



Wednesday, 29 September 1982,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Malaysia. I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Right Honourable Dato' Seri Mahathir bin Mohamad and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. MAHATHIR (Malaysia): Sir, at the outset I wish to extend to you my sincere felicitations on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. Your election bears testimony to the recognition and respect that you enjoy as a diplomat of outstanding ability. Under your presidency, I am confident that the Assembly will be able to complete its work successfully and with distinction. Your election is also an added honour to your country, with which Malaysia enjoys friendly relations. In welcoming your election, I wish also to pay a sincere tribute to Mr. Kittani, the outgoing President, on the outstanding manner in which he conducted the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

3. Since the General Assembly last met, the international situation has not improved. On the contrary, it has deteriorated even further. The world continues to remain in the grip of crises of various kinds stemming from unresolved political and military conflicts, economic stagnation and recession, widespread poverty and privation, and various inequities, all of which seem to defy solution. Through all this there is continued escalation of armaments, consuming enormous funds and resources and threatening mankind with destruction and possibly extinction. The General Assembly, meeting against this backdrop, must get the full backing of the Members so as to reassert the authority of the United Nations and play a truly effective role.

4. As we look around us, we have to admit that this time international law and order has truly broken down. Might is now the only thing that is right. Weak countries like Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Lebanon are trodden upon by the boots of invading armies as the rest of the world stands by. The economies of the poor nations are wrecked by recession resulting from man-made policies in the powerful commercial and financial centres of the world. The pleas of the poor are but secondary subjects for discussion by the rich as they meet to plan their own world in places like Cancún and Versailles. And in Lebanon, thousands

of Palestinians are murdered in the name of security for the Israelis and their cohorts.

5. There was a time when the United Nations sent a multinational force to stop an invasion and it did in fact succeed. But now it is helpless. Resolution after resolution is adopted by the various United Nations committees, but the invasions, the atrocities and the economic bullying go on. The credibility of the United Nations is indeed at its lowest ebb, and we who are weak and small live in real fear—fear for our independence, our well-being and even our lives.

6. The need to restore faith in the United Nations is very pressing. The United Nations must regain its credibility. I should like to say that countries like Malaysia must help to restore the trust and confidence of the international community in the Organization's ability to play a constructive role in resolving problems and crises and in maintaining world peace and stability, but that would be pure rhetoric. What is needed is the full backing of the powerful nations. They must revitalize the Organization which they created. They must breathe life into it by abiding by its decisions and lending it their weight.

7. In South-East Asia, the Kampuchean problem continues to pose a threat to peace and security. Three times the General Assembly has called for the total withdrawal of foreign forces and the exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people. The International Conference on Kampuchea laid down the principles for a political settlement of the problem. But again those who are in a position to help achieve this political settlement have shown little concern for the accepted norms of international practice.

8. The foreign military invasion and continued occupation of Kampuchea is a crime against the Kampuchean people and a threat to regional peace and security. It has brought in its wake big-Power rivalry into a region where five peace-loving nations have agreed to a concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Members of the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN] find in the Kampuchean problem an insurmountable obstacle to their cherished dream of a conflict-free neutral area.

9. The world must give serious attention to the situation in Kampuchea before big-Power rivalry escalates into open confrontation, for when this happens, the United Nations will once again be powerless to do anything. The Members of the United Nations must act while there is still time for them to do so. They must give their stamp of approval to the valiant coalition that has been formed.

10. In consonance with the efforts for a peaceful settlement, Malaysia and ASEAN are extremely gratified with the agreement reached among the three resistance groups of Kampuchea to join hands in the

coalition in which His Highness Prince Sihanouk has assumed the presidency of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The determination, wisdom and, above all, abiding sense of patriotism of the three leaders, in standing together to restore freedom and honour to their country, deserve our profound admiration. Malaysia welcomes this development, as it is a positive and important step towards the attainment of a political solution. Malaysia feels honoured for having been able on 22 June 1982 to act as host during the historic signing of the declaration establishing the coalition [see A/37/307 and Corr.1] by His Highness Prince Sihanouk, Mr. Son Sann and Mr. Khieu Samphan. I am indeed happy about the presence and participation at this session of His Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea and the beloved leader of the Kampuchean people. I hope that the Assembly will respond appropriately and positively to his noble cause. We await with keen anticipation his triumphant return to Kampuchea to restore the freedom and independence of that country and the honour and dignity of the Kampuchean people.

11. In West Asia, the situation has also taken a turn for the worse since the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Since the Palestinians were evicted from their homeland, they have been forced to move from one refuge to another countless times. Their rights as a people are still being denied. They are not even treated as humans, as the brutal massacres in Lebanon amply demonstrate.

12. We remember vividly the horrors of Belsen, Dachau and other Nazi concentration camps of the Second World War. We know of the sufferings of the Jewish people then and the pogroms of centuries past. We were appalled at those atrocities. Nevertheless, nobody—not even a people that has suffered as much as the Jews have—has the right to inflict upon others the horrors of Sabra and Shatila. The Palestinians and the Lebanese were not responsible for Belsen or Dachau. Has the international community lost its conscience, that it could stand aloof while such horrors were perpetrated against the helpless and the innocent? In order to assuage the conscience of the anti-Semites, the land of the Palestinians has already been taken away from them to create a Jewish homeland. Must the Palestinians now be butchered and driven from refuge to refuge? Must they also be exterminated? We understand the conscience which bothers the people that were once cruel to the Jews. We understand their need to make amends for their past misdeeds. But are we going to condone massacres because we or, rather, the powerful nations of the world are unwilling to hurt the feelings of the Jews? Some may think that the massacres in the Sabra and Shatila camps will satiate the Israelis and that they will go back to their Israel. This can only be a wrong assumption. Recent history has shown, and the Israeli Prime Minister has admitted, that Israel never really fought in self-defence. It attacks at the slightest provocation—even imagined provocation. The neighbours of Israel are going to be under constant threat and again and again they will be invaded, and atrocities committed against them. In the interest of Israeli security, there will be no security for its neighbours. Can we accept that only the security of

Israel is important and that its Arab neighbours have no right to security?

13. Israel is a bully. If it were any bigger or stronger, the world would not be safe. I should therefore like to call upon the United States, as the main supplier of weapons to Israel, to reconsider its position. Those weapons are for nothing less than murder. Apart from its systematic and premeditated use of lethal and sadistic weapons on occupied Palestine and Arab territories, Israel continues to propagate the myth of the non-existence of the Palestinian people, thereby frustrating all peaceful efforts to find a just and enduring settlement of the West Asian conflict. Indeed, the lesson we have learned from the Israeli invasion of neighbouring Lebanon and the destruction of Beirut is that, if Israel is not stopped, the West Asia problem will not only continue but also escalate until we are all swallowed up in the conflagration. At this point, I wish to pay homage to the valiant Palestinian freedom fighters for their outstanding qualities of fortitude, patriotism and courage in the face of overwhelming odds in their just struggle for their inalienable rights. I also take this opportunity to salute Chairman Yasser Arafat for his statesmanship, foresight and courage in leaving Beirut in order to spare the civilian population of that city continued Israeli savagery. Unfortunately, the sacrifice made by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] has been in vain.

14. Malaysia would also like to welcome the initiative taken recently at Fez by the Arab leaders at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, which reflects the reasonableness of their stand as much as their courage, statesmanship and, above all, their reaffirmation of their commitments to the Charter of the United Nations and to regional and international peace and security. This initiative presents to the international community a formula which will enable the Palestinians to return to their homes and freely exercise their God-given inalienable rights in their own homeland, Palestine. The Israelis have of course rejected the proposal outright. The world and the supporters of Israel must prevail upon that habitually intransigent country to return to sanity and the ways of civilization.

15. In Afghanistan, too, we continue to witness another example of the blatant use of force. There, too, we continue to find the misery and the travails of a people locked in an unequal struggle to preserve their faith, national identity and character, their sovereignty, dignity and freedom.

16. Indeed, the situation within Afghanistan, and that of the 3.5 million refugees forced into exile in neighbouring countries have given cause for unprecedented anxiety, particularly for weak and small nations of the world. To these nations, the continuance of the Afghan nationalist struggle is crucial. It is incumbent on the international community to see that this struggle succeeds.

17. We in Malaysia are fully committed to the restoration of the lawful rights of the Afghan people, including their right to determine for themselves their future, free from coercion, and to the return of the Afghan refugees to their homes in safety and with honour.

18. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General in initiating indirect talks with the parties concerned to find a political solution consistent with the United

Nations and resolutions of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on the Afghan problem.

19. It is disconcerting that the war between Iraq and Iran continues to rage. The conflict has gone on, far too long. It has taken a heavy toll in lives lost, in property destroyed, in wounds inflicted and in human misery. We must all therefore apply ourselves earnestly to the task of reconciling the two countries in the interests of the peoples of those countries themselves and those of the world at large. The fact is that there can be neither victor nor vanquished in this conflict.

20. Malaysia enjoys close and cordial relations with both Iran and Iraq and we therefore implore them to cease fighting and to accept mediation and reconciliation so that an honourable and enduring solution can be found.

21. My Government abhors South Africa's inhuman policy of *apartheid*. It is a travesty of justice and an affront to human dignity. *Apartheid*, coupled with the Pretoria régime's deliberate and provocative armed incursions into neighbouring States, constitutes a major cause of tension and instability, not only in Africa, but throughout the world. Malaysia will continue fully to support the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for equality, justice and dignity, and against *apartheid*. Those who champion human rights, or claim to do so, would do better to condemn the Pretoria régime, and treat it like the freak it is.

22. Another area of great concern to us is the problem of drug abuse. The world community has for a long time treated the drug problem as a social problem akin to poverty, slavery, child abuse and other social ills. In fact, drug addiction is all those social ills rolled into one. The youths afflicted with this problem are mental slaves with deviant tendencies who are permanently impoverished. The problem must be tackled at its source, and this can be done only if the United Nations acts positively. Failure to arrest this spreading scourge will destroy whole generations to come.

23. The age of empires and imperial Powers is practically over, but the world has not as yet become a better place for the previously colonized. There are many reasons for this, and among them is the banding together of the rich nations in order to maintain economic dominance, which some say is actually a form of imperialism.

24. We in Malaysia are very much affected by this. As a nation, we have tried to live within the rules, formal and informal, which govern economic relations between nations. We have even refrained from nationalizing industries set up during colonial days, which were engaged in literally extracting wealth from our country for foreigners who frequently do not even know where Malaysia is, much less care for the well-being of its people. But our patience and sense of fair play are being taxed to the limit by the market manipulations abroad which, in effect, reduce our people to the status of underpaid labourers. As a producer of primary commodities like tin, rubber and palm oil, we are as much entitled to a fair return on our outlay as any producer of manufactured goods in the developed countries. Producing these primary products is no longer merely a question of having enough land or minerals and cheap labour. These days,

expensive capital outlay is needed to explore, extract and develop them, and also to do the required research and development. The indications are that these costs and the technology required will increase steadily in the years to come. Thus, money is needed, not merely for profits, but for future development, for our own income and for the needs of the world.

25. While the manufactured goods that we buy are priced according to the costs of production and marketing—plus, of course, a hefty profit—the prices of primary products seem to bear no relation to any of those costs. They are priced according to the whims and fancies of a host of people who have nothing to do with their production. The various exchanges located in the developed countries literally manipulate prices in order to make a profit for the brokers, the dealers, the speculators and others. These people make money when the prices go up. They also make money when the prices come down. Therefore, it suits them to cause a “yo-yo” effect in commodity prices. In addition, these exchanges are exclusive clubs, where the producers are unable to secure membership. The brokers and others who trade on the exchanges are the same people who make the rules, apply the rules and arbitrate. Is it any wonder that whenever their profits are threatened they change the rules so as not only to save themselves, but to make a handsome profit as well?

26. That is the situation in the tin and rubber markets today. It has played havoc with my country's economy. We have tried to reduce price fluctuations by having producer-consumer agreements, but this is an arrangement that taxes the producers when prices are down but which benefits the consumers when price trends are upwards. It is a case of “heads I win, tails you lose”.

27. As if all that were not enough, the United States maintains a stockpile, ostensibly for strategic—meaning security—reasons. We fully support the needs of the United States for strategic reserves, but the administration of that reserve is clearly not influenced by problems of strategy. The stockpile is merely a rich nation's monopolistic weapon, used to depress prices of commodities for the benefit of the consumers.

28. Such is the fate of the producers of primary commodities that they now have to sell three to five times as much of their produce as they did 20 years ago in order to buy the same amount of manufactured goods from the developed countries. In other words, the gap between rich and poor has widened by 300 to 500 per cent in the last 20 years or so.

29. Malaysia is trying to break the vicious circle of the old commodity market system. We are trying to set up a more suitable system which will maintain reasonable prices while ensuring adequate supplies of tin and rubber to the world. To that end, we have tried to form a viable and effective producers' association. There is no intention to create a monopolistic situation. We know full well that unreasonableness on our part would result in reduced consumption and a switch to substitutes. We hope that producer countries everywhere will appreciate the need for this strategy and participate in it.

30. Commodity prices today are at their lowest. We can blame the recession for that. But what we regret is that this recession is man-made. There is no shortage of supply, nor is there a shortage of demand. Energy is plentiful and the level of technology is unprecedentedly high. Yet suddenly, no one wants to buy what only yesterday he could not get enough of. And those who want to buy are without the necessary foreign exchange. Indeed, many poor countries have virtually to sell their souls in order merely to survive.

31. As I have said, this world-wide depression is man-made. It is made in the powerful countries by short-sighted people. Foremost among the decisions that led to the diminution of world trade is the increase in interest rates. The high cost of money has reduced investments, shrunk inventories and stifled new business initiatives. Thus a lot of commodities are floating around unsold and unbought, further depressing prices.

32. True, some people have waxed rich in this depression, but the price is high in terms of unemployment, bankruptcies and misery for the poor. The world's economy cannot go on like this for long. There will be violence, riots and revolutions; Governments will fall, and anarchy will prevail. The longer the depression lasts, the longer it will take to recover.

33. As this depression is man-made, man must unmake it too. The first need is the lowering of interest rates, even if it causes slightly higher inflation. Secondly, the protectionism of the rich nations must be reduced if not done away with altogether. If this cannot be done, at least the protectionist policy should be made more discriminating. The developing nations should not be subjected to any protectionist measures. This should at least soften the impact of the recession on them. The rich countries, too, would benefit as the improved income of the poor would enable them to buy more manufactured goods. The world has suffered enough from this depression. We need action now. We need the reversal of policies that are so obviously wrong. We should like to appeal to those people who wield so much power to heed the needs of the world. Reverse the policies you have made, and the world will remember you as saviours.

34. The participating Members of the United Nations must congratulate themselves on the successful conclusion of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The days when the rich nations of the world could take for themselves whatever territory and resources they had access to are over. Henceforth all the unclaimed wealth of this earth must be regarded as the common heritage of all the nations of this planet. The seas and the sea-bed are undoubtedly going to be the source of wealth for the future. There is no reason why the minerals and other resources now found on the exposed surfaces of the planet will not be found in the sea-bed. The problem is, of course, one of exploration and extraction. The high cost and the sophisticated technology required will be well beyond the capacity of the poor nations. Unless they can have a share as of right whenever this wealth is extracted, the gap between them and the rich nations is going to widen even more. When finally they do have the capacity, much of the readily accessible wealth will have been exhausted.

It is to be hoped that, given the agreement on the law of the sea, the poor nations will get their fair share.

35. But there remain certain areas in the world which are not covered by any international agreement. According to present norms, territories colonized by the old colonial Powers must be decolonized—that is, they must be returned to the natives or the original inhabitants. United Nations concern on this issue is reflected in the permanent Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. However, there are still land areas which have neither natives nor settlers. There is therefore no one to inherit the land and to set up viable governments should the claims of the metropolitan Powers be given up. Because of this, little attention has been paid to these areas.

36. It is now time that the United Nations focused its attention on these areas, the largest of which is the continent of Antarctica. A number of countries have in the past sent expeditions there which have not limited themselves to mere scientific exploration but have gone on to claim huge wedges of Antarctica for their countries. Those countries are not depriving any natives of their lands, and they are therefore not required to decolonize. But the fact remains that those uninhabited lands do not legally belong to the discoverers, just as the colonial territories do not belong to the colonial Powers. Like the seas and the sea-bed, those uninhabited lands belong to the international community. The countries now claiming them must give them up so that either the United Nations can administer those lands or the present occupants can act as trustees for the nations of the world. At present the exploitation of the resources of Antarctica is too costly and the technology is not yet available, but no doubt the day will come when Antarctica can provide the world with food and other resources for its development. It is only right that such exploitation should benefit the poor nations as much as the rich.

37. Now that we have reached agreement on the law of the sea the United Nations must convene a meeting in order to define the problem of uninhabited lands, whether claimed or unclaimed, and to determine the rights of all nations to those lands. We are aware of the Antarctic Treaty,¹ concluded by a few nations, which provides for their co-operation for scientific research and prohibits non-peaceful activities. While there is some merit in this Treaty, it is nevertheless an agreement between a select group of countries and does not reflect the true feelings of the Members of the United Nations or their just claims. A new international agreement is required so that historical episodes are not made into facts to substantiate claims.

38. As I said at the beginning, the world is today beset by crises of various kinds. To believe otherwise would be to ignore the realities before us. It is imperative that we take cognizance of this fact and mobilize all our efforts to overcome these crises. We can do this if we choose to, or we can let the opportunity slip by. Never before has human ingenuity in science and technology reached such a level of development as it has today. But we must use it wisely, not in pursuit of sophisticated weaponry for purposes of war;

we must instead harness it for peaceful and beneficial uses for the common good.

39. It is an imperilled world in which we are living, and we must put it right at all costs. This could come about if nations were willing effectively to implement past and future resolutions of the United Nations and related agencies, for this would not only help to restore the international community's confidence in the United Nations but also contribute to the resolution of the current conflicts and crises. I urge all Members of the Organization to give their fullest co-operation and all support towards this end so that international peace, stability and security may be achieved.

40. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank the Prime Minister of Malaysia for the statement he has just made.

41. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Andreas van Agt and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

42. Mr. van AGT (Netherlands): Mr. President, I should like to convey to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Netherlands and on my own behalf, my congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly. I am convinced that your long experience in United Nations affairs will enable you to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of your high office and to guide us in our deliberations.

43. Much will depend upon your wisdom, for the Assembly convenes at a juncture marked by an atmosphere of crisis in international affairs, as well as a crisis in the multilateral approach to international affairs. Respect for and the use of multilateral forums both within and outside the United Nations seem to be on the decline, while a tendency towards bilateralism and a preoccupation with national problems are growing. We consider this to be a disquieting development. In times of crises such as those through which the world is now passing, we, the Governments and the States Members of the United Nations, share a particular and common responsibility to see to it that this trend is reversed and that co-operation among States resumes its rightful place in international relations.

44. This session of the General Assembly owes much to the Secretary-General for the way in which he has put before us the central problem of the Organization's capacity to keep the peace and to serve as a forum for negotiations. I fully share his anxiety and his disappointment about the inability of the United Nations to live up to the hopes the peoples of this world placed in it at its inception. I welcome his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] as an important signal to the international community and as a challenge to us all. We, for our part, will do our utmost to help him in his efforts to improve the credibility and the effectiveness of the Organization.

45. Two objectives which are fundamental to our mutual relations would, if properly pursued, make the world a better place to live in for everyone. They are complementary and are intertwined in such a

manner that the one cannot be neglected without harming the other. Those objectives are peace and security on the one hand and justice on the other.

46. It is sometimes argued that peace is the most important of all. Indeed, would a major war in our nuclear age not be synonymous with the annihilation of our civilization or even of mankind itself? Peace is certainly a prerequisite for the fulfilment of our aspirations, but we should not forget that security is essential to the process of peace. The principal organ of the United Nations concerned with peace is called the Security Council, not the Peace Council. Indeed, one of the major challenges before us is to make our system of collective security work.

47. Still, it is impossible to think of peace without at the same time thinking of justice, for there will be neither lasting peace nor genuine security without justice. Not only should relations between States, peoples and individuals be governed by it, but justice is also foremost in our minds when we come to think of such matters as the eradication of poverty and the promotion of human rights.

48. There are a number of areas in the world where peace is at best precarious or where a breach of the peace has already occurred. The most conspicuous of those areas is the Middle East, where—withstanding the presence of a United Nations peace-keeping force—a military invasion took place only three months ago. I shall not repeat here what Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, of Denmark, speaking on behalf of the members of the European Community, said so eloquently yesterday at the 8th meeting. Suffice it to say that the Netherlands fully associates itself with his condemnation of the invasion and with the indignation at the complete disregard for all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the sorrow for the suffering caused to the many—too many—victims.

49. In this connection I would pay a tribute to the memory of those who fell victim to the senseless murder in the refugee camps of Beirut. Atrocities of this magnitude call for an authoritative inquiry.

50. We cannot hope to find a durable solution to the problems of the Middle East unless such a solution is based upon security and justice. There is a clear need for all peoples in the region to live within secure borders. We shall have to keep in mind, however, that a line drawn on the map cannot provide genuine security. Borders can be secure only if they are recognized by all concerned as part of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement. There will have to be justice for all peoples: for those who lack a national home, for those whose territory is under foreign occupation and for those whose State has yet to receive full recognition.

51. The countries of the European Community have repeatedly stressed the need to ensure both security and justice for all peoples in the Middle East. We therefore welcome President Reagan's recent initiative as an important opportunity for peaceful progress to this end. I am equally happy to note that at Fez the Arab leaders expressed their readiness to work for the achievement of peace for all States in the region. I sincerely hope that these statements will pave the

way for the negotiated settlement which has eluded us so far and for which there is no alternative but endless war.

52. Let me turn for a moment to another area where peace has been regrettably absent for many years now: Afghanistan. As a direct result of the Soviet invasion 3 million people have left their country. We cannot but voice our indignation at the repression which followed the occupation of that unhappy, once non-aligned country. In order to control a population heroically fighting for its independence, 100,000 foreign troops are now stationed in Afghanistan. The intervention, which has caused the Soviet Union serious loss of prestige, has had a profound impact on international relations. I note in this respect, for instance, its very negative effect on efforts to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean.

53. We sincerely hope that it will be possible to arrive at a political solution to this question, and we therefore fully support the efforts undertaken to that effect by the Secretary-General.

54. Another victim of aggression, Kampuchea, seems to be in a slightly better position than it was in last year. Here various factions have been able to form a coalition under the chairmanship of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk. It is our sincere hope that this development will make it possible for the resolutions of the General Assembly on Kampuchea to be carried out and that there may be a better future around the corner for that country, which has suffered so much during the last five years. In this connection I should like to express my country's appreciation for the efforts of a number of States in the region, in particular the members of ASEAN which are playing such a positive and effective role in furthering the cause of peace.

55. Unfortunately there are many other areas in the world where peace is precarious or where efforts to reach a permanent settlement have failed so far. One such area is Korea, where, to my mind, better use could be made of the possibilities for dialogue and negotiation.

56. There is another area, however, where peace has been in danger for quite some time now but where there is hope for a settlement in the not too distant future. I am thinking of Namibia. If it were indeed possible to remove the remaining obstacles on the way to a just and lasting solution—and, needless to say, that is what we are all looking forward to—then the world will have witnessed an encouraging example of what can be achieved by patient and careful mediation. In that case the United Nations and the group of five Western States can be proud of having contributed to the accomplishment of independence for the people of Namibia and for having brought peace and, one hopes, lasting stability to a region which has gone through such a trying period. Let me only add at this stage, while negotiations are still continuing, that the Netherlands will gladly be of assistance during the transition.

57. Finally, whilst I am on the subject of peace, I should like to say a few words about the South Atlantic. I do not intend to go deeply into the matter for I can associate myself with what was said yesterday on behalf of the European Community by my colleague

from Denmark. Let me only add that we are happy to note that the recent grave events in which force was used, contrary to the principles of the Charter, especially the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, are now a thing of the past. The Netherlands continues to attach the greatest importance to its relations with the countries of South America with which it has many ties. Needless to say, we are looking forward to a further strengthening of our relations with those countries.

58. There will be no peace without security and there will be no security if the various arms races taking place in the world are allowed to continue. It is sad to note, therefore, in particular at a time when the need for concrete progress is so great, that the results of the Assembly's second special session on disarmament were so meagre. We shall have to redouble our efforts in Geneva, so as to make up for lost time. One way of doing this is to devise ways and means which would enable the Committee on Disarmament to carry out its mandate more effectively.

59. Only a few blocks away from the United Nations Office at Geneva other negotiations are taking place which are of crucial importance to us all. A successful outcome of the talks on the reduction of strategic arms, and, one hopes, the scrapping of an entire category of semi-strategic weapons, could have a decisive effect on arms control at large, and on the security of a great number of nations present here in New York.

60. While addressing the subject of security, I should like to make a few remarks on United Nations peace-keeping operations. As members know, the Netherlands has been, and still is, engaged in one of the major activities taking place in this field. UNIFIL, which includes a Dutch battalion, fulfilled an important task in keeping the peace in southern Lebanon—for a number of years anyway. Also, some progress was made toward the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government in that part of the country. Apart from the humanitarian assistance given to the numerous refugees in recent months, that has remained UNIFIL's main objective.

61. However, the difference between peace-keeping and peace-enforcing and the limitations under which peace-keeping forces operate and can be expected to operate have become painfully clear. Whenever one of the parties to a conflict shows a total disregard for a force of this nature and applies massive military pressure the United Nations presence is bound to lose much of its meaning.

62. It is impossible to speak of security without touching upon the Security Council. It is the nucleus of the system of collective security which is at the very heart of this great Organization of ours. A number of its resolutions have acquired the status of generally recognized international instruments. I very much agree with the Secretary-General that it is our common task to protect and enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council. I assure him that he may count on our full support when he takes it upon himself to bring potentially dangerous situations to the attention of the Council, as indeed Article 99 of the Charter invites him to do. Furthermore, the Netherlands welcomes his intention to develop a wider and more

systematic capacity for fact-finding in areas of potential conflict. The strengthening of the fact-finding capability of the Organization could be an important element in our efforts to maintain peace and security.

63. Occasionally special circumstances have led nations to resort to peace-keeping operations outside the United Nations framework. This may give cause for some concern. However, the maintenance of peace and stability must sometimes take precedence over considerations of an institutional nature. My country, for its part, has a strong preference for participation in peace-keeping activities decided upon by the Security Council. The Netherlands will shortly provide the Secretary-General with an updated offer for units to be made available for United Nations service.

64. Peace and security are not complete without justice. Therefore it is to justice that I shall devote the latter part of my speech. Justice has to do with the notion of the fair and equitable distribution of wealth and decision-making power. It implies that relations between nations are based on respect for the principle of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and that citizens are treated in accordance with the dignity inherent in the human person. These basic rights lie at the root of the international community's commitment to support processes aimed at self-reliance and to overcome poverty, in particular in the third world. Conceived in this way, justice assures the consent of individuals to the way in which they are governed and the consent of nations to the international order. Where justice is deficient that consent can at best be partial and there will be a constant danger to peace and security.

65. Let me give an example, that of Poland, a country that was also referred to by Mr. Elleman-Jensen when he spoke on behalf of the European Community. Nine months ago the Polish authorities, yielding to pressure from a powerful neighbour, decided to impose martial law, with ensuing large-scale violations of human rights. We all know the result: continuing turmoil, followed by increasing repression.

66. An important element in the search for justice is the promotion and protection of human rights, civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. The fact that human rights have become a generally recognized subject of international concern is one of the major achievements of the United Nations. My country's approach to human rights and to violation of those rights, wherever and whenever they occur, is impartial. We feel strongly that we should fight any abuse of those rights regardless of ideological context or geographical area. In this connection, let me just mention our anxiety about developments in Iran and Viet Nam. In some Central American countries, moreover, we see a vicious circle of repression and rebellion, resulting in massive human suffering and a rapidly growing number of refugees.

67. In South Africa the constitutional and political system continues to be based on the hideous policy of *apartheid*. The Netherlands remains committed, as it has always been, to doing everything in its power to help put an end to that system, which is intolerable to the majority of the population and has been rejected by the entire international community.

68. More often than not when we discuss human rights we do so on a country-by-country basis. However, it is also possible to look at these issues in a thematic way. This method has proved to be of some value in the Commission on Human Rights. One of its principal advantages is that it allows for a systematic, world-wide approach to such disturbing phenomena as enforced disappearances, mass exoduses, summary executions, torture, and the fate of people advocating the implementation of internationally agreed human rights instruments in their own countries. This approach, which is certainly not designed to enable individual Governments to evade their responsibilities, has proved to be a workable method in a number of cases, and one which could be further developed in the future. In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the practice of extra-legal executions as a means of political persecution. Some months ago Amnesty International organized in my country an international conference on this intolerable practice, which seems to be on the increase.

69. I think it cannot be denied that; on the whole, the principles in the field of human rights are clear and that what is needed, first and foremost, is implementation. Yet there remains a need for further refinement, if only to define the responsibilities of those who contravene human rights and to assure for all others, whether directly affected or not, the right to speak up and to act whenever such contraventions take place. States and individuals have both the right and the duty to play an active role in furthering the cause of justice. This explains our satisfaction at the adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief by the Assembly last year [*resolution 35/55*] after 20 years of drafting. It also explains why we look forward to the adoption of similar documents on medical ethics and on the protection of all persons under any form of detention or imprisonment, both of which are on the agenda of this current session.

70. The Organization has taken a variety of initiatives directed towards the improvement of the position of women and young people. As the end of the United Nations Decade for Women draws nearer, we should make even greater efforts to ensure the realization of its principles and objectives, namely, full and equal participation of women in development, in political life and in all social activities. We shall be successful only to the extent that we can bring about a fundamental change in prevailing attitudes and mentalities, which too often lead to discrimination against and, thus, to the subordination of women in our societies. The Netherlands will participate fully in the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*resolution 34/180, annex*].

71. The year in which the Decade for Women will end, 1985, will be International Youth Year. We attach great importance to the creation of effective channels of communication to involve the youth of our countries in various United Nations activities, such as those concerned with disarmament, arms control, development co-operation and human rights.

72. I need not stress the importance we attach to United Nations activities for refugees. During the

past few years, the refugee problem has reached staggering dimensions, particularly in the third world. Assiduous efforts are required to cope with this problem, and I can only express the hope that Member States will provide the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees with the assistance he so badly needs.

73. Finally, there are people whose situation in some respects resembles that of refugees. They are the migrant workers, who are dependent upon the state of the economy in their host countries. As a result of the current stagnation, many of them will end up as victims of double unemployment, both in the host country and at home. This problem may well require our special attention in the years to come.

74. Today, hunger is still a very real problem for all too many people in a great number of countries. These people do not get a fair opportunity to earn their own living and to provide themselves with the necessary food. Millions cannot fulfil their basic needs. There remains an intolerable discrepancy in living standards, and in the opportunities to improve them, between the industrialized and the developing countries. Underdevelopment and poverty are an integral part of the North-South problem.

75. Justice requires that a wide spectrum of measures be taken to promote the development of the countries of the South. I am thinking of measures in the field of sizeable and well-defined development assistance programmes, measures of a structural nature to eliminate bottlenecks in the areas of trade and investment and in the financial and monetary sphere, and also measures to promote the exploration, exploitation and local processing of commodities and the search for sources of energy.

76. All these activities are destined to contribute to the growth of the developing countries and to a better world-wide distribution of income and resources. We believe that we should make a common effort to explore ways and means to improve the international economic order.

77. There have been numerous efforts, in particular within the United Nations, to bring this about. Instruments for North-South co-operation, such as the strategies for the United Nations Development Decades, have been devised. The implementation of such measures as the 0.7 per cent aid target and the fight against protectionism in trade are matters that must be taken very seriously if justice is not to become a hollow word. Non-implementation could, in its effects, be almost as bad as disregard for Security Council decisions. It is jeopardizing co-operation between North and South, and threatening the United Nations as an organization whose decisions are to be taken seriously.

78. Those considerations have always guided my country's approach to these questions. I am happy to add that the Netherlands' development assistance has surpassed the 1 per cent mark.

79. The Netherlands had hoped that overall economic co-operation based on interdependence and solidarity between North and South could by now have been discussed at a new round of global negotiations. Unfortunately, we have been too optimistic. We

therefore urge all concerned to make a serious effort to find an early solution to the few difficulties that are still outstanding. The world community is in urgent need of a framework for dealing, in an inter-related way and at a high political level, with the key issues that bedevil international economic relations and hamper development in the third world.

80. In the meantime, it is important that other negotiations dealing with specific problem areas be conducted in a constructive spirit. Solutions agreed in such negotiations should also benefit those whose needs are greatest but who are not in a position to offer concessions. The notion of the survival of the fittest is not applicable to relations between human beings or States.

81. In a stormy and uncertain world, the United Nations is an essential institution for the pursuit of the two overriding and closely interconnected objectives for international co-operation: peace and justice. As the Secretary-General so rightly observed, it is all too easy to indulge in extreme and inflexible positions. But what can one hope to accomplish by generating rhetoric and intolerance? Instead let us try to respect each other's views and positions, thus paving the way for a more meaningful dialogue.

82. With that in mind, I wish you, Mr. President, and all those assembled here today wisdom and good luck in the coming months. We shall need a lot of both if we are to make progress towards the realization of the principles and purposes to which we are committed as Members of the United Nations.

83. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank the Prime Minister of the Netherlands for the important statement he has just made.

84. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all to express the heartfelt congratulations of the Senegalese delegation to you, Sir, on your brilliant election to the presidency of the Assembly. Your long experience in the United Nations, your unanimously recognized competence, your solid intellectual and moral qualities are all a guarantee of the success of this important session.

85. It is also a great pleasure for me to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the remarkable way in which he conducted the debates at the thirty-sixth session. We express these feelings to him, with pride and appreciation, convinced that the results attained at the many sessions that took place this year are due in large measure to the expertise and intelligent authority that he demonstrated in accomplishing his delicate task.

86. I wish to pay a tribute also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for his tireless efforts and to congratulate him warmly once again on behalf of Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, and on behalf of the Government and people of Senegal, on his election as Secretary-General. For almost a year now, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, through his repeated initiatives and courageous actions, has been engaged in the promising beginning of work that will be remembered in history as particularly positive for the peace and security of the world.

87. The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is opening at an especially disquieting time in

international affairs with an increase and intensification of hotbeds of tension and various conflicts as well as an ever-worsening imbalance in political and economic relations among nations. Thus relations between the major Powers are steadily deteriorating, the prospects for effective disarmament seem to be receding and throughout the world the problems dividing peoples are multiplying dangerously. Moreover, progress in reorganizing the world economy on a more just and agreed basis is perilously slow.

88. We must therefore determine how to use the framework, structures and procedures provided us by the United Nations to improve, in peace and stability, the situation of the world.

89. In contributing to this debate, we should like to express first of all, on behalf of Mr. Abdou Diouf, head of State, and of our country, Senegal, the fervent hope that at this session the Assembly will not shy away from the need for a lucid analysis of the problems confronting the international community nor from the courageous and persistent search for the most appropriate solutions, so that mankind may at last come to experience an era of peace, security and prosperity in the very spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

90. Indeed, the situation facing the community of nations is but a sign that the international order which was established after the Second World War has run its course. Among the anomalies in this international order, colonialism and *apartheid* have shown exceptional longevity. Outlawed by the international community for many years now for its odious system of government, South Africa, supported materially, financially and militarily by certain industrialized States, still arrogantly ignores the resolutions and recommendations of the Organization. Today, four and a half years after the adoption of the settlement plan which was to have led Namibia to independence, the Pretoria racist régime is still trying, through unspeakable manoeuvres, to promote the establishment of a so-called internal settlement—as though the edifying example of Zimbabwe had not demonstrated the fate that history unfailingly reserves for that type of undertaking. Not satisfied with trampling underfoot the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Government of South Africa persists in its use of violence and repression against Namibian patriots while perpetrating ever more acts of aggression against neighbouring States in general, and in particular, against Angola, part of whose territory remains occupied illegally by Pretoria's troops.

91. It is none the less a fact that the mobilization of South Africa's political and military apparatus can in no way affect the outcome of the freedom fight waged by our brothers of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

92. A year ago, during the eighth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia, a good number of us still harboured the hope that 1982 would be the year of independence for Namibia. Those hopes were dashed, basically because of the delaying tactics of the Pretoria leaders. In fact, in response to the responsible and courageous attitude taken by SWAPO in the negotiations initiated by the contact group of the five Western countries,

South Africa, running out of pretexts, is today attempting to give an East-West dimension to a strictly colonial-type problem by making new demands of certain sovereign States in the region at every stage.

93. My delegation wishes once again to appeal to the group of Western countries that initiated the settlement plan to bring more pressure to bear on the Pretoria régime to induce it, in the negotiations under way, to comply with the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the only valid framework in which a solution in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people can be found.

94. In this respect, it is fitting to underscore the efforts undertaken, in sometimes difficult conditions, by the five countries of the contact group. May they find in our words renewed encouragement to continue these efforts, because a solution to the Namibian problem will be an important stage towards peace and stability in that part of the world.

Mr. Moreno-Salcedo (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

95. We say "stage" because genuine peace cannot be established in southern Africa so long as the racist minority continues to deny the majority in South Africa itself the fundamental right to a life of dignity and freedom. The condemned system of *apartheid*, which has created a dangerous and explosive situation throughout southern Africa, calls for active solidarity on the part of all of us with the oppressed majority of South Africa. I take this opportunity to reaffirm here, on behalf of my country, the determination of the Government and the people of Senegal to continue to provide aid and support to our brothers in South Africa organized in the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

96. At the other end of the continent, Western Sahara is today the basis for problems which Africa could and should have been able to avoid. We in Senegal continue to hope that a dynamic African-style compromise will be found soon in order to extract the continental organization from the present dangerous impasse.

97. As for the Comorian island of Mayotte, we shall continue to encourage the parties concerned to engage in constant dialogue and we reiterate our readiness to do everything within our means to help them to do that.

98. It often happens that on the eve of a session an important event moves to front stage on the international scene. This applies today to the Middle East crisis. The deterioration of the situation in that part of the world has now reached alarming proportions. The problem before us in that region is all the more alarming because the Security Council has still not managed to obtain the implementation of the measures it has adopted to achieve the restoration of a just peace in that area through respect for the immutable principles of international law.

99. Since the last three sessions of the General Assembly, the Israeli leaders have not confined themselves to making further claims on the occupied Arab territories: they have again moved into action with the annexation of the eastern part of the city of Jerusalem in June 1980, action which the international community condemned in the most categorical terms and which

my country, Senegal, continues to oppose within the Al Quds Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

100. Thus, after having annexed the Syrian Golan Heights last December, the Tel Aviv authorities, deaf to the repeated appeals of the international community, seem today to have decided to accelerate the process of annexing the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, while the occupation of part of the Lebanese territory continues. The criminal massacre just a few days ago of innocent Palestinian civilians—women, children and the elderly—unfortunately once again demonstrates a policy which is immoral and categorically condemned by international law. By that new act of blind violence, Israel has once again become an outlaw in our community, which has laid down its rules for peaceful and sound coexistence based on philosophical and political principles that have constituted and still constitute the positive extension of all that is lofty and great in the history of human endeavour.

101. Need we recall the bloody premeditated invasion of Lebanon by Israel in June 1982, with the avowed purpose of drowning the resistance of Palestinian patriots in blood? The military liquidation of the PLO, in Israeli logic, was designed to allow the Tel Aviv authorities to impose on the inhabitants of the occupied territories an "autonomous" status which would only facilitate the final annexation of the territories occupied by force since 1967. The blind massacre of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians therefore compounded the most serious challenge that has ever been posed to the authority of the Organization.

102. Thus defying with impunity the authority of the United Nations, Israel continues to demand that the legitimate rights of the peoples of the region be sacrificed to the imperatives of its so-called security. It is clear that the United Nations could not and cannot accept the dangerous prospect of such a situation.

103. The Palestinian nation exists; it is built on suffering and frustration and seasoned by years of struggle for freedom and independence. As it hails the courage and determination with which the valiant Palestinian patriots continue to resist the repeated assaults of the Israeli aggressor, my country, Senegal, wishes solemnly to reaffirm here its constant and unswerving support of the Palestinian cause, under the guidance of its authentic and legitimate representative, the PLO, courageously led by Yasser Arafat, to whom I wish here, on behalf of my country, to pay a heartfelt tribute for the admirable and victorious way in which for several weeks he organized the heroic Palestinian resistance in west Beirut. To that I add the support of the Senegalese people for the brother people of Lebanon which, through its dignity and spirit of self-sacrifice, is providing the world a living example of its genius and capacity for survival.

104. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, over which my country has the honour to preside, long ago outlined the framework for a just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East question. In the past as today, our basic objective must be to implement the recommendations of that Committee, as well as those of the

Security Council, so that the Palestinian people will not lose hope in the triumph of international law, for, if it did, that would only pointlessly prolong a tragedy whose outcome in the short or long run is perfectly clear: nothing can be imposed on a people which refuses to submit.

105. The stakes are high. At issue is the credibility of the United Nations in small countries and with oppressed peoples, which, like the Palestinian people, are only claiming their right to freedom and independence.

106. It makes our countries very bitter to note that the indifference to the appeals of the community of nations has become almost deafness today when problems directly affecting the freedom and dignity of third-world peoples are involved. Like the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan remain subject to laws imposed upon them by foreign Powers in defiance of the principles of the Charter. In all those cases the United Nations has repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of the occupying troops and the restoration of the sovereignty of those States by the formation of legitimately chosen Governments. My country, Senegal, will continue to support law and justice, which are on the side of those who are subjected by force to intolerable situations, as is the case today in Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

107. With respect more particularly to the problem of Kampuchea, the *Ad Hoc* Committee which was created by the International Conference convened on the question in July 1981—a Committee over which my country presides—is continuing its efforts to formulate concrete proposals so that negotiations may at last take place, to the benefit of the Kampuchean people, which has suffered so much from this tragedy. True, a solution is certainly not yet in sight, but there is reason for hope, as attested to by the formation last June of a coalition Government composed of the various components of the heroic resistance of the people of Kampuchea.

108. With regard to Afghanistan, my country has been following with sustained interest the efforts made by the Secretary-General to achieve an acceptable solution to this problem in the true interest of this sorely tried brother people. We remain ready, in the name of solidarity among nations and the principles contained in the Charter, to contribute to these peace efforts within the limits of our modest possibilities, convinced as we are that a stubborn desire to find a solution by force will simply pointlessly prolong the tragedy of the people of Afghanistan and serve only to increase tension among the States of the region.

