



*President:* Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. AL-OBEIDI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly of the thirty-seventh session. My delegation is pleased to see you direct the proceedings of the General Assembly, because you represent a friendly country with which my country maintains very close relations, and also because of your wisdom, experience and ability, which qualify you to shoulder that responsibility and make it likely that you will achieve the best of results. I should like also to pay a tribute and to express my thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Ismat Kittani, head of the fraternal delegation of Iraq, for the excellent manner in which he directed the proceedings of the General Assembly during the last session, and the great ability he displayed. It is also my pleasure to commend the efforts being made by the Secretary-General to strengthen the role of the Organization and to increase its efficiency.

2. Sir, you have assumed the presidency of the General Assembly at a most difficult time, a time of increasing dangers and proliferating hotbeds of tension, and of problems causing instability in international peace and security. It is a time when the world's peoples, especially the smaller ones, are concerned for their destiny and their freedom. We note that the clatter of weapons is louder than the voice of reason, that right has become the prerogative of the strong and that the capability of the United Nations has sunk to an unprecedented low. Disappointment at that was clearly expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization, in which he said that

"The United Nations itself has been unable to play as effective and decisive a role as the Charter certainly envisaged for it.

"... The Security Council, the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its recommendations are increasingly defied or ignored by those that feel themselves strong enough to do so". [See A/37/1, p. 1.]

3. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya shares the Secretary-General's views in this regard. I should like in this context to recall the letter sent by the Leader of the Revolution, brother Colonel

Muammar Qaddafi, to the Secretary-General on 20 September 1982 in the wake of the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut at the hands of Israel and its agents:

"I regret to have to express to you and to the world the bitter truth which I perceive in my country, namely, that the second historic attempt made by the peoples in 1945 (in San Francisco) to establish an international organization to prevent war and keep the peace has failed utterly, as did the first attempt (i.e., the League of Nations)." [See A/37/472, annex, p. 1.]

4. We have, however, the right to ask: where does the responsibility for the inability of the United Nations lie? Is it the responsibility of the States Members of the United Nations? Or is it the responsibility of the developing countries which are systematically subjected to military threat, economic blockade and political blackmail?

5. The responsibility, as we see it, lies in the structure of the main organ of the Organization. It is the Security Council which has become an instrument to protect dictatorship for the benefit of the permanent members of the Security Council. Responsibility also lies in the abuse of the right of veto by States members of the Security Council in a manner that has made the Council a vehicle for their own security, encouraging the aggressive policies pursued by their agents. The unlimited number of times that the United States Administration has used the right of veto to prevent the Council from condemning the Zionist entity's aggressive acts in the Arab region is clear evidence of the policy of injustice being practised under the umbrella of the United Nations and the Security Council. The reason for the inability of the Organization lies also in the fact that the right of veto that the members of the club of victors in the Second World War granted to themselves was abused for the benefit of those victors to maintain their balance of interests. In their irresponsible exercise of the right of veto, they turn the standard of democracy upside down and subject the will of more than 150 States Members of the Organization to the mercy of the permanent members of the Security Council.

6. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, after consulting a large number of Member States, put forward a number of proposals to abolish or amend the veto or to give greater power to the General Assembly and make binding its resolutions adopted by a two-thirds majority. These proposals, however, met with rejection by the great Powers which exercised pressure on other, smaller countries to prevent the abolition or amendment of the right of veto and to oppose the principles of democracy and collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace and against

the principle of equal sovereignty among all Member States, as provided for by the Charter.

7. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya still holds that view and will continue to bring up the subject as long as the veto continues to exist and continues to be used against the struggles of peoples. It represents dictatorship and monopoly, and is contrary to the opinion of the majority in favour of collective responsibility and equality. We shall continue to hold these views, regardless of the stand taken by the great Powers, particularly the United States, which most abuses its use of the veto, and without regard to procedural manoeuvres to which they have recourse.

8. The time has come to look seriously into the role of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, because the oppressed peoples of the world have almost lost faith in the United Nations. We in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya realize the dangers that would result from a loss of faith in our Organization. That is why the leader of the great September revolution made an appeal to enable the Organization to fulfil its role in maintaining peace and justice, because the dictatorial practices carried out under its umbrella may compel us to leave it and to urge other oppressed peoples to seek their own special platform from which to express their will and ambitions.

9. The abolition of the right of veto or its review, if viewed as a guarantee of democratic practices, could enable the developing peoples to regain their faith in the United Nations. My country believes that, in reviewing the veto, the following aspects should be taken into consideration: first, the abolition of the veto or its amendment which would allow its use by all members, because if political dictatorship is to be practised, then it is only fair that it be practised by all; secondly, the Security Council must be placed under the General Assembly, and not the other way round, because in the General Assembly resides the true will of the peoples and nations of the world; and thirdly, the maintenance of international peace and security is the collective responsibility of all.

10. The agenda of the current session of the General Assembly is full of political and economic issues, in addition to those of liberation and colonialism. I shall allude to those problems.

11. The recent massacres committed by the Zionist entity in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon is evidence of the tragedy that has befallen the cause of the just struggle of the Palestinian people, and demonstrates the aggressive, Fascist and racist nature of the so-called State of Israel. It confirms beyond doubt that the State of the Zionist entity is not peace-loving and is a source of threat to international peace and security.

12. The continued occupation of the Palestinian territories since 1948, the annexation of the Golan Heights and the massacres committed daily against the Palestinians and Lebanese, must induce the international community represented in the United Nations to take practical measures to eliminate aggression and occupation and to enable the Palestinian people to return to its homeland.

13. The practical measures envisaged by my country are as follows: first, the expulsion of the Zionist entity from the General Assembly, on the grounds that the Israelis and their State are not peace-loving, and in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its ninth emergency special session, at which it debated Israel's repeated aggression against the Arab territories; secondly, the halting of military, material and political support provided by the United States Administration, which exceeds \$10 million daily, because we see that support as encouragement for Israel to continue its constant aggression against the Arabs and its challenge to the resolutions of the international community; thirdly, the economic boycott of the Zionist entity in implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly, on the grounds that Israel is occupying Arab territories by force, and because of its disregard of the resolutions of the international community. If some were able to impose an economic boycott on Argentina for demanding territories that belong to it, one wonders how it is that an economic boycott is not imposed on a Member of the United Nations that all have admitted is not peace-loving and is a threat to international peace and security—and by that I mean Israel; fourthly, the halt of immigration, particularly that coming to occupied Palestine from Eastern bloc countries, because the immigrants are primarily citizens of those countries, and because their continued influx into occupied Palestine represents an increase in Israel's human and military capacity to continue to exercise a policy of aggression and occupation.

14. The political solutions proposed for the Palestine question come at a time when the United Nations is apparently unable to check Israeli intransigence. That is in addition to the inability of the Organization to stand against support of the American Government for Israel's aggressive policies. We therefore do not see in the initiatives undertaken by the United States Administration a valid basis for any just peace.

15. The United States peace initiative ignores the resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the group of non-aligned countries, which affirm the right of the Palestinian people to determine their own destiny and establish their own independent State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], their legitimate and sole representative. Furthermore, the peace initiative put forward by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, is too optimistic; it has much good will but does not recognize the true nature of the Zionist entity. It runs counter to the following logical facts.

16. History has taught us that the occupier, the aggressor, is the one that puts forward political initiatives to those under its occupation. The only initiative that can be put forward by a colonized people is armed struggle. On what logic should the Arabs come up with peace initiatives when the American people, with French assistance, confronted British colonialism and Europe confronted Nazi occupation in defence of peace and freedom?

17. The Security Council must guarantee the security of all States in the region and that assumes two things, namely: that Israel is threatened by its Arab

neighbours—which is contrary to the truth, for Israel is the constant aggressor that threatens Arab security, and, furthermore, Israel's security and its policy of aggression are guaranteed by the United States militarily and financially; and that the Arab peace plan would have the Security Council guarantee the security of all States in the region. That represents recognition of Israel. We wonder how we can ask for protection and recognition of a State the established political schemes of which include the occupation of Arab territories and the policy of genocide and displacement pursued by it against the Arab peoples in Palestine and Lebanon.

18. Any real peace initiative must come through the United Nations, in spite of its weakness. Peace initiatives now coming from the Arabs are taken under the pressure of an Israeli force supported by the United States and under the United States threat to and blackmail of the Arabs.

19. The present Government of the United States of America is increasing its acts of intervention and pressure for the purpose of achieving political, economic and military hegemony. It has gone back to the policy of installing military bases in many parts of the world. It has used its war fleets to practise terrorism along the shores of non-aligned countries, as it did in August 1981 to my country, thereby violating our sovereignty over our territorial waters. The last act of aggression was on 3 September 1982, when a United States aircraft violated our airspace at 7.59 p.m. It was an unmanned reconnaissance aircraft. Our air defences downed it in the Benghazi area, and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will submit the documents and facts on this aggression to the President of the Security Council and to the Secretary-General.

20. Also, in August 1981 the American Government launched a propaganda campaign of falsehoods and imposed an economic embargo against Libya. It started to incite other countries to follow its example on false pretexts, such as the alleged sending of a death squad to assassinate President Reagan—which proved to be only the product of the imagination of certain officials in the United States Administration in collaboration with the Zionist intelligence service.

21. The United States Administration's practice of threatening the Caribbean countries and its attempts to prevent them from exercising their free will prove the imperialist nature of the United States Administration. The aggressive policies pursued by that Administration against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and the people of El Salvador are examples of the United States policy, the aim of which is to create hotbeds of tension and instability in the world, particularly in the Middle East and southern Africa.

22. The issues of disarmament and the strengthening of international security are among the most serious and complicated matters facing our world today. They have been at the centre of attention for the international community for many years. This attention has been reflected in the convening of numerous conferences since 1932, in particular the two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the first in 1978 and the second this year, and also in the resolutions adopted in this regard. However,

we see no signs on the horizon that progress in this respect is being achieved. On the contrary, the arms race has continued, especially between the super-Powers in the nuclear field, with the development of new weapons systems, such as the neutron bomb, and the continued promotion of certain dangerous theories, such as those of nuclear deterrence, strategic balance and a limited nuclear war that can be won, as well as the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, not to mention the reported and manifest acquisition of nuclear weapons by the racist régimes of the Zionist entity and Pretoria.

23. The issue of disarmament is not just a military one; it is also an economic, social and political issue. In the study carried out by the United Nations entitled *The Relationship between Disarmament and Development*<sup>1</sup> it is stated that 1,500 million people do not have access to effective medical services, nearly 570 million suffer from severe malnutrition, 800 million are illiterate and 250 million children do not attend school. This was at a time, 1981, when the world expenditure for military purposes exceeded \$600 billion.

24. In addition to these negative developments in the field of disarmament, in recent years we have witnessed a deterioration in international relations as a result of the violation of the Charter and international principles, in particular those relating to the right to sovereignty, independence, non-intervention and the non-use of force in international relations and the continued spread of the areas of war and hotbeds of tension.

25. In the African continent the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the racist régime in South Africa continues unabated in spite of the frequent condemnation by the Organization, which considers it a crime against humanity. However, because of the assistance given to that régime by the colonialists, especially the United States, this abhorrent policy continues to be practised against African nationalists.

26. In Namibia the Pretoria régime continues, through its illegal administration, to oppress the black citizens and plunder the resources of that Territory, in collaboration with multinational corporations of Western countries which have impeded the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which contains a plan for the independence of the Territory. In this connection, the role of the Europeans is complementary to that of the Americans in trying to achieve independence for Namibia in accordance with Western schemes which have nothing to do with Security Council resolutions. One of the latest obstacles created by the United States Administration was the linking of the subject of Namibia's independence to the evacuation of Cuban forces from Angola, which amounts to interference in the affairs of an independent sovereign State, which has the right to protect itself and seek help from any State as it sees fit.

27. The aggressive and racist practices of the Pretoria régime are not directed against the black citizens of Namibia and South Africa only; they have been extended to include the neighbouring countries, namely, the front-line States. Attacks have been frequent, especially against the territory of Angola.

In this respect, my country declares its support and backing for the struggle of the African citizens of Namibia and South Africa and for the steadfastness of the front-line States; we commend those States and are proud of their steadfastness.

28. Colonialism and its surrogates, as well as the exploitative companies, continue to pursue their ambitions with tenacity and are prepared to intervene in any country that is ruled by a progressive and non-aligned régime desiring to free itself politically and economically. This was clear in the aggression against the Jamahiriya and also in that against the Republic of Seychelles, which was subjected to subversive actions perpetrated by external elements that wanted to create a state of anarchy and instability in order to bring down its progressive régime and replace it by one subservient to colonialism and under its political and economic influence. However, the people of Seychelles were able to overcome and thwart those acts of aggression. We in the Jamahiriya, together with the forces of progress and freedom, support the people and the Government of Seychelles against any foreign manoeuvres.

29. One of the regions that experience tension as a result of intervention and the installation of foreign bases is Central America, where the people of Nicaragua are struggling against the intervention of the United States of America, which has been training hostile elements and sending them to Nicaragua to carry out acts of terrorism and subversion.

30. We are witnessing a liberation movement sweeping through Central America. We see the United States attempting to stifle that movement, as is happening now in El Salvador and Guatemala, in addition to its constant threats and aggression against Cuba and the usurpation of the Puerto Rican people's right to independence.

31. My country supports the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against United States imperialism and affirms its unlimited support for Cuba and Nicaragua in their confrontation with the American policy of aggression.

32. My country followed with increasing concern the war which was forced on Argentina to recover the Malvinas Islands from British control. Anyone reflecting on that war and the way it developed would be shocked by the following facts. First, the United States claim that it belongs to the group of American States is only a cover for the protection of American interests and the Fascist régimes which are satellites of the United States Administration. The United States has revealed its imperialist nature and supported the British aggression carried out against the Malvinas Islands. Secondly, the British presence in the Malvinas Islands is but a vestige of the old colonialism which divided the world into spheres of influence among the strong and used its control to implant communities that did not belong originally to the indigenous populations of the occupied territories. Thirdly, the Malvinas war emphasizes the inevitable confrontation between the imperialist Powers and the third world countries, which have to realize that all that the super-Powers aim at is to have greater domination and wider spheres of influence.

33. Therefore my country supports Argentina's right to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands and calls upon the international community to use all possible peaceful means to ensure finally the ending of the British colonization of the Malvinas Islands.

34. The United States exploitation of internal strife in certain countries of Asia aggravates tension in the region. The Afghan war and the situation in Kampuchea represent areas of tension in South-East Asia aggravated by foreign interference in the affairs of those countries. Therefore my country affirms the right of those peoples to exercise their freedom of choice. My country supports the principle that Afghanistan should be an independent, non-aligned country following the path of progressive Islamic States.

35. The question of Western Sahara continues to be one of the primary issues facing the Organization and there is the threat of American imperialist interference. We therefore emphasize that the Organization should assume its responsibility by affirming the right of the Sahraoui people to free self-determination, alongside the African peoples which have exercised their right to freedom and sovereignty over their territories.

36. The question of Cyprus is one that has been before the United Nations for a long time without any comprehensive solution being found. My country supports direct negotiations between the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus with a view to finding a just solution to this problem which would guarantee the independence and neutrality of Cyprus.

37. The situation in the Mediterranean has become dangerous as a result of the increasing pressures of foreign war fleets and military bases, especially American fleets and bases, which have become a source of concern and a subversive element, threatening the security of Mediterranean countries. Everybody has heard about the United States Sixth Fleet, which is deployed constantly off the Libyan shore and carries out provocative manoeuvres, some of which were in Libyan territorial waters.

38. It is our desire that that sea become a lake of peace, free from foreign fleets and bases and hotbeds of tension. Believing in the necessity of realizing this objective, the Jamahiriya has moved to settle the dispute between itself and its neighbour, the sister State of Tunisia, over the continental shelf. The International Court of Justice delivered its judgment in the case on 24 February 1982.<sup>2</sup> The dispute with Malta over the delimitation of the continental shelf has likewise been referred to the International Court of Justice.

39. The effects of the acts of confrontation and war have sometimes extended to societies which have not participated in such acts and are not parties to them. This is evidenced by the tragedies and consequences of the Second World War which continue to surface in my country, causing economic, social and environmental problems. The minefields planted by the warring forces over vast tracts of territory in my country have delayed the carrying out of development projects and raised the cost of such projects, in particular that of prospecting for minerals.

40. This problem has been discussed at meetings of the non-aligned movement and here in the Assembly, and several resolutions have been adopted in this regard, affirming the responsibility of the countries that planted those mines to compensate the affected countries for the material and moral losses caused by this problem and calling for co-operation in the provision of information about and maps of those minefields.

41. The relevant decisions of international and regional organizations, conventions and international laws require the States which participated in the Second World War and their allies who planted mines in Libyan territory to shoulder the responsibility, pay the required compensation and co-operate in the final solution of this problem. Accordingly, my country hopes that such States and the United Nations will take practical measures to place the responsibility where it belongs and guarantee the right of the affected States to compensation for the damage sustained by them as a result of the effects and vestiges of war.

42. Mr. COOPER (New Zealand): Sir, I congratulate you on your election to the high office of the presidency. A heavy responsibility rests on your shoulders. This has been a turbulent year in international affairs. The shocks of the past 12 months are reflected in the agenda. This has been a testing time also for the new Secretary-General. He faces more hard tasks ahead.

43. We have endured a year of crisis in the world economy. The international monetary system has teetered on the brink of catastrophe. The twin evils of inflation and unemployment have ranged throughout the world; growth has slowed almost to a halt.

44. Nor has the world become a more peaceful and secure place. On the contrary. The Middle East has been a cockpit of war. We have just seen a massacre of unarmed civilians in Lebanon on a scale we find hard to believe. Afghanistan is still occupied and tyrannized by the Soviet Union. Vietnamese troops still hold Kampuchea. A totally avoidable war has been fought over some remote islands in the South Atlantic. Great-Power relationships have deteriorated. There has been no progress towards disarmament.

45. I want to say a little more about the world economic situation. As a small trading nation, New Zealand is acutely sensitive to fluctuations in the health of our major trading partners. New Zealand is classed as a developed country, but we share many of the problems of developing countries. Our prosperity depends on the export of a relatively few primary products. In the current world situation, terms of trade run against us. When the economic giants sneeze, we do not catch cold; we catch pneumonia.

46. It is not surprising therefore that my Government has taken a leading role in recent months in advocating a revitalization of the international economic and financial institutions. The system established at Bretton Woods 38 years ago served reasonably well during a long period of economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. There is a widespread agreement that it needs to be improved and strengthened, not torn down. There is no consensus yet as to how that can be achieved.

47. At international meetings of Finance Ministers in recent weeks, the New Zealand Prime Minister has advocated an international conference to re-examine the role and adequacy of the international institutions established at Bretton Woods. Such a conference would require detailed groundwork and preparation. It is, perhaps, too early to spell out the agenda. What must first be demonstrated is the political will to undertake the task. My Government believes that that will exist in many countries, but some of the largest and most powerful Members of the Organization—those with the greatest economic clout—have still to be convinced.

48. One thing is clear. The efforts that have been made in the Organization to effect progress through a North-South dialogue have reached stalemate. The very term "North-South" polarizes attitudes. Doctrinaire argument will get us nowhere. Nor will a retreat into policies of economic isolationism. The growth of protectionism is one of the most disturbing by-products of economic recession. It will not help growth in the powerful economies of the major industrialized countries, and its effects on the vulnerable economies of the developing countries can only be disastrous.

49. Let me emphasize again the constructive purpose of my Government's call for a review of the international economic institutions. We wish to see them strengthened and, if necessary, supplemented. They may need new powers. They should be more responsive to genuine needs. In the financial field, they should be more flexible in the conditions they impose for lending. There should be a large increase in quotas to strengthen the position of the International Monetary Fund [IMF]. There is a need for discipline to apply to those countries which accumulate large surpluses in their balance of payments, as well as to those which are forced into large deficits. This is sometimes called symmetrical surveillance. Greater regulatory powers than exist at present may be required. IMF is no longer facing cyclical downturns in member nations but long-term structural imbalances. Its rules must be adapted for longer-term lending and easier conditionality. A decision on these matters at a special meeting of the world community would make the political decision, country by country, to accept such changes much more easily.

50. But these are only suggestions on our part. I repeat that what is needed is a clear demonstration of political will to embark on a new programme designed to restore confidence in the world economic system. Only thus can we look for the world consensus required to implement such a programme. May I say that we look to the major economic Powers to display both more determined leadership and a greater understanding of the problems faced by smaller and weaker economies than they have so far.

51. Although far removed from the Middle East, New Zealand is closely concerned with what goes on there. We have friendly relations with all Middle East countries and important trading relations with an increasing number of them. The United Nations has an important role to play in maintaining peace in that area and it must continue to play that role despite the frustrations it faces. For many years New Zealand has contributed observers to the United Nations Truce

Supervision Organization. We welcomed the restoration of peace between Egypt and Israel. We wanted to see a peace-keeping force established in the Sinai under United Nations auspices but, since that was not possible, we agreed to contribute to a force that was acceptable to both Egypt and Israel. In that way, we hope we have made an appropriate contribution not only to the peace-keeping but to the peace-making process.

52. It is a matter of great concern to us that that process has not continued as intended. New Zealand has consistently supported Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We believe that Israel is entitled to exist in peace behind secure borders. Equally, we believe that the Palestinian people are entitled to determine their own future and to establish their own State, if that is what they wish, following the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories. We believe also that all foreign combat troops should be withdrawn from Lebanon. The innocent civilian population in that war-torn country has suffered long enough. If necessary, after the present temporary three-nation force is withdrawn from Beirut, the role of the United Nations peace-keeping force should be expanded to stabilize the situation in Lebanon for as long as may be necessary.

53. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] the Secretary-General has commented with admirable frankness on the shortcomings of the United Nations in carrying out its primary task of preserving international peace and security. He has suggested ways in which the Security Council might operate with more authority. We support those suggestions. We believe that a greater willingness on the part of the great Powers to work together rather than against one another is the key to a more effective Security Council. Nevertheless, the non-permanent members also have an important part to play. We take seriously the obligation conferred by the Charter on the Members of the United Nations to make their own contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is with that obligation very much in mind that New Zealand has presented its candidature for membership of the Council at the forthcoming elections.

54. The situation in Kampuchea also remains of deep concern. It undermines the stability of South-East Asia and adversely affects the security of our close friends in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]. If unresolved, it carries the potential, by reviving great-Power rivalry in the area, to threaten the security of the wider Asia-Pacific region. More immediately, the situation prolongs the human misery and suffering that have been a tragic fact of life in Kampuchea for too long.

55. New Zealand firmly believes that any lasting solution to the situation in Kampuchea will have to take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned. We hope that the year ahead will see some progress. The formation of the coalition Government in Kampuchea is a step in the right direction. We have never condoned the crimes and atrocities of Pol Pot and his associates and we welcome the broader representation of the Kampuchean people in the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

56. There is an important role for the United Nations in working out a settlement. We welcome the efforts of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea as part of it.

57. Another year has passed without progress in relations between North and South Korea. Tension remains high in the peninsula and the diversion of resources to military purposes continues. Families are still separated and a unique and ancient society remains divided. New Zealand does not believe that this situation need or should continue. My Government's view is that the way forward is through negotiations between the Korean peoples themselves. We exhort the North Korean authorities to respond positively to South Korea's various proposals for steps towards national reconciliation.

58. With regard to Africa, my Government has followed closely the efforts of the five-member contact group to negotiate the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and permit the people of that country freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Following the emergence of a Government in Zimbabwