



Thursday, 30 September 1982,
at 3.25 p.m.

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

In the absence of the President, Mrs. Astorga (Nicaragua), Vice-President took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. COLLINS (Ireland): First I should like to congratulate the President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly on his election. I am quite sure that he will carry out his functions as President with great success. I should also like to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani of Iraq, who presided over the last session with distinction and leadership. I wish, too, to join in congratulating the Secretary-General. Although he has not yet been one year in office, he has already established a justly deserved reputation for integrity and for his efforts to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for peace.
2. I want also to associate myself with the views already expressed [8th meeting] by my colleague the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Mr. Elle-mann-Jensen, on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, to which Ireland belongs.
3. As we begin this annual session of the General Assembly the international outlook is gloomy, even more gloomy than it was one year ago. Over the past year relations between the major Powers have deteriorated and this has had an adverse effect on many other aspects of international life. Furthermore there are at this moment several wars and conflicts taking place—between Iran and Iraq, between Ethiopia and Somalia, in Afghanistan and in Central America. In recent months the world has also seen a war that should not have happened over the Falkland Islands and an invasion of Lebanon by Israeli forces which has led to tremendous loss of life and brought great tragedy in its wake.
4. At the world level the arms race continues, and the level of nuclear armaments is greater than ever before. Conventional armaments, too, are a major item in world trade. They now occupy second place after oil. And these are weapons which are actually being used in conflict in many parts of the world.
5. In economic matters, too, the world outlook is exceedingly gloomy, more gloomy perhaps than it has been for many years. The major industrialized countries are suffering through a serious recession, with high unemployment, inflation and high interest rates. The less developed countries are poorer than ever before, and many relatively prosperous countries which appeared to have good economic prospects have now run into major difficulties. These trends, if left unchecked, could threaten the stability of the whole international monetary system.
6. It is clear that the problems facing the world community in this month of September 1982 are indeed formidable. In many areas of international life it would be no exaggeration to speak of the present situation as one of serious crisis.
7. What of the means available to the world community to deal with these serious and critical problems? How effective are the Organization and the procedures which have evolved since the Second World War in promoting a sense of community and a common response to international problems?
8. Here too, I believe, we can speak of a crisis. The events of the past year, and of the past six months in particular, seem to many people around the world to have called most seriously into question the effectiveness and relevance of the whole United Nations system as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the development of international co-operation.
9. We have available to us at the beginning of this session a most important document: the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1]. It is, I venture to say, one of the most important documents of recent years. Ireland is extremely grateful to the Secretary-General for his analysis, his insight and his courage.
10. I know that many important problems are already on the agenda or will be raised in the course of the session. But I strongly believe that in a deeper sense the real question before us at this the 1982 session of the General Assembly is how we respond, individually and collectively, to the very basic issues raised by the Secretary-General in his report.
11. The report itself is short, and all of it is of interest, but the core of the report is a serious warning that the world is now embarked on an exceedingly dangerous course and that we are perilously near to a new international anarchy. The present crisis in the multilateral approach in international affairs and the crisis of confidence in the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and security are evidence of this. I believe the Secretary-General was right in his warning that the most urgent goal at present is to re-establish the fundamental concept of the Charter of the United Nations: that of collective action for peace and security.
12. We all need to remember that the United Nations in its origins was not simply an idealistic concept. It was a serious organization of States with a very serious purpose. It grew out of one major war—the

most disastrous in human history—and it was designed to prevent another. It began as an organization of limited membership, but it has now become an almost universal world body, and it must be strengthened and made more effective if it is to deal adequately with world problems.

13. I have little doubt that most, or perhaps all, of us who come here to this rostrum to speak during the next few weeks of general debate will speak highly of the Secretary-General's report. This is what it merits. He has clearly identified for us the problems, and he has gone farther by pointing out and proposing a whole series of measures which, if implemented, would do much to improve the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace and to serve as a forum for negotiations. On behalf of my Government, I warmly endorse his ideas and proposals. In particular, I agree with him when he urges a more systematic use of the Security Council; a more active approach to conflicts so that it is not left to the judgement of the conflicting parties whether or not the matter should be raised in the Council; a greater use of fact-finding missions and missions of good offices; and a greater use by the Secretary-General himself of his power under Article 99 of the Charter to bring issues to the attention of the Security Council. These, and the many other useful ideas in the Secretary-General's report, should in our view be considered at a meeting of the Security Council held at high political level, as the Secretary-General has also proposed. From such a meeting could emerge an improvement in procedures and, far more important, a new sense of commitment.

14. Those are only some among the many wise ideas which the Secretary-General has put forward. It is most important that he has invited us to debate, and to think out seriously with him what needs to be done. I think that we owe it to him not simply to speak warmly of his report or of some of his ideas and then leave it stand as just another document. Rather, we must each contribute what we can to the debate, and we must then together ensure that the end result of all this debate over the coming weeks will not be words only but actions which each of us will take, in so far as it is open to us to do so.

15. In contributing to this debate on what is needed to strengthen the United Nations, I want to emphasize three points which Ireland considers particularly important at the present time of crisis.

16. First, as I have already said, we need a new and continuing commitment from every Member State to strengthen and improve the United Nations system and make it increasingly relevant and effective. A particular commitment will be needed from the great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council and which have a very special role in the system. Ireland, for its part, though it is a small country, willingly makes such a commitment. We will do everything we can to sustain and support the United Nations. We will work with others in every way open to us to make it more effective.

17. Secondly, there is a need to carry through this commitment in practice. That means that wherever there is a situation of conflict between Member States all those involved must be ready not only to invoke

the Charter, as they now do, to justify their actions but to use the procedures of the United Nations to the full before resorting in the first instance to their own strength to vindicate their rights.

18. Thirdly, there is a special need for the Security Council, and its permanent members in particular, to be willing to follow through on the decisions which the Council takes in order to ensure that they are implemented. Nothing contributes more to an impression of ineffectiveness and irrelevance than an inability or failure of the Council to do so. This has been particularly evident over recent months.

19. Because of its importance, I should like to spell out this third point in more detail. Under the Charter, the Security Council has power, through a whole range of measures, to impose its decisions and to exercise authority. Many of us would like to see a greater measure of agreement within the Council, and among the permanent members, on the use of that authority to resolve international conflicts. We have come to accept, however, that there are many issues concerning which the Council cannot agree in the first instance on what should be done. But, when the Council does agree and does adopt a resolution in relation to a conflict, it must also be ready later, if necessary, to consider the measures which may be needed to ensure that the decision is implemented. If the Council repeatedly fails in this, it will soon lose all authority. The case is even more obvious when, as has happened several times in recent months in regard to Lebanon, the initial Council decision was unanimous.

20. These are three points which Ireland, as a small country which has always tried to uphold and support the United Nations and contribute to its effectiveness as best it can, would think to be fundamental.

21. But what specifically should now be done, and by whom? I repeat that it is not enough to commend the Secretary-General's report: we must act on it. I would hope therefore that when this general debate is finished, and when all delegations that wish to do so have stated their views, there can be serious consideration of how best to proceed.

22. In particular, I believe that it would be important that the Security Council—to the effectiveness of which much of the document is directed—should consider necessary action. For its part, Ireland, as a member of the Security Council until the end of 1982, would be willing to support and work for such consideration among members of the Council with a view to finding the best way to translate ideas into action. There is no more important task before us at the present time.

23. The need to restore respect for the Charter and for the authority and status of the United Nations is most forcefully demonstrated by recent events in the Middle East. The situation there, already complex and seemingly intractable, has been greatly aggravated by Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its continuing presence there. Many resolutions of the Security Council, despite the authority which they carry under the Charter, have been defied or ignored, and have remained unimplemented for over four months.

24. Israel's invasion of Lebanon, carried out in the name of its security, has brought with it death and

destruction. Israel has continued its occupation, an occupation which, I must say in all candour, shows no sign of ending despite the repeated calls of the Security Council, despite the stated wishes of the Government of Lebanon and, not least, despite Israel's own claim that it does not covet even one inch of Lebanese territory. In the past few weeks, the situation has deteriorated even further. The occupation of west Beirut, with the declared objective of maintaining law and order, has brought in its train deeds that have shocked the world.

25. The Irish Government and people are horrified at the wanton murder of Palestinian civilians in the Shatila and Sabra camps, and we join in condemnation of those who perpetrated those dreadful crimes. The murder of the Palestinian civilians, whoever carried them out, took place when Israeli forces had assumed control of the area, and Israel must accordingly carry considerable responsibility.

26. The people of Lebanon have suffered much in recent years. They must be enabled to re-establish the authority of their central Government. The full sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be restored. To this end, the Israeli forces must withdraw immediately from Beirut as a first step to their complete withdrawal from all Lebanese territory. Withdrawal by Israel from Lebanon was unanimously demanded by the Security Council nearly four months ago. We believe that all foreign forces whose presence has not been authorized by the Government of Lebanon should now leave Lebanon.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) took the Chair.

27. Lebanon has been a casualty of the wider conflict of the Middle East, and that conflict remains unresolved. What is now needed is real progress towards negotiation aimed at reconciliation of two basic rights: that of all States, including Israel, to exist within secure and recognized boundaries; and that of the Palestinians to self-determination and statehood, if they so wish.

28. Such reconciliation cannot be achieved through efforts to suppress or abridge the rights of other parties. The bloody events of recent months testify to that reality. The parties should now accept that those basic rights must be reconciled within the framework of a comprehensive and negotiated settlement, with the direct participation of all concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], whose role in representing the Palestinian people we recognize.

29. Despite the events of recent weeks, there is also encouraging evidence of a new willingness to break the deadlock which has prevented progress towards a comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East problem. The initiative announced by President Reagan on 1 September provides a significant opportunity to make progress in the direction I have outlined. The declaration adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez [see A/37/696] must also be regarded as an important and substantive contribution to a search for an equitable settlement. And because both these developments together offer hope for the future, they deserve the most serious consideration by all the parties concerned.

30. The United Nations has over the years played an important and at times crucial role in the search for a peace settlement in the Middle East. It has served to set forth proposals and principles for a settlement; it has been a forum for negotiations; and it has actively helped to maintain peace through its peace-keeping and observation missions. I believe that the United Nations can and should play a role of similar importance in the future. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) have set down fundamental—even if now incomplete—principles for a settlement. These principles must be augmented and completed. The recent joint initiative by France and Egypt in the Security Council¹ provides an opportunity for discussion at the appropriate time on how these principles might be completed. But this elaboration of, so to speak, a juridical foundation alone will not be enough.

31. As the Secretary-General stated in his report, "It is absolutely essential that serious negotiations on the various aspects of that problem involve all the parties concerned at the earliest possible time." [A/37/1, p. 4.] I urge that careful consideration be given to two points made by the Secretary-General concerning a possible role for the Security Council in this regard. First, the Security Council is the only place in the world where all the parties concerned, and particularly Israel and the PLO, at present sit at the same table. Second, given a will by the parties to negotiate seriously, it should be possible within the Security Council to work out procedures and rules, new if necessary, to govern substantive negotiations.

32. Recent events in the Middle East, in particular in Lebanon, have focused attention on the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. The development of peace-keeping is, I believe, one of the most important achievements of the Organization, and it gives effect in a practical and tangible way to the commitment of Member States to the Charter. Peace-keeping activities have increased in scope and significance over the years and have evolved in response to the needs of particular situations. Precisely because the concept of peace-keeping is still evolving, I believe it is necessary to keep it under review. In the light of events in Lebanon in particular, we should determine where weaknesses exist and decide how they can be remedied.

33. Ireland's experience in United Nations peace-keeping over the years leads us to draw certain conclusions about the circumstances in which it can make a useful contribution and about the political and practical conditions necessary for peace-keeping to function effectively. First, peace-keeping operations are intended to assist in the control of conflict and in the search for a peaceful solution. It follows that they are essentially a temporary measure and only one part of a peace-making process. Efforts to resolve the causes of the conflict must continue. Secondly, peace-keeping missions must have the consent of the countries in whose territories they are stationed and the co-operation of all the parties concerned. This distinguishes peace-keeping from peace-enforcement. Thirdly, the peace-keeping force must have a clear and unambiguous mandate. Fourthly, the force must have freedom of movement throughout the area assigned to it and must have conditions of adequate

security for its personnel. Fifthly, United Nations peace-keeping operations must at all times have the firm support and backing of the Organization—in particular of the Security Council and its members—and a strong and assured financial basis.

34. The events in Lebanon demonstrate the importance of these five conditions. It is clear that, in the case of UNIFIL, these conditions were not fulfilled. Despite this, UNIFIL played an indispensable part in controlling conflict up to the Israeli invasion last June. Even now UNIFIL, in its reduced and limited role, maintains stable conditions in its area of operations. But this is quite inadequate. If UNIFIL or other United Nations forces are to play an effective role in assisting the Government of Lebanon to restore full Lebanese sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, the Security Council and the international community must ensure that the conditions I have listed already are fully observed.

35. I should like to pay a tribute to the courage and devotion to duty shown by all those involved in United Nations peace-keeping operations, particularly in UNIFIL and UNTSO. Several Member States, including my own, have suffered through the death and injury of their soldiers serving under the United Nations flag in the cause of peace. I extend my sympathy to the relatives and the comrades of Commandant Nestor and the other observers killed by mine explosions in Beirut in the past few days. United Nations peace-keeping forces have shown resilience and constant courage in the face of very difficult circumstances. It is for us to show respect for that courage by acting to bring about effective conditions in which they can discharge their vital task.

36. In the 1960s and 1970s, after years of confrontation and cold war, East and West seemed to be edging towards recognition of their common interest in avoiding war and in promoting mutually beneficial co-operation.

37. The situation today is very different. Mutual suspicion and growing confrontation have replaced the cautious confidence of the 1960s and early 1970s and the limited co-operation that had been achieved. The decline in the political relations between East and West, particularly between the super-Powers and the alliances, has also affected arms control and disarmament negotiations. There will now be a further escalation in the arms race unless urgent and sustained efforts are made to reach agreement in current negotiations.

38. We believe it is necessary to build upon common interests and to enlarge the areas where conflicting interests can be reconciled or accommodated. Dialogue between East and West must therefore continue through bilateral and multilateral channels. And if such a dialogue is to lead to substantive results, all sides must be willing to act with restraint and realism.

39. On the political level, the crisis of authority in Poland and the sustained repression of elementary social and civil rights contrary to the Helsinki Final Act² undermine the credibility of détente. As long as those conditions remain, they will hinder progress on a wide range of East-West negotiations including, in particular, the discussions at the Conference on

Security and Co-operation in Europe. Likewise, the Soviet invasion and continuing military occupation of Afghanistan must inevitably have a similar adverse effect.

40. None the less, it must be emphasized that sustained efforts at arms control and disarmament are valid for their own sake. It is indispensable to try to contain, reduce and ultimately eliminate the threat posed by the arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons. It is also necessary in the meantime to ensure that new weapons and technologies do not undermine or destabilize the already fragile strategic relationship. It follows that while the adverse political climate is bound to complicate existing negotiations, arms control and disarmament efforts—bilateral, regional and multilateral—should nevertheless not be subordinated to the solution of wider political problems.

41. My Government was very disappointed at the outcome of the recent twelfth special session, the second special session on disarmament. But we cannot abandon efforts to achieve realistic goals aimed at putting an end to the arms race and reducing armaments—both nuclear and conventional. World opinion, increasingly concerned about the threat posed by nuclear weapons, demands that we redouble our efforts. My Government will always support genuine and realistic arms control and disarmament proposals.

42. The highest priority must be given to nuclear disarmament in order to halt and reverse the ceaseless build-up of nuclear arms. It is our earnest hope that the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on intermediate and strategic weapons will reach an early and successful conclusion.