109. As for the distressing Iraq-Iran conflict, the international community should show greater tenacity by increasing and strengthening the efforts already undertaken under various auspices to induce the two belligerents to settle their dispute by peaceful means, within the framework of a comprehensive, just and honourable solution. The Islamic Peace Committee, established in January 1981 at Taif, the mediation committee of the movement of non-aligned countries, and the United Nations have made praiseworthy efforts in this connection; the international community should encourage pursuit of those efforts in order to put an

end to a conflict with many repercussions for international security.

110. We should also give our attention to the question of Korea. The principle of reunification, which has been accepted by both countries, should be encouraged by the Organization.

111. Peace through law, the basis for the foundation of the United Nations, has not yet been established as a guarantee of international security. Quite the contrary, peace through terror seems to have replaced the rule of law in a world now more than ever before dominated by clashes between the interests of Powers and ideologies.

112. While many decisions of the Organization remain unimplemented, the race for destructive power continues inexorably, posing an increasing threat to the peace and security of our planet.

113. The difficulty of changing this situation, which is so dangerous for the future of mankind, has just been demonstrated once again by the failure of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which had inspired legitimate hope in all those, like us, for whom halting the arms race is one of the major concerns of our time. It is disquieting, to say the least, that in an international situation which is constantly deteriorating, at that session it was not possible to achieve some minimal results; this points to a lack of genuine political will to achieve progress. But the fact that that session did not lead to concrete results only strengthens our attachment to the historic validity of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2] and to the comprehensive programme of disarmament prescribed therein, which has become more imperative than ever. That failure, however regrettable it may be, must not win out over our determination to redouble our efforts to succeed in the task of disarmament, which remains one of the essential keys to international peace and security.

114. Important items on the agenda of that session—for example, those concerning studies, the improvement of the effectiveness of institutional machinery for disarmament and new initiatives—were not considered substantively. Along with other delegations present here, we hope that this thirty-seventh session will provide us with the opportunity to go more deeply into these matters in our debates; they have the highest priority of any, for on them depends the security of the world.

115. While current political events are a source of preoccupation for the international community, the economic situation, too, points to the need to mobilize all possible political will to make genuine progress. Indeed, if there are anomalies in international political relations, these exist also—and certainly to a greater extent—in economic relations among nations. It is good that everyone has realized this and that there is unanimous agreement that one of the great problems of our day is the revision of economic relations, particular between the rich countries and the poor countries.

116. That problem is all the more crucial because the disparities in the world economy, especially between North and South—and their consequences for interna-

tional co-operation for development—foster a practically chronic instability in world political relations.

117. Within nations, revolutions have always resulted from injustice, abuses and social inequalities. But this time the shock-waves could affect the international order itself, for we are threatened by a vast worldwide confrontation which could bring the rich of the world into dangerous collision with the poor.

118. Unfortunately, this year, like past years, has provided a significant illustration of the inadequacy of the efforts made by the developed countries on behalf of the developing countries.

119. There is, of course, some cause for satisfaction, such as the successful outcome of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. But the various summits of the countries of the North have not lived up to the expectations of the countries of the South, for they have not resulted in the necessary decisions, which would have been such as to lead to a resumption of the North-South dialogue.

120. In our view, the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is all the more important because of the solutions it must strive to find for the many imbalances at present facing the international economy. In that connection, this session should promote the launching of global negotiations, which will provide a long-term framework for changing the present irrational and unjust system of international economic relations.

121. The head of State of Senegal, President Abdou Diouf, has constantly emphasized the special importance attached by my country to the launching of global negotiations in order to promote the international co-operation they are bound to foster. For three years the General Assembly has been adopting by consensus resolutions concerning the global round of negotiations. It is urgent, we feel, that the necessary political will will finally emerge in order to bring about the consensus needed to open the negotiations on an acceptable and just basis.

122. I now come to a question to which my Government attaches very great importance. I refer to the drafting by the Organization of an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries.

123. The Government of Senegal, indeed, has always defended here and elsewhere, on every occasion, the principles recognized by the United Nations, including those regarding the independence, national sovereignty and equality in law of States, non-interference in their internal affairs, and the non-use of force in relations between States. There is no need to stress that respect for those principles is an important condition for the establishment of international peace and security.

124. In that spirit, my Government believes that no consideration of any kind can justify the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries, or armed support for the actions of certain groups which rise up in rebellion against the legal Governments of sovereign States.

125. It will be recalled that my country was a sponsor of the text adopted as resolution 35/48, and played an active part in its adoption by the Assembly.

That resolution established the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries. We played that role because Senegal believes that an international convention on the subject would make a contribution to the elimination of a major cause of disturbances and destabilization in relations between States.

126. The threat posed by the activities of mercenaries in the third world in general, and in Africa in particular, has been growing. Unfortunately, despite the impressive number of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] condemning the activities of mercenaries, it can easily be stated that the recruitment and use of mercenaries, with orders to take destabilizing action in independent African countries, has not, it seems to us, noticeably diminished.

127. In the face of that situation, the African countries, through the OAU, have adopted a convention on the elimination of mercenarism in Africa. But that legal instrument is of only regional scope and cannot solve the problem throughout the world. To do that, there must be a contribution by all the States members of the community of nations, for most of those mercenaries come from non-African countries. Thus, only rational international co-operation can rid the African continent and the rest of the third world of the constant grave threat posed by that danger.

128. It is therefore the responsibility of the Organization, and more specifically the General Assembly, to draw up and adopt as swiftly as possible the text of an international convention against the recruitment, use, training and financing of mercenaries in order to respond adequately to the hopes the international community has placed and continues to place in the Organization.

129. In this connection we should like to welcome the draft convention that has been introduced by Nigeria [see A/37/43 and Corr.1, annexes I and II]. We would venture to hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee will continue to give this document all the attention its urgency and importance merit. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that the *Ad Hoc* Committee will not fail in its mandate and that, after the recent adoption by the General Assembly of the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages [resolution 34/146, annex], a convention on mercenaries will complement the range of legal instruments adopted by the United Nations in order to provide effective protection of human rights and the rights of peoples throughout the world.

130. The confidence which we place in the United Nations has prompted us at this session to reaffirm with all sincerity our earnest commitment to seeking a permanent solution to the burning issues of the present day. If relations among nations are to be based on genuine peaceful coexistence, it is essential that conciliation rather than conflict, co-operation rather than confrontation, be the general rule in these relations. Only thus can our ultimate goal—to bring about world peace on a total basis and in perpetuity, together with prosperity and justice—be achieved. To that end, a restructuring of the Organization is more necessary than ever.

131. In the state of restless change that is the fundamental law of our present-day world—and never has change been as swift as it is today—it is essential that peoples and institutions adapt to new conditions. The United Nations, our Organization, can be no exception.

132. The revision, or, rather, the adaptation of the Charter to the present international situation is essential if we are to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in settling problems relating to peace and security throughout the world. In this connection the delegation of Senegal, in accordance with instructions received from its Government, would like to reiterate its support for and confidence in the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization and would encourage it to pursue its work actively so as to conclude its mandate as expeditiously as possible.

133. It should not be forgotten that, by virtue of the role it has played and continues to play in the major turning-points in the history of mankind, the United Nations remains the support and hope, the refuge and benchmark for nations in their ceaseless quest for peace and happiness. It is for that reason that Senegal supports it and pledges its co-operation in its historic, noble and inspiring work for the survival of mankind.

134. Mr. CONTEH (Sierra Leone): At the outset, on behalf of the Government and people of Sierra Leone, I would offer Mr. Hollai warm felicitations on his unanimous election as President of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and express my delegation's confidence that under his able guidance the session will be a successful one. We are aware of his distinguished record as Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of his country, and we have no doubt that his experience adequately equips him for the position he has now been called upon to assume.

135. I would also express my delegation's gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for his efforts and contributions at the last session of the Assembly.

136. This is the first opportunity I have had personally and publicly to congratulate Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election to the high and exacting office of Secretary-General. Of course, the Government of Sierra Leone communicated its felicitations and good wishes through the usual channels immediately after his election.

137. The United Nations was founded on the ashes of global destruction which made man resolve that force would never again be used save in the collective defence of our common good. Regrettably, over the years we have strayed from the goals and ideals that inspired the efforts culminating in the founding of the United Nations, a fact which has contributed to the increasing and heightening of global tension and insecurity on an unprecedented scale, and we have failed to establish the scheme for collective security planned by the founding fathers of the Organization.

138. Today there is a recrudescence of resort to unilateral force by States. This is in total disregard of the scheme and provisions of the Charter and the Organization. As a consequence the world today faces a massive betrayal of faith, whether it be in the

problems of divided nations, the situation in South-East Asia, Namibia's accession to independence, or recognition and affirmation of the inalienable right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. States or groups of States increasingly resort to special arrangements in total disregard of the collective pledge we made 37 years ago "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

139. This phenomenon manifests itself today in an unprecedented global arms race wherein nations large and small pursue the elusive goal of national security in the strength of national arms. This goal has so far proved illusory, and after two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to the question of disarmament, it remains illusory.

140. It is this need for the reaffirmation of faith in the basic principles and ideals that gave birth to the Organization that has impelled the Government of Sierra Leone to seek the inclusion in the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly of an item entitled "Implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security". This is both an exercise in practical utility and a reaffirmation of faith. On the one hand, it will demonstrate to those who are minded to resort to unilateral force that the rest of us can and will stand up to them; on the other, it is a reaffirmation of our faith that only in our collective security and its maintenance and pursuit lies our individual safety and salvation. Perhaps at this stage it is timely to recall that it was the failure of the international community in another era to observe these imperatives that resulted in the demise of the League of Nations. We do not want to reap another harvest of failure in the United Nations.

141. Indeed, we feel at one with the *cri de cœur* of the Secretary-General when he bemoans, in his report on the work of the Organization, the fact that the procedures and methods collectively agreed upon are blithely ignored and set aside in pursuit of national parochial interests when it comes to the maintenance of international peace and security. We support his timely call for measures to strengthen the integrity and credibility of the Organization and to restore its effectiveness.

142. It is for that reason that I want to commend to the Assembly's attention and consideration the modest proposal of the Government of Sierra Leone.

143. This year has certainly been a particularly chilling one for the forces of international peace and co-operation. We have witnessed, in succession, a retreat in the ranks of two important international organizations that together complement the endeavours of the United Nations in strengthening the delicate fabric of international peace and security. I refer to the seeming paralysis affecting the OAU and the non-aligned movement, which this year had cause to abandon their important meetings because of differences among their members.

144. In the case of the non-aligned movement, the regrettable war between Iran and Iraq—two important members of the movement—forced it to postpone the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was to have been

held in Baghdad this year. Happily, the resilience of the members of the non-aligned movement and their dedication to the ideals and principles of peace have enabled them to agree on New Delhi as a new venue. For this, the Government of Sierra Leone wishes in advance to express its appreciation to the Government and people of India for their readiness to serve as host to that important meeting in the fine and historical tradition of India as a defender of the values of the non-aligned movement.

145. We can only hope that these developments will have brought home to the two warring countries of Iran and Iraq the inescapable and compelling necessity to bring their hostilities to a speedy end.

146. In the case of the OAU, it is evidently the admission to membership in that organization of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic that has precipitated the crisis. It should be realized that this is an issue on which there are strong and deep-seated feelings among members of the OAU. That is why the Government of Sierra Leone, which only recently had the exacting but rewarding task of serving as Chairman of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, believes that through patient and constructive dialogue and respect for the rights and positions of the parties to the Western Sahara question, coupled with the determination of every African country, we can and should make the OAU functional again.

147. In that connection, Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, recently addressed certain modest proposals to the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly, President Daniel Arap Moi of the Republic of Kenya, in order to reactivate the organization so as to enable it to continue its work, complementary to that of the United Nations, of advancing the frontiers of peace and co-operation.

148. A review of the political landscape of our world infuses the observer with nothing but deep gloom and foreboding, accentuating the extent to which we have strayed from the path we charted for ourselves some 37 years ago. Persistent violations of the basic principles of international relations have led to foreign aggression and occupation, domination and interference in the internal affairs of States. Indeed, never before in recorded history has the incidence of violence and the readiness to resort to violence been so high as it is in our time. We are witnesses to ugly scenes of political rivalry, needless violence, social injustice and a steady, inexorable degradation of human values.

149. It was with shock and dismay that we received the news of the massacre in the refugee camps of Shatila and Sabra in Lebanon of innocent and defenceless Palestinian men, women and children whose only crime was to hunger for a State of their own. These atrocities have rightly offended and revolted the conscience of right-thinking men and women throughout the world.

150. The state of affairs in the Middle East is a classic manifestation of that betrayal of faith I referred to earlier and a further demonstration of the extent to which we have strayed from the goals we set ourselves sometimes. In 1947, it may be recalled, the Assembly adopted resolution 181 (II), positing the partitioning of

Palestine into both a Jewish entity and a Palestinian entity. That measure, though it smacked of usurpation to the Arab population of Palestine at the time, was none the less a visionary and humanitarian act by the rest of the international community, under the shadow of the gruesome spectacle of Auschwitz, Treblinka and Dachau, to provide a homeland for an ancient, gifted and much-maligned people. Thus was the State of Israel created with the imprimatur of the international community. Today, what do we see? Arrogance, self-righteous defiance, even a denial of faith and the human stirrings of the emotions that made Israel itself possible. The rest of the world is not against the State and people of Israel, but against the obdurate, inflexible, short-sighted and misguided policies of the present Israeli leadership.

151. The present Israeli authorities, against massive international public opinion, have continued on their dangerous course of presenting the world with various *faits accomplis*—with the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and the extension of Israeli settlements on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Those are measures which the Government of Sierra Leone totally rejects; I reiterate its condemnation.

152. Recent activities, by way of proposals to find a solution to the Middle East problem, will be enriched, be more acceptable and prove enduring if they are particularly faithful to the spirit of resolution 181 (II): namely, the need to have in Palestine both an Israeli State and a State for the Palestinians, both together, with other States in the area, living in peace and security. It is in that spirit that we welcome the recent proposals by Arab leaders at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference in Fez [see A/37/696].

153. There is no magic formula for a solution to the Middle East problem; this, we submit, is the key to the problem, and a solution is not so impossible to achieve. All that is required is vision, courage and flexibility on the part of Israel, for Israel cannot claim the right to live and deny that right to the Palestinians.

154. We take this opportunity to proffer to the Government and people of Lebanon our deep sympathy on the loss of lives and destruction to property it has been their lot to endure through historical and geographical circumstances, resulting directly from the lack of a satisfactory settlement to the Palestinian problem. And while we wish the new Government of Lebanon well, in the hope that it will consolidate the national unity of that country, we want to emphasize the necessity to preserve and observe the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon—and this applies particularly to Israel—and to reiterate our rejection and condemnation of Israel's recent activities in Lebanon, especially in Beirut.

