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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHÁVEZ-MENA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the cordial relations which exist between El Salvador and the Federal Republic of Germany make your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly an opportunity for us to reaffirm the links of co-operation between our peoples and our Governments. I am certain that your skill and experience will ensure that the work of the Assembly reaches a successful conclusion. I congratulate you and your Government on your election, which carries with it such honour.

2. This is also an excellent opportunity for me to express to the outgoing President, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, our appreciation of the brilliant way in which he fulfilled his mandate.

3. I am pleased to reiterate our welcome to the Republic of Zimbabwe, which, after a glorious struggle, achieved its independence. It is also a pleasure for me to welcome the State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, which has recently become a Member of the Organization. We are linked with that country because we are both Latin American countries.

4. This statement has as its starting point the fact that international relations are closely related to the dynamics of the internal social-political process. For this reason, my statement will stress this twofold approach.

5. El Salvador is now going through crucial times, times of political, social and economic definition.

6. My country belongs to the group of underdeveloped countries which export agricultural goods and have dependent economies. These characteristics prevail in many third world countries.

7. The nature of this society constitutes an obstacle to development and to the establishment of democracy. Lack of control over land-holdings, the financial system and foreign trade have been the structural bases of this type of society.

8. This generates levels of poverty that reach the limits of destitution and hunger and create a process of alienation of vast human sectors. This produces insufficiencies in domestic markets, obstructs agricultural, industrial, and service sector development and also creates a socio-cultural infrastructure that undermines the dignity of the human person.

9. These structural circumstances in our case are worsened by demographic growth, compounded by emigration from the countryside to the city, producing a serious problem of urban social alienation.

10. The effects of this situation have been, at the political level, overt or covert dictatorships, electoral fraud, corruption, the distortion of the institutions created to foster development, and a lack of ability to make effective use of international co-operation. At the social level there has been moral disintegration, illiteracy and the presence of a frustrated youth, youth without any prospects for the future.

11. Starting in the decade of the 1960s, there was in our country a process of public awakening which gave the alienated masses and the population in general hopes for a different fate. Trade union movements rose as well as ideological political parties, organizations of the workers and the masses. These popular movements aspired to and struggled for economic and social reform and for the establishment of a democratic government.

12. With these tools for social action, the people on three occasions engaged in democratic electoral processes, in 1966, 1972 and 1977. In all those campaigns an apparatus of fraud and repression was mobilized. On those three occasions the will of the people was betrayed and the possibility of introducing reforms through electoral means lost all credibility.

13. This cut-off of democratic viability intensified the struggle of political and trade union organizations. The groups that held power turned a deaf ear to the outcry of the people, who were with good reason demanding a new, more just and more humane society. In this context, neither democracy nor development had any alternative.

14. Because of this, on the basis of the right to insurrection, the Administration in power was overthrown on 15 October 1979 and the Revolutionary Government Junta was established.

15. That insurrection began a revolutionary process which attempts to combine social and economic factors with political factors in order to create a democratic, pluralistic society in which all may play a part. There has been an attempt to accomplish a series of structural changes, making it possible for us to have a society and a style of life which would be more just, more humane and more united.

16. We are aware that it is only through structural changes, only through providing an escape valve for social and political expression that we shall be able to eradicate the deep-rooted motives for violence which the system in force before 15 October had produced.

17. At social and economic levels, my Government had been legislating and carrying out integral agrarian reform. We have completely eliminated the system of large landholdings and have begun a system of agrarian reform, making it possible for 70 per cent of our masses in the countryside to own their own land. It will be the first programme of agrarian reform which in its first year will achieve a 25 per cent increase in agricultural production, especially in food grains. This demonstrates the absolute support that has been given to the agrarian reform system in our country. We have also carried on a nationalization of foreign trade and of our domestic financial system.

18. At the political level, my Government has set a political time-table for itself which includes a series of measures and a full process of democratization which will lead to free and democratic elections in the near future so that the people may be the master of its own destiny.

19. In this way we are creating a political organization which will be a tool used by the society as a whole and which will make it possible for us to bring genuine peace to the country.

20. Violence, in fact, is a phenomenon caused by incompatibility between popular aspirations and economic, social and political structures; hence the eradication of violence, in the case of my country, is being made dependent upon the establishment of economic, social and political machinery to produce social flexibility, confidence and co-operation.

21. We are endeavouring to build a system of democratic life, a legal system of full respect for human rights to make it possible for us to conduct a process of social and moral integration.

22. My Government is taking positive steps towards the achievement of these goals. We require the co-operation of all Salvadorian citizens for this purpose without any discrimination or political or ideological differentiation. The important thing is to put an end to violent means and to seek to have reason prevail through calm, objective dialogue in order once and for all to put an end to irrational political action and to outbursts of emotion.

23. Our struggle is a difficult one because emotions and interests have been aroused that at present would seem to be irreconcilable. None the less, we are optimistic because we have faith and trust that we shall manage to establish a democratic society in which the people will be able to express themselves freely and in which the vote will be respected in the election of officials. Given a disintegrated society, a society in a state of conflict as a result of years of pain and exploitation, we have taken as our objective harmony and justice. We are optimistic because we believe in Salvadorians, in their intelligence and hard-working nature which will make it possible for them through self-determination and self development, to emerge successfully from this time of trial.

24. As regards the international situation, we have seen that détente has lost ground in the face of confrontation between the super-Powers. We have seen this not only at the world level, in the problems in reduction, control and balance of nuclear weapons, but also in the proliferation of hotbeds of tension.

25. In these circumstances, the world runs a greater risk of a wide-ranging conflagration. This is most significant when Powers that in the past had confined their interests to given areas now wish to extend them to other regions, regions that had been traditionally more or less left out of the game of political and international ambitions.

26. In the face of the major Powers, in a world fought over by blocs and alliances of power, El Salvador has set for itself a clear foreign policy line based on its affirmation of its own sovereignty and independence in the face of any plans for expansionism, hegemonism or subjugation. Here we fully support the non-aligned countries.

27. The third world countries have matured sufficiently to make their positions of nationalism and self-determination prevail. It is authentic nationalism that must prevail in response to the conditions existing in each country.

28. We must reiterate that relations among sovereign States must be based on mutual respect for the principle of non-intervention. In relations among States, stable and precise rules and values must prevail, not temporary attitudes or expediency.