43. I should like to reiterate the proposal for an agreement on a moratorium on the introduction of any further strategic nuclear weapons or delivery vehicles, proposed by the Prime Minister of Ireland, Mr. Haughey, during the twelfth special session [8th meeting]. The moratorium would be for an initial period of two years but would be renewable by mutual consent. An agreement along these lines would, I believe, be a significant step towards the restoration of confidence.

44. A comprehensive test-ban treaty, or at the very least a moratorium on all nuclear tests, remains an urgent necessity. An end to testing would slow down the rate of qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and would be a valuable contribution by nuclear States to stopping the spread of nuclear weapons.

45. There are, of course, many other areas in which progress must be made. I would highlight in particular the need for a chemical weapons convention, the banning of all weapons from outer space and progress on conventional disarmament.

46. If the outlook elsewhere is more sombre and troubling than it was a year ago, the prospect for Namibia seems more hopeful. The Irish Government is concerned that the momentum of the negotiations to implement the United Nations plan for Namibian independence should not be lost. Ireland has fully supported the efforts of the Secretary-General, the

contact group of five Western States, the front-line States and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] to secure implementation now. In our view, any further delay will endanger the prospects for a peaceful settlement. It is vital that the Assembly at this session focus its efforts on assisting the Secretary-General to bring about a settlement.

47. Throughout the long history of the effort to help the people of Namibia win freedom and live in peace, it has been clear that a settlement through negotiation is possible only if there is a sincere desire on the part of all concerned to achieve this. The implementation of the United Nations plan based on Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) would enable the international community to discharge its unique responsibility for Namibia and to demonstrate that the machinery of the United Nations can be used effectively to resolve a major international issue.

48. The United Nations plan does not and, indeed, cannot contain a blueprint for the future relations of all the States of southern Africa and it will not resolve all the issues in the region. But its implementation would be an important step in that direction. If South Africa now obstructs its implementation, thereby preventing a peaceful conclusion to the decolonization process in southern Africa, it will bear a heavy responsibility for the conflict and suffering which may follow.

49. At the root of the dangerous and tragic situation in southern Africa today is the policy of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa. This system of institutionalized racial discrimination is unique and is rightly the object of universal condemnation.

50. Ireland condemns South Africa's *apartheid* system unreservedly and we are committed to opposing it strongly and actively, working in concert with the international community. The pass laws, banning and detention regulations all continue to result in intense human suffering. This year, when Nelson Mandela will have spent 20 years in gaol, we are particularly concerned at the plight of political prisoners, including those members of the African National Congress who are currently under sentence of death. We urge the South African Government to commute those sentences.

51. There is some evidence of increased debate among the white community in South Africa—for example, in the search for new constitutional structures. Unfortunately, this does not address the core of the problem or the basic framework of the *apartheid* system. The crisis that South Africa faces is now so deep that only a radical new approach can avert a further descent into violence.

52. In seeking to divert attention from its internal problems, it seems that South Africa may be endeavouring to destabilize neighbouring States. We view with the utmost concern any actions having that objective. We will continue to support the efforts of the front-line States to consolidate their hard-won independence.

53. Over the past year, conflicts in Latin America were also a matter of concern to the international community. In the view of my Government, the armed conflict over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) earlier

this year was an unnecessary conflict. We very much deplore the use of force contrary to the principles of the Charter, the failure to comply with Security Council resolution 502 (1982) and the fact that a peaceful solution offered through the United Nations did not prove possible. It is our hope that the parties will be able actively to pursue a peaceful settlement of their continuing dispute.

54. The Irish Government and people are also concerned at the instability, the violence and the violations of human rights in Central America. We are convinced that it is necessary to remedy the underlying economic and social causes of tension in the area, to end all foreign interference and to seek political solutions to conflicts in the area through dialogue and negotiations.

55. There is a growing acceptance that the international community has a responsibility for the remedy of serious human rights abuses. I welcome the personal commitment repeatedly expressed by the new Secretary-General to the human rights programme of the United Nations and his efforts to strengthen the Secretariat in that field.

56. It is necessary for continued progress that investigations of human rights abuses should be seen to be fair. It is also important that States concerned in investigations should co-operate with the Secretary-General or other appointed persons in the implementation of our decisions, bearing in mind the primary responsibility of States to ensure that human rights are respected within their own areas of jurisdiction.

57. The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, adopted last year by the General Assembly [resolution 36/55] is an important addition to the several human rights instruments adopted since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Ireland believes that further steps should be taken to draw the attention of the peoples of the world to this Declaration.

58. In the historical perspective, we have indeed seen considerable progress in the area of human rights. But serious violations of human rights in many parts of the world continue to affront our sense of the value of the human person. Massacres of large numbers of innocent civilians have taken place recently in Lebanon, Guatemala and El Salvador.

59. There are other countries where we have less certain knowledge of such appalling violations of the right to life but where there is reason to believe that such violations do indeed take place. There are still other areas where civil and political rights are suppressed sporadically or even on a systematic basis. Abuses of human rights, such as disappearances, are a most troubling recent feature.

60. A general report by the Secretary-General on the international human rights situation to the Assembly at regular intervals could help the international community to recognize at an early stage the emergence of a pattern of such abuses and thus to take effective action against them.

61. The world at present has major problems in the economic field. Of particular importance is the problem of development, which is at once a political and an

economic issue. Because of this and because of its universal nature the United Nations has a vital role to play in the North-South dialogue. There is an urgent need to promote the changes necessary to redress the structural imbalances in the world economy and to accelerate the rate of growth in developing countries.

62. The economic difficulties facing all countries remain serious and are likely to continue for some time. Large fiscal deficits, concern about inflation and tight monetary policies have raised real interest rates in the industrialized countries to unprecedented levels. These measures have far-reaching consequences, depressing the export earnings of hard-pressed developing nations and curtailing their already low growth rates. Low-income countries have been particularly hard hit by the recession in the industrialized countries. Poverty, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy remain daily realities for the vast majority of the world's population.

63. Ireland fully supports the central role that the United Nations system has to play in any realistic programme for global recovery. In particular, we urge that the challenge of furthering and deepening the relationship between developed and developing nations be met by the early launching of global negotiations. We believe that the industrialized nations must now do everything possible to ensure that a new and effective dialogue with the developing countries gets under way.

64. In the longer term we look to the sixth session of UNCTAD in June of next year to improve understanding of the real problems of developed and developing countries, to promote the revival of the international economy and to give a new impetus to the progress of developing countries.

65. I am pleased that the lengthy work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been concluded with the adoption by the overwhelming majority of the States represented here of the text of the Convention on the law of the sea.³ It is indeed an achievement of which the United Nations can be justly proud. Our task, however, is not finished. The adoption of the Convention is only the first step in the process of giving to the provisions of the Convention so painstakingly negotiated the status of generally accepted guiding rules for the orderly use of the seas and their resources. In the course of the negotiations it was constantly stressed by all the parties involved that the Convention is a carefully balanced package which should not be the subject of piecemeal acceptance by States.

66. We must now ensure that the integrity of this comprehensive Convention is maintained. We must also ensure that the new international body which it established, the International Sea-Bed Authority, can begin to function at an early stage. It is the hope of my Government that such will be the support for the Convention that the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea can be convened quickly to facilitate the smooth functioning of the Convention and the effective operation of the bodies which it establishes.

67. I therefore urge all Member States to support the Convention and endorse its provisions by signing it

at the earliest possible time. It is the intention of the Irish Government to do so.

68. I would like now to turn to a particular difficulty which we face in Ireland and in relation to which I ask for your sympathy and your understanding. I refer to the Northern Ireland situation.

69. I do not need to dwell on the tragic effects of the continuing unrest in Northern Ireland. Since the outbreak some 12 years ago of the present cycle of violence, up to 2,400 people have been killed and over 25,000 people have suffered serious injury. The destruction of property has amounted to hundreds of millions of pounds.

70. The economy of Northern Ireland has suffered heavily and remains in decline. Among the worst effects, however, has been the damage to the social fabric of society. A new generation is now growing up in Northern Ireland in conditions in which violence and confrontation, hatred and division, form part of the pattern of everyday life.

71. Nor has the burden of the unrest been confined to the six counties of Northern Ireland alone. Death and destruction have taken place in Britain, and in financial terms the cost to Britain has been a heavy one. We in the rest of Ireland have also suffered death and destruction, and the Northern Ireland situation has involved for us an additional expenditure of over 100 million pounds each year on maintaining security.

72. Common sense should compel us all, if only on the ground of our mutual interests, to seek a just and a lasting settlement of this intolerable situation, a settlement which, if it is to be effective, must take into account the fundamental nature of the problem. The Irish Government, for its part, has declared this task to be its first political priority.

73. The roots of the problem lie in a complex of historical circumstances in which social, religious, economic and political factors have all played their part. We believe, however, that in any objective analysis of the problem one factor emerges clearly and inescapably: the constitutional arrangements made in the 1920s have failed to provide a just and workable basis for peace and stability in Northern Ireland.

74. The experiment of partitioning Ireland has obviously failed. The consequences of that failure include the tension in Northern Ireland which has erupted into violence in almost every decade since the island of Ireland was divided. The development of the full economic, political and social potential of the island as a whole has been slowed down as a result of partition. Barriers have been erected where none should exist; the small island of Ireland has an artificial political division, and within Northern Ireland itself a community of one and a half million people is split by dissension that is irrelevant to the demands of today.

75. The Irish Government, on whose behalf I address you today, seeks to remove all barriers and divisions within Ireland. We seek to do so only through peaceful means. We condemn utterly and reject totally violence and terrorist activity no matter what its source. The atrocities committed by men and women of violence

on all sides are inherently evil. They are also ultimately futile and counterproductive as a means of promoting political change. They serve only to increase bitterness, to deepen intransigent attitudes and above all to postpone the day of settlement. The road to peace lies only in the removal of barriers and in the coming together of all the Irish traditions.

76. We believe that the way forward is for the two Governments—the Government of Ireland and the British Government—to work together to this end. Two years ago we moved in that direction when both our Governments accepted, in the context of the Northern Ireland situation, the need to bring forward policies to achieve peace, reconciliation and stability and to improve relations between our two countries. This development and the subsequent progress in identifying concrete areas of co-operation were widely welcomed as holding out the hope of a new and positive relationship between our two countries, breaking down barriers and creating a dialogue of understanding and good will in which the Northern Ireland problem could be effectively tackled.

77. We shall persist in our efforts to win widespread support for our policy which we are convinced offers the only prospect of an effective long-term solution. Our objective is to bring about the emergence in Ireland of agreed political structures which will accommodate the different but complementary Irish traditions.

78. We ask Britain to join with us in working towards the achievement of that objective and, in doing so, remove the last barrier to the development of normal relations between the peoples of the two islands. And we ask all Governments represented here today to assist us on the difficult road towards reconciliation, peace and stability.

79. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Pierre Mauroy, Prime Minister of the French Republic and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

80. Mr. MAUROY (France) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me, Sir, on behalf of the French delegation to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Assembly. Your experience of international life acquired in the high offices you have held together with your thorough knowledge of the United Nations are assuredly a guarantee that the work of the Assembly will be conducted with all the necessary authority and efficiency.

81. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General. I had the pleasure of welcoming him recently in France and I have excellent memories of that first meeting. I found in it confirmation of the qualities which he has constantly demonstrated in the exercise of his functions. The French delegation would like to express its gratitude to him for the dedication he has shown in carrying out his duties in the past 10 months. Our gratitude naturally extends to all the members of the Secretariat, with whose work we are familiar and whose competence we appreciate.

82. The presence of the Prime Minister of France in the Assembly is, I know, unusual. I am the first French head of Government to come to this rostrum since the founding of the Fifth French Republic in

1958. By this gesture we wanted first of all to demonstrate the importance which the President of the French Republic attaches to the Organization.

83. For more than a century the body of ideas of which we are the heirs has been concerned with promoting internationalism as one of the forms of solidarity. For us, this solidarity must be both an ethic and a principle of action. Just as in France we are offering companies and workers "contracts of solidarity" to fight unemployment, so the international community could turn to "contracts of solidarity" among countries to fight underdevelopment.

84. The head of the Government of France is present today at this rostrum precisely to emphasize the imperative need for solidarity, which we believe is the best way to achieve peace. France wishes in this way to demonstrate its confidence in the United Nations and in the capacity of the Organization to revert to its original mission, namely, the maintenance of peace. The Assembly is in effect the only one in which all States meet on an equal footing. I should like at once to stress this conviction, at a time when France, in response to an emergency situation, is contributing actively to a multinational force requested by the Security Council but not constituted according to our customary procedures, which, unfortunately, are too slow.

85. I should like to describe to the Assembly the state of the world as I see it today and to analyse the causes of our present difficulties. Then, in the second part of my address, I will outline the responses that France proposes.

86. What, then, is the present state of the world? Wherever we look we see nothing but disorder and confusion. Since the creation of the Organization blood has been spilled in some 120 conflicts on this planet, and in the past two years we have seen the dangers grow and multiply. No continent has been spared. Localized conflicts, declared or potential, are increasing and represent a permanent threat to regional balances. Old conflicts are being perpetuated. States are invaded; others are torn apart.

87. This year the absurd war in the South Atlantic was added to the list. This showed once again in striking fashion that the use of force is never a permanent solution to a quarrel.

88. In the Middle East also, the world has had to recognize once again the futility of military operations. Only death and suffering profit by it while the basic issue remains unaffected. A people is still condemned to a life of wandering. And once the wheels of the military machine were set in motion this led to the hideous massacres of civilians which the international community has been unanimous in condemning.

89. In Eastern Europe, in a Poland occupied by its own army, we see a courageous people prevented from choosing the paths of liberty.

90. In Central America conflicts are becoming more widespread and redoubling in intensity. How could it be otherwise when peoples are denied the elementary right to shape their own futures?

91. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the right to rise up against oppression.

I was myself nurtured in this noble tradition and would be the last to forget it.

92. Such events are all factors making for imbalance and insecurity.

93. At the same time, the economic crisis is assuming planetary proportions. The length of time it has lasted has become a new factor for disarray which tends to increase its ravages. One after another, countries, even stable and developed countries, have found themselves in financial straits.

94. For 18 months now the recession has hit the industrialized countries hard. Production is stagnant or is falling back; unemployment is rapidly increasing, at times achieving levels comparable to those during the Great Depression of 1929. I make that point with particular seriousness because in this context France, together with Japan, is the country which has been able to maintain a positive rate of growth.

95. Certain precarious balances which had been maintained hitherto are beginning to crumble; one after another industries are going bankrupt; budgetary and trade deficits are increasing. The development of the third world has now been halted. Per capita income in many countries is perceptibly diminishing. The least advanced countries are suffering particularly from a reduction in public aid programmes for development. The problems of hunger today are even more distressing than they were a decade ago. How many countries are at the mercy of a climatic or financial accident which might threaten their very existence?

96. All these disorders have the effect of increasing even further the inequalities between the industrialized States and the majority of the others. I would add that in many countries the crisis is widening the gap between different social categories, between those which have some reserves in order to face up to the hardships of the times and those which do not possess those reserves.

97. We are thus witnessing a world decline which is promoting self-centredness and mounting violence, of which terrorism is one of the most despicable manifestations. Every possible pretext has been used to justify this violence: security, ideologies and sometimes simply vengeance. The rights of States and of peoples have too often been flouted for this reason. France sees in that some disturbing signs of mankind slipping backwards towards a situation where might prevails over right.

98. That then is the state of the world.

99. For France, current difficulties derive essentially from three factors: the interplay of the two great Powers; the rise of national self-centredness; and over-armament.

100. Let us talk now of the first factor, the interplay of the two great Powers. For years now the world has lived with the illusion that peace-loving coexistence between two great Powers served to reduce sources of tension. This illusion has now been dispelled.

101. The progress of education, particularly over the last 20 years, developments in science and technology which they promoted, have stimulated the aspirations of men to freedom and justice and the aspirations of peoples to national identity and of nations to inde-

pendence. The Organization is the living expression of that, because I would point out that the number of its Members has tripled in 20 years. It is that diversity, that vast planetary change, that teeming burgeoning of life, to which the two great Powers have not been able to respond. They have striven to perpetuate a widespread policy of blocs which is no longer in keeping with the state of the world today.

102. This persistent temptation to defend or expand their spheres of influence, to deal with world problems through the distorting prism of their own interests, and to transform into East-West confrontation internal tension in States or disputes between neighbouring countries, has been a constant factor for destabilization. Innumerable pressures of all sorts, from military manoeuvres to financial penalties, have been brought into play against peoples who want to have their independence respected. Third world countries are the very first to suffer from this rivalry, but the industrialized nations are nevertheless not free from its consequences, even if it takes a different form in the East and West.

103. In the West, one of the great Powers has been using, for the benefit of its national interests, the dislocation of the international monetary system. It has been laying down its budgetary and monetary policy without concerning itself about the consequences which may result for other countries.

104. In the East, the other great Power has been continuing to employ, directly or indirectly, military force to thwart the wish of the peoples of the world to be masters of their own destiny.

105. This blindness on the part of the two great Powers is without any doubt one of the major causes of the disorders troubling the world today. I say that as I think of the great American and Soviet peoples with which the French for centuries have maintained ties of friendship. I say that because France is a member of an alliance to which it intends to remain loyal.

106. Faithful to its commitments, France nevertheless desires the gradual disappearance of military blocs. It wants entirely free countries to express their initiatives freely.

107. There exist, it is true, other forms of domination, sometimes crude censorship which strives to crush the powers of creation. There are also modern technologies—which, together with economic power, make it possible to control the human mind. Let us beware of that. Reactions can in fact be extremely violent when one offends the culture of peoples at their deepest roots, and when one does violence to their conscience.

108. The second factor explaining the difficulties through which the world is going is the rise of national self-centredness. Since international economic relations can and will be adapted to the law of "might is right", it is inevitable that we should be witnessing a return of policies which are more or less protectionist. I urge those who deplore this in defence of the rules of the market-place to be good enough to consider that they have in fact contributed to the destruction of these regulating mechanisms by imposing the law of the jungle.

109. This rise in national self-centredness has become an additional curb on international trade and has thus contributed to prolonging and fueling the crisis. Furthermore, and this is even more serious, it undermines regional groupings which have been functioning for two or three decades now. The process of integration of the European Community has thus been halted, and the same is true of the Americas and Asia.

110. Behind the façade of international meetings, and a co-operation which has never in history been so widely developed as today, the Community which we make up seems in fact to be breaking up, to be fragmented, and gradually to be falling back on each of its national entities.

111. It would be particularly serious if, on the pretext of an economic crisis, the industrialized countries were to oppose the emergence of new industrial centres in the third world countries. They must adapt to this new reality, even at the cost of sometimes painful conversions.

112. However, this industrialization of the third world cannot be limited to forms of dumping based on uncontrolled exploitation of cheap labour. It cannot be considered simply in terms of the profit accruing to multinational corporations which take advantage of the disorder in the world to impose their own laws. The inevitable mutation must be controlled.

113. The future of the world will be based largely on the independence of our economies. Yet the increasing number of divergences grows in proportion to the increasing articulation of policies arising solely from national interest. Thus multilateral institutions, the privileged instruments of international co-operation, no longer seem sufficient to enable us to overcome today's crises.

114. The third factor which explains the disarray in the world today is over-armament. All States have a right to security and an independent system of defence. This is in fact the policy that France applies for itself. Still, we are convinced that the build-up of arms is a serious source of danger to peace and security in the world. The General Assembly itself, meeting in special session a few weeks ago to consider possibilities of disarmament, made the distressing observation that more than ever before in history the arms race is proceeding at a frantic pace.

115. This situation stems from the two factors that I have just analysed: the action of the super-Powers and self-centredness on the part of nations. The tension to which these factors give rise is only worsening in a world where the rule is determined by power relationships. Our States have a duty to respond to the questions and sometimes the anxieties which result from this among peoples and which are reflected, for example in Europe, by the development of a current of pacifism. Our States have a duty to show that a path to genuine arms reduction can be opened. This is the urgent obligation incumbent on our Governments today, particularly on those which alone possess the bulk of the world's military arsenal.

116. Now, in face of the great Powers' nuclear over-armament, the build-up of conventional forces in Europe and the arms race raging in the third world, negotiations are not advancing. Before we can turn to

serious talk of the general and verifiable disarmament that is our goal, we must first challenge the over-armament.

117. France is disturbed to find a growing imbalance between the requirements of peace and development, on the one hand, and the policies actually being pursued in the world, on the other.

118. If I have felt it necessary to make this assessment and to give our analyses of the situation on behalf of France, it is not in order to give in to any sort of pessimism or to throw up my arms at the enormity of the task before us. We can overcome the crisis, but we must have the will to do so and not allow ourselves to be taken in by delusions. The world must get back on the road to growth and peace.

119. First of all, the search for peace. France speaks and acts on a basis that is clear and unchanging: one method, negotiation; one goal, political solutions in respect for the rights of peoples.

120. This was already the sense of the Franco-Mexican Declaration⁴ with regard to El Salvador. It called for mutual recognition on the part of the adversaries.

121. This political approach on France's part applies to all crises in which one or the other of the two great Powers is directly involved.

122. In the case of Afghanistan, France reaffirms its support for any political solution leading to the withdrawal of the foreign forces; it calls for respect for the right to self-determination on the part of the Afghan people and the guarantee of the non-alignment or even the neutrality of that country.

123. In Poland we fervently desire an end to the state of siege and the liberation of the internees—necessary conditions for the resumption of a genuine dialogue between the segments of Polish society.

124. In Central America the principles France expresses are as follows: political settlement of internal or external conflicts; regional guarantees of security and non-interference; absolute respect for the sovereignty of States, which means the right of peoples freely to determine the forms of their economic and social development.

125. This approach is also the basis for our proposals in two regional conflicts that are of course of long standing, but the fact that they still persist is particularly alarming.

126. I refer first of all to the question of Namibia. The contact group has proposed a plan of action that has enabled considerable progress to be made concerning constitutional principles and the transition period. Currently, negotiations are stalled precisely because certain conditions are inconsistent with the general principles we uphold and because they fall solely within the ambit of Angolan sovereignty. France for its part will continue to support the three-stage plan while at the same time condemning any strategy that would destabilize the region and refusing to establish any link with external considerations.

127. My second example concerns the Middle East. I believe that the tragic events of recent days have clearly demonstrated that the positions France has supported since the beginning of hostilities are sound.

How much time would have been gained and now many lives spared if our voice had been heeded.

128. I would, to refresh the memory of the members of the Assembly, just recall the principles so often set forth in this very Hall by France's representatives, and in particular by our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Cheysson, namely, security for Israel and for all the Arab States in the region, on the one hand, and the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people, on the other. Moreover, any settlement quite obviously presupposes the mutual recognition of the States and political forces in the region.

129. France has done everything possible to halt the hostilities and to prevent the tragedy. As far back as 28 July, in agreement with Egypt, we submitted to the Security Council a draft resolution.¹ We hoped for and proposed the intervention of United Nations forces. In the past few days, we have once again assumed our responsibilities.

130. We note that many States, among them some of the most important, have agreed with our analysis of the situation. We also note that the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez expressed a view we believe to be positive.

131. In the case of Lebanon, the invasion of which was condemned by France, we will continue to work to see Lebanon's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity restored and respected.

132. I should also like to say a word about disarmament. Our position is based on two simple ideas which, I believe, have the merit of realism: a balance of forces and verifiable monitoring of the reduction of arms stockpiles. This is the basis upon which we approve the current negotiations and on which we favour completion of regional security agreements and arms limitation agreements.

133. But the return to a peaceful climate is possible only if, at the same time, we give ourselves the means to overcome the economic crisis. What is this crisis, in fact? It is not an unforeseeable natural catastrophe that has suddenly descended on us. It is only that our system of economic relations and production has gone wrong. It is a period of change between two stages of the world, between two technological phases. That change, if not controlled, may take place in the worst possible conditions, even generating armed conflicts. If it is controlled, however, that is to say if it is intellectually controlled, it may very well provide the opportunity for decisive progress for the community of nations.

134. We should first of all reject false solutions which, on the pretext of rigour or realism, call for adjustments at the lowest level of production, that is, adjustments that prolong the crisis. This would truly mean giving up.

135. The new conditions in the world economy call for a considerable effort of adjustment within each economy. France in no way challenges the need for this and has committed itself with determination to this course. These actions must be pursued within a context that is particularly difficult for all. I would note that the countries of the third world have obtained significant results in this respect. But we must avoid a generalization of restrictive policies that would com-

promise the benefits to be obtained from each country internally. And we must see that such policies do not draw them all into a deflationary spiral.

136. Economically there exists among us today a profound solidarity. Whether we like it or not, no one is spared the effects of the daily economic decisions of the international community, and our own decisions, in turn, cross frontiers. New economic policies, largely based on a monetarist credo and on a lessening of government influence, promise both long-lasting control of inflation and the rapid resumption of sound growth. Everyone today is aware of the limitations of these policies which have led to massive budgetary deficits, the maintenance of excessive real interest rates and persisting stagnation. The absence of intervention in financial markets explains the persistence of erratic variations in rates of exchange.

137. France, with several of its partners, has emphatically criticized these policies for their serious consequences for the world economy, particularly the economies of the developing countries.

138. The fragile foundations upon which we have built our economies are beginning to give way. In order to halt the process, it is indispensable that action on the domestic front be coupled with active exploration on the international front of ways of promoting a general return to growth and prosperity. Each of us should contribute to the attainment of these goals according to his means. This is the tenor of the resolution adopted at the Versailles Economic Summit by the seven most highly industrialized countries, which were meeting on the invitation of President Mitterrand.

139. If we are to succeed in this, we must reaffirm our solidarity and use all the resources available to us. The progress of technology and the satisfaction of the needs of the most disadvantaged among the world population, constitute an enormous potential, the mobilization of which could give new momentum to the world economy. Recession is not inevitable; it can be overcome by collective, clear-sighted, integrated action.

140. This is the proper perspective in which to see North-South relations. The growth of North-South interdependence has so far been uncontrolled. It has helped to extend and aggravate the crisis. The time has come to establish true collective management of this interdependence of equal partners. The time has come to make it the instrument of the return to growth and development for all. The time has come to work for true international economic solidarity. This is basically what is at stake today in the North-South dialogue. This is the meaning of the appeal made by the President of the French Republic at Cancún in October 1981.

141. How can we fail in the circumstances not to be disappointed and concerned that these discussions are now deadlocked? The proposed global negotiations, so keenly sought by France are at a standstill. Yet the viewpoints differ little. I see an illustration of this in the immediate results it was possible to achieve in Toronto with regard to the specialized agencies. France attaches great importance to this and welcomes the resulting agreement on financing

the International Development Association [IDA] in 1984 and on the creation of a special fund.

142. I am sure that with a little good will the global negotiations could get under way very quickly. This would represent a decisive achievement for the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. It is clear to us all that the present circumstances make it necessary that steps be taken forthwith. You, Mr. Secretary-General, spoke of these in your statement at the 1st meeting of the Economic and Social Council in 1982. We must ensure sustained expansion of the world economy in a climate of stable exchange rates and stable prices for raw materials and manufactured products.

143. We must also try to reduce hunger in the world and make it possible for countries which have not yet done so to reach a threshold of food self-sufficiency.

144. I lay particular stress on official development aid. This is undoubtedly the only hope for the poorest countries. Despite our serious budgetary constraints France is continuing its own efforts. From 1980 to 1982 the amount devoted to official development aid has risen from 0.36 to 0.48 per cent of the gross national product and it will reach 0.52 per cent in 1983. We are speaking only of aid to independent countries. Our goal is still to reach 0.7 per cent in 1988. The least developed countries will receive 0.15 per cent of our gross national product with effect from 1985, in accordance with the commitment we entered into in September last year at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris.

145. France hopes that most countries will undertake similar action and join France in its efforts to guarantee IDA resources in the period from 1985 to 1987.

146. In addition to financial and technical measures, in addition to the reinvigoration of the activities of the organized international community, France intends to work towards the construction of a world based on right, not might. From this standpoint we advocate the right to difference, for we know that culture is not monolithic. There are no hierarchical links between the Confucian, Christian and Hindu philosophies. The universe is rich, above all, because of its diversity. Let us therefore respect the struggles of those who want to achieve dignity and freedom, because peoples exist when they have a history, a culture, and a willingness to live together. The international community must recognize their rights.

147. We are convinced that in affirming the right to difference we affirm the right to life and to development. Economic crises are all too often accompanied by a crisis of identity, a cultural crisis. This leads to resignation and a fatalistic surrender to destiny. It seems, unfortunately, that there exists a link between the dulling of our intellectual capacities and the worsening of the crisis. We must heed the forces of the spirit and of creativity. We must pay a tribute to and help those who have within them a strong determination to assert that we will emerge from this situation. This is our sole purpose, in France, in giving absolute priority to research and culture. A society that does not create, that does not call upon the resources of the will and the intellect, is a moribund society.

148. This conviction has also guided France's determination to contribute to the promotion of individual and collective human rights. In this France remains faithful to its vocation and its history. This means that our foremost concern is to respect the principles of national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs in relations between States and that we must not lose sight of the fact that the Charter of the United Nations confers a universal character on human rights.

149. The Charter must remain the hope of the oppressed. It recognizes the right if not the duty of the organized international community to concern itself with the way in which each State acquits itself of its obligations towards its own nationals. In this spirit France has recently recognized on the regional level the right of individual recourse provided for in the European Convention on Human Rights. Similarly we have just recognized the right laid down in article 14 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX)*].

150. But we believe that in this field co-operation with the States concerned should be encouraged. In our view this alone justifies the limitations which the universality of human rights imposes upon the principle of non-interference.

151. Similarly this indispensable co-operation is the only guarantee for the States concerned that international supervision, a peaceful and humanitarian act, can never be conceived of as an unfriendly act. Full enjoyment of all human rights presupposes an economic balance, which itself depends on a certain conception of development. It is in this spirit that within the United Nations France is taking an active part in the preparation of a draft declaration on the right to development.

152. We welcome the increase in regional supervision. Europe, with the Commission and the Court at Strasbourg, is no longer acting alone in the regional protection of human rights, as is shown by the growing role played by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights on the American continent. Similarly we should stress the progress achieved in Africa with the proclamation of the African Charter of Human and People's Rights.

153. This development has, furthermore, made it possible to develop global protection of the right to self-determination by taking internal situations into account, due consideration being given to the juridical identity of each particular region.

154. We want to make this point categorically: the freedom of a people—even once it has become independent—to decide on its own future with the participation of all is essential for the safeguarding of human rights in the world.

155. The United Nations is not only the most important meeting place in the world of which the Assembly is the living symbol; it is also a formidable instrument that has been considerably enriched since its foundation. The creation of an impressive number of specialized agencies has made it possible to work in all areas to achieve the objectives set forth in the Preamble to the Charter.

156. We must therefore make these instruments effective. It is a question of imagination and will. I should like in this connection to thank the Secretary-General for the remarkable report he has presented to us. In breaking with a well-established tradition, he has gone out of his way to focus attention on the capacity of the Organization to maintain peace and to strengthen the system of collective security which, unfortunately, we can only note has not been successful. Mr. Secretary-General, you have made concrete suggestions in this regard, and by and large we subscribe to them. Your proposals are in fact very much in keeping with the constant concerns of France.

157. We endorse your desire to make the Organization, and the Security Council in particular, a forum for negotiations once again. We favour a revision of United Nations practices and procedures, which you have recommended. Like you we should like to see the Organization act more rapidly and more effectively. To that end we are ready to contribute to the necessary strengthening of peace-keeping operations. In fact France has demonstrated this very point today in Lebanon.