155. Still on the subject of the Middle East, the situation in the Gulf continues to give cause for concern. The Iranian-Iraqi conflict has intensified since the last session of the Assembly. We have witnessed another massive offensive recently by both parties to the conflict, in the mistaken belief that one side can impose its will by force of arms on the other. We renew our call on both parties to harken to the summons of peace by the international community,

in various forums, and to arrive at a lasting solution to their problems.

156. A return to normalcy is yet to be achieved in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. This is because respect for and observance of the principles and purposes of the Organization are still to be achieved. We are concerned over the inhuman conditions prevailing in those countries, resulting in the exodus of peaceful citizens to neighbouring States to seek refuge, a situation that has created in its wake, enormous social and economic problems for those countries. We reiterate our belief that it is the imprescriptible right of the people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea to work out their own destinies without let or hindrance by foreign intervention or domination.

157. My Government is concerned about the problem of divided nations, for we believe that a people can only realize its fullest potential in unity and peace. It is in that spirit, therefore, that the Government of Sierra Leone looks forward to the resumption of negotiations aimed at a peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. For we believe that in unity the valiant and historic people of the Korean peninsula will have greater contributions to make to our world in the search for solutions to our problems.

158. In the same vein, we hope that now that the intercommunal talks on Cyprus have resumed, and at an accelerated pace, there will soon emerge a formula for peace acceptable to both sides and in consonance with the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus. We urge all those who can contribute to helping this process to do whatever they can to ensure its progress.

159. Even as we talk about the problems of divided nations, we are still confronted with peoples yearning to be free. A particular responsibility of the Organization in this regard is the accession of the people and Territory of Namibia to independence. When the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), we thought that we were on the eve of Namibia's independence; but today, four years later, the process seems to be caught in the welter of negotiations that quite frankly do not have anything to do with the problem. The linkage of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola to the issue of Namibia's independence is, in our view, extraneous and quite unrelated to the issue of self-determination for the Territory of Namibia and the cessation of South Africa's illegal occupation thereof. This is all the more evident when it is recalled that almost from its inception the United Nations has been concerned about the fate of the Territory of Namibia, even long before Angola's independence and well before the advent of Cuban troops therein.

160. Regrettably, the process of Namibia's accession to independence is, at one turn or the other, attended by delay, vacillation, subterfuge, and sometimes even plain double talk. It is the view of the Government of Sierra Leone that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the sole basis for the accession of Namibia to independence. Therefore, to bring in the question of the presence of foreign troops in neighbouring territories is to us but a further betrayal of the goals which the authors of resolution 435 (1978)

themselves postulated in the highest organ of the Organization.

161. This is also, sadly, a further manifestation of the departure from the goals we set ourselves which often compounds the problems of our world. Namibia must be free. We therefore want to take this opportunity to urge all States Members of the United Nations, especially the authors of resolution 435 (1978), to help us and themselves keep faith with our common pledge to ensure that Namibia achieves independence without further delay. Enough is enough.

162. In South Africa itself the racist Pretoria régime pursues with reckless abandon its policy of disregard for the revulsion felt by the rest of the international community at the abomination that is *apartheid*. The black majority of the inhabitants of that unhappy country continue to be denied in the daily round of their lives their very essence and dignity as human beings, simply on the score of the pigmentation of their skin. We have heard about recent moves even by the very practitioners and proponents of *apartheid* to temper its rigours and harshness. But the absurdity of the exercise explains its lukewarm reception, even by its supposed beneficiaries. I refer here to the so-called constitutional proposals for power-sharing by Indians and so-called Coloureds in a presidential council. *Apartheid* is a system which represents the negation of man's humanity and cannot be modified but must be wholly extirpated. In defiance of world public opinion, the Pretoria régime continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security. Today we stand helpless while the independent neighbouring States fall victim to South Africa's predatory activities, acts of aggression, sabotage and destabilization.

163. Moreover, in furtherance of these despicable policies, South Africa resorts to brutal methods of political assassination, even against victims who take refuge from it in neighbouring countries.

164. Such activities cannot be allowed to go on unchallenged and unchecked. We therefore call for the comprehensive application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, to remove the threat to international peace and security that South Africa represents. For, without doubt, to allow South Africa to continue with abandon its depredations represents a further betrayal of that collective pledge we made to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women".

165. Even as the world is faced with a depressing and deteriorating political climate, we can draw no comfort from the burning economic problems which all countries, developed and developing, are going through. It is clear that the developing countries, by virtue of the fragility of their economic structures, have had to contend to a more serious degree with the devastating and far-reaching effects of global economic tremors. Evidence of this has come out with forceful emphasis and candour in successive reports on the current world economic situation by development and financial institutions.

166. For most, if not all developing countries, the prevailing economic circumstances can be referred to as a nightmare from which they cannot escape

without immediate substantial assistance. Stagnant, and in some cases declining, economic growth, low productivity, poor and diminishing returns for increasing export of their raw materials, high interest rates, diminishing financial flows from bilateral and multilateral sources, intolerable debt burdens running at some \$600 billion and the cost of servicing this burden are fetters on an economic wheel that is gradually grinding to a halt in the third world, condemning thereby two thirds of our world to a life of misery and squalor.

167. Let it be recalled that one of the purposes and principles of the United Nations is that it should be a centre for the harmonization of the actions of nations in the achievement of international co-operation for the solution of various problems, particularly of an economic nature. This explains the relentless efforts within the halls and organs of the Organization to ensure the establishment of a new international economic order.

168. When, three years ago, by General Assembly resolution 34/138, it was decided to launch the global round of negotiations, high hopes and expectations were aroused in the majority of mankind that at last the real problems of the world in such crucial areas as money and finance, trade and development and natural resources and energy were about to be grappled with in a meaningful and constructive manner and within a more comprehensive framework of mutual interests, underscoring the aspirations of both rich and poor nations.

169. Unfortunately, those hopes and expectations have so far not been realized, even though at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development at Cancún last year commitments were made at the highest political level by a cross-section of the international community. We wish to emphasize here and now our earnest belief that it is time that the global negotiations were got under way.

170. We appeal to and urge all countries not to allow short-term and ephemeral national interests to spoil the chances of these global negotiations. My country, for its part, is ready and willing to do everything in its power to promote understanding and co-operation between all nations, North and South, East and West, in order to contribute towards the establishment of a new and just international economic order from which all countries, developed and developing, will assuredly stand to benefit.

171. As the sixth session of UNCTAD approaches, it is our earnest hope that Member States will work towards conducting meaningful exchanges in that forum and the adoption of effective decisions that will enhance our collective well-being. We have no doubt that the agenda which has been adopted will render such discourse possible.

172. On behalf of the delegation of Sierra Leone I take this opportunity to thank the Government and people of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for generously agreeing to host that session.

173. With regard to the forthcoming ministerial session of GATT, it is my delegation's firm belief that that organization can serve as an effective instrument of economic advancement and as a catalyst for interna-

tional trade, particularly in the developing countries. We therefore hope that the forthcoming session will give positive consideration to such topical issues as protectionism and structural adjustment, preferential trade treatment and trade in commodities, with the aim of finding more acceptable and just solutions to these problems. My country will endeavour to play its own part in this respect.

174. One of the most urgent problems requiring solution, particularly in Africa, is related to the production of adequate, secure and sustained food supplies for that continent's growing population and the development of agriculture in general. It is significant that, while the world food situation is generally said to have taken a turn for the better, the only exception in this happy trend is Africa. No one can deny the will and readiness of all African countries to find solutions to their food and agricultural difficulties. However, with the greatest number of poor and least developed countries, Africa cannot succeed in doing this alone without sufficient aid from the international community. With an annual population growth estimated at 2.5 per cent, a decline in food production of 1.2 per cent in the 1970s and an even worse projection for the 1980s, Africa and the international community will be required to mobilize tremendous resources in order to arrive at solutions commensurate with the seriousness of the issue and the magnitude of the task.

175. One common denominator in all the economic issues I have highlighted is the need to translate our avowed commitment to the principles of international co-operation and development into practical measures to make such co-operation meaningful and productive. In this connection, my Government has noted with considerable disappointment the downward trend in the flow of financial resources, both bilateral and multilateral, particularly over the last few years, to development agencies such as the World Bank and UNDP.

176. This tendency weakens the effectiveness of those bodies, on which many developing countries depend for supplementary resources in their struggle for survival and social and economic progress. Further, it puts in doubt the well-accepted norm of friendly multilateral co-operation, the linchpin of which has, over the years, been the provision of financial grants and concessionary loans by the developed to the developing countries, not out of charity but out of enlightened self-interest, based on our interdependence.

177. The role which agencies like UNDP, FAO, the International Fund for Agricultural Development and the World Bank, to name but a few, are playing in the fight against poverty, malnutrition, ignorance and the omnibus problems of underdevelopment, cannot be over-emphasized. It therefore behoves all nations, big and small, in a position to do so to reawaken in themselves that spirit of internationalism which for a long time characterised the ideals of international co-operation and adopt measures that will strengthen the fabric of United Nations agencies for co-operation for development, and at the same time give true meaning to the noble concept of friendly relations among nations.

178. My delegation considers it appropriate to highlight once again the crucial role which we believe multilateral financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank and their affiliated agencies can play in the establishment of social justice and international peace and security, given the right kind of understanding and appreciation of all the issues at stake in their bid to help developing countries.

179. However, it seems somewhat unreasonable to suggest that the only way to cure the ills of developing nations, which by nature and often because of factors outside their control are weak, is to administer to them medicinal doses which have more debilitating and sometimes destructive effects. It is therefore our candid hope that these institutions will continue to review their policies and practices towards countries which stand in need of their aid, with particular reference to the individual circumstances and situations peculiar to these countries.

180. A review of the world economic situation would not be complete without reference to some of the issues which are of immense importance for the acceleration of growth, not only in the developing countries but in the world as a whole. The international community, including the specialized agencies of the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations, should be unrelenting in their search for practical solutions in the fields of health, science and technology for development, the environment, industrialization, new and renewable sources of energy, population control, and development and economic co-operation among developing countries.

181. It is gratifying to note that all these questions appear as items on the agenda of this session. We hope that they will be attended by free, fair and frank exchanges in the interest of restructuring and revitalizing the global economy to our collective benefit.

182. At the 10th meeting of the thirty-sixth session I acknowledged that some time ago the Assembly had, with wisdom, recognized the need to give particular attention to the most economically disadvantaged States in the international community, which have come to be known euphemistically as the least-developed countries. The prospects of these States, even in the midst of booming prosperity in other parts of the world, became at best uncertain and their very survival precarious. It is most depressing and self-defeating to acknowledge that the number of such States continues to increase, whatever the criteria applied. I am forced to report that in Sierra Leone our economic situation has worsened, the purchasing power of our exports has progressively diminished and there has been, in real terms, a reversal against us in both the terms and the balance of our trade with our trading partners. All this made it necessary for the Economic and Social Council to take a long hard look at our situation and, in its resolution 1982/41, to recommend that Sierra Leone be classified as a least-developed country. I want to take this opportunity here, if I may, to commend the Council's recommendation for approval at the appropriate time, and to express the hope that, given the resilience of the Sierra Leonean people, coupled with the concerted efforts of their Government and with the co-operation

of the international community, this classification may be only temporary.

183. After some eight years of negotiations, we note with satisfaction that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will, it is hoped, be brought safe home to harbour this year with the meeting of plenipotentiaries to sign the Convention on the Law of the Sea.² This document, which has been painstakingly negotiated, represents a new order for the oceans and reassuringly demonstrates that with co-operation and goodwill the United Nations can and, indeed, should be the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the rationalization of the rules and procedures that should govern the management, exploitation and use not only of this important aspect of our environment, but of other facets of our lives as well.

184. The successful completion of this venture has not only enhanced the reality of international co-operation, but it should also—and rightly so—advance the prospects for global co-operation in other vital areas of our one world. It is in this spirit that we would reiterate our appeal to the Government of the United States to stay with the rest of the international community and to approve this important instrument.

185. In the face of the unhappy world political and economic situation in which we find ourselves today, all nations—large and small, rich and poor—are indissolubly linked. It is now therefore more pressing than ever before that we answer the summons to international peace and co-operation in its various aspects. In this venture, all the nations of the world should reaffirm their resolve to adhere to the spirit and essence of the United Nations. When all is said and done, the United Nations symbolizes mankind's efforts at pursuing a better world order. The path to the attainment of that goal has often been rugged, tedious and sometimes almost impassable. Nevertheless, mankind has been persistent in its endeavours to pursue undaunted, within this edifice, its quest for peace, security and economic well-being. For we realize that it is only within the United Nations that we all, together, can hope to achieve a peaceful and affluent world. For its part, the Government of Sierra Leone, here and now, pledges itself anew to uphold the principles and objectives of the Organization.

186. Mr. SAVETSILA (Thailand): The Thai delegation takes pleasure in joining with the preceding delegations in extending to the President its sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to his office for the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. At a time when the Organization is assuming ever increasing responsibilities, not only in the preservation of peace, but also for the security and well-being of peoples in all regions of the world, we are gratified to have a person of his demonstrable experience, skill and impartiality to preside over our deliberations. In the coming months, many issues vital to the general peace, progress and prosperity of the international community of which we are all a part will doubtless be brought before the General Assembly. On us will be focused much attention and of us much will and should be expected. For in the United Nations will be vested many of the hopes and aspirations of the world's peoples. My delegation therefore pledges to the President and Vice-Presidents of the Assembly,

as well as to the Secretary-General and his able staff, its full co-operation in the discharge of the heavy responsibilities that lie ahead.

187. The delegation of Thailand also has the honour to convey its deep appreciation to Mr. Kittani, President of the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly, for his distinguished services on behalf of the Organization. His invaluable contributions to the international community have earned for himself and his country the high esteem of Governments and peoples around the world.

188. The past year has been particularly momentous. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the question of Palestine, has been reconvened a few times recently to consider the pressing situation in the Middle East and, in particular, the tragedy that has befallen Lebanon. The military aggression committed by Israel against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon, resulting in the terrible loss of innocent civilian lives, including those of women and children, has undermined efforts on the part of the international community to find a just and lasting settlement for the conflict in the Middle East. Moreover, the world was deeply shocked by the ruthless massacre in west Beirut following the violation of the cease-fire agreements by Israeli armed forces.