29. The people prefer attitudes of principle to demagogic posturing. The people are aware that different problems must be given different treatments and different responses. Even though we may try to compare different social phenomena, it is impossible to distort the essence of the social and political forces at work in each individual situation. The Government of El Salvador wishes to emphasize that respect for such principles will be its guiding light in its foreign policy. We see international law as essentially dynamic in a world of constant change, where principles are basically stable and permanent. The principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations provide the best approach to important problems in the international field.

30. With regard to South Africa, a country with which the Revolutionary Government of El Salvador broke diplomatic relations less than a year ago, we see that it has continued to sponsor racial discrimination and the odious

policy of *apartheid* and that it has done little to help the independence process of Namibia. This reluctance on the part of South Africa comes as no surprise to the Members of the United Nations.

31. We must be aware of the justified impatience of the people of Namibia, which, following its lengthy struggle for national identity, wishes to see the realization of its dearest ideal: complete independence. We wish to express our recognition of and support for the people of Namibia and its African brothers.

32. In connection with the process of decolonization in the north of Africa, El Salvador is in favour of the independence of Western Sahara.

33. We should now like to comment on a few international problems that affect peace in the world. These problems are of such importance that they have an unfavourable impact on other areas of the world.

34. The war that has been unleashed between Iran and Iraq is a matter of concern to my country. The conflict is particularly serious because of its potential for expansion and its unfavourable effects on the international economy. We urge the parties to the conflict to negotiate a cease-fire and to seek terms of understanding in order peacefully to resolve their disputes.

35. With regard to the situations of conflict in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the international community has stated its opposition to the presence of foreign forces in those countries. The peoples of those nations must have the opportunity to determine freely their political future.

36. When a powerful State opposes the appeal made by the United Nations for it to correct its behaviour in the international field, the small countries have no alternative but to rely on the strength given them by the principles of the Charter and they must insist on the need for the application of the full force of international law and express their emphatic condemnation.

37. The non-aligned countries played a relevant role in the convening of the seventh emergency special session in July of this year to deal with the question of Palestine. My Government already expressed its views to the General Assembly in that connection.¹ These views may be summarized as follows.

38. First, in the Middle East crisis the question of Palestine has a predominant place. In the Arab-Israeli problem the destiny of the people of Palestine is the nucleus.

39. Secondly, the Palestinian people has an inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of its national homeland, that is, the right to form an internationally recognized sovereign State.

40. Thirdly, the acquisition of territories by force cannot be accepted, and therefore Israel must return such territories.

41. Fourthly, the Palestinian people has the right to be represented by whatever organization it deems fitting. The Arab world without exception has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*] as the sole legitimate representative of that people. Therefore that organization must be accepted and included in peace negotiations.

42. Fifthly, all States members of the international community must recognize the existence of the State of Israel and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

43. Jerusalem, because of its history and its religious importance, must be subject to a special régime in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

44. We feel that the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to establish a State can be associated with the corresponding right of Israel to existence as a sovereign political entity. My delegation urges that efforts continue for a process of negotiation with the participation of all the parties concerned in the conflict.

45. In the Middle East region also, in regard to the question of Lebanon, my country hopes that that nation will at last recover the peace that is so necessary for the harmonious coexistence of its people.

46. El Salvador has given constant support to the work of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. That goal, which responds to the desire for world peace, has implications for development because of the vast resources that are diverted to the arms race. One step in that direction is represented by Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco). We hope that other regions will adopt similar denuclearization schemes.

47. With regard to the agreements between the major Powers, we feel it is a negative sign that the ratification of the SALT II Treaty² is still pending and that no definite date has been set so far for the third round of negotiations on strategic arms limitations, known as SALT III. The escalation of the arms race in a search for advantage in the balance of weapons continues uninterrupted, with the assistance of vast technology which should be used for the development of peoples.

48. The overwhelming majority of States are at the present time spectators of a drama which, if it were to lead to tragedy, would turn them into protagonists. The Disarmament Decade will have significance only if we promote negotiations towards general and complete disarmament.

49. Allow me now to make a few comments on the world economic situation and on the aspirations of the developing countries. The economic problems facing our world are many and complex and are manifested in an economic crisis with a vast global impact, especially on the majority of the developing countries. We must find a solution to these problems within the framework of the United Nations.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 84th meeting, paras. 104-168.

² Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

50. At the eleventh special session, which has just been concluded, a consensus was reached on the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464]. While the text is not completely satisfactory, at least there was progress on agreements in the framework of the North-South dialogue. However, the aforementioned special session also had as its objective the launching of a global round of negotiations to begin in January of next year, and here there was failure. In fact three industrialized countries did not give their consent to a consensus on a text concerning procedure for that new round of global negotiations.³ El Salvador is confident that at the thirty-fifth session it will be possible to achieve that consensus.

51. I wish to reiterate our full support for the positions of the Group of 77 and the group of countries that are members of the Latin American Economic System with regard to the new International Development Strategy and the global negotiations. My delegation considers that the items that should be given priority in the negotiations are those concerning raw materials, trade, development, energy and monetary and financial questions.

52. Although they are all of singular importance, in the view of my country the issue of raw materials is vital.

53. El Salvador, as a producer and exporter of coffee and a country whose economy depends to a great extent on that product, is affected by the unjust prices imposed by the international market while the prices of the goods that we need to import from developed countries increase day by day.

54. Moreover, the establishment of customs and non-customs barriers, mainly export quotas, by the industrialized world continues to have a negative impact on the economies of our countries.

55. Our country is awaiting with particular interest the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries that will be held next year. We are optimistic that positive results will be achieved for this category of countries, within the philosophy of international justice in distribution.

56. I should now like to refer to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which completed its ninth session after making marked progress. My Government wishes to stress the importance it attaches to the early signing of a convention regulating the issues. El Salvador has a maritime vocation and bases its hopes on its potential for exploiting the resources of the sea as an aid to its economic and social development. I wish to reaffirm our position that we consider to be under national sovereignty the adjacent sea to a 200-nautical-mile limit, without prejudice to freedom of navigation in accordance with international law.

57. I should now like to refer to a few relevant aspects of my country's foreign relations at the regional level.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, paras. 16 and 18.

58. At the Latin American level, El Salvador joins those countries that are fighting for democratization, countries from which it has received considerable demonstrations of solidarity and understanding. We have carried out a very successful dynamic policy aimed at increasing our ties.

59. As regards the Central American countries, in particular, we have given priority to the search for an agreement with the sister Republic of Honduras. A considerable part of our efforts have been geared to direct negotiations in a process of mediation effectively guided by the distinguished jurist, former President of the International Court of Justice, Mr. José Luis Bustamante y Rivero. The progress achieved is a source of well-founded optimism and we are confident that very soon we shall be signing a peace treaty, to which our peoples aspire.

60. Fortunately our countries have been able to use peaceful means to resolve their disputes, following their principle of respect for the rules and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States, a body that has played a relevant role in our search for understanding and harmony between the two nations.

61. In connection with the sister Republics of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama, we have endeavoured to maintain the best possible level of relations, and to this end, the visits, dialogue and constant communication of our views and concerns have been fundamental.

62. We hope that in the framework of the principles contained in the San José Declaration, signed on 15 March, we shall be able to strengthen further our ties of regional co-existence, co-operation and integration.

63. I should like to read the first three paragraphs of the San José Declaration, which include the fundamental rules which should prevail in present relations among Central American countries.

1. "The peaceful and harmonious coexistence of the States of the Isthmus requires respect for the different social, economic and political systems, the right to self-determination and the right to resolve their internal matters in accordance with their own historic development.

2. "The absolute and unrestricted observance of the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other States is vital to the maintenance of peace and security of the countries of the area.

3. "Respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence are vital conditions for guaranteeing the peaceful coexistence and economic and social development of States."

64. It is fair to state that at this point, a crucial one for Central America, we have seen the generous will and readiness of Central American Governments to create renewed links of understanding and friendship.

65. Once again, sister States have felt their calling for unity, peace and close relations. In Central America, the reconstruction of the greater fatherland is a mystical concept. For El Salvador it is the height of our international

political aspiration and responds to our deepest wishes. Hence, our devotion to Central American integration, to the strengthening of its common market, the creation of the most favourable atmosphere for a *rapprochement* and so overcoming the differences and problems that arise.

66. We see the safeguarding of human rights as an integral system that does not exclude continents, regions or countries because of different ideologies. Action should be undertaken without discrimination and without any political sectarianism. There should be a crusade to condemn violence, regardless of its source and of its motivation.

67. We are confident that the maximum protection of human rights requires a just and non-discriminating international system. In this context, we welcome and shall support the proposal to be submitted under agenda item 114 by the Nordic countries concerning the protection of diplomatic representatives and other persons invested with similar functions, such as officials of international organizations. The status of immunity is not a mere privilege; it has been and will continue to be a requirement for the normal fulfilment of the functions of a diplomat. It is inconceivable to any civilized mind that a diplomat should be a natural target for acts of terrorism.

68. In the context of human rights, we wish to refer to the deplorable fact of terrorism. Terrorist actions are in themselves violations of the most basic human rights. Of course, this phenomenon must be analysed in all its complexity in order to reveal its causes, to understand them and to eliminate them. Terrorism as such is an action that, because of the irrationality of the means used and its intrinsic brutality, violates the most sacred values and legal and moral concepts of society.

69. The Government of El Salvador highly appreciates the support received from friendly countries for its revolutionary process and wishes to stress that, on the basis of principle, it rejects in advance any conditions that might be attempted to be imposed on the granting of any sort of assistance. Likewise, for the same reason we reject any attempt at interference in our internal affairs, which would be inadmissible.

70. El Salvador demands, urges and asks countries that are interested in its internal affairs to respect the self-determination of its people, which will resolve its own problems. The internationalization of conflicts that are strictly domestic only worsens those conflicts. Intervention can endanger the peace and security of a region—in this case, Central America.

71. The Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador places and reiterates its trust in the United Nations as a forum for unity within a plurality of interests and ideological and political trends, which confront each other with the force of their ideas and arguments in a constant search for reconciliation and consensus, on the understanding that the destiny of mankind will be shared and that we must all shoulder the serious responsibilities of avoiding its destruction and of promoting harmony, progress and well-being.

Address by Mr. Robert D. Muldoon, Prime Minister of New Zealand

72. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of New Zealand. I take great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Robert D. Muldoon and invite him to address the General Assembly.

73. Mr. MULDOON (New Zealand): Sir, may I congratulate you on your election to the presidency. I know that, like your predecessor, Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, you will carry out your responsibilities with firmness, courtesy and skill.

74. As a Commonwealth member, New Zealand welcomes to the Assembly the delegations of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Zimbabwe. They bring, from different parts of the world, special perspectives which will help us all in considering the serious problems which face us.

75. In welcoming these two new Members, we should not forget that other peoples are also moving rapidly towards independence. In our part of the world Vanuatu, in the most difficult circumstances, came to full nationhood. As a neighbour we were delighted to welcome the new Republic into the fellowship of the South Pacific Forum. We have watched with great sympathy the moves to greater autonomy by the island groups that make up the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. New Zealand's immediate partners, the people of Tokelau, are assuming increasing responsibility for the government of their tiny country.

76. The South Pacific is coming to the end of a long period of constitutional change. Twenty years ago, when the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], New Zealand and Australia were the only independent countries in our region. Now there are some 13 independent or fully self-governing States. Some are represented here. In the course of time more will come, and the voice of the Pacific will be heard more insistently.

77. As the United Nations has grown, its ways of doing business, as well as the scope of its activities, have changed. To some it seems a less effective, less purposeful Organization than it was. I know that this body is itself a reflection of the world around us—and that has been troubled enough. And yet it is difficult not to be pessimistic when we assess what has been achieved over the past year.

78. Only last month the General Assembly met in special session to discuss development and economic issues. The session was convened against a background of mounting concern about the world economy. Every speaker at that session talked of the gravity of the present situation. Every speaker called for rapid change. Every speaker supported the launching of a new round of global economic negotiations.

79. This was not mere rhetoric. During the past month I have spoken to many political leaders, especially from Asian and Pacific countries. It was crystal clear that all of us shared an overriding preoccupation with economic issues. Time and again I heard the same themes: terms of trade have deteriorated rapidly; inflation, most of it imported, is far too

high; deficits are expanding at an unprecedented rate. The conventional answer—retrenchment—exact a high economic price in terms of contraction of trade and stagnation of production. The political cost, not least in jobs lost and social disruption, is prohibitive. To cover their share of the total oil deficit, countries in our area have had to borrow heavily. For many of them, debt servicing burdens are already crippling. High interest rates and a good deal of nervousness on the part of the private banking system compound the problems of financing economic development in the face of the growing deficit problem.

80. It is not surprising that Governments of developing countries—and quite a few in the more affluent world—are apprehensive, for tensions produced by economic forces induce political reactions.

81. Yet at the recent eleventh special session the Assembly failed even to agree on procedures for carrying out the global negotiations, let alone to discuss an agenda. I can well understand the scepticism of those who ask whether the Assembly, or a derivative of it, is the best place in which to discuss complex international economic issues. I tend to agree with them. However, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has shown that it is possible to resolve a wide and complicated range of such issues in a forum in which all Member States are represented. If we can draw some encouragement from that example, we should not forget how long the process has taken and how much had to be done outside the main meetings to develop a consensus about legitimate objectives and priorities. Above all, we should remember that the Conference on the Law of the Sea is succeeding because it organized its negotiations on the basis of actual situations and shared interests—not on the basis of political alignments and regional groupings. I must emphasize that we do not have a decade to make progress on the world's urgent economic problems. We now have less than one year.

82. If we are to make similar progress on global economic issues, we must tackle them with new urgency. We shall have to accept that there is not going to be a revolutionary change of attitude on the part of the wealthy industrialized countries—whether of West or East. Progress will come gradually and probably most effectively by using the specialist bodies. A central forum may well—and should—give drive and coherence to those negotiations. However, let us not expect too much from it. It simply is not realistic to believe that some supranational forum can direct and determine the course of negotiations in bodies like IMF, GATT and FAO. It is for these specialized bodies to take the immediate steps that are so essential. Here again, progress has been much too slow.

83. We could speed up the global negotiations more effectively if we were first to call together a more limited but broadly representative informal summit, as proposed by the Brandt Commission.⁴ It may be that the outlines of a broad consensus on the way forward are more likely to emerge from such a meeting than from a gathering of 150 or more. That was the view of the regional Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, which I

attended last month, at New Delhi. The Meeting of Finance Ministers of Commonwealth Countries in Bermuda was even more convinced of the need for action.

84. What we discuss is at least as important as where we discuss it. It has concerned me that recent discussions in New York have become bogged down in proposals for an agenda which is all-encompassing and unselective. The consensus of the heads of Government and Finance Ministers I have listened to in the past month is that the international oil situation and its flow-on problems, especially in financing, is the major issue to be faced if the longer-term difficulties in the world economy and in the North-South dialogue are to be dealt with adequately.

85. I do not want to be misunderstood by oil producers when I say that the central issue is to solve the problem of international balances of payments, particularly of developing countries. That means we must find an effective means of recycling the surpluses of the oil producers. I do not deny that oil was underpriced in the past. Nor am I suggesting that the large increase in oil prices since 1973 is the sole cause of the world's present economic woes. I am simply saying that this is a major and immediate problem which requires international action—now.

86. Look at these facts. The forecast is that the combined deficit of developing countries over the next three years will be about \$US 160 billion. There are only two possible ways of covering those deficits: one is through grant aid; the second is through borrowing, whether at commercial or concessional rates. Grant aid is not going to cover deficits of that size, even in the unlikely event that official development assistance performance improves dramatically. Whether the private banking system can cope is equally open to question. The previous round of recycling subjected it to considerable stress. In my view, greater involvement by international financial institutions and greater flexibility in their approach are now a necessity if global payments imbalances are not to widen, with grave economic consequences for us all.

87. Institutions, no less than Governments, have to adapt to new circumstances. If they show no capacity to adjust, the pressures to set up new bodies to replace them will become irresistible. That is why at recent meetings New Zealand supported calls for IMF to play a much more positive and dynamic role in the recycling process in support of the private banking system. I am convinced that IMF has the skills and expertise which will enable it to respond to the needs of the world today.

88. I believe that the decisions taken at the annual World Bank and IMF meetings last week in Washington bring those institutions closer to grappling with the recycling problem. New Zealand has continued to advocate the concept of symmetrical surveillance, so that the capacity of surplus countries and the needs of deficit countries can be matched. The adjustment burden is a problem for the international community operating through its public as well as its private institutions. The surplus nations must realize the serious difficulties which confront the oil-importing nations of the developing world. They must—and, I believe, will—acknowledge that their economic power can be used through increased commitments and guarantees for IMF in order to avert a series of national bankruptcies.

⁴ See *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

89. The international community has the power and ingenuity to act quickly on critical economic issues. It must do so. If we are to bring new urgency and purpose to the economic negotiations of the Organization, then we have to ask ourselves whether a more functional negotiating format is called for. Does the group approach to negotiations still serve us well? On the evidence of those major United Nations economic conferences held during the past two years, I would have to say that I doubt it. The Brandt Commission reached a similar conclusion. Its report says:

“The process of reconciling differences within each group has often led to extreme positions driving out moderate ones: maximum demands elicit minimum offers.”⁵

90. But that is only one of the weaknesses of our present system. Another is that the specific interests of individual countries, or groups of countries, are often subordinated to the cause of group solidarity.

91. The small island communities in the South Pacific are a case in point. Their economies are small and their resources limited. Dependent on a narrow range of exploitable commodities, highly sensitive to price fluctuations, handicapped by high transport costs and uncertain services to their main export markets, they are especially vulnerable to external influences which they cannot control. The fragility of their economies is increased by their isolation from each other and from neighbouring regions. No other factor so persistently hampers Pacific countries in the struggle to develop their resources and provide better lives for their people.

92. Clearly, the island States of the Pacific have special needs, and the international community must be responsive to those needs. It is not just that they require development assistance, though that is essential. It is also a question of providing the mechanism by which small countries can express their concerns and get them dealt with effectively.

93. It is not enough in the long run to label developing island countries as a separate category meriting special treatment. I believe that what those countries want, and what other countries in the so-called special categories want, too, is to take their place in the mainstream of international life. They do not want to be set apart for ever as societies which do not fit into some preconceived pattern. Regrettably, the international community seems to have settled for this option in drawing up an international development strategy for the 1980s.