158. The imperative need for solidarity calls also for a massive consolidation of the international financial system. This can be achieved through the following means: a very substantial increase in the size and resources of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] to enable it to assume its role of supporting countries caught in the grip of financial difficulties and recover its fundamental role of monitoring monetary policies and rates of exchange; systematic intervention by the Bank for International Settlements in the solution of financial crises; early implementation, within the framework of UNCTAD, of the Common Fund for Commodities, accompanied by renewed efforts aimed at reaching commodity agreements together with effective means for the stabilization of prices; establishment of an energy affiliate of the World Bank or some other comparable system so as to have available an instrument appropriate to the size of the energy investments the developing countries will have to make in the course of the coming decade.

159. There must be progress on all these subjects in the various bodies where they are being discussed. It is essential to seize every opportunity for dialogue and meetings in order to restore the proper significance to the multilateral institutions existing in the economic and political field and make them fully functional and useful.

160. It is imperative to promote the spirit of international co-operation, which alone can enable us together to return to the path to development and prosperity and, ultimately, peace. This strengthening of international institutions thus calls for the drafting of a new and better balanced code of law. The work of codification, which has been going on for more than 30 years, has certainly shown progress. But we must take into account the profound changes that the international community has experienced as an organized entity. We must therefore forge new instruments.

161. There is one specific area that illustrates this determination: the law of the sea. Last April practically all the Members of the Organization adopted a con-

vention. In spite of the reservations it may have on certain of its provisions, France voted in favour of that text. We considered that it was in itself an illustration of the North-South dialogue, which we advocate, and that it also constituted an important step towards an improvement of the world system. That is why I very much hope that the inadequacies and imperfections of the text will be remedied, which will make possible larger adherence to the Convention. I should like to announce today—and I do so symbolically from this rostrum—that France will sign the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea³, because it does not confine itself to coming here to make proposals. We also want to preach by example and to make our deeds fit our words.

162. I am also in a position to inform the General Assembly that France has decided to endorse the principles contained in the 1975 Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment [*resolution 3452 (XXX)*]. Today I shall give official notification of this to the Secretary-General on behalf of the French Government.

163. Finally I should like to add that France will recognize the right of a State or an individual to exercise, before the Human Rights Committee, the right of recourse provided for in article 41 and the Protocol of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*].

164. Before coming here to address the Assembly, I re-read the remarks made by Léon Blum in June 1936 in the League of Nations. Many of his arguments are still relevant today; France still means "to declare publicly, and to attest to by its deeds, its loyalty to international law." For history is not made up only of conflicts among men. It is also shaped by their dreams and their utopias. And what finer ideal is there than the one we symbolize here: that of an international society capable of abiding by a discipline to which it has freely consented? We are the image of what the world could be, and that image can give hope to millions of people on this planet. For our role has not changed. The task is still to put an end to what Victor Hugo called "the world's great insomnia". And, as Léon Blum added, "Men want to be able to sleep again. They want to rest their heads peacefully on their pillows after a hard day's work. They place their hope in you."

165. Yes, the Organization must once again become synonymous with hope. We can do it if we want to.

166. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister of the French Republic for the important statement he has just made.

167. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is a pleasure, Sir, to see you on the podium conducting the affairs of the thirty-seventh session, whose agenda includes the most important issues, issues directly related to the security, peace, stability and future of mankind. We have great confidence that your vast knowledge and experience, and the active role played by your friendly country in international relations, will help us, and you, realize our expectations of this session. In the name of the Amir, the

Government and the people of Kuwait, please accept our congratulations on your election.

168. The thirty-sixth session was fortunate in having been presided over by a colleague who is dear to you and to us, Mr. Ismat Kittani; he played a distinguished role and one deserving of our appreciation and our gratitude.

169. Since this is the first time I have addressed the General Assembly since the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar took office, I take this opportunity to say again that my country welcomes his accession to that high position; we wish him good luck and all success.

170. Furthermore, I must not let this opportunity pass without expressing to the former Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our thanks and appreciation for his constructive and dedicated efforts to help establish world security and stability during his term of office. We extend to him, too, our best wishes in the coming years.

171. The world situation has entered on a new era of complication and confusion, which have left their mark on the noble values that mankind has accepted as its constitution, values such as those of sovereignty, independence, justice, non-interference in internal affairs, peaceful coexistence among nations, and the elimination of the pains and evils inherent in blocs and in competing selfish interests.

172. The political rivalry between the two competing camps has led to dialogue and *rapprochement* being replaced by confrontation and estrangement, and thus has put an end to what was left of the policy of *détente*, with its favourable impact on international relations.

173. The increasing complications of international relations and conflicts among various interests have increasingly involved smaller nations in the spheres of influence of the super-Powers, to an extent that actually jeopardizes even the unity, solidarity and effectiveness of the regional organizations which have been playing an important role in furthering the security and prosperity of the countries and peoples of the respective regions.

174. The confusion arising from the ambiguity of the international situation has had an obvious impact on the ability and effectiveness of the United Nations and its various organs, particularly the Security Council. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General was honest with himself, and accurately described a fact which can no longer be denied when he talked candidly about the weakening of the effectiveness and credibility of the United Nations as an instrument for achieving peace and preventing war. We realize that the United Nations has, unfortunately, not been able, except in a few rare occasions, to act effectively to maintain peace in the world. Instead, we note that it has become a stage which the competing Powers use flagrantly as an instrument for defending their own interests by every possible means, to the extent that the Security Council has been unable to fulfil its primary responsibility—not because of remoteness from the scene of events or any reluctance to exert efforts, but because of the abuse by some of its members of their right of veto.

Those members, upon whose shoulders rests a special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, have in addition used their power in the Council to prevent any collective measures from being adopted by the international community whenever such measures would affect any part of their spheres of influence.

175. There is now a very wide gap between commitment to the principles and provisions of the Charter and the actual behaviour of nations in their international relations. Resorting to the force of arms and military supremacy as instruments to solve problems rather than on the force of truth, justice and international values has impaired the prestige of the United Nations, which once embodied the hopes of mankind in a society where security, prosperity, justice and brotherhood prevailed.

176. The State of Kuwait believes that this dangerous situation makes it imperative urgently to consider responsible and serious action by all the members of the international community to rekindle the commitment to the principles of the Organization.

177. Since the beginning of this year the General Assembly has had to convene several special sessions to discuss the dangerous developments relating to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. The Security Council has also met several times during the same period for the same purpose. Those two bodies have adopted resolutions, under the provisions of the Charter, to deal with the flagrant aggression perpetrated by Israel against an independent and sovereign Member State—Lebanon—and against the displaced Palestinian people. That people's loss of its land and legitimate rights and its dispersal and the suffering inflicted upon it for more than 35 years have been caused primarily by the creation of Israel itself.

178. As recorded by all the Western news media, Israel's actions in Lebanon were more brutal and inhuman than anything ever witnessed by the world before—a human holocaust which did not discriminate between men, women and children, the total destruction of everything on the land, under the pretext of security safeguards, a pretext universally acknowledged to be fallacious.

179. We wonder what would be the fate of the world if all nations tried to solve their security problems in this manner.

180. The horrible massacre which shocked everyone's conscience throughout the world has once again confirmed the dimensions of the blind fanaticism and the racist Zionist hatred of the Israeli régime directed against the defenceless, innocent people in the Palestinian camps, which had been evacuated by the Palestinian fighters when they left west Beirut under guarantees from the United States of America—which is precisely why that country bears a moral as well as a legal responsibility for what happened there.

181. Hence the international community is called upon to do more than express condemnation or shed tears, because evil forces do not react to moral principles or human feelings. It is therefore necessary to restrain them by means that are not beyond the capabilities of the international community. As usual,

Israel has not respected any agreements, pledges or charters. Its behaviour is not governed by any values or principles. This is clearly shown by the extent of its disregard for United Nations resolutions—which is precisely what has led us to call upon Member States, after all that has happened, to suspend Israel's membership of the United Nations as a first step as well as a deterrent to force it to obey the will of the international community.

182. The Arab land, the cradle of divine revelations which participated in bringing the principles of peace, justice and brotherhood to the peoples of the world, is victim today to the Zionist arrogance of power, with all its American arms of destruction—an arrogance of power that has caused such frustration among the people of Palestine and the other peoples of the region that the resultant explosion threatens to add a new element to the present conflict of power and arms, with the emergence of bitter anger and mutual hatred.

183. While drawing the attention of the international community to this dangerous abyss towards which our region is heading and which reminds us of the tragic human conflicts of the dark ages, we appeal to it firmly to resist this imminent danger. It is possible to disarm the hand, but difficult to defuse hatred in the heart.

Mr. Kafando (Upper Volta), Vice-President, took the Chair.

184. After what happened in Lebanon, Kuwait is convinced that the independence, security, territorial integrity and safety of the brotherly people of that country cannot be a subject for debate. It follows that the necessary measures must be taken to compel Israel to abide by Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) calling for its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanese territory.

185. The Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, has emerged from the latest tragic events much stronger and more united and cohesive. Through its conduct politically in negotiations and militarily on the battlefield, the PLO has proved that it is the legitimate spokesman of the Palestinian people and that it is deeply committed to international responsibility and its role in the preservation of peace and security in the Middle East.

186. It has become obvious from a whole series of Israeli violations, such as the annexation of Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights to the raid on the Iraqi nuclear installation and the barbaric invasion of Lebanon, that Israel's ultimate intention is to achieve one particular objective which it does not even bother to conceal—namely, the establishment of Greater Israel—and its strategy to achieve that objective has become crystal clear—namely, to use the flimsy pretext of security as a means of achieving its expansionist designs.

187. In their constant search for a peaceful, just and honourable solution to the Palestinian question, the Arab countries were able to manifest once again, at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held in Fez, the Arab nation's capability of living up to the situation by adopting a series of general principles as an accepted basis for a peaceful and durable solution to

the Palestinian question which would safeguard the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine. Elements of the proposed settlement were inspired by the Arab countries' sense of international and historical responsibility and the principles and bases of international charters, as well as of United Nations resolutions, such as the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, the right of all peoples to full self-determination, free of any narrow or biased interpretation, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the Security Council's responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

188. The unanimity shown by Arab heads of State in adopting the principles of the Fez Conference offers the international community a unique opportunity to move ahead on the road to a new era based on this initiative, which is rightly considered an important turning point whose meaning should not be lost on anyone and which expresses the genuine and firm desire of the Arab countries to end the conflict and preserve peace in the area.

189. It was not surprising to see that Israel rejected those Arab principles, for that rejection reflects the Israeli strategy in the Middle East—a strategy based on the consolidation of the *status quo* and the imposition of new *faits accomplis* on the international community.

190. In our view, the international community must consider those Arab principles as the greatest opportunity ever offered to settle the Middle East crisis and the Palestine question on a concrete and realistic basis.

191. It is the view of Kuwait that the United States, in particular, should seriously consider this Arab initiative, should understand its meaning and should respond to it positively so that it will become an accepted fact which will establish truth, security and justice in a region where the clouds of injustice and aggression have been and still are looming. On the other hand, the group of European countries which had for a long time sought to participate in any constructive approach to settling this thorny issue should seriously consider those principles and should not let the dream of peace in the Middle East be dashed by the misleading and deceptive policy of Israel. It is within our reach to hold on to the ray of hope—to preserve it and strengthen it so that it will eventually turn into an impregnable bulwark protecting the rights of the just and preserving peace.

192. I should now like to refer to what I said at the 18th meeting of the thirty-sixth session about the establishment of the Gulf Co-operation Council, which has now become a fact and which has proved to be the right and successful instrument for developing co-operation among member States, improving their relations, and achieving co-ordination, integration and interdependence among their peoples in all fields, thereby serving their mutual interests and strengthening their capability of participating in the preservation of peace and security in that vital area of the world. It has also stressed another important fact: namely, that security and stability in the Arabian Gulf area are the responsibility of its peoples and countries, which reject foreign interference from any source and under any pretext and that the member

States alone have the right to defend their security and maintain their independence. The Council has also emerged in the field of Arab relations as a tributary of Arab unity and solidarity.

193. Kuwait views with great concern the ongoing war between two Moslem neighbours, Iraq and Iran, which has exhausted, over a period of more than two years, the great potential of their human and economic resources and has exposed the area more than ever before to the possibility of intervention by foreign Powers attempting to impose their hegemony and their influence and to interfere in the area's internal affairs.

194. Kuwait commends the positive initiative of fraternal Iraq concerning the withdrawal of its forces to the international borders and the cessation of hostilities. It views this as an honest and genuine contribution on the part of Iraq to put a quick end to the war. We are still hopeful that neighbouring Moslem Iran will soon follow Iraq's example in this respect.

195. Kuwait fully appreciates all the honest efforts exerted by all parties concerned to find an honourable and just solution to the dispute—one which would safeguard the rights and dignity of both parties. But in spite of the fact that those efforts have, unfortunately, not been successful so far, we still believe in the necessity of continuing them and even intensifying them. We also hope that the supreme interest of maintaining peace and security in the area will prevail over all other considerations. We are convinced that the immediate cessation of hostilities would create the right climate for the solution of all problems, in accordance, above all, with the spirit and ideals of Islamic brotherhood and with international law.

196. The situation on our Asian continent is still replete with explosive crises that threaten our peace and security. Foreign troops are still on Afghan soil, and all the efforts exerted by the United Nations to reach a peaceful and just solution to that crisis on the basis of the various resolutions adopted by the Assembly are foundering. While we appreciate the participation of the parties to the dispute in the meeting recently held at Geneva under the aegis of the United Nations, we call for an intensification of efforts at subsequent meetings in order to arrive at a solution that will safeguard the rights of the people of Afghanistan to self-determination and to establish the political system they deem suitable, free from any foreign intervention. We also affirm the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homeland. Kuwait is convinced that none of these goals can be secured without the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and non-intervention in its internal affairs.

197. We regret the failure of the efforts made so far to convene an international conference to discuss the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. Kuwait has been stressing the need to convene such a conference because of its conviction that the peace and security of the Indian Ocean and the withdrawal of foreign bases from that area are vital and closely linked to international peace and security. Kuwait also reiterates its advocacy of the declaration of the Middle East as a nuclear-weapon-free zone in order to enable

the countries of that region to concentrate on solving their development problems and carrying out their economic development programmes.

198. Like the Middle East, the African continent continues to be an arena of strife and conflict that threaten its political stability and impede its economic progress. The Middle East is plagued by an aggressive and racist Zionist régime, while the African continent is plagued by a similar racist régime that is still being imposed on the people of South Africa and Namibia despite all the international attempts to find a just and honourable solution to their problems.

199. Kuwait reiterates its support for and solidarity with the people of Namibia in their just struggle and with the black majority in South Africa as it struggles against the policies of discrimination and *apartheid* being pursued by the white minority in that country. We salute and support the front-line States and SWAPO for their political perseverance in attempting to find a peaceful settlement to the problem of Namibia. We also condemn the perverted methods used by the racist régime in South Africa in its attempts to obstruct a peaceful settlement to that problem. Kuwait would also urge the Western nations to exert the utmost pressure on South Africa in order to force it to respond positively to international efforts to achieve a comprehensive and just settlement to the situation in southern Africa.

200. Kuwait is also watching the development of the situation in Eritrea and hopes that a just solution that will guarantee that the people of Eritrea attain their national aspirations can be found.

201. In a few months the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries will convene in the Indian capital. The movement non-aligned is still, 20 years after its creation, facing tremendous challenges; it requires from its members an increased adherence to its principles and ideology. By taking the initiative of not acting as host to the Seventh Conference, Iraq has proved its earnest desire to maintain the unity and effectiveness of the movement. Kuwait believes that States members of the movement should avoid being drawn into the conflict between the great Powers, which seek to polarize those States towards one camp or the other. Kuwait also feels a special interest in the forthcoming Conference in India and hopes that its results will reflect the aspirations of the third world.

202. We cannot fail to note the sense of disillusionment felt by the international community at the failure of the second special session on disarmament. The continuing development of weapons of mass destruction, the continued conducting of nuclear tests and the continued stockpiling of huge quantities of weapons has exposed the lack of political will on the part of the Powers involved to create a favourable climate for disarmament.

203. Kuwait believes that the economic problems facing today's world are for the most part caused by the tremendous costs of the arms race. We therefore call upon the United Nations to refuse to allow itself to be impeded by the temporary set-back of the failure of the second special session and to continue its attempts to achieve the cherished aspirations and dreams of mankind.

204. Through its long experience in contributing to the development of third-world countries, Kuwait realizes that the achievement of development in the developing countries is primarily the responsibility of those countries. That responsibility, however, does not release the advanced countries from their commitments to the developing nations and, consequently, a formula should be worked out to co-ordinate, follow up and implement the activities of economic co-operation among the developing nations themselves, on the one hand, and between them and the developed and advanced nations on the other. While Kuwait fully appreciates the efforts that were made during the past year to launch global negotiations to achieve economic co-operation, it expresses its disappointment at the many obstacles being placed in the way of such negotiations by the developed nations, which continue to look upon this vital matter from the viewpoint of their selfish interests.

205. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea made important specific progress when it adopted the draft Convention which the Conference had been debating for more than 10 years. Kuwait, aware of its international responsibility, appeals to all nations which have not yet approved this Convention to join the rest of the international community in its common conception of the organization and utilization of all the important and vital aspects of the Convention in the best interests and for the prosperity of mankind. Kuwait hopes that this Convention will be ratified as soon as possible.

206. The delegation of Kuwait, while sharing the concern of the international community over the current international political and economic situation, is convinced that it is imperative to continue the dialogue and intensify the bilateral and multilateral contacts among all nations. This concern for international peace and security, as expressed by all Member States, makes us fully confident that, given honest intentions and explicit goals, it will be possible to realize our hopes in the establishment of co-operation among peoples and to avoid the evils of wars and disputes. Progress and prosperity will thus come closer and be more significant.

207. Mr. KUSUMAAJTMADJA (Indonesia): I should like at the outset, on behalf of the Indonesian delegation and on my own behalf, to extend heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His vast experience and the competence that he has exhibited in the realm of multilateral diplomacy give us the assurance that under his guidance solid and substantive progress will be achieved during this crucial session.

208. With one regular session and no less than four special and emergency sessions, the past year has indeed been an exceedingly busy and demanding one for the outgoing President, Mr. Ismat Kittani. He has discharged his manifold responsibilities with great skill and patience and has contributed substantially to what has been achieved in difficult circumstances. We wish to register our deep appreciation of his leadership.

209. In the course of the past year the cause of international peace and security has, regrettably,

suffered further serious setbacks. Compounding this trend, the world economy continues to deteriorate and global economic co-operation has been stalemated, while the United Nations itself has been repeatedly bypassed. Resort to force to settle disputes, despite the Charter provisions to the contrary, has continued unabated and has even increased. Détente, always fragile and too limited in scope and substance to begin with, is now a shambles and each local conflict now potentially poses a greater threat to world peace than ever before. In South-West Asia, South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Central and South America and other regions people continue to suffer the consequences of violence and conflict. Yet, despite the devastation and hardship that are visited upon both the victor and the vanquished in war, States persist in their preparations for military confrontation.

210. Local and regional conflicts have become increasingly intractable owing to the marked tendency of the major Powers to view those conflicts from the perspective of their global rivalries and to link eventual solutions to their wider strategies of mutual containment. As a result, the risk of the lesser Powers and the countries of the third world being dragged into the East-West polarization has grown correspondingly.

211. It is manifest that in an increasingly insecure and perilous world the present international system has proved to be incapable of dealing effectively with the multitude of problems. Indeed, the international community has long recognized this reality by calling for the restructuring of the prevailing system and the establishment of a new international order. However, despite the new political realities in the world and the growing consensus on change, the present system is being perpetuated, to the detriment of the newly emergent States. It is only by recognizing the interests of the developing countries and their vast potential for contributing to a more peaceful and prosperous world of genuine independence that we can begin to address the global problems before us.

212. It is our deep conviction that as long as the great Powers seek to enhance their security in disregard of the interests of the smaller Powers, the question of universal collective security envisaged in the Charter will continue to elude us. One of the cardinal features of the new international system must be greater equality and a greater voice in decision-making on vital issues for all members of the international community.

213. The multiple crises afflicting our world today and the perception of a growing paralysis on the part of the United Nations in the attempts to find effective solutions to them have further deepened the crisis of authority in which the Organization has found itself for quite some time.

214. In this context, I should like to express my delegation's great appreciation of the frank and lucid report of the Secretary-General, which highlighted the alarming erosion of the Organization's influence over issues of world peace and progress. My Government shares his concern for what he has rightly called the crisis of the multilateral approach in coping with the myriad of problems that confront us. It is only through a renewed commitment and dedication to the multilateral approach through the United Nations,

through dialogue and negotiation, that we can reverse the dangerous drift towards global disorder, heightened polarization and the revival of blatant power politics.

215. It is imperative to restore the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its mission as outlined by the Charter, and our first task must necessarily be to ensure a strengthened role for the Security Council in settling conflicts. One essential component for such a strengthened role, in our view, should be the establishment of workable machinery for the conciliation of disputes and the defusion of crises before they become full-blown wars. But for this and other improvements in the operational procedures of the Security Council to become possible, there should first be a conscious readjustment in the nature and extent of the commitment by Member States, especially by the permanent members of the Security Council, to the wider global responsibilities inherent in our common acceptance of the Charter.

216. In his report, the Secretary-General has gone beyond analysing the difficulties the Organization is facing and has suggested a number of pertinent ways in which Governments of Member States could assist, in particular, in developing a more viable system of collective security, in strengthening United Nations peace keeping operations and in enhancing the validity and utility of United Nations organs as negotiating forums. It is appropriate, therefore, that at this critical juncture in the life of the Organization we, the Member States, likewise move beyond the perfunctory expression of praise and support for the Secretary-General's initiative and make active conceptual and concrete contributions to the elaboration and the early realization of the required reforms. As far as Indonesia is concerned, it stands ready to extend its full co-operation towards this end.

217. It cannot be said that the past year has witnessed any impressive progress on the main issues confronting us. Indeed, the lack of progress is distinctly disappointing and is in strong contrast to the obvious urgency of these problems.

218. Among the central issues confronting the international community, particularly in my own region of South-East Asia, is the plight of Kampuchea.

219. The situation in Kampuchea has not changed substantially and remains a matter of serious concern to all of us. Indeed, no meaningful progress has been achieved in seeking a political solution of the problem. Foreign troops are still in Kampuchea, despite repeated calls by the international community for their total withdrawal. The United Nations supervised election to enable the people of Kampuchea to determine their own future has not taken place. The efforts by the United Nations and the International Conference on Kampuchea to seek a political solution have yet to yield meaningful results.

220. Despite the lack of progress, however, the national forces of Kampuchea have formed the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, which is a clear expression of the will and determination of the Kampuchean people to regain their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. It is important to note that the Coalition Government has pledged to work for the implementation of all decisions of the

United Nations and the International Conference on Kampuchea. It remains the sincere conviction of my Government that it would be in the interest of all the parties to seek a peaceful and negotiated political solution to the Kampuchean problem and that the United Nations and the International Conference on Kampuchea provide the best forum to seek the achievement of such a political solution.

221. The Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] is committed to seek a just political solution to the conflict. Once the Kampuchean question is resolved, we are confident that suspicion and mistrust will be removed from the area, thus paving the way for the resumption of a meaningful dialogue and co-operative relations among the States in the region. We could then look forward with greater confidence to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, thereby fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of all peoples in the region for stability, progress and prosperity.

222. The crisis in Afghanistan has also affected the process of détente. Indeed, it has exacerbated tension and anxiety throughout the world and has hindered the resolution of a number of issues of world-wide concern. In line with United Nations efforts, the non-aligned movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference have reiterated the urgent need to seek a comprehensive political solution to the problem on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. The Secretary-General has also taken constructive steps in seeking a solution of this problem. We believe that any such solution should ensure that the Afghan people will be able to determine their own future, free from foreign intervention and interference.

223. Since June 1982, the world has witnessed with anger and dismay the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. We were shocked at the toll in human lives, especially among the civilian population and the incalculable destruction it has wreaked on Lebanon. My Government has strongly condemned Israel's aggression against the Lebanese and the Palestinian peoples and demanded the restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon. In his National Day speech on 17 August President Soeharto reiterated.

“Our stand remains as clear and unambiguous as before: that is, we continue to be on the side of the Arab nation in its struggle against Israeli aggression and stand shoulder to shoulder with the Palestinian people in their legitimate quest for self-determination and to regain their homeland.”

224. The appalling massacre of the Palestinian civilians in west Beirut, which is a direct consequence of Israel's invasion, has evoked universal condemnation. The resumption of the seventh emergency special session last week and the adoption by consensus of resolution ES-7/9, in which the Assembly calls on the Security Council to investigate the circumstances and extent of the massacre, was a reflection of the world's horror over the massacre, for which Israel cannot evade responsibility.

225. It is clear that the aim of the Israeli invasion was to destroy the national identity and aspirations of

the Palestinian people and their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, as the standard bearer of Palestinian rights to sovereignty and statehood. Israel cannot take upon itself the function of a policeman in the Middle East, violating as it pleases the territorial sovereignty of its neighbours, destroying the people of Palestine and imposing its will on the Arab world. Israel's expansionism and arrogance must be stopped.

226. My delegation believes that the only hope for peace is for Israel to accept Palestinian independence and sovereignty as called for and supported by nearly all mankind. The question of Palestine remains at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East, and without a solution to this problem no comprehensive settlement can ensure peace in the region. The realization of a just and lasting peace requires the unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

227. We commend the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held Fez this month, which has demonstrated the unified approach of the Arab States to the problem of the Middle East. The meeting enumerated [see A/37/696] serious and reasonable proposals to achieve a solution of the Palestinian question. On the other hand, as a power which could restrain Israel's aggression, intransigence and expansionism, we believe that the United States should continue to insist on Israel behaving in a more responsible and peace-loving manner, befitting a Member of the United Nations. It is our sincere hope that the proposals of the Fez Summit will receive a positive response from all the parties concerned so that the long-standing conflict in this region will soon be resolved, thereby inaugurating a new era of peace for the region as a whole.

228. The second special session on disarmament which was convened, with great expectations, to follow up the decisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], adopted in 1978, has become a casualty of the present climate of distrust and tension and has degenerated into a series of platitudes, devoid of substantive commitments. The inability to adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament at the session, regarded by many States, including my own, as crucial to our efforts for an integrated approach, was a great disappointment. It was, moreover, regrettable that some of the leading Powers disregarded their commitments undertaken in the 1978 Final Document and were unwilling to use the United Nations as an instrument for genuine disarmament effort. These developments have prevented meaningful progress in stemming the tide of the arms race.

229. Despite that failure, however, the session has served as a focal point for widespread expression of public concern about the arms race, and in particular about the danger of nuclear weapons. The proposals for a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, and for a freeze on their development and production, and the renewed call for a comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests, fully reflected world opinion. It is our hope that the bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union will be pursued with a sense of urgency and lead to meaningful limitations and significant reductions in nuclear weapons. The nuclear Powers should, moreover, recognize that it is

no less important to pursue multilateral negotiations, by enabling the Committee on Disarmament to discharge its responsibilities and renew efforts to negotiate on the priority issues.

230. There is a growing apprehension that the region of the Indian Ocean is rapidly become the focus of a new cold-war rivalry between the super-Powers. As a littoral State, Indonesia is convinced that the convening of the International Conference on the Indian Ocean is an essential step towards the establishment of a zone of peace. We are fully aware of the ramifications of the conflicts and tension that engulf the region. It is precisely for this reason that the Conference, as stipulated in relevant General Assembly resolutions, should be the forum to discuss all relevant issues, with a view to opening the constructive dialogue that heretofore has eluded us. It is a truism that the convening of one conference might not suffice to resolve all the problems pertaining to the Indian Ocean. However, the Conference should be a first step towards improving the political and security climate in the region.

231. In recent months the international community has witnessed renewed large-scale military operations by South Africa against SWAPO in a desperate attempt to eliminate the sole authentic and internationally recognized representative of the Namibian people. It should be noted that there is nothing new in these South African tactics. The racists in Pretoria have on numerous occasions used their military forces to thwart any progress in the negotiations to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

232. South Africa has clearly demonstrated that it is prepared to use every manoeuvre, and to exploit every opportunity to employ force, to undercut all efforts towards a negotiated settlement leading to the establishment of an independent Namibia.

233. The most expeditious means to bring about Namibian independence is contained in the Arusha Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [see A/37/230] adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in May this year. It urged the Western contact group to accept SWAPO's constructive proposal for the early implementation of the United Nations plan and to exert firm and genuine pressure on South Africa. In this regard, my delegation will firmly oppose any effort by South Africa to impose any fraudulent electoral, constitutional or political schemes, and any pretext to link the solution of the Namibian problem to any other issue that would be in contravention of resolution 435 (1978), all of which are designed to perpetuate South Africa's domination of the Territory. Furthermore, at the Arusha meeting my delegation endorsed the call for a Geneva-type conference at which all outstanding issues should be discussed and resolved together in a comprehensive manner. The early scheduling of such a conference may help intensify current efforts to overcome South Africa's intransigence. Despite the many obstacles that continue to block the way to securing Namibia's independence, the negotiating process has shown some signs of progress, as noted in the Secretary-General's report. Every effort should be made, however, to compel South Africa to negotiate in good faith and within the guidelines established by resolution 435 (1978).

234. It is disturbing to all of us that, despite the condemnation of the system of *apartheid* by almost all Member States, South Africa continues to ignore the repeated appeals of the international community to end the practice of *apartheid*.

235. Guided by the important decisions adopted at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris in 1981, my delegation is convinced that the international community should intensify its solidarity with the people of South Africa by maintaining and strengthening the agreed set of sanctions designed to isolate South Africa in all spheres of international relations.

236. On 30 April 1982 the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea adopted a comprehensive Convention on the Law of the Sea.³ This was a monumental achievement in multilateral negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations. The fact that the draft Convention was adopted by 130 countries and was opposed by only 4 indicates that each provision is acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the States in the world. It is conceivable that, taken separately, all provisions of the Law of the Sea Convention are not acceptable to a particular country. But taken as a whole, being a compromise text in a package, the text is obviously acceptable to the world community. My delegation believes that the Law of the Sea Convention is extremely important to maintaining law and order in ocean affairs as well as to promoting national development and management of ocean uses and resources. My delegation therefore would like to appeal to the small number of countries which have not adopted the Convention to reconsider their position, so that the Law of the Sea Convention, being the product of long years of negotiation, can become truly universal in nature and application.

237. Concurrent with the continuing critical climate in international politics, the international economy has plunged to one of the lowest depths in several decades.

238. Aggravating the situation is the serious erosion of multilateral economic co-operation, mainly through the regressive policies of some developed countries, which run counter to the basic goals and objectives of an increasingly interdependent world.

239. The seemingly hopeful signs generated at the Cancún and Versailles Economic Summits in seeking a breakthrough in the stalemated global negotiations have proved to be illusory. It has to be acknowledged that there was indeed some movement towards launching the global negotiations through an enabling resolution. However, the informal consultations so far have regrettably not yielded any substantive progress. My delegation endorses the search for new initiatives to reach a consensus on some crucial procedural issues. These efforts can be successful only if some developed countries demonstrate the political will to take positive step towards an early launching of these negotiations.

240. An important feature underlying the economic system today is that of interdependence. We believe that interdependence does not imply only a mutuality of benefits for both the rich and poor countries. It also means that the self-sustained economic development of the developing countries could contribute

towards the economic well-being of the developed countries.