189. My delegation urges that a full and impartial investigation be conducted by the United Nations, with the consent of the Lebanese Government and the co-operation of all parties concerned, so that the facts may become known and the culprits brought to justice as soon as possible. Meanwhile, Thailand wishes to join in calling for the expeditious and total withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions so that the people of Lebanon can once again be the masters of their own destiny.

190. Interpretation of national security interests by one party can never be permitted to be so broad as to encompass the right to invade and occupy a sovereign and independent State, to dislodge people from their homelands or to subjugate them in occupied territories. The Government of Thailand deplores the fact that the Palestinian people continue to be denied their inalienable rights. Every effort must continue with urgency to enable them to attain and exercise their rights, including the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence and sovereignty and the right to return to their homes and properties.

191. At the same time as the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are recognized, including the right to statehood, the legitimate rights of all States in the region to exist within secure and recognized borders must also be recognized in the interest of peace. It is my delegation's firm belief that the conflict in the Middle East, with the question of Palestine as its core issue, must find a negotiated solution with the participation of all concerned including the PLO, which represents the Palestinian people.

192. The Lebanese crisis has proved that there is no effective military solution to the Middle East conflict and that military might will not crush the legitimate aspirations of peoples. On the contrary, such aspirations have gained greater international support and will

be more fervently manifested. The course of events in the Middle East must be steered towards a peaceful political settlement; otherwise it might take an ever downward turn drawing all concerned into a spiral of increasing violence. My delegation therefore welcomes the recent pronouncements of the United States Government as a positive development.

193. However, while the State of Israel is a recognized reality, the legitimacy of Palestinian yearnings for statehood must also be recognized. In this connection the Arab countries have announced the Fez plan, which marks a historic step and establishes a framework for further dialogues and negotiations acceptable to the Palestinians and the key Arab States. Provided that the plan takes due cognizance of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), prospects for widening the dialogue to include other interested parties seem more promising. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that these welcome new developments and the recent deplorable events in Lebanon will help to intensify efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict that will result in the attainment by the Palestinian people of their rights and the enjoyment by all States, including Israel and Lebanon, of secure existence within their recognized borders.

194. Over 20 years after the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is regrettable to note that peoples in many parts of the world are still struggling for the dignity that only freedom and self-determination can bestow. The valiant struggle of the Palestinian people finds worthy parallels in the situations in Namibia, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

195. My delegation is deeply concerned that the presence of South African occupation forces in Namibia continues to threaten peace not only in Namibia but also throughout southern Africa, in flagrant disregard of relevant United Nations resolutions. Indeed, the continuing instability in southern Africa poses a threat to international peace and security. The Government of Thailand reiterates its view that the illegal occupation of Namibia must be unconditionally and immediately brought to an end to enable the Namibian people to achieve sovereignty and independence in an integrated Namibia.

196. It is our just expectation that the contact group will redouble its efforts to bring about a comprehensive settlement in Namibia that will also end the aggressions committed by South African forces against neighbouring front-line States. Continued failure to arrive at a political settlement would only confirm the justified reaction of SWAPO that it must attain its legitimate goals of self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia by all possible means.

197. In Afghanistan the proud Afghan people continue to suffer under the yoke of foreign occupation. The Assembly has called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. My Government fully supports the efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to seek a solution to the crisis. Continued humanitarian assistance must be accorded to the hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees forced to flee from

their country and the ruthless suppression of Afghan patriots must be brought to an end. We join in urging the Assembly once again to help rectify the injustices perpetrated against the Afghan people. It is the responsibility of the Security Council to preserve international peace and security, and the permanent member concerned should recognize that its actions in Afghanistan only destabilize the precarious balance in that vital region of the world, and that any prolonged instability there will have serious repercussions beyond the Afghan borders to its own detriment.

198. The plight of the Palestinian, Namibian and Afghan peoples continues rightly, to be an international issue of grave concern to the world community. In South-East Asia, the people of Kampuchea also have been denied the right to determine their own destiny, because their nation has been invaded and occupied by a more powerful neighbour. They have been forced to flee their homes to seek food and shelter in neighbouring countries. Moreover, they continue to be denied their basic human rights by the occupation forces. Therefore, the situation in Kampuchea presents a political and humanitarian challenge to the world community. The foreign invasion and occupation of Kampuchea have resulted in untold suffering for the Kampuchean people and created severe tension in South-East Asia. The present situation has interrupted the process of constructive co-operation among countries of South-East Asia and brought about an intensification of big-Power rivalry in the region. Thus the conflict in Kampuchea constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

199. In three successive years the General Assembly adopted three resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the free exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people. However, these resolutions remain unheeded by the instigator of the conflict. My country, together with the other members of ASEAN, has endeavoured, within the framework of the United Nations, to seek a peaceful comprehensive political settlement to the conflict in Kampuchea.

200. Last year the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened by the Secretary-General at United Nations Headquarters to consider ways and means of achieving a just and durable solution of the Kampuchean problem. The Declaration adopted by consensus at that Conference³ reaffirmed that withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the free exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people were the principal components of any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. The Conference also called for negotiations on a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces under United Nations supervision and measures for the maintenance of peace and order in Kampuchea and for the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision. Regrettably, these calls by the overwhelming majority of the international community have been ignored by Viet Nam, which maintains its military occupation of Kampuchea.

201. The *Ad Hoc* Committee set up by the International Conference on Kampuchea, under the chairmanship of Mr. Sarré of Senegal, has undertaken several

missions in pursuit of the objectives of the Conference. My delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to Mr. Sarré and the *Ad Hoc* Committee for their efforts. We strongly urge all parties concerned, in particular Viet Nam and its allies, to join in this peace process under the aegis of the United Nations to effect a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem.

202. My delegation would also like to express its sincere appreciation to Mr. Willibald Pahr, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria and President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, for his constructive role. We should also like to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General for his continuing concern with regard to the Kampuchean problem. We call once again on all States Members of the United Nations to recognize the usefulness of these efforts and to accord their full co-operation.

203. Despite the efforts made by the ASEAN countries in ongoing bilateral dialogues to facilitate a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean conflict, we regret to report that no substantial progress has been made and that no substantive change in Viet Nam's position has been evident. Our hopes are constantly raised prior to every session of the General Assembly. At such times, seemingly new proposals are made by Hanoi or at its instigation, as in the recent Ho Chi Minh City communiqué [see A/37/334] and in the communication of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [see A/37/477]. However, upon closer examination, it is apparent that these proposals do not offer a viable basis for a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

204. In the Ho Chi Minh City communiqué issued in July, a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea was offered. Subsequently, the Vietnamese authorities claimed that this partial withdrawal had been completed in mid-July. However, there are reports indicating that there was merely a rotation of troops and new units from Viet Nam have been arriving in Kampuchea since the end of April. The relevant United Nations resolutions call for a complete and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. Indeed, a genuine commitment to that end by the party concerned would be welcomed as a positive step in the right direction. The Assembly, therefore, needs to reiterate its call for the total withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.

205. Viet Nam has also proposed an international conference on South-East Asia with limited participation. As I have already mentioned, the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened in July last year, with the participation of over 90 States and parties concerned. An *Ad Hoc* Committee was established by that Conference to undertake efforts towards a peaceful negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. We once again call on Viet Nam and its allies to participate in the United Nations peace process on Kampuchea. As a State Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam should have no difficulty in participating in this United Nations framework for a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean conflict.

206. On the one hand, Viet Nam appears to regard the situation in Kampuchea as an internal issue of

concern only to the Heng Samrin puppet régime; on the other hand, Vietnamese authorities have stressed their preoccupation with the Chinese threat against the three Indo-Chinese countries. Therefore, it must first be ascertained that the Kampuchean problem to be discussed at an international conference would not be the mere question of a so-called Chinese threat against the puppet régime in Phnom Penh but the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Kampuchean people, free from foreign occupation and alien domination. The other countries of South-East Asia must be satisfied that such proposals would not serve to legitimize Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and prolong the suffering of the Kampuchean people.

207. Viet Nam has also proposed that a so-called safety zone, or demilitarized zone, be established along the Thai-Kampuchean border. However, the armed conflict in Kampuchea is not between Thailand and Kampuchea, but between Vietnamese forces and Kampuchean patriots. If a demilitarized zone is to be established, it should be along the Kampuchean-Vietnamese border. It should be recalled that Kampuchean resistance forces are there because of the Vietnamese occupation of their homeland. Only if and when such foreign occupation comes to an end can the Kampuchean patriots legitimately be expected to lay down their arms. To restore peace to Kampuchea and to reduce regional tension it is necessary that the 200,000 Vietnamese troops be completely withdrawn from Kampuchea.

208. Despite the presence of 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and their four-year onslaught against Kampuchean resistance, the latter has gained in strength and numbers. The new Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk is a natural and positive development that reflects the firm resolve and relentless determination of the Kampuchean people to resist the imposition of any form of alien domination. The new leadership of Kampuchea also offers renewed hopes for improving the prospects of achieving a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

209. The turmoil in Indo-China and in particular the continued armed conflict in Kampuchea have resulted in large numbers of people fleeing to seek food and shelter in neighbouring countries. Since 1975 over 1 million people from Indo-China have sought temporary refuge in Thailand, a country of first refuge in South-East Asia. Many others did not survive the perilous journey overland or by leaky boat on the high seas. Although the numbers have been reduced and many refugees have been resettled in third countries, the situation remains of grave humanitarian concern to the international community. There are still over 150,000 Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean refugees in Thai holding centres. Furthermore, with the fighting in Kampuchea there is every possibility that new waves of refugees and displaced persons—now numbering some 200,000 to 300,000 along the Thai-Kampuchean border—will sweep across the border into Thailand.

210. The Government of Thailand is therefore sadly disappointed at the recent sharp decline in the resettlement

ment rates in third countries of Indo-Chinese refugees in Thailand. The need to expedite their resettlement as well as to increase resettlement opportunities in third countries should be a matter of serious concern, not only to Thailand but also to all countries which uphold humanitarian principles. It is mainly because of international humanitarian assistance provided by donor Governments, United Nations agencies and over 50 voluntary agencies and Thailand's humane policy and co-operation that mass starvation inside Kampuchea has been averted.

211. My delegation would like to express our profound appreciation to the donor countries and to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, as well as to the various United Nations and voluntary agencies, for their dedicated efforts in this regard.

212. The needs of the Kampuchean refugees remain real and manifest along the Thai-Kampuchean border as well as in the Thai holding centres. The Kampuchean influx and the Vietnamese incursions and cross-border shelling have also displaced close to 100,000 innocent Thai villagers. We therefore urge donor countries to continue to support the humanitarian programmes of the United Nations along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres and to assist the Royal Thai Government in the relief and rehabilitation of the affected Thai villagers.

213. The resources of Thailand, a developing third-world nation, have been strained by the need to assist in the care and shelter of the large numbers of displaced Indo-Chinese persons. While the Government of Thailand intends to continue to fulfil its humanitarian responsibilities in accordance with its traditions, the problem not only poses a heavy economic burden for Thailand but also has immediate and long-term political and security implications. The most natural solution would be for the refugees to return safely to their homes. The Royal Thai Government, in co-operation with UNHCR, will continue to promote and assist in the programme of voluntary repatriation by land, sea and air. Pending the full implementation of that programme, safe relocation of the Kampuchean displaced persons in the border areas which are accessible to relief supplies seems to be a viable alternative.

214. It is worth noting that the humanitarian aspect of the Kampuchean problem can find a lasting solution only if there is a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem as a whole. The international community must therefore redouble its efforts to resolve the Kampuchean conflict once and for all in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. To this end, Thailand and the member countries of ASEAN have sought the assistance of the international community in bringing about a negotiated settlement of the problem. The efforts of ASEAN are undertaken with sincerity and in good faith. We harbour no enmity towards any country, particularly those situated in our region. But the armed conflict in Kampuchea stands in the way of closer co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia and constitutes a serious threat not only to regional but to international peace and security. The peaceful settlement of the conflict will pave the way towards the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia which would provide for the orderly

development of all peoples in the region, irrespective of differences in their political, economic or social systems.

215. One of the basic causes of international conflicts today is the economic discrepancy and exploitation among nations. In recognition of this fact, the United Nations system has devoted the greater part of its entire budget to the tasks of economic and social development. However, the fact remains that there are still nearly 1 billion people living in abject poverty in the world today, and by the end of the Third United Nations Development Decade their number will have surpassed the 1 billion mark.

216. In view of the present crisis in the world economy, progress in the efforts to narrow the gap between rich and poor nations has not been satisfactory. Thailand's current fifth five-year plan is aimed at reducing the external trade deficit and population growth rate, restructuring its key productive sectors, eradicating poverty in rural areas and maintaining its annual growth rate of between 6 per cent and 7 per cent.

217. However, our export earnings have been adversely affected by the protectionist policies of certain developed countries. In this connection my delegation reiterates the hope expressed by the ASEAN Foreign Ministers at their fifteenth ministerial meeting, in June 1982, that the GATT ministerial meeting in November 1982 will restore the basic task of GATT in ensuring that the principles of free trade are consistently practised in the world market. We also hope that the sixth session of UNCTAD, in 1983, will successfully tackle such priority issues as protectionism, structural adjustment and commodities.

218. We live in an increasingly interdependent world. A global, integrated and comprehensive approach to world problems is essential if there is to be an agreed solution. For this reason, in 1974, the General Assembly adopted the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] which would ensure the full and active participation of the developing countries in global decision-making and the management of international economic co-operation for development.

219. My Government fully welcomed and endorsed the decision taken at the sixth special session as well as the subsequent adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] and resolution 34/138, calling for the launching of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. We are, however, disappointed that, almost three years after resolution 34/138 was adopted by consensus, and despite continued endeavours and the flexibility shown by the Group of 77 and many of its industrialized friends, some influential Members continue to procrastinate concerning the launching of global negotiations. We earnestly hope that the latter will, in the spirit of Cancún, demonstrate the necessary will to proceed, as further postponement of the launching of global negotiations would not only aggravate the already deteriorating relations between North and South but also, in the eyes of the South, demonstrate a lack

of good faith on the part of the North, which could impede further efforts at co-operation.

220. Whatever the outcome of the global negotiations, my Government will continue to develop its economic co-operation with other developing countries in all fields as set forth in the 1981 Caracas Programme of Action,⁴ in accordance with the principles of self-reliance, self-help and North-South co-operation. Economic co-operation among developing countries is not a substitute for global or North-South co-operation, but it is an integral part of the collective action of the Group of 77 for the restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of a new international economic order. We therefore hope that, following the first meeting of the Intergovernmental Follow-up and Co-ordination Committee on economic co-operation among developing countries, in Manila last month, more concrete actions and vigorous implementation of the Caracas Programme will be pursued.

221. My delegation believes that the United Nations system provides the most appropriate forum and a useful framework for identifying and focusing world attention on major issues as well as for seeking peaceful solutions to those issues. Therefore all countries, developed and developing, are urged to co-operate within the United Nations system in achieving our worthy common goal of a restructured and equitable economic order for the world community that will benefit all mankind. My delegation therefore pledges its best efforts to continue to play a constructive role in this regard.

222. The just and equitable utilization of the earth's resources is seriously distorted by the continuing arms race. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was convened at a time when the need to halt and reverse the arms race had become even more imperative than before. The recurrent crises and conflicts which have marked the international situation have heightened the sense of insecurity among some States and spurred the production, acquisition, and stockpiling of weapons of destruction, including nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons, resulting not only in increased insecurity for all States but also in the retardation of the developmental prospects of most third-world countries. Efforts made both within and outside the framework of the United Nations to reverse the arms race have not been crowned with success.

223. But although the second special session on disarmament fell short of expectations, the convening of that session nevertheless served some useful purposes. Among other things, it produced substantive advances in new ideas, suggestions and proposals in various fields of disarmament, many of which, if implemented, could contribute significantly to the disarmament process. Agreement was reached on guidelines for a World Disarmament Campaign⁵ which underline the universality of the programme and allow all sectors of the public unimpeded access to a broad range of information and opinions on the questions of arms limitation and disarmament and the dangers relating to all aspects of the arms race and war, in particular nuclear war. The launching of the Campaign

thus represents a step forward in the efforts to attain meaningful measures of arms limitation and disarmament.

224. The second special session on disarmament generated an unprecedented degree of public attention and interest, highlighted by mass gatherings of the people of many nations in support of the cause of disarmament. This should serve as an impetus for all of us to continue our efforts and revitalize the multilateral negotiating process, which was kept in being at the conclusion of the second special session on disarmament.

225. My delegation urges that disarmament and the reduction of the arms race in both nuclear and conventional weapons remain an issue of priority concern to the Assembly. The world has thus far been spared the horrors of nuclear war, but we all realize the consequences that such a conflagration would have for the human race. The spectre and the reality of conventional wars, with the terrible suffering inflicted through the ever-increasing sophistication of weaponry, are still sadly with us. Wars have been fought because of the aggressive and expansionist tendencies of militarily powerful States, or have resulted from injustices inflicted and wrongs that remain uncorrected.

226. Our task must surely be to rededicate ourselves to the principles enshrined in the Charter on the non-use of force, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the territorial integrity of States, while seeking to resolve international issues by peaceful means.

227. In this connection my delegation urges that a dialogue be agreed upon between North Korea and South Korea for the consideration of effective ways and means of reducing tension and strengthening peace in the Korean peninsula.

228. Injustices against entire nations and peoples continue to be committed in the Middle East, in Namibia, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea. These appear to be among the most intractable and critical issues to which the General Assembly has addressed its attention over the past several years, and they represent cases where, in the Secretary-General's words:

"Governments that believe they can win an international objective by force are often quite ready to do so, and domestic opinion not infrequently applauds such a course. The Security Council, the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those that feel themselves strong enough to do so." [A/37/I, p. 1.]

229. This is indeed a very dangerous trend and could eventually turn the Organization, which was intended to serve the cause of harmony and peace, into a breeding ground for international confrontation and anarchy.

230. The Thai delegation sincerely believes that each and every Member State has the duty and responsibility to reverse this trend, by rededicating ourselves to the principles and purposes of the Charter

and by a renewed commitment to use the machinery of the United Nations more effectively. For only in this way can the Organization truly become an instrument for peaceful change and orderly progress for mankind.

231. Mr. TINDEMANS (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, like my colleagues who preceded me on this rostrum, I should like, on behalf of my Government and of myself, to convey to you our most warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the present session of the General Assembly. Your dedication to the multilateral approach to international relations, to the authority and prestige of global and regional intergovernmental institutions and to the unique role of the United Nations constitutes the best guarantee that this session will take place in a most propitious atmosphere. May I convey to you my good wishes for the success of your endeavours and assure you of the full co-operation of my Government and myself.

232. The efficiency of your actions may be much enhanced by the fact that they take place within an exceptional framework: that of the report submitted to us by the Secretary-General to guide us in our work. Mr. Secretary-General, the Belgian Government has in the past conveyed to you the importance it attaches to the fact that you have been called upon to assume these high functions. It told you that Belgium was ready to assist you to the best of its ability in the difficult but vital task that you were assuming. Today, the Belgian Government is familiar with your report on the work of the Organization, which I would not hesitate to term a milestone for the Organization. It has come at the right moment. It reflects the uneasiness created by the growing tendency to seek solutions to crises outside the framework of the United Nations and the inability of the Organization to have its decisions implemented. We must thank you for having put on the agenda the central problem of the Organization, that is, its "capacity to keep the peace and to serve as a forum for negotiations. ... its evident difficulties in doing so, difficulties related to conflicts between national aims and Charter goals and to the current tendency to resort to confrontation, violence and even war in pursuit of what are perceived as vital interests, claims or aspirations" [*ibid.*]. I can tell you, Sir, that from the outset my country can subscribe to every statement contained in your report.

233. Belonging to the generation which spent its youth during the tragedy of the Second World War, I am among those who, 37 years ago, enthusiastically greeted the birth of the Organization. At the end of the nightmare during which humanity suffered every possible anguish to an extent previously unequalled, States—from the largest to the smallest, from the strongest to the weakest, from the wealthiest to the most deprived, belonging to different systems—pledged to work together to free mankind from all the horrors it had just experienced, to free it from war and genocide, to free it from torture and hunger, to free it from discrimination, to free it even from the fear of all those horrors.

234. However, at a time when the shortcomings of the Organizations are being denounced, it seems important to me to recall its positive aspects. The work that it has accomplished is considerable. One could recall the part that the United Nations has played in

decolonization. But I could also refer to its action on behalf of economic development of the so-called "new countries", the efforts it has made in the field of control, limitation and reduction of armaments as well as in nuclear non-proliferation and its initiatives to assure better understanding among nations or between groups of States from East to West and from North to South. Under its flag, the "blue helmets" have tried to come between hostile forces and to prevent the escalation of conflicts. Despite the difficulties they have encountered, their importance and the unique character of their role have not changed.

235. None the less, the essential goal that the signatory States set for themselves at San Francisco and to which those that joined later adhered has still not been attained. I ask myself why it is that, despite its important partial successes, the United Nations has not fulfilled the hope its founders placed in it. For my compatriots, for the Government I represent and for me personally, this Organization is and remains the most courageous and generous attempt, and the only adequate one that has been launched since the disappearance of the League of Nations, to assure the world of a modicum of order, understanding and co-operation, without which it would not be able to survive.

236. Moreover, I share the hope expressed by the Secretary-General when he states that "we now have potentially better means to solve many of the major problems facing humanity than ever before" [*ibid.*]. Nevertheless, we find that not enough use is being made of these means. The fundamental problem does not lie in the functioning of the institutions of the Organization, nor does it lie in the application of one or another Article of the Charter or in the work methods of its organs or the actions of the Secretary-General. No—the fundamental problem rests with us, the Member States. We have too often let ourselves be swamped by immediate problems and taken advantage of by interests which are often purely national in character.

237. We have forgotten that the Organization was not created by us in order to perpetuate in a new institution the habits and practices which had led to the failure of the former one. We have forgotten the fact that we did not create it in order to have it serve as a forum for our diplomatic games, for the defence of our own interests, or for the confrontation of our rivalries.

238. What is worse, we have forgotten that we created the Organization for mankind, not for those of the East or the West, not for those of the North or the South, but regardless of frontiers, for all mankind.

239. Mankind is today the victim of three types of scourges, which unfortunately are often combined. The first is war, or the threat of war, including civil war, which has become increasingly cruel and deadly through the ever-greater sophistication, multiplication and wider commercial distribution of armaments. Then there are poverty and hunger, which are, to be sure, characteristics of underdevelopment, but which—let us not delude ourselves—are not the exclusive domain of those countries which we call the poor countries. Finally, there is oppression and the violation of the most elementary human rights.

240. The existence of these three types of scourges seems to me to call for the establishment of three orders of priority, which incidentally are interdependent. The first order of priority seems to me to include essentially the following: first, the solution of so-called "local" conflicts, which are so numerous and on such a scale that they are turning our planet into a planet at war, together with an effort to end the civil strife which is tearing so many of our countries apart; secondly, an increased effort in the limitation, control and reduction of all kinds of arms and of the arms trade; thirdly, the prevention of international confrontations.

241. The second order of priority is aimed at developing between our States the mutual aid and co-operation which alone can provide a stable basis for international understanding and peace. We must act vigorously to reopen the North-South dialogue in order to establish among ourselves efficient international co-operation which will ensure for all the fruits of economic development. We must improve and adapt our programmes of action and of economic development in the light of the critical evolution of the world economic situation. We must also fight poverty, wherever it is rampant. We must concern ourselves not only with those who are the poorest in the poorest countries but also with those who, in each of our States, do not have access to the benefits of society, to schooling, to participation in the production process, health benefits and housing, who have been described as the "fourth world".

242. The third order of priority has the following aims: first of all, scrupulous respect by each of our States for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; then, the acceptance and the implementation by the same States of all of the rights generally accepted as indispensable for the political, moral, cultural, social and economic fulfilment of human beings—I have in mind here, *inter alia*, the freedoms and rights of trade unions—and lastly, there must be resolute co-operation among all countries against terrorism, whose blind violence threatens all people.

243. The definition and the implementation of these tasks have to take place in the context of a determined effort to ensure respect for the Charter and to allow the machinery of the Organization to function as it should. Only this type of effort will allow us to achieve that the Secretary-General has assigned to us as the most urgent aim: the return to the principle of collective action for peace and security which is enshrined in the Charter, so as to make the United Nations better equipped to carry out its essential task. I wish to state this forcefully, because I, too, believe that without an efficient collective security system, the small and the weak will have no secure means of defence or protection.

244. In the light of these considerations I should like to deal with a few aspects of the international situation. In view of the remarkable statement made at the 8th meeting by our colleague, Mr. Elleman-Jensen, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, I need deal only briefly with four questions. The first one, based on the specific proposals advanced by the Secretary-General, concerns the functioning of the Organization. The three others relate to the essential

aim of combining our efforts to defend man and his dignity. I shall address myself to questions of disarmament, the promotion of the North-South dialogue and the global negotiations, and the monitoring of respect for human rights.

245. With respect first of all to the universal task of the United Nations and the active role it must play in the field of peaceful settlement of disputes, it seems to me highly desirable that the simultaneous admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations be considered. That decision would be likely to promote a dialogue directed to a peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. There was, moreover, a proposal made to that effect in January 1982 by the President of the Republic of Korea, which could constitute an adequate and equitable basis for discussion.

246. The question of the functioning of the Security Council deserves our full attention also. You, Mr. Secretary-General, in your sombre but accurate analysis of the present evolution of the international situation particularly emphasized the main obstacles to the activities of the Organization. Anxious to redress this situation, you informed us of the steps you intend to take and of the remedies you would like to see applied. I support those proposals. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on the constructive role you wish to play, which is fully in accordance with the Charter. Indeed, Article 99 of the Charter provides that the Secretary-General "may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security".

247. I also believe that reactivation of the preventive role entrusted to the Security Council by the Charter, together with the prerogatives of the Secretary-General, constitute the most appropriate measure to ensure that increase in tension in certain parts of the world does not lead to confrontation, violence, or even war. The initiative that the Security Council should take, by virtue of its preventive role under the Charter, presupposes, however, that it would be informed in time about the development of the international situation and that, in particular, its attention would be drawn to the real dangers that the existence of certain sources of tension in the world might lead to.

248. The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, under the chairmanship of Olaf Palme, has produced a report⁶ which is excellent. This report proposes that you, Mr. Secretary-General, be entrusted with the task of presenting periodically a concise report on the evolution of the international situation with the precise aim of indicating what action should be taken to ensure that dissension among nations does not lead to violent confrontations. I subscribe to this proposal which, moreover, meets the purposes of the Organization without requiring any amendment of the Charter.

249. I should like to stress in that respect the essential role which is vested in the regional organizations. They are in a better position to appraise and to judge the level of tension or possible discord which exists in their regions. If such be the case, they can help you in preparing your informational report and advise you on the nature of the actions that may be con-

sidered and of the measures that may be proposed to the Security Council.

250. Thus it becomes clear that the right to take preventive action should be considered as a duty the better to serve the objectives of the Organization.

251. The problems that confront human society today are numerous. Several are of such a scope that solutions can only be found on a global scale. Thus a heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of all of the Members of the Organization, and particularly on the great Powers which have special authority in the Security Council. From their consensus and their sincere understanding with other nations there should emerge a better functioning of the Organization and a better guarantee of the establishment of an ultimate climate of lasting peace.

252. This joint action, supported by the political will and commitment of all the Members of the United Nations, should allow a transformation of the present situation of uncertainty and crisis into a climate of mutual confidence, a necessary prelude to the establishment of an era of peace and universal justice.

253. With the holding of the second special session of the Assembly devoted to disarmament, the year 1982 seems to mark a new phase in this particular area, which is at the centre of our endeavours and affects the universal conscience to an ever greater extent. If the essentials of the disarmament effort could have been preserved, particularly the achievements of the first special session, in 1978, whose Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] remains the solid basis on which to build our future efforts, it would be vain to try to hide the fact that the results of the special session of 1982 fall far short of our expectations.

254. We have tried to check and even reduce the increase in arms at a time when the sense of insecurity was increasing in the world. We have attributed that insecurity to the enormous over-capacity for mutual destruction, whereas in fact its roots lie in the increase in tension, of which the arms race is but a symptom. Our first priority, to ensure the security of States, is therefore the establishment of a more favourable political climate based on confidence, a sense of reality and good faith. Tension must be reduced before nations are disarmed. That is essentially a political undertaking, which is within the purview of the General Assembly at the thirty-seventh session; I urge it to succeed where the special session on disarmament has failed.