94. We in New Zealand have also suffered from the rigidities imposed by bloc diplomacy. Our specific economic circumstances and interests are obscured when the membership of the Organization is divided by shorthand expressions like “North” and “South”, or labelled by groups.

95. For years the world community has ignored the questions of food production and market access which are central to New Zealand's economic well-being. The group system of negotiation has effectively blocked our efforts to have these issues given greater priority. Now, it seems, they are beginning to receive due attention. There is a new aware-

ness that it is all too easy to undermine the confidence of rural communities. No one knows this better than the developing countries which, during the past decade, have changed from being exporters to importers of food. More and more countries are coming to see that the double standards governing the international food trade have got to go. Unless that happens it will be an uphill battle to restore and sustain the confidence of farmers, and they are the people we look to if we are to feed the hungry of this world.

96. In the struggle to overcome agricultural protectionism in the industrialized world, New Zealand's interests are essentially the same as those of the developing countries. With them, and with many others, we also have an interest in bringing about a more liberal trading system in all sectors. In the global negotiations, in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, in UNCTAD, in GATT we shall work to that end with all who want a fairer trading system. If we achieve that, we may then see that expansion of world economic growth rates which is an essential ingredient of political stability and security.

97. In your opening address [*1st meeting*], Mr. President, you reminded us that the vision of the men who established the Organization was one of a world at peace. You rightly said that that could be achieved only if the United Nations was determined to apply those principles for which it stands: to promote the self-determination of all peoples; to protect the sovereign equality of nations, especially the weak and the small; to promote human rights and freedom.

98. It is chastening to think how far we have to go before we can say we have reached those goals which, by our membership, we have all set ourselves. That is all too clear from the political as well as the economic tensions that rock the world today. The principles that the Organization was established to defend have been persistently defied.

99. Afghanistan is one crisis area that calls out for a speedy and just solution. Earlier this year New Zealand joined more than 100 Member States in supporting resolution ES-6/2 in which the Assembly deplored the armed intervention in that country. Immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of all foreign troops was called for. That resolution was ignored. Soviet troops remain in Afghanistan. They are there because the régime they installed cannot survive without them. The people of Afghanistan have, by their resistance, shown their rejection of that régime and the alien forces which continue to prop it up.

100. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan violated the basic principles of the Charter. It threatened the security of neighbouring States. It increased tension in West Asia and the Indian Ocean region, and it has thrown into disarray the process of détente to which the Soviet Union has so often pledged its commitment.

101. There is only one sure way to reverse that dangerous situation and that is for the Soviet Union to display that respect for the principles of international behaviour which it champions so earnestly when the actions of others are concerned. It must withdraw its troops. It must allow the Afghan people to decide their own future freely and without interference.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

102. That assault on the sovereignty of a small neighbouring State has its parallel in South-East Asia. There a client Government has been imposed on the people of Kampuchea and maintained by force of arms. The situation in Kampuchea has implications for peace, stability and progress in the whole of South-East Asia.

103. At the thirty-fourth session, the Assembly called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea [resolution 34/22]. That call was disregarded. Those forces are still there and they are involved in fighting along the Thai-Kampuchean border and elsewhere. It is a matter of grave concern to New Zealand that there has been so little improvement in the situation since the Assembly last met in regular session. The longer the fighting goes on, the greater is the risk that the conflict could spread. Until there is a political settlement, there can be no regional stability and no sure end to the hardships of those ordinary people for too long caught up in a conflict in which they want no part.

104. Relief efforts will be needed for a long time to come. It is essential that the relief operation should be able, without hindrance, to distribute supplies to those in greatest need, wherever they are. It is no less important that Kampuchea's agricultural production should be restored. Its economy must be revitalized so that the victims of the conflict can return to their homes and to a normal way of life.

105. I know that the countries of South-East Asia want peace and stability. They want to pursue their economic development free from threats to their security. The Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] countries, with broad support from the international community, have consistently sought a durable political settlement. The resolution adopted last year set out the principles that must form the basis for a settlement.

106. The Assembly needs to give stronger support to the search for a settlement. New Zealand welcomed the visit of the Secretary-General to Bangkok and Hanoi. Clearly, he can play a major role. We, like others, look to him to help get productive talks under way between Viet Nam and its ASEAN neighbours and to facilitate the holding of an international conference, which is needed to reduce tension and achieve a just and lasting settlement.

107. Another area in Asia which is subject to severe strains is the Korean peninsula. New Zealand will continue to support measures aimed at reducing tension in that area. We have been encouraged by the recent series of preliminary meetings between representatives from North and South Korea which have had as their objective the development of north-south contacts. We urge both sides to maintain the momentum of those meetings and to continue in good faith the search for a peaceful and lasting accommodation.

108. The conflict between Iraq and Iran is also a matter of great concern to us. It has caused loss of life and damage in both countries and could, if fighting continues, have serious consequences within the region and beyond. We are anxious that the fighting should be halted so that the differences between the two countries can be resolved peaceably and soon. We support the appeal made by the Security Council to that end in its resolution 479 (1980) and welcome the

efforts being made by others to bring about a peaceful settlement.

109. It is no less urgent that a settlement should be negotiated in the Middle East. That dispute is a continuing threat to world peace and security. The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel⁶ was a conspicuous step forward, but it was only a beginning. The hopes that it would lead to a comprehensive and durable peace based on the principles embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) have not been realized. They will not be until Israel acknowledges the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people. Those include the right to self-determination and the right to establish a separate State, if that is their wish. Equally, the unilateral declaration on Jerusalem and the continued establishment of settlements in occupied territories can hardly be construed as anything but obstructions to a negotiated settlement.

110. The continuing detention of people from the American Embassy in Teheran is another grave cause of tension. New Zealand's position is clear. We deplore Iran's refusal to release the hostages. A speedy and honourable solution must be found—first for the sake of the people concerned, but also if we are to respect the principles of international law. We are certainly willing to join others in efforts to get a peaceful solution.

111. A year ago New Zealand welcomed two major advances in the search for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in southern Africa: the London conference on Zimbabwe and the resumption of negotiations on Namibia.

112. Zimbabwe's presence here today is testimony to the determination of its people and of all those who have worked so hard for a just and equitable settlement. It is a particular pleasure to me that the Commonwealth was able to play a formative part in the peaceful transfer of power in that country.