241. We are pleased to note that there has been a gradual increase of understanding by some developed countries on the inevitability of interdependence. It is our sincere hope that these countries would be willing to undertake the adjustments needed to achieve this concept.

242. We are convinced that piecemeal, domestic-oriented and bilateral remedies for our global problems are a futile exercise in a world of increasing interdependence. Restructuring, therefore, under the aegis of our universal body, the United Nations, should no longer be deferred.

243. Having said that, I wish to emphasize that this does not mean that the global negotiations or the efforts to launch them should in any way divert our attention from the ongoing negotiations in other sectoral forums.

244. The restructuring of international trade is a vital vehicle for achieving self-sustained development. And above anything else, access to markets is crucial. Regrettably, the escalation of protectionist measures practiced by some developed countries has seriously eroded the efforts of the developing countries to expand their exports. The sharp deterioration of their terms of trade continues to aggravate their already serious economic plight.

245. In this context, the forthcoming ministerial meeting of GATT provides an excellent opportunity and a historic turning point for the establishment of fair international trading practices. Such action is imperative for the expansion of trade of the developing countries.

246. The sixth session of UNCTAD, scheduled for late next spring at Belgrade, will, we believe, be of crucial importance for remedying the central problems and the current disruptions in world trade and development which could lead to the revival of the world economy. If, however, the impasse continues with no concrete results emerging from these important meetings, we will once again be witnessing another lost chance in which the international community will have failed to grasp the opportunity for progress.

247. Given the slow pace of the North-South negotiations, the measured progress of collective self-reliance among developing countries is more indispensable now than ever. Indonesia is committed to this process, not only because it is transforming the patterns of development, but because it constitutes an essential ingredient for the rapid advancement of the developing countries.

248. In this connection, we endorse the results of the meeting of the Intergovernmental Follow-up and Co-ordination Committee on economic co-operation among the developing countries held in Manila in August. Its recommendation to start negotiations on a global system of trade preference among developing countries and the development of food security reserves deserves our particular attention. In our opinion, the implementation of the global system of trade preference, through a gradual approach, will ultimately help the efforts for trade expansion among developing countries.

249. In so far as co-operation on food security reserves is concerned, we believe that it can best be implemented through sub-regional and regional arrangements, which could then be extended on a world-wide scale. We in ASEAN have initiated such an arrangement and are in the process of trying to develop further the ASEAN food security reserve co-operation.

250. Turning briefly now to some social aspects of the United Nations activities, the preparations for the International Youth Year in 1985, which are now in progress, are commendable. An increased participation of non-governmental youth organizations in the International Youth Year would greatly encourage them to share in the responsibilities of solving global youth problems and thereby help to promote world peace. Such an exercise would also increase their ability to participate in the national youth development programme. The Indonesian Government, therefore, fully supports the Specific Programme of Measures and Activities⁵.

251. With reference to the status and role of women, there is an increased recognition of their contribution towards development as reflected in the Mexico, World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women-Year.⁶ This positive trend is further stimulated by the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [resolution 34/180]. We sincerely hope that the 1985 World Conference on the United Nations Decade for Women will be able to review and appraise constructively the implementation of the Plan of Action.

252. This year that has witnessed its abundant share of world-wide turbulence and tragedy, and the incapacity of the United Nations to prevent them or to provide timely redress, and there is always the temptation to lapse into cynicism and disaffection. But the reforming impulse, the hopes and yearnings of peoples everywhere for a more peaceful, just and prosperous world order based on the ideals and principles of the Charter remain alive and cannot be quieted.

253. Indonesia remains convinced that despite its present inadequacies, the United Nations still represents the best instrument to transform these hopes into reality and to fashion at least the minimum conditions for a better life for all in the decades to come. Therefore, if the Organization is to fulfil its role as the focal point for the global management of the critical problems of our time, it is imperative that a new sense of purpose be instilled in its mechanisms and procedures so as to prevent it from degenerating into a sterile debating forum. My delegation further believes that in this effort the non-aligned movement to which Indonesia belongs could and should make an important contribution, both at the conceptual level and in initiating concrete proposals, as it has consistently done in the past on the global issues of peace, security and international economic co-operation.

254. In a rapidly changing world of disparate interests and contending visions, the only alternative to restoring the United Nations as a relevant organization capable of meeting the challenges of our time is to allow an unmanaged and uncontrollable slide into international chaos and anarchy. As the Secretary-

General has warned, we appear to be perilously close to that point.

255. Thus, for once, the task before us should not be seen in terms of a demand by one side and an act of generosity by the other. For it may not be just our mutual interest that is at stake, but our common survival, and none of us can afford to evade this challenge and refuse to bear this responsibility.

256. Mr. MAESO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Speaking for all members of the delegation of Uruguay, I wish to address to the President our warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Similarly, I wish to convey to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, our special appreciation for the efficiency with which he directed deliberations at the last session.

257. Uruguay is taking part in this session of the Assembly with the express desire of reaffirming once again as an absolute priority its historical commitment to peace. This commitment has been made manifest ever since our independence, in our support for dialogue as an instrument for settling disputes, and in our unremitting defence of international law.

258. In a world troubled by the most serious threats, where there is constant tension and confrontations are rife, even where peace and security have been firmly established, the international community must, without delay, demonstrate in a specific, practical and effective manner, that its attachment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations is not merely a formal promise or a passive expression of hope.

259. It is deplorable to note that in the interval since the last session of the Assembly new clashes, with their tragic toll of death and desolation, have taken place in many parts of the world. The sad reality of ongoing wars lends added urgency to the current negotiations and strongly underlines the unavoidable responsibility incumbent on each and every one of us, setting aside any dialectics.

260. Given the vicious circle of mistrust, tension and the arms race, civilized and fruitful coexistence can be obtained only to the extent that the various States exert their influence in their respective spheres in conformity with the international legal order and in strict observance of the obligations set down in the Charter.

261. It was this line of thinking that led Uruguay in a constructive spirit actively to participate in the work of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. When we take stock of the results achieved, it is frustrating to acknowledge the lack of substantial progress on a topic in which a great many hopes had been placed, namely the comprehensive programme for disarmament. It is, however, important to mention that reaffirmation of the validity of the 1978 Final Document in resolution S-10/2, the commitment to abide by the priorities established in the disarmament negotiations, and the adoption of two resolutions on a World Disarmament Campaign and disarmament fellowships [resolutions 36/92 C and A], are concrete measures in the long and laborious process of building up universal understanding. My country welcomes them with satisfaction.

262. With regard to disarmament, Uruguay enthusiastically agrees that resources not spent on armament should be reallocated to developing countries. It also warmly supports as a form of progress the idea of using these resources for the development of nuclear-free zones which, although geographically limited, contribute to the cause and objectives of disarmament. It is to be hoped that this example, to which Latin America made an outstanding contribution with the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), will be followed by other geographical areas, thus multiplying the number of zones to be gradually freed from the nuclear threat. However, the inalienable right of the developing countries to access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes should be strongly reaffirmed.

263. We should now like to offer some comments concerning the many conflicts now under way. Apart from constituting a threat to the basis of the harmonious coexistence of nations, these conflicts ignore the essential fact that we are all part and parcel of the same civilization, which is based on shared ideals. This deeply troubles the conscience of nations such as mine which regard any of their expectations as secondary to the cause of peace and place all their endeavours at its service.

264. During the conflict in the South Atlantic Uruguay noted with concern and anguish how the use of force—a procedure irreversibly proscribed by the Charter of the United Nations—emerged in the American community of nations. Those responsible chose to disregard the inexorable tide of history.

265. On various occasions and in various bodies my country has taken a position of solidarity with Argentina. This position is based on recognition of Argentina's right to claim sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. Today Uruguay confirms that recognition in keeping with the best diplomatic traditions of my country, having been one of the first to put forward in this very body the unquestionable right of Argentina to the archipelago under dispute.

266. Uruguay also reaffirms its strong desire to help in the search for a negotiated solution to the conflict. We are ready to participate in efforts to attain this purpose. To that end my Government would like to restate its willingness to offer the necessary facilities to the interested and concerned parties as well as to any possible mediators so that it may receive them in the traditional Uruguayan environment of peace and security.

267. We have no doubt of the need for a peaceful solution to the crisis obtaining in the South Atlantic, but we should like to express our firm desire that the solution not contravene the course of history or breed future confrontations.

268. Once again the situation in the Middle East is causing particular concern to my Government, which, faithful to the juridical and political principles that underlie our international conduct, is particularly alive to the anguish caused by the grave events that have come to pass in Lebanon.

269. We appreciate the values that Lebanon represents. It is a nation that loves peace and culture. The close links of friendship and respect between our coun-

tries prompt us to call for the most strict respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence. In other words, we demand respect for its right freely to choose its own future without foreign intervention. This obviously implies the withdrawal from Lebanese territory of all occupying forces regardless of their origin.

270. In the judgement of my Government a strong and independent Lebanon constitutes an essential factor for peace throughout the region. The international community must exert every effort to co-operate with the people and Government of Lebanon in the attainment of these goals. It is likewise imperative that the parties to the conflict adopt an unswerving policy to that end.

271. Uruguay will firmly support any action designed to bring about peace in the Middle East. That is consistent with our position. It should be brought about through agreements negotiated among the parties involved without violence and with justice so as to guarantee all parties the possibility of living within safe and recognized boundaries in accordance with international law and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

272. In that spirit we are participating in the Sinai multinational peace-keeping force, and we are ready to co-operate in various actions to be undertaken in order to consolidate and broaden the process leading to a just and lasting peace in the region, regardless of extraneous interests and destabilizing factors.

273. Equally it bears repeating here that the objective of peace in the Middle East presupposes the existence and recognition of the State of Israel and its right and the right of other nations not to be attacked. Of course it is also necessary for the international community to understand the legitimate aspirations of the people of Palestine to have a territory in which to settle and establish a free and sovereign State.

274. My country's foreign policy has been based on unswerving respect for fundamental principles such as non-interference in the domestic jurisdiction of States and the right of all peoples to self-determination. The application of these principles—which all have the same source, the preservation of the right to exercise sovereignty—has been constantly and seriously hampered by the actions of countries and pressure groups which, because of their support for internal forces, internationalize conflicts that clearly fall within the domestic jurisdiction of States. This has led to a situation in which the inalienable right of States to decide their own future without foreign pressure or undue influence is disregarded. This is dramatically evident in regions such as Central America, where, furthermore, violence and terrorism daily infringe the political, economic and social stability of countries, which is an essential element of the full development of the peoples of the region.

275. With regard to Afghanistan, the majority of the international community has expressed a strong desire for détente, an end to military clashes so as to avoid greater suffering and misery among the people, the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, total respect for the rights of the civilian population and restoration of effective sovereign national authority. The per-

sistence of the conflict creates a dangerous source of friction that must be resolved as soon as possible.

276. In the context of these particular issues, I must state that my Government attaches great importance to the achievement of a peaceful independent solution to the question of the unification of Korea through inter-Korean dialogue. That would help create conditions favorable for mutual understanding and for the general stability of the region.

277. It would be worth while to reactivate the good offices of the Secretary-General in this case for discussions between North and South Korea.

278. In all the international bodies in which it participates, Uruguay has always defended the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Therefore, we reaffirm once again the Namibian people's right to independence and its right to choose, in a climate of peace and free from undue pressures and external influences, its own political constitution, within the framework guaranteed by the United Nations provisional administration. Uruguay's stand on this issue is not anomalous; it is consistent with, and a part of, our unswerving commitment to peace and our emphatic rejection of any use of violence or terrorism.

279. Uruguay is a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX)*]. We were the first State to accept the machinery set forth in that Convention for receiving individual complaints and communications. That position is not one dictated by circumstances; it has been energetically and unswervingly held by my country's representatives ever since the inception of the United Nations, ever since the Organization first gave impetus to the process of decolonization.

280. Although the great majority of the nations of the international community have ratified or acceded to that Convention, thus making it a universal instrument, discrimination on the basis of colour, race, national or ethnic origin, or social class remains a tragic fact which shocks our conscience and is an affront to the spirit of progress of mankind.

281. The forced displacement of indigenous populations; the marginal existence of national or ethnic minorities; the existence of discriminatory laws; the persistence of practices based on notions of superiority or on racial hate: all these things convince us that the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [*resolution 3057 (XXVIII), annex*], which expires in December of next year, should be renewed and broadened.

282. Unfortunately the examples I have given are not the only manifestations of discrimination. It has also been manifested in the most painful forms of religious intolerance, which, in various parts of the world, continue to provoke a great deal of violence, persecution, and even genocide. In this connection, my country reaffirms its full support for the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, which the Assembly adopted last year in resolution 36/55. At the same time we urge the prompt resumption of consideration of a draft international convention on this matter. That instrument would serve as the basis,

together with other necessary efforts, to combat theories, systems and institutions based on discriminatory principles which disregard the fundamental equality of the family of man.

283. Uruguay was also one of the first countries to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which was adopted by the Assembly three years ago in resolution 34/180, and we welcome the fact that the Convention has come into force. We express the hope that it will help to ensure the participation of women, on an equal footing and at every level of society.

284. In that connection, we must mention a system that shocks the conscience of mankind and makes a doctrine of iniquity: *apartheid*. Uruguay is pleased to affirm with its usual conviction its radical opposition to that policy as well as to any other form of racism that openly and stubbornly contradicts the moral and philosophical premises that form the basis of our most deeply and dearly held cultural traditions.

285. The world crisis facing mankind is manifested not only in the destruction caused by those who ignore the single origin and nature of human beings. It is also clear in the inability of the international community to put a stop to the ongoing violence which has become an integral part of the political practice of nations, nations with a long tradition of institutional stability and those recently emancipated from colonialism. That violence has resulted in constant acts of terrorism, with their tragic toll in murder, kidnapping and extortion; this seems to flourish in societies where democratic institutions prevail and where an attempt is made to preserve fundamental freedoms and individual rights. On the other hand, symptomatically, the phenomenon of terrorism does not appear in any country where totalitarianism exists with its systematic violation of human rights.

286. Acts of terrorism are grave offences against common law; they violate the most fundamental principles of personal and collective security, whatever the political pretexts invoked for their commission.

287. Uruguay is a party to all the conventions adopted within the United Nations system and the Organization of American States with the aim of preventing and punishing acts of terrorism. It has also participated very actively in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism. Several of its proposals on the subject have been approved by that Committee.

288. Notwithstanding our recognition of the efforts that have been made, we must frankly state our disappointment at the fact that the international community has not adopted practical, specific and comprehensive measures to deal effectively with the grave and complex problem of terrorism. Although the maintenance of internal security is the responsibility of each individual State, co-operation among countries is essential to prevent and punish, in a co-ordinated way, crimes with international implications.

289. Although consideration of the underlying causes of acts of terrorism and violence deserve attention, it must not lead us to delay indefinitely the search for remedies to deal with what is an undeniable fact:

that acts of terrorism are invariably repeated, deserving the repudiation of all civilized nations.

290. The efforts to prevent and punish crimes committed against diplomatic agents and other persons enjoying immunities established in international law are based on the adoption in New York, in 1973, of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents [*resolution 3166 (XXVIII)*, *[annex]*]. But we believe that a multilateral machinery must be established to deal with acts of terrorism affecting ordinary persons who do not enjoy the special protection of those immunities, but who are, none the less, entitled to international protection as human beings.

291. This year we have witnessed a historic event of great importance: the approval by the great majority of the international community of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,³ which establishes a new and comprehensive legal order applicable to the seas and based on the recognition of the sovereign rights and jurisdiction of the littoral States in the waters adjacent to their coasts, in an exclusive economic zone, and on the continental shelf, with due regard for the *jus communicationis* and the rational exploitation of the resources of the sea.

292. It is also based on co-operation for the development of scientific research, the protection and preservation of the marine environment, the administration by an international authority of that zone, of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction with the necessary powers for organizing and controlling those activities related to the exploration and exploitation of resources and the establishment of a production policy for that zone and a comprehensive system for the settlement of disputes.

293. However, we regret that some countries were not able to overcome their difficulties with respect to certain points and cast a favourable vote. Nevertheless, we trust and hope that they will be able to reconsider their position for the benefit of the common good. This would allow us to reach our objective, which would constitute an achievement of prime importance for the stability of international relations and the consolidation of world peace.

294. With regard to the environment, 1982 has been a year rich in important events, to which our country contributed decisively and with conviction. The session of a special character that was convened by the Governing Council of UNEP last May in Nairobi commemorating the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, which was held in 1972 in Sweden, was followed by the tenth session of the Governing Council. A signal achievement of these two meetings was the renewal of the "spirit of Stockholm", the solemn ratification by more than 100 nations of their commitment to preserve the environment, thus ensuring a vital framework for humanity and the common heritage of future generations. The Nairobi Declaration [*A/37/25, part one, annex II*] and the Action Plan for the Human Environment⁷ that were adopted represent a new policy approach. It is a more systematic and technical approach which includes a considerable strengthening of international action on the subject

and the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the *Ad Hoc* Meeting of Senior Government Officials Expert in Environmental Law, which my country was pleased to host in October and November 1981.

295. The Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was held last August at Vienna. The objective of the Conference was to analyse at the world level those problems concerning the cosmos at a time when we are approaching a quarter century of the space age. Uruguay participated actively in the work of that Conference, firmly convinced that it was the appropriate time to take stock of the past and the present in order to make a realistic projection for the future with a view to genuine international co-operation on this question.

296. The enormous increase in the field of communications and the interdependence of peoples that provide our civilization with a real sense of unity has made it imperative for the field of communications to become an essential element in the economic and social development of all countries.

297. Faithful to this idea, we have adhered to the proclamation by the General Assembly of the [*resolution 36/40*] World Communications Year and we are ready within our means to take part in the Plan of Action⁸ to be undertaken next year. To this end, we have already established a National Committee in our country in which all the relevant ministries and government services are represented.

298. Uruguay is a party to the International Covenants on Human rights, including the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI)*, *annex*]. It has always fought in every forum against the death penalty. Hence we were pleased to note the significant progress made in the drafting of a second optional protocol to abolish capital punishment, a vestige of history that denies the first right of man—the right to life.

299. In the same spirit, Uruguay has taken part in the work of the Commission on Human Rights is preparing a convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading acts.

300. We have also reaffirmed our interest in any measure contributing to the strengthening and expanding of the machinery of the Organization to improve the effective enjoyment of individual rights and fundamental freedoms.

301. We also strongly support the planned international campaign against drug trafficking, within the context of the International Strategy for Drug Abuse Control⁹. This campaign is designed to achieve the eradication of another human scourge.

302. There are other initiatives aimed at consolidating the objectives adopted by the Assembly when proclaiming international years, such as the Year of the Child in 1979 and the Year of Disabled Persons in 1981. We support these initiatives. Given my Government's prime interest in these matters, we noted with satisfaction the considerable progress made in the drafting of a convention on the rights of the child, as well as that concerning the implementation of the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons [*see A/37/351/Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1*,

annex], designed to prevent incapacitating disabilities and to promote rehabilitation and the full integration of the handicapped into society.

303. None the less, it is our earnest hope that these aims will not become obscured by rhetoric, as has unfortunately happened frequently in the international community, which shows the international community's incapacity to go beyond the level of mere statements at a time when crucial and ongoing challenges facing mankind call for strong substantive action.

304. We know that there are good intentions; we know that there is no lack of theoretical concepts; but the shaping of a more just and equitable world economy, as well as the establishment of a legal order in a world fraught with individualism and violence, are still mere aspirations and nothing more.

305. A question affecting the whole of mankind on which we cannot remain silent is that of hunger and poverty which ruthlessly afflict more than 900 million people in the world.

306. Uruguay, a developing country, cannot accept with criminal indifference the suffering of others as well as the passivity of the machinery of a system that in practice violates the basic tenets of the Organization.

307. These situations, which deny the very minimum of human solidarity, demand the priority attention of the Assembly in order to restructure the links of interdependence and find solutions capable of alleviating the scourge of hunger and its cause, destitution. We must have the necessary political will to adopt appropriate measures allowing us to expect a certain measure of success in the struggle for better health and education in order to improve the lot of mankind and enhance the sanctity of life.

308. In the field of health, it is fitting to mention specifically the fact that Uruguay has begun a massive vigorous campaign to vaccinate all our population. This is the culmination of the constant work of prophylaxis that has been an ongoing concern of the health services of my country.

309. It is also worth noting that, in the field of education, my Government is making every effort to implement an ambitious literacy programme which will finally eliminate the already very low rate of illiteracy of no more than 5 per cent. The first stage of this campaign has successfully been completed recently this year.

310. It is paradoxical to note that at this time when we have witnessed the greatest achievements and progress and when science and technology borders on science fiction there still remain groups of people living in abject poverty. This is a harsh reminder of our unavoidable responsibility.

311. This question cannot be considered in isolation from the matter of trade, where we feel the effects of tariff barriers in our efforts to attain efficient food and agricultural production. That is especially true in those developing countries which have the good fortune of possessing great resources to contribute to the feeding of the world but which, because of actions taken by industrialized nations, must face trade and marketing problems, to which I shall refer later.

312. Concerning the world economic situation, we must express our deep concern at the gradual and continuing deterioration within an acute process that seems to accelerate day by day. The persistence of recessionary and inflationary processes, the increase in unemployment, the instability of exchange rates, imbalances in the balance of payments of the industrialized countries, the consequent irritating protectionist reactions and, finally, why not say it?—the indifference and the lack of the political will on the part of the industrialized countries to face the demands imposed by the overwhelming world crisis—inexorably delay the economic progress of the developing countries, which are the majority of those gathered in the Assembly.

313. Within an economic framework such as that which exists today, which is marked by an intense and ever greater interdependence among the peoples of the world, it is imperative to find solutions based on a global economic approach, which makes it necessary to adopt a long-term global economic policy. This requires the optimum allocation of resources, which in turn signifies the redistribution and relocation of industries according to the competitive capacity of each country, the general opening of economies in order to ensure an effective interplay of the laws of competition, and the adoption of a strategy capable of covering all the developing areas without excluding key sectors.

314. Within the same line of reasoning and with reference to international trade, we must note the grave damage done to economic development in general and to food production and agricultural and industrial development in particular by the discriminatory practices and tariff barriers applied in many parts of the world, particularly by the developed countries.

315. We believe that the creation of an effective system of global security in the food sector must be accompanied by the parallel creation of an international financing system which will not be prejudicial to the food-producing developing countries. A new world food order is a prerequisite for any international economic order.

316. Within the structural readjustment that we are proposing, the problem of energy is also a priority that must be dealt with as a whole. A new world energy order must assure access by all non-oil-producing countries with a limited economic potential to sources of supply at reasonable and predictable prices. We must also consider the development and international financing of new and alternative sources of energy. This must be a pre-condition of the establishment of any new international economic order.

317. The developing countries are not resigned to this critical situation but insist upon a clear-cut position regarding the adoption of decisions by international bodies and greater participation in the acceptance of such instruments.

318. Within this context, we fully support the aims of and the steps taken to ensure the relaunching of global negotiations, on the understanding that what will be discussed concerning this subject is of interest to everyone in the international community. These negotiations must be carried out in conditions of absolute equality.

319. It is difficult to understand how in the world of today we could reach agreements on energy and financing, international trade, protectionism and readjustment, raw materials and food, and industrialization and technology without the representation of all those interested and concerned. There must be an end to exclusion and selective participation and the question of the formal initiation of global negotiations must as soon as possible be brought to the Assembly.

320. It is worth noting that the developing countries have initiated a very significant attempt to establish a South-South dialogue through the implementation of a wide range of activities involving economic co-operation. Uruguay has participated and is participating with enthusiasm and good faith in this process, which offers clear hope of widening the basis of the economies of the developing countries and of bettering the standard of living of their peoples. That common effort is an appropriate and suitable response to the needs and requirements of our time, always bearing in mind the solidarity that must prevail among countries that are going through similar stages of development.

321. We firmly believe that development and security are intimately linked concepts and it could be said that there can be no integral development without the counterbalance of collective economic security through a multilateral juridical system that guarantees the full implementation of the rules and principles of co-operation for development. This is also applicable to the area of defence, in the case of economic measures or actions aimed at thwarting the sovereign will of States, the maintenance of the essential conditions of free and normal economic development and, in the last analysis, the effective practical application of international economic justice.

322. Uruguay has voted in favour of the programme budget for the biennium 1982-1983. This is a budget in which the concept of zero growth is used for the first time, after many years of sustained increases. The comprehensive nature of the budget appropriations does not entail an increase in the financial burden.

323. The support of my country for this policy of austerity is based upon the unavoidable need to rationalize the hyperactivity of the United Nations and prevent the dispersal of effort. In this context, we should like the process of identifying and eliminating activities that are outdated, inefficient or of marginal usefulness to be intensified. This also applies to reduction of the very high percentage of costs absorbed by salaries and staff contributions. That percentage bears no reasonable relationship to the funds appropriated by the Organization for programmes of work of a substantial nature in the economic, social and humanitarian fields.

324. Finally, we should like to make reference to something of special importance—namely, the strengthening of the role of the Organization and equitable representation of its members of the Security Council.

325. As I have already said, Uruguay fully understands and supports the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which are those that

have always guided our foreign policy. Support for the objectives of international peace and security are, in the end, identified with the aims of the civilization to which we all belong. We reaffirm our faith in the present and permanent relevance of this civilization and we express our steadfast support for all measures aimed at overcoming the obstacles in the path of the development of harmonious relations and mutual respect based on justice among all the peoples of the world.

326. We place our greatest hope in the common effort of all those in the Organization and in the firm and unswerving application of the means and instruments available to the Organization. In this way we shall be able to make gradual but steady progress in maintaining and consolidating international peace and security, developing co-operation among nations, promoting the rules of international law and improving relations among States as well as on questions of the procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes both regionally and internationally.

327. Only two months ago, our President Alvarez, analysing the Latin American scene during a recent meeting of the Latin American Integration Association, said:

“A world of super-Powers and mini-States, of groups of countries with enormous imbalances in their relative development, in their share in the fruits of progress and in their capacity to negotiate, calls for concerted action by those countries that are more excluded than weak, in order that it may become more just.

“With its demographic influence, its common cultural tradition, its enormous and unexploited riches and its dedication to peace and law, Latin America has all the conditions necessary to constitute an influential area, not only in economic alignment but in the political and cultural spheres as well, within an international order where imbalances of power give rise to voluntary or involuntary situations of domination.

“Setting aside questionable schemes used to group countries according to their level of development or relative power, I should like to see a Latin America that would be a totally new and independent force projected into the future as the continent of hope, of freedom and of justice, as the bridge and the link between the more developed and the most backward areas of the world.”

328. In this same line of thinking, I have no doubt that Uruguay will honour its commitment to America and to the world for the harmonious convergence of both currents, so that we can devote all our efforts to serving the aim of closer and more reciprocal constructive co-operation.

329. With regard to matters relating to the functions of the Security Council, the distressing events that occurred during this year make it more than ever necessary to amend the rule of unanimity that was established for the benefit of the permanent members of the Security Council, a rule that tends to perpetuate an obvious situation of privilege the exercise of which paralyzes the Council's mission for peace.

330. It is also necessary to say that with the passing of time and in the light of many painful and enlightening experiences it will become necessary to consider the possibility of giving thought to the most effective means of organizing the system of voting in the Security Council, above all in order to preserve intact its constitutional power to act for the preservation of peace, which is the very reason it was brought into being.

331. It is then fitting—and in this regard we fully agree with the proposal made by the Secretary-General—to hold a special meeting of the Security Council. This would be a frank, determined action that would enable us realistically to face those problems in the solution of which we are all ineluctably engaged.

332. In conclusion, my Government is prepared to support any effort designed to strengthen the Organization and to enable it fully to assume its responsibilities. Hence, we shall make a firm contribution to creating a climate favourable to dialogue and trust, to civilized and fruitful coexistence, starting along the road towards a community of nations without tutors or pupils, a community in which the legal equality of States will be expressed through a policy of full respect for the right of everyone freely to choose his own future without interference or aggression. This is the task we all face. It is an unavoidable and daily task that poses a crucial challenge, one we must face and one we must overcome, guided by the same spirit of solidarity and brotherhood, as we continue along the path of peace and justice towards the new conditions the future holds in store for mankind.

333. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): The task of congratulating the President on his election to guide this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his appointment as Secretary-General is for me a pleasant one. One is never at a loss for words when praising famous men. With his appointment as the fifth Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar joins a procession of illustrious predecessors, each of whom has left a distinctive imprint on some page of international history. The first was Trygve Lie, a direct-speaking, if sometimes emotional, man, whose objective was, through his commitment to peace, to give credibility to the United Nations. The second was Dag Hammarskjöld, a man who worked hard to build on the fundamental principles of the United Nations, a peace-maker who saw his position of Secretary-General as providing him with a mandate for seeking and restoring peace and who lived and died in that cause. The third was U Thant, a blunt, straightforward and outspoken individual, a man of proven negotiating ability, the fourth was Kurt Waldheim, a professional and careful diplomat. We salute them all. The present Secretary-General joins this line of succession in the face of many problems and difficulties, which he has already identified as conflicts between national aims and Charter goals... resort to confrontation, violence and even war in pursuit of what are perceived as vital interests, claims or aspirations" [A/37/1, p. 1]. We are confident that with his characteristic caution, his mature intelligence and his wealth of diplomatic experience he too stands ready to inscribe his name on the roll of honour. I can assure him that my country, Botswana, will heed his appeal to all Govern-

ments for their conscious recommitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter. We pledge our support for the continued search for solutions to the different problems facing the United Nations and the world.

334. The role of the President of the General Assembly is no less challenging, onerous or noble. We are equally confident that Mr. Hollai will hold aloft the honour of his great country.

335. We are not so presumptuous as to think we have the capacity or, indeed, the capability of commenting on every item on the agenda of the Assembly. We shall therefore confine our remarks to a few only.

336. The scenario of international economic development co-operation remains bleak. There has been a further deterioration, especially since 1981, in the international economic environment. As we are all aware, the economic problems of developed countries are being transmitted to developing countries through a variety of channels, and vice versa. The development crisis has deepened throughout the world, and the development process has come to a virtual standstill in many countries. The dynamism of international trade, particularly in products of special importance to developing countries, is no longer assured as a mechanism for growth. The shrinkage in the real flow of external resources and development assistance has considerably jeopardized the growth prospects and opportunities in many developing countries. The spirit of international co-operation has suffered greatly.

337. In these circumstances, the current world economic crisis can no longer be considered as merely another phenomenon of poor growth figures. Nor can it be considered in complete isolation from the interests of developing countries. Recent experience has amply demonstrated that the worsening world economic conditions are of a structural, not a cyclical, nature. The establishment of a new international economic order could have greatly facilitated the structural adjustment and strengthened the possibility for economic revival and prosperity of the world as a whole, including the developed countries. However, short-term interests carried the day, and we have missed many opportunities to facilitate structural adjustments and give impetus to economic growth.

338. Commodity issues have emerged as major trade problems for many developing countries. The recent slump in commodity prices, together with the rising tide of protectionism, has led to reduced export proceeds, increased external indebtedness and a worsened balance of payments in many developing countries. My own country, Botswana, is in no different position. The instability in commodity trade might have been minimized, even curbed, had there been a fully operational integrated programme for commodities. The convening of the sixth session of UNCTAD, in June 1983 in Belgrade, offers yet another opportunity to act on these issues, which should not be missed this time.

339. In spite of the worsening world economic conditions, the international community has succeeded in achieving some successes since 1981. The Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities¹⁹ and the Substantial New Programme of Action

for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries¹¹ adopted at the Paris Conference are two such achievements. If these are to be translated into action, there is much the international community should undertake in order to avoid talking about the same issues all over again at UNCTAD.

340. It is equally necessary to remove the considerable uncertainties which currently prevail in the international financial system. Recent developments have caused concern regarding the capability of the international financial system to deal with the effects of the unfavourable economic environment.

341. We must persist in carrying through global negotiations on international financial issues which restore balance to the system which affects us all.

342. Internal upheavals as well as wars born of external aggression are a common phenomenon in different parts of the world. The irony of the matter is that in many of these situations it is easy to identify the involvement of those Powers to which the custodianship of peace and security has been permanently entrusted by us all. As a result, the principal organs of the United Nations can only churn out innocuous resolutions expressing their grave concern at such interventions and calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops, often without naming them. Such resolutions are quite often frustrated by the non-compliance of the States concerned. The United Nations has thus become a place for the expression of indignation and the trading of recriminations. We have been guilty of diminishing its capacity to deal effectively with issues affecting peace. We ourselves are weakened thereby, as there is no other instrument to which we can turn for the solution of international problems. My delegation therefore supports the Secretary-General in his call to all Governments to recommit themselves consciously to the Charter.

343. Mr. Fayez Sayegh, a Palestinian scholar, says in his book *Palestine, Israel and Peace* "The crux of the Palestinian problem is the fate of a people and its homeland. It is the piecemeal conquest and continued seizure of the entire country by military force. It is the forcible dispossession and displacement of the bulk of the indigenous population and the subjugation of the rest".

344. In its resolution 521 (1982) of 19 September the Security Council unanimously condemned the massacre of Palestinian civilians in their refugee camps. The stench of death continues to hang like early morning mist over west Beirut and the grief of those brutally treated people is immeasurable. Nations severally have condemned this criminal act perpetrated against an unsuspecting and defenceless people. Many searching and pertinent questions are being asked. Was it not enough to have made them the refugees they were and to have thus condemned them to live in squalor and misery? Why murder them? Had they not suffered sufficient humiliation when their leadership was dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the Arab world? Why massacre them? Protestations of innocence should neither supplant nor be a substitute for response to the need to establish the circumstances and the enormity of the crime. For that reason, my country welcomes the decision to hold an independent and impartial investigation. This

heinous crime will remain a dark event in the life of nations, its perpetrators and their collaborators eternal villains. History has not always been benevolent and charitable to Israel, yet the continued occupation of Arab lands by military force provides no justifiable compensation. "The crux of the Palestinian problem", says Mr. Sayegh, "is the fate of a people and its homeland".

345. As long as nations in the area deny one another the right to exist as sovereign and independent entities within clearly defined and secure borders, peace in the Middle East will remain elusive and unattainable.

346. We implore the United States, from the vantage point of its special relationship with Israel, and the League of Arab States to reconcile their peace proposals and to intensify their search for a solution acceptable to all parties.

347. The situation in Afghanistan continues to defy solution. Foreign troops have not yet been withdrawn and the refugee population in Iran and Pakistan has reached the 3.5 million mark. Efforts to bring the parties to the negotiating table have hitherto been of no avail. The intractable nature of the situation typifies the impotence of the United Nations in the face of super-Power Involvement. It is in such circumstances that the words of the Secretary-General stand out in sharp relief, to be quoted and quoted yet again—a recommitment of Governments to the Charter.

348. We appeal to the parties involved to engage in negotiations designed to secure the withdrawal of foreign forces, the elimination of external interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the facilitation of the return of the refugees.

349. It is almost four years since the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council supplanted the Pol Pot régime. Attempts to reach a political solution by way of negotiations among the parties concerned have been frustrated by boycotts. The end to three decades of war in Indo-China is not in sight and regional insecurity has become a matter of serious concern for South-East Asian nations.

350. The complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, the cessation of external interference and the unimpeded exercise by the people of its right to elect a Government of its choice is what we desire for Kampuchea. This is our litany.

351. Korea remains a divided country. The North-South dialogue, acclaimed by many nations as a concrete manifestation of the determination of the Korean people to reunify their divided peninsula, has been suspended since 1973. Proposals by one side are relentlessly spurned by the other side. Notwithstanding this regrettable circumstance, Botswana persists in its view that the reunification of Korea is a matter to be decided by the Koreans themselves in direct inter-Korean negotiations. It remains for the United Nations to continue to encourage the resumption of those talks without pre-conditions or external interference.

352. Similarly, we support the continuation of the intercommunal talks in Cyprus. We believe that their efficacy could be enhanced by the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops from the island.

353. The position of my country regarding the Falklands crisis has already been made clear. It does no harm to reiterate it here. Botswana does not accept the use of armed intervention to enforce territorial claims. Our condemnation of such action by Argentina was therefore without prejudice to the merits or otherwise of its claim. We do not regard the Falklands as an integral part of Britain, some 8,000 miles away. Such a concept belongs to the imperialism of bygone centuries. Our view is that the Falklands is a colony of Britain. The Falklanders, like all colonized peoples, have the right to self-determination without external pressure or intimidation. We resent and resist the change of one colonialism for another in Africa. We maintain the same principle in the United Nations.

354. A year ago the General Assembly met in an emergency special session to discuss the question of Namibia. Volumes of words were spoken on that occasion, as they have been spoken since the international challenge to South Africa's occupation of the Territory of South West Africa in 1946. The General Assembly was reminded then that the United Nations plan for Namibia remained, after three years, a pious declaration of intent, because nothing had come of it. It must be admitted that there has now been some audible shuffling of feet by the contact group and the South African representatives, but there has been no appreciable move forward or dramatic change in the situation; no peace in Namibia. We submit that the validity of the vaunted "significant progress" made in the negotiations relating to the constitutional principles and the preparedness of South Africa to move expeditiously to resolve the question of the composition and deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group is being somewhat neutralized and rendered ineffectual by the unfortunate linkage of the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia and the progress of that Territory to independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, in the name of regional security. We consider this requirement strange, especially as it is the South African and not the Cuban forces which have been guilty of trans-border violations and have intensified their war of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, even as the Namibian plan is being negotiated.

355. Of equal concern to my delegation is a new plan whereby South Africa seeks to establish a so-called more effective interim Government, reported to be structured on ethnic lines, in Namibia. This plan, coupled with the possible use of Walvis Bay in a "manner prejudicial to the independence of Namibia", in disregard of Security Council resolution 432 (1978), would not only delay progress towards an acceptable solution but might in fact frustrate all the efforts already made to resolve the problem. A genuine solution of the Namibian problem can be reached, and soon, if South Africa desists from its recurrent invention of extraneous excuses. After many years of war waged by South African forces against the people of Namibia, it is not in their interest that a settlement be further delayed by being subordinated to or coupled with the withdrawal of foreign forces from a third country.

356. My country, one of the front-line States bordering on Namibia, continues to call for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the generally accepted peaceful means of ensuring the attainment of independence by that United Nations Territory. Negotiations relating to outstanding issues relevant to that resolution have been successfully concluded. The process leading to the liberation of Namibia should be unhindered. My country looks forward with the most fervent hopes to seeing a liberated, free, independent and sovereign Namibia assume its rightful place in the Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

357. But the accession of Namibia to independence will not in itself bring peace to the southern African region as long as *apartheid* and racism continue to be the fundamental tenets of South Africa's philosophy of government. For 300 years the South African white has asked himself these questions: Who are we? What is our destiny? What is our divine and appointed role in Africa? His answers to those questions are basic to the theory and practice of *apartheid*. His answers are formulated in such a manner as to perpetuate his image as the divine messenger to Africa, the torch-bearer of Christian truths and principles. He is in a class apart, the only citizen of South Africa. Thus, after 300 years, the black majority of the South African society remain aliens in their fatherland. The creation for them of crowded, over-grazed and generally denuded so-called homelands, the denial of equal economic opportunities and power sharing, the downgraded quality of their education, their restricted and controlled movement—these and the many other disabilities they are made to suffer have increased their frustration and anger and heightened their determination to secure an equitable deal for themselves by whatever means. This should be avoided, for if the manner of accession to independence by Namibia, whenever it comes, is to provide any lesson at all, it should be in the realization that resistance to orderly and timely change can serve only to condemn even the unborn of all races to future strife and suffering.

358. South Africa is fully cognizant of the ghastliness of such an eventuality and is groping for a solution. Whilst we welcome the reformist initiatives of South Africa, we consider the so-called constitutional dispensation to be hollow. It is hollow because it denies the black majority South African citizenship and relegates them to bantustans; it is hollow because it attempts to entice the Indian and Coloured South Africans away from their traditional identification and solidarity with the other disadvantaged group, the black South Africans, without in any way enhancing their political integration within the South African society. A system founded on injustice is bound sooner or later to collapse.

359. Drawing the Coloured South Africans and South Africans of Indian extraction into the plan whilst excluding 70 per cent of the population will only increase the areas of polarization and their ramifications—whites versus non-whites, black South Africans versus Coloured and Indian South Africans conservative Coloured and Indians versus their progressive compatriots whom they will brand as renegades from the cause of genuine liberation.

360. Moreover, it should be conceded that the avowed objective of converting urban South African blacks into rural citizens elsewhere is not only retrograde but ill-considered and impossible of attainment. To succeed, any plan or solution for the South African problem must take cognizance of these basic truths. Neither the mercenary invasion of Seychelles nor the sustained aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the continued occupation of parts of its territory by South African troops neither the support given to the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [UNITA] in Angola, the Mozambican National Resistance in Mozambique or the Lesotho Liberation Army in Lesotho nor that given to dissidents in Zambia and Zimbabwe, all instruments of the destabilization of neighbouring States will silence the call for change within South Africa.

361. Our undying refrain is the continuing call urging South Africa to engage in meaningful dialogue with the recognized leaders of all the citizens of that country and to work out a solution acceptable to all.

362. The relevant exhortation in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa is still as fresh and as valid today as when it was made some 13 years ago:

"... we are demanding an opportunity for all the people of these States, working together as equal individual citizens, to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live together and work together to build a harmonious society."¹²

363. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

364. Mr. GHAZZAWI (Jordan): Whenever the region of the Middle East passes through one of the recurrent crises provoked by Israel, and whenever the attention of the international community is focused on efforts to find a just solution to the chronic problem of Palestine and the Middle East conflict, Israel resorts to a now familiar tactic: it either launches an unprovoked act of aggression against a neighbouring Arab country, as is the current case as regards Lebanon, or embarks on a process aimed at distorting the historical, legal and factual issues involved. The Israeli aim in both cases is to undermine the international collective will and direct world attention away from the underlying central cause of the conflict in the region.

365. Following this line, the current fashionable Israeli theme is to claim that the Palestinian people have already exercised self-determination in Jordan and that Jordan is a Palestinian State and consequently there is no Palestinian problem to solve. The Foreign Minister of Israel hammered away at this theme in his address this morning in the Assembly. Mr. Shamir ignored the historical fact that Jordan is Jordan and Palestine is Palestine. He forgot to tell the Assembly where he comes from and where Mr. Kaddoumi comes from. Furthermore, we should ask where Mr. Begin comes from and where Mr. Arafat comes from.

366. In view of Mr. Shamir's twisted logic, it is worth recalling the statement in 1971 of the late Prime

Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, to the effect that there is no such thing as a Palestinian people and any such notion is a myth. Now, however, the Israeli leadership suddenly realizes that the Palestinian people actually exist—but, conveniently for Israel, in Jordan. There is no need to say that this statement is as absurd as that statement by Prime Minister Meir.

367. Israel argued in the past when it suited its purposes that Jordan was an illegal occupant of the West Bank. On the other hand, Israel argued when it suited different Israeli policies that Jordan was in fact Palestine. If this is so, how is it that Jordan is in occupation of a part of itself? Even inverted logic is not without its contradictions.

368. No amount of semantic acrobatics can change the fact that the foundation of Israel was the destruction of Palestine and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people from their ancestral homeland. We should like to remind Israel that before it came into being in 1948 Jordan existed as a distinct political reality and was an independent and sovereign State. At the same time, the Palestinian people were living in their homeland in Palestine. Even when the United Nations voted to partition Palestine in 1947 into two States, an Arab and a Jewish one, the Partition Plan was very clear and specific regarding the territorial application of the Partition Plan and the exact location of the two proposed States in Palestine proper, that is, west of the River Jordan.

369. The essence of the problem in the region remains today, as it has always been, the persistent denial by Israel of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, including their God-given right to self-determination on Palestinian national soil. The international community has agreed on a framework for a just, comprehensive and durable settlement of the conflict in the area. The essence of this framework is Israel's total withdrawal from all territories occupied since the conflict of June 1967, the restoration of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty and the restoration of Palestinian national rights on Palestinian soil.

370. This international consensus has been frustrated by Israel. We respectfully call on the international community, and in particular the five permanent members of the Security Council, to shoulder their responsibilities and force Israel to heed the collective international will. We ask them not to hold their breath and wait for Israel to answer the call of reason. Israel's persistent aggression should not be rewarded with appeasement. We should like to recall that in the not-too-distant past the forces of justice and freedom responded firmly and decisively to a pattern of aggression similar to that pursued by present-day Israel.

371. Since Great Britain was the mandatory Power in Palestine, I would like to conclude by quoting two British Ministers who commented on the new Israeli ploy. Lord Carrington, the former British Foreign Secretary, stated in London on 2 November 1981 before the Conservative Friends of Israel the following: "The argument that the Palestinians already have self-determination in a State of their own, namely Jordan, simply will not stand up in either historical or political terms." Mr. Douglas Hurd, the British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, stated at a meeting with Arab journalists in

London on 8 September 1982 "We reject the idea which some quarters in Israel have advanced that the Palestinian problem can be solved simply by calling Jordan a Palestinian State. This does not seem to us either just in the light of history or realistic in the light of the present. So the idea that Israel should remain always in occupation of the West Bank and that Palestinians should learn to regard Jordan on the East Bank as their homeland, we reject that idea".

372. Mr. ANDINO-SALAZAR (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning, the representative of Greece sought to lecture El Salvador on how it should settle its internal affairs. A curious political recipe from a country very far from our own.

373. Besides infringing the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States, that delegation, either wittingly or unwittingly, is unaware that the true concept of a representative political force can never derive from the destructive capability which the extremism of minority groups may have on a country, but solely from the authority vested in it by the will of the people as expressed in free democratic elections with a high turnout of voters.

374. How could any share of authority be given to extremist groups simply because they want to upset the economy and security of the State, causing untold suffering to the people of El Salvador, when they enjoy no popular support whatsoever? The representative of Greece is forgetting that legitimacy and representativeness can only derive from the ballot and election results; consequently, that delegation is overlooking the fact that approximately 95 per cent of the citizens of El Salvador voted in the elections held on 28 March of this year, broadly and irrefutably legitimizing the Government of national unity that came to power as a result.

375. This unquestionable expression of civic feeling among the people of El Salvador demonstrates their support for peace and democracy, their rejection of violence.

376. With reference to what was said by the representative of France, we wish to stress to the Assembly that the problem of El Salvador must be resolved

by the people of El Salvador alone, without other countries on the continent or outside it pointing out to us—even less seeking to impose upon us—what the solution should be. Neither can we accept a situation whereby statements by third countries give artificial representativeness to tiny organizations.

377. The conscience of Latin America has already given its decision on this point and there is no need for another lesson on non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, although the aforementioned statement claims to offer us an explanation now in the light of philosophical methodologies which seek to compare situations so different in their origins, nature and consequences, thus losing the sense of reality of which it boasts.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.

² Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

³ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July August and September 1981*, document S/14659.

⁵ See A/36/215, annex, sect. IV, decision 1 (I).

⁶ *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June-2 July 1975* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

⁷ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14 and corrigendum), chap. II.

⁸ See E/1981/70.

⁹ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1981, Supplement No. 4*, annex II.

¹⁰ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.D.8 and Corr.1.

¹¹ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754, para. 8.