of the many disarmament negotiations which have so far taken place. The last Special Session on Disarmament was particularly disappointing. It reflected the trend away from a serious pursuit of disarmament. The arms race, far from being curbed, has been given a new and powerful impetus. The politics of force are threatening to destroy the fragile fabric of detente as preparations for war continue without let. Weapons are being perfected, new and more sophisticated ones roll from the assembly lines. Military budgets are at a record high. Notions of a limited nuclear war and the so-called enhanced security through nuclear superiority seem to be working to undermine the basic climate of searching for peace through disarmament which have all this time been the cornerstone of all the negotiations. In sum, the spectre of a holocaust haunts the world as the international situation unfolds the possibility of an international conflagration.

The politics of power have dangerously made countries prisoners of their own perceived sense of insecurity which has, in turn, fueled the race for more armaments. A new and courageous approach is needed to get out of this vicious circle. In this exercise priority should be put on nuclear disarmament for nuclear weapons pose the most immediate threat to the very survival of mankind.

Close to our continent, Africa, the Indian Ocean, over which this Assembly, more than ten years ago, adopted a declaration to rid the area of military rivalry, events are in the exact opposite direction. The Indian Ocean is becoming more militarized by rivalling powers.

Contrary to the desire of the littoral and hinterland states for peace and security in the area, new foreign military bases are established and nuclear warships and other weaponry are introduced in the area. Ever-increasing foreign military presence and rivalry of the great powers puts the peace of the countries in the Indian Ocean region further into jeopardy. We have also witnessed the regrettable obstruction by certain major powers to the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean. This situation calls for action. We believe therefore now, more than ever, the Conference on the Indian Ocean is necessary.

Mr. President,

Peace and security to an impoverished people means

more food, shelter and security from the scourge of economic under-development. To the extent that the arms race fritters so much scarce resources and manpower while the majority of the people of the world live in abject poverty and misery, my delegation sees them as inextricably linked. Linked, on the one hand, by the co-existence between lavish expenditure on armament and the need for economic development; and, on the other hand, by the insecurity posed by these armaments and that which is caused by the economic hopelessness.

In considering this close inter-relationship between disarmament and development therefore, the need to ensure that disarmament makes viable contributions to the social and economic development of the developing countries and particularly the establishment of the New International Economic Order, is imperative.

All Member States of this Organization do recognize the gravity of the deepening world economic crisis. Short-term measures adopted by certain developed countries in attempts to stimulate global economic recovery have failed to bring about the desired results. The crucial need to adopt a more realistic approach in order to eliminate the structural disequilibrium which characterizes the existing inequitable international economic system is becoming self evident.

Although the impact of the deteriorating world economic situation is increasingly being felt by the developed countries,

it is the developing countries which continue to bear the brunt of this crisis because of the vulnerability of their poor economies to the unfavourable external conditions. These conditions which are themselves structural in character, are made even worse by the unilateral adjustment measures adopted by some developed countries without due regard to their negative impact on the economies of the developing countries. Thus, for example, the protectionist measures against the raw materials and manufactured goods exported by the developing countries have led to a continued deterioration in terms of trade of the developing countries. Many developing countries are having severe balance of payments problems. Yet the international monetary and financial institutions created to deal with such problems have proven insensitive to the development needs of the third world.

Interdependence among nations can only be of mutual benefit to all countries if we also recognize the imperative need to act collectively in our search for appropriate solutions to the global economic problems. But the international community is not lacking in its recognition of the need for collective action on these global economic problems. Through its numerous resolutions and declarations, this Assembly has repeatedly appealed to all members of this Organization to engage in meaningful negotiations with a

view to implementing the goals and objectives of the New International Economic Order. Resolution 34/138 on the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development still offers the best framework for the comprehensive, coherent and integrated treatment of the inter-related issues in the field of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance.

Even at the risk of appearing repetitive, it should be stressed that what has been lacking is the necessary political will, particularly on the part of certain developed countries to translate the desires of the international community into concrete action. And it is disappointing to note that some developed countries still insist on certain conditions which continue to delay the launching of these much desired global negotiations. We wish, therefore, to express our sincere hope that all Member States represented here will rededicate their efforts at this current session to facilitate the launching of the global negotiations without further delay. Towards this objective, my delegation pledges its full co-operation. We firmly believe that it is only through dialogue and negotiation that nations can find commonly acceptable solutions to their common problems and for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

Mr. President,

There has been hardly any field in recent history

where so many interests have been involved, where such interests have been so much at variance with one another and where reconciliation has been such a complex pursuit as the law to govern the oceans and seas of the world. If therefore there has been one contemporary example of what the world community of nations can achieve through collective endeavours when such efforts are coupled with political will and determination to succeed, it is the just-concluded Convention on the Law of the Sea.

Nobody has been, and could be fully satisfied with it. It is after all the product of give and take. Indeed, many of us believe more justice could have been done. That notwithstanding, we are confident that the Convention constitutes an adequate basis for the promotion of justice over the uses of the oceans and a commendable step in the establishment of the New International Economic Order. We join those who have called for its signature and ratification and therefore entry into force as soon as possible. Such a historic achievement is too momentous to waste and the consequences of such a default are inevitably too grave for all of us.

Mr. President,

It is evident that none of the problems facing humanity are completely beyond solution. The issue is not whether a solution is possible ^{or} not. Rather it is how much longer these

problems can wait to be resolved, whether time is still on our side. Some problems merely constitute a threat to the well-being of man. Some prolong suffering and others are leading us to self-destruction.

Mr. President,

Our choices are not very many. But the decisions are ours and the power to exercise our will is also ours. But time is not indefinitely on our side.

Thank you.