113. A similar transfer of power must also be the objective in Namibia. There is no good reason why the few issues that remain outstanding should not be settled quickly. It has long been time for the South African authorities to end their illegal occupation of Namibia. They must, if they want a peaceful settlement, co-operate with the Security Council in bringing independence to the people of Namibia. Just as in 1980 we welcomed the independence of Zimbabwe so in 1981 we should welcome that of Namibia.

114. If there is to be lasting stability, however, the South African Government must move ahead with the dismantling of the *apartheid* system in South Africa itself. If there are signs that the present rulers of South Africa are beginning to understand the need for change, there is less evidence of serious commitment to this course. They must now demonstrate clearly and unequivocally by their actions and policies that institutionalized racism and the injustices and suffering that *apartheid* has inflicted on generations of Africans are being brought to an end. There is no other way to a peaceful future. The alternative, a vicious and bloody conflict, must be avoided. It can be, but only if the South African Government will promptly set about overturning the detestable system of *apartheid*.

⁶ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

115. Increased tension in many parts of the world and, above all, the invasion of Afghanistan have had grave consequences for relations between the great Powers. Détente is in jeopardy.

116. Nowhere has that been more clear than in negotiations on arms control and disarmament. Here the central need is for confidence that obligations assumed will be fully met, so it is no surprise that there has been no real forward movement. The SALT II Treaty remains unratified. The Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe are stalemated. The sessions of the Committee on Disarmament have, by and large, been unproductive. The second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons ended without agreement on a final declaration. Many countries, my own among them, rightly criticized the two super-Powers for lack of progress in their negotiations on arms control and disarmament.

117. There is nothing in the relationship of those super-Powers to suggest that we can expect quick progress on those arms control and disarmament issues which are essentially bilateral in nature. But that should not mean that movement must be held back in other areas. A fresh impetus is needed to get negotiations under way again.

118. One such issue is a comprehensive test-ban treaty. No disarmament measure is more urgent. No one disputes the need for a treaty. The report presented to the Committee on Disarmament at the end of the latest round of bilateral talks⁷ showed that the negotiating States had made limited progress on many elements of critical importance. In our view, it is essential that a draft comprehensive test-ban treaty should be ready for consideration at the second special session on disarmament, in 1982. We believe, too, that a working group of the Committee on Disarmament should be established next year to begin negotiations on a treaty. One of its first tasks should be to devise a framework within which an international seismic detection system could operate to monitor adherence to the treaty.

119. Many of these issues will continue to haunt the international community throughout the 1980s. There are others. What progress will we make in dealing humanely with the mass movement of displaced persons across borders? Will we be able to say, when it ends, that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination has achieved its goals? The United Nations Decade for Women is already at mid-course. Will we be able to say in five years' time that the lot of half the world's population has been greatly improved, when we know from the evidence given to the World Conference at Copenhagen in July, that the impact of the first five years has been so limited?

120. The same question—whether achievement will match objectives—can be asked of many items on the Assembly's agenda. The answers, I believe, depend in large degree on whether we are willing to use the Organization sensibly, to seek genuine agreement to negotiate rather than declaim. Above all, it depends on whether we are able to break away from old rigidities and preconceptions and seek new ways of

working together, ways which are imaginative and realistic. That is the way for the world body, and for all of us, to face the challenges of this decade.

121. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank Mr. Robert D. Muldoon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, for the important statement he has just made and for the kind words addressed to me.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

122. Mr. MAKKI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic and on my own behalf, I should like to express to you our satisfaction at your unanimous election to the presidency of this important session. I wish you every success in the conduct of the proceedings of the General Assembly, so that our efforts uphold the principles and help to achieve the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. I have no doubt that you will place your long diplomatic experience at the service of just causes, so that we may find solutions to urgent problems on the agenda of this session. The delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic will do everything in its power to co-operate with you so that this objective may be achieved and our task successfully carried out.

123. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Salim, on his successful conduct of the work of the thirty-fourth session and to express my appreciation of his tireless efforts in guiding the work not only of that session but of the special sessions towards important and positive resolutions.

124. I must not forget to pay a tribute here to the Secretary-General through whose efforts the Organization has become more effective. I wish to express my appreciation of his efforts in serving the cause of international peace and eliminating sources of tension in so many parts of the world in accordance with the objectives of our noble Organization. I should also like to express my gratitude for his report on the work of the Organization [A/35/1] and the international situation over the past year, in which he evaluates with understanding and objectivity the existing crisis and conflicts in the world.

125. It also gives me great pleasure to extend my warmest congratulations to the Governments and delegations of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on their entry into the United Nations now that their peoples have won their independence and recovered their liberty. I am happy to welcome their delegations. Their membership in the Organization is a victory for all the peoples, which like the peoples of Namibia and Palestine, are fighting to establish their right to self-determination. I have no doubt that those two new Members, through their participation, will enhance the effectiveness of the Organization and play a larger part in the maintenance of international peace and security and world stability.

126. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is being held in a tense and unstable international situation in which rivalries are affecting peace and détente. We had

⁷ See CD/139/Appendix II/Vol. II, document CD/134.

hoped that détente would be well established by the end of the last decade and would be spreading so as to benefit not only the major Powers which took the initiative in creating it—this being one of the characteristics of international relations—but the whole world, and in particular the peoples suffering under the yoke of imperialism and colonialism, from exploitation of their natural resources and international rivalries and polarization. We had hoped that they might enjoy the peace and stability which are so necessary for a new order of international relations, marked by democracy and equality, free from exploitation, tension, the arms race and instability.

127. The present international situation is having an adverse effect not only on international relations but also on stability, development and progress throughout the world, and in particular the third world.

128. I wish to recall here that it is the duty of the international community to make major and intensive efforts to ameliorate that situation. For this international community, the United Nations, was created to put an end to everything of which the causes and effects might constitute impediments to peace and security anywhere in the world, as peace is one and indivisible and represents the aspirations of all States and peoples of the world, particularly those peoples which have not been able to enjoy its full benefits since achieving independence and liberty. These are the peoples of the third world, in particular the peoples of the Middle East and the Palestinians, who have suffered from imperialist plots from the beginning of this century right up to the present day.