255. Economic progress is also one of the main objectives of the United Nations. The picture of the international economic situation today does not give rise to an optimistic outlook; everywhere one hears only of stagnation, unemployment, interest rates, fluctuations in the exchange rates, and deficits in the balance of payments. Peace and international security are the primary goals of the United Nations, but we should never forget that millions of unemployed people throughout the world follow our debates and wonder what the Organization is doing for them.

256. The economic crisis makes it incumbent upon the Organization and the specialized agencies to take all possible measures to mitigate the havoc caused by this depression, which is both cyclical and struc-

tural, and to use every means at their disposal to alleviate the present situation as quickly as possible. One cannot sufficiently underline that absolute necessity. My country is profoundly convinced that the United Nations, and more specifically the Economic and Social Council, could and should undertake this task by making recommendations to the General Assembly, to Member States and to the specialized agencies concerned, in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

257. May I recall in this connection the support that Belgium is giving to the action undertaken by the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, Mr. Ripert, to strengthen and deepen the general economic debates in the Economic and Social Council. Those debates, by improving the co-ordination of economic policies, could provide a new impetus to international economic activity.

258. Underdevelopment was already one of the scourges of our world; the financial crisis of today makes its elimination even more difficult. As far as the dialogue with the developing countries and the global negotiations are concerned, it should be noted that economic interdependence in the world has steadily increased. However, the slowing down of economic activity and the disruption of the international monetary system have seriously affected the volume of transfer of financial resources from the wealthy countries to the poor countries. That has resulted in a further deterioration of the economies of the least-developed nations, already strongly affected by the rise in oil prices.

259. That interdependence should lead each group of countries to view the revival of the world economy as a vital objective based on mutual interest. That is why Belgium, together with its partners in the European Community, is wholly in favour of beginning the global negotiations. A new North-South dialogue can succeed only if it results in a satisfactory outcome for all groups. Without such a dialogue, that interdependence in the future will be accompanied by growing insecurity and antagonism between nations.

260. Belgium, for its part, would like to see new forms of co-operation substituted for those risks, allowing us to overcome the crisis and bring about a common responsibility for world interdependence.

261. The establishment and the general recognition of rights designed to protect the fulfilment of the individual and his integration within the community are undoubtedly a great victory for civilization over despotism. Therefore, beyond doubt, the initial responsibility for ensuring respect for these human rights is primarily the duty of each State within its own territory. Nevertheless, the international community should not only endorse those fundamental rights; it should also be able to guarantee their observance.

262. It is not enough for States to endow themselves with the means to implement human rights. They need also the political will to employ these means and to allow a procedure of recourse in cases of omission or shortcomings, or what could be described as "errors" of interpretation of international norms, by the responsible national authorities.

263. The international community has already established different forms of monitoring with respect to human rights. However, we must admit that in most of the cases these safeguards produce only meagre results, either because they are not binding, or because of the small number of those who have adhered to them. The causes of that deficiency are numerous, but I believe that they can be narrowed down essentially to two.

264. In the first place, if it is true that human dignity is universal and that each human being has the right to enjoy his fundamental rights without discrimination, it is also true that the positive expression of this human dignity may vary, depending on time and place. Our sense of reality requires us to take these differences into account and to achieve a more effective protection of certain rights, a better result based on concepts which are less vague. On the whole, would it not be preferable to have a well-defined number of rights accepted in the different regions of the world that are effectively and fully respected, rather than to have a long list of theoretical rights?

265. In the same context, one may wish to give more extensive thought to the organic links which should be established between on the one hand the regional monitoring machinery over human rights—and I am happy to see that they are expanding not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world—and on the other hand the international monitoring devices, whose role could be reviewed in relation to their new link with regional mechanisms.

266. Secondly, more effective protection of human rights should, it seems to me, take into account the diversity of the international machinery. In a Utopia an independent body of magistrates would be established to ensure the harmonious implementation of human rights all over the world while taking local circumstances into account. This body of magistrates would hold itself aloof from the partisan interests that are so dear to States, with their present egoistic outlook.

267. The way that co-operation between States has evolved within the Organization makes this vision still rather remote. I should like to suggest, however, that a number of practical measures could be taken progressively to bring us nearer to that goal. I think it would be desirable first of all for States to make an effort to designate, within existing organs or institutions, internationally recognized personalities in the field of human rights and to give them a status that would, like that of the magistrates I mentioned earlier, ensure their total independence. Such personalities already exist in those bodies, but their independence is not always safeguarded. Furthermore, I think it would be useful if some of those personalities could participate in the work of more than one monitoring body, in order to establish among them a personal link of co-operation prior to the establishment of institutional links. Lastly, could we not envisage the simultaneous participation of such personalities in the institutions of the regions from which they come and in international institutions, or is this utopian?

268. The Organization was created in the aftermath of a ghastly war that was the result of the dissemination of ideologies whose principal characteristics were

contempt for and enslavement of humanity. Those ideologies plunged our universe into a nightmare which lasted for 15 years. When it ended the world found itself rent apart, bloodless and lifeless, and mankind was for a long time traumatized by the horrors it had perpetrated and suffered. It is not surprising, therefore, that the primary concern of the founders of the United Nations at its birth were the protection, the dignity and the fulfilment of man, and that in drafting the Charter and establishing its institutions they made man the centre of their concerns. We must remain faithful to that original, basic concern, and we must give priority to the accomplishment of this task that has been bequeathed to us. Let us remember that all of us here are the servants of mankind and of its dignity, and that mankind must constitute for all of us in our joint action the measure of all things.

269. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I would remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements made in the exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

270. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (*Islamic Republic of Iran*): I should like to quote from the Holy Koran "Those who disbelieve and hinder men from the Path of God, their deeds Allah will render ruin." [*Surah XLVII, verse 1.*]

271. In his speech yesterday [8th meeting] the Foreign Minister of Egypt made references to my country and declared his country's unreserved support for the Iraqi aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran. In reply to his statements, my delegation does not need to go into the substance of all the fallacious comments he made concerning the Iraqi aggression. The whole world is aware of the objectives of the Iraqi invasion, the long period of its savage occupation and its inhuman and indiscriminate bombardment of our residential areas, schools, hospitals and sanctuaries. The world also knows very well what great sacrifices on the part of our Moslem people forced the invading army to retreat, changing its aggressive position of total disregard for international law to a peace-seeking one, as it shed crocodile tears.

272. It should be made clear that the comprehensive Egyptian support for the Iraqi aggression aimed at the destruction of our Islamic Revolution is a fact which has been known to our Government for quite a long time. However, we are pleased to hear the confessions of the Foreign Minister of Egypt to this effect before the Assembly. Egypt, as the main character in the shameful Camp David scenario, now has the Zionist nature of its support and the imperialist character of the aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran recorded in the documents of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Since our Islamic Revolution is openly considered as the greatest threat to the imperialist interests in the area, the support given by Egypt and other reactionary sources to the aggressor is quite understandable and certainly not unexpected.

273. Presuming that the speech of the Foreign Minister of Egypt should represent the viewpoint of the Moslem people of Egypt, I wonder if His Excellency

would have the courage to deliver it before the Moslem masses in Cairo, or if he thinks that were he to do so he would be doomed to the same fate as overtook the late President Sadat. However, we shall take the initiative in informing our Arab brothers and sisters of the position of His Excellency's Government concerning the war of aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

274. In conclusion, although the Egyptian régime has neglected its covenants with Islam for a long time, in respect of its support for Saddam Hussein my delegation deems it necessary to refer it to the Holy Koran, which says "Co-operate with one another in righteousness and piety, but co-operate not with one another in sin, animosity and aggression. Fear Allah, for Allah is strict in punishment." [Surah V, verse 3.]

275. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina wishes very briefly to exercise its right of reply in connection with the statement made today by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Francis Pym. We reject all the terms of his statement, which will be answered in detail as far as concerns the Malvinas Islands by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country. But I should like, here and now, to ask the following questions in order to demonstrate the fallacy of the British argument.

276. First, if the United Kingdom favoured a peaceful, negotiated solution of the sovereignty dispute in the question of the Malvinas, in view of the presence of Argentine civilian workers in the South Georgia Islands—a presence which the United Kingdom had officially recognized earlier—why did it threaten to use force against my country and decide to send in the battleship *Endurance* and a nuclear submarine, thus creating a serious state of tension in the South Atlantic?

277. Secondly, if the Government of the United Kingdom was seeking the implementation of Security Council resolution 502 (1982), why then did it hasten to send in a naval force, illegally assuming an alleged mandate from the United Nations and thus create conditions which in fact made the complete and effective implementation of that resolution impossible?

278. Thirdly, if the Government of the United Kingdom acted out of a concern to exercise its right of self-defence and if really it was using the minimum force required, why did it step up the conflict by craftily sinking the cruiser *General Belgrano* which was sailing outside the area of the blockade that the United Kingdom itself had arbitrarily and illegally imposed at a time when a proposal by the President of Peru was being circulated?

279. Fourthly, if the Government of the United Kingdom was so proud of its respect for the principles of the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes, why in the Security Council did it veto the draft resolution that would have permitted an immediate cease-fire, thus saving lives, at a time when the Secretary-General was carrying out his mission of good offices?

280. Fifthly, why after the cessation of hostilities did the Government of the United Kingdom, by an illegal use of force, violently compel the removal of an

exclusively scientific station belonging to the Republic of Argentina in the South Sandwich Islands; why do they engage in constant harassment in the region of the Malvinas Islands directed against fishing vessels peacefully going about their lawful business; and, what is more, why do they illegally maintain a blockade zone and expand their base facilities and military installations, which create a permanent state of threatening tension directed against my country?

281. Sixthly, why did the United Kingdom, which proclaims itself such a jealous defender of the self-determination of peoples, forcibly remove the population of the island of Diego García so as to cede that territory for the establishment of a military base in the Indian Ocean?

282. Really, what the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom said was amazing. For his whole statement was based on his country's supposed respect for peace, on his country's so-called respect for the principles of self-determination and the non-use of force. But the history of the United Kingdom is not exactly exemplary with regard to those principles. The United Kingdom is one of the countries that have taken part in the greatest number of wars in this century. Its history is one of repression, from Kenya to Northern Ireland, from India to the Malvinas. How can they speak of self-determination when they still have colonies on all continents, even on the European continent, where they maintain a colonial enclave in territory belonging to a nation that is their ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? How can they talk of the non-use of force before an audience that has not yet had time to forget Suez, where the United Kingdom violated international law merely to defend monopolistic interests, as it is now doing too in the Malvinas, where it is still defending the monopolistic interests of a London company?

283. The British Minister tried to boast of the United Kingdom's helpfulness with regard to the independence of the Latin American nations as conduct revealing their concern for freedom and the self-determination of peoples. But, as all my colleagues from Latin America and all Latin American foreign ministers well know, the help given by the English in Latin America at the beginning of the nineteenth century had no other aim but to serve their struggle against the Spanish empire in the dispute they were waging throughout all lands and seas. And, while the United Kingdom was supposedly fighting for the self-determination of the Spanish colonies, in 1812 it was still turning its cannon on the city of Washington, right here in this country, the seat of the United Nations, trying to prevent the North American people from attaining its self-determination.

284. That, very briefly, is the history of the United Kingdom's respect for peace, self-determination and the non-use of force.

285. Mr. ZAKI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Egypt, which has historic ties of civilization and religion with the peoples of Iraq and Iran, has constantly appealed to those two peoples to cease their bloodshed. Egypt has often urged and continues to urge that disputes between those two peoples be resolved through peaceful means, regardless of the gravity of disputes arising over frontiers, rights or

claims. Egypt, mindful of the purposes of the Charter, has always called, and calls now, for respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those two fraternal peoples. Iran and Iraq, as two Islamic and non-aligned States, must today put an end to the bloodshed between them and immediately begin negotiations aimed at achieving a solution of the disputes existing between them while safeguarding their legitimate rights.

286. Iraq, having answered the appeal for peace, has given evidence of its good will by withdrawing from Iranian territory. Today Iran, too, must show its good will and its desire for peace by putting an immediate end to its culpable acts of aggression against the territory of Iraq.

287. Since the current régime came to power in Iran, that iniquitous clique has been sheltering behind the kindness and tolerance of religion, which they are exploiting to serve the ends of their policy of criminal aggression, in complete contradiction to the principles and precepts of the religion of Islam.

288. That is why I should like to conclude my comments by following the same religious style of which the representative of Iran makes such great use to justify the attitude of his Government on the basis of prejudiced views and erroneous and tendentious interpretations.

289. God has forbidden us to kill, and yet you kill; God has also told us to accept peace if an adversary accepts it, and yet you refuse to do so and persist in your refusal. The Prophet orders us to respect the dead, yet you violate the dead. What, therefore, is this Islam which you are trying to exploit?

290. Egypt, in accordance with its religious and historic ties, and aware of its national responsibilities towards its brothers in the Arab States, must support the brother nation of Iraq in its legitimate defence of its people and its territory.

291. In so doing, it bases its action on the commands of God in the sacred Koran: "And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And, if one party of them doth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of Allah." [Surah XLIX, verse 9.]

292. The representative of Iran quoted a verse from the Koran which calls for fear of God. Would it not have been more appropriate for the Iranian régime to apply that verse when it executed the late Mr. Ghot-

bzadeh, the ex-President of the Iranian Republic, without reason, without any fair trial, even though he had committed no crime.

293. The PRESIDENT: May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in the exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second intervention, and should be made by delegations from their seats. I now call on the representative of Iran to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

294. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (*Islamic Republic of Iran*): It seems that the military contribution and support of the Government of Egypt to Iraq is more effective and more substantial than the moral attitude the representative of Egypt is trying to adopt here.

295. The principle of defence is highly respected and highly regarded in all moral, religious and national systems. But, according to Islam, defence is obligatory and necessary. The Holy Koran says: "Fight in the cause of God those who fight you; but do not transgress limits for God loveth not transgressors." [Surah II, verse 190.]

296. We have been defending ourselves for two years. If peace is desirable, we must know how desirable it is, because we have suffered from this war of aggression more than anybody else. But when the practical stage of correct approach to establishing an honourable peace comes, we see a lack of any contribution, and even the causing of problems and trouble, not only by the aggressor himself but also by some of the contributors to the aggression.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

² *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

³ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20).

⁴ Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda items 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, document A/S-12/32, annex V.

⁶ Report entitled "Common Security—a programme for disarmament", issued as document A/CN.10/38. See also A/CN.10/51.