129. Having struggled in all the Arab countries against colonialism in all its forms, the Arab people has been compelled to continue this struggle against the intruding Zionist, racist and colonialist entity, which was created and has been fostered and strengthened by colonialist and imperialist countries so that that region should continue to suffer from chronic instability, division and warfare. Moreover, the State of Israel was created by a decision of the Organization, which Israel today rejects and whose resolutions it scorns. Israel continues its actions against the Palestinian Arab people, including expulsion, the confiscation of goods and the promulgation of racist laws.

130. Israel expanded through aggression against certain Arab countries in 1967, following which it occupied the whole of Palestine and some Arab territories. Through that aggression the Zionist racist State won new positions of strength and has been able to impose the law of the jungle and of piracy, with the assistance, support and blessing of a super-Power which continues to this day to maintain its unjust attitude on the side of that aggression and against the Palestinian people, its right to self-determination, to return to its country and to establish an independent and sovereign State under the leadership of its militant vanguard, the PLO, which is its sole authentic representative. We supported that organization, just as we supported the rule of law and justice, and the rights of the Palestinian people during the seventh special emergency session of the Assembly, devoted to the Palestinian question.

131. The stronger international support becomes for the cause of the Palestinians and the greater the sympathy for

their struggle under the leadership of the PLO and for the struggle of the Arab peoples to free their occupied territories, the more the arrogance and aggressiveness of Israel increases and, at the same time, the more imperialist military, economic and diplomatic support is demonstrated for this shameful conduct. We are witnessing here a struggle between good and evil, between justice and injustice. The United Nations, which was created after the world had suffered from the scourge of war and conflicts, must put an end to such conduct in order to safeguard its very existence, its objectives and international peace in the interests of all the peoples of the world.

132. Israel's arrogance and its unabashed and irresponsible defiance of United Nations resolutions do not give cause for optimism to our generation or, for that matter, future generations. Israel is intoxicated by the temporary victory it has won thanks to the treacherous bargain struck at Camp David, which has not served the cause of peace in the region but, on the contrary, the cause of the Israeli aggressive and expansionist strategy and the aims of the super-Power that supports it. That deal is contrary to the national aspiration of the Palestinian people and its struggle and to the right of the Arab people to free their territories occupied since 1967. Since that deal was concluded, Israel has continued to establish settlements throughout the occupied Arab lands, particularly on Palestinian land, and even in the very heart of Palestine, the Holy City of Jerusalem. Israel plotted to assassinate the mayors of towns in the occupied West Bank who had refused, as had their people, to accept the "autonomy" conspiracy and the oppression and terrorism, which increased after the Camp David deal, which was condemned by all the Arab peoples and Governments, including the people and the Government of the Arab Republic of Yemen.

133. Israel was not content with committing those acts, which have been condemned as repugnant to the conscience of mankind, all religious and human rights; that illegal entity persisted in that attitude and decided to annex Jerusalem and proclaim it its permanent and unified capital. I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to express appreciation and gratitude to the States Members of this international Organization which have supported Arab rights and refused to recognize that Zionist decision, which demonstrates its expansionist policy and is contrary to the fundamental principles of international law. We are also gratified by the fact that certain States have responded positively to resolution 478 (1980), in which the Security Council decided that that Israeli action was illegal, by withdrawing their diplomatic missions from Jerusalem in order to demonstrate their disapproval of such action and rejection of the policy of annexation, exploitation and occupation.

134. Israel's actions have not been confined to acts of piracy against its principal victims, the Palestinian people on its own territory and in its own homeland even; it has also extended its acts of aggression to within the borders of an independent State, a State Member of the United Nations, Lebanon. Its attacks against Lebanon and its people and against the Palestine refugee camps, whether by air, land or sea, have become a matter of routine and meet no obstacle, as is known by the international forces responsible for maintaining peace in southern Lebanon and containing Israeli

violations. That aggression applies the Zionist and imperialist plot by armed intermediary groups chosen to facilitate the Israeli conspiracy by exporting war and tension to Lebanon.

135. I should like to reaffirm before the General Assembly that there can be no peace in the Middle East on the basis of exploitation, oppression, terror, the denial of rights and occupation. Peace must be based on recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people and their aspiration to the liberation of their country, return to their homeland and the creation of an independent and sovereign State, without any conditions or restrictions that would infringe those rights, or the rights of the PLO, their sole authentic representative. The settlements policy and all actions aimed at changing the demographic composition of the Palestinian territory must also be ended. Israel must withdraw from all Arab lands occupied after the 1967 aggression.

136. We must also recognize that the Camp David approach is not one which will lead to peace and stability in the area; rather, it is a continuation of the plot against the Palestinian people. All the Arab peoples support General Assembly resolution 33/75 and the resolutions adopted at the seventh emergency special session, which was devoted to the rights of the Palestinian people.

137. Yemen supports its brother Arab countries with regard to all positions and policies affecting peace and stability in our region. That is why we are following with a great deal of distress what is happening between Iraq and Iran. We support all efforts on the part of the United Nations and the Islamic Conference to halt hostilities so that peace and stability may be restored to the area.

138. We are pleased by the positive role played by the Government of Iraq in responding favourably to Security Council resolution 479 (1980) calling for a cease-fire, and we consider it to be a step forward towards a just solution.

139. We support all the good offices undertaken by a large number of State Members of the United Nations and we call upon all States, particularly the great Powers, not to interfere in this conflict, so that international peace may be safeguarded.

140. The Arab Republic of Yemen is following the situation with great interest and concern, because we are close to the theatre of these events, whether it is the Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean and are thus directly affected by what happens there. We denounce any attempt to make this region a focal point of conflict and tension and we demand that the region of the Red Sea be declared a zone of peace, with neither foreign bases nor a foreign presence; the responsibility for protecting the region of the Arabian Gulf rests solely with its people, who are capable of preventing any outside interference in the region.

141. Since regional and international peace are intimately linked, Yemen reiterates its position that the Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace, free from foreign presence in any form whatsoever.

142. I believe that the present situation is such that General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) on the Declaration

of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace should be applied in the interest of all the peoples of the region, and in the interest of international peace and security.

143. The struggle against racism and colonialism has just won a new victory with the independence of Zimbabwe, which has succeeded in throwing off the yoke of imperialism and racism. But the United Nations and all peace-loving and justice-loving forces in the world must continue the struggle, for the events in Zimbabwe augur well for the future of Namibia, which is now oppressed by South Africa. We are sure that the peoples of that region will succeed in winning their right to total independence.

144. The racist régime of South Africa continues to occupy and oppress the peoples of South West Africa—Namibia. This constitutes defiance not only of the logic of our times, during which numerous imperialist colonies have been eliminated, but also of the Organization, the Charter, and United Nations resolutions. The colonialist, racist nature of that occupation means that the responsibility of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its sole legitimate representative, is a very special one; the national struggle will continue until the racist, imperialist occupation is eliminated; that occupation is, unfortunately, encouraged and sustained by certain States in the service of their strategic aims and ambitions and at the expense of the justice and stability sought by this struggling people who seek to rid the African continent of this last vestige of colonialism and racism.

145. Yemen calls for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and other resolutions adopted 20 years ago. After the adoption of that resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, dozens of third world countries attained their independence.

146. The peoples of the third world understand that, in their struggle for liberty and political independence, the attainment of that independence is not the end of the road. Political independence must be accompanied by economic independence. Thus, since the 1960s, these peoples have held conferences in the United Nations so as to put into concrete form their demand for the establishment of a new international economic order.

147. All statistical and scientific indicators point to the importance of this, not only in the interest of the developing countries, but also in the interest of progress and economic development throughout the world. The system now prevailing in international economic relations does not prevent increasing imbalances in the balance of payments, a factor of great influence on the development of the third world. The balance-of-payments deficit of non-oil-exporting developing countries has amounted this year to \$70 billion. This means that the developing countries face a catastrophic situation.

148. In this connection we should like to express our regret at the failure of the Assembly at the eleventh special session devoted to international economic co-operation for development.

149. Several years have gone by since the General Assembly, at its sixth special session, adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. Efforts have been made in the course of the North-South dialogue, at various levels and both within the United Nations framework and outside it, in order to arrive at an agreement on a basis for the new international economic order, but it has become clear that the hard and unjust line taken by the majority of developed countries has caused these efforts to fail.

150. Today the non-aligned movement is the expression of the awakening of the third world and its determination not to follow the course charted by the great Powers. It is also the expression of the conviction that the third world countries have a role to play in international affairs, which are no longer the exclusive province of the great Powers.

151. My country, a founder-member and participant in the activities of the non-aligned movement, is optimistic about the movement's future. We believe that a better future is in store for it and that its effectiveness will increase as long as it expresses the aspirations and interests of the developing countries and peoples, which continue to be victims of the great Power rivalry and of imperialist exploitation.

152. This international movement, very limited at the beginning, has expanded and continues to expand. This demonstrates the importance of the movement as a link between countries which, although geographically distant, have a common will and common interests: above all, that peace should prevail throughout the world, that the causes of tension and war be eliminated and that international relations be marked by stability, understanding and mutual co-operation.

153. My country has committed itself to these policies and supports the decisions of the movement, particularly those concerning the right of peoples to self-determination and expressing opposition to imperialism, colonialism and Zionist racism. My country shows this commitment in the sixth principle of its revolution of 26 September 1962.

154. In connection with hotbeds of tension in the world, we should like to say that solutions to outstanding problems which are a threat to international peace and security must be found. The problem of Afghanistan is one of the most important. We support all efforts to find a solution to this problem through all appropriate means, so as to enable the Afghan people to progress and to develop in accordance with their own will, in their own way, and without any outside influence or interference.

155. Among the obligations and responsibilities of the Organization and the whole of mankind, is the need to put an end to the arms race and to bring about full disarmament to enable humanity to live in peace.

156. Disarmament, in our view, means the eradication of poverty, underdevelopment, inequality and international tension in order to hasten the advent of an era of prosperity for the whole of mankind.

157. It is a scandal that arms expenditures should amount to tens of billions of dollars while millions of human beings are suffering from hunger in various parts of the world because of natural calamities and also from man-made catastrophes.

158. The arms race has not merely created an atmosphere of despair as to a better future for mankind, which is nowhere near being realized. The arms race is an obstacle in the path of international relations marked by détente and co-operation and its ill effects transcend the frontiers of the great Powers and reach the developing countries which have recently become independent; it cannot but add to the burden caused by the already grave economic and financial situation.

159. All this reflects the climate of mistrust which prevails in international relations and the effects of the rivalries among great Powers on small countries which must perforce rely on the great Powers in one way or another in the arming, organization and training of their armies, not to mention the impact on their own capacity to take economic and political decisions free from foreign influence and pressure.

160. My country supports efforts to achieve disarmament and to put an end to armaments and to nuclear tests. We hope the great Powers will succeed in the near future in reaching an agreement on ratifying the SALT II Treaty as a demonstration of their attachment to peace, their aversion to war, respect for man and their desire not to destroy mankind.

161. Like the majority of the international community, my country has adopted a position as to the need to put an end to sources of tension which persist between the two parts of Korea. We should find the necessary and logical elements which would make possible negotiations between the two Governments as a first stage towards the reunification of this divided people.

162. My country affirms its position that action leading to the reunification of Korea should be based on democratic means, free from any foreign intervention or influence, whatever form it may take and from whatever source. This action must also be peaceful and all democratic and nationalist forces of both sides must participate.

163. We have no doubt that by putting an end to the division of Korea we shall bring about a climate favourable to peace and security not only on the Korean peninsula, but also in the South-East Asian region and throughout the world.

164. We also repeat our position with regard to the question of Cyprus, a position reflected in our support for the following points: the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of peace and security in that divided country; the importance of the fact that Cyprus should remain a neutral and united State; the need through negotiations, under the aegis of the United Nations, to succeed in putting an end to the abnormal situation which now prevails in Cyprus.

165. The proliferation of hotbeds of tension throughout the world demands that we exert a great deal of effort to support the Organization, which has undertaken positive action in the past. We hope that at this session, responding to the international situation, the Assembly will succeed in adopting positive resolutions, particularly against those countries which flout the decisions of the Organization. In this connection, we are thinking particularly of Israel. We

must prevent it from continuing its activities in international organizations so as to prevail upon it to respect the Charter and United Nations resolutions, and we will spare no effort to support the United Nations within the framework of respect for the principles of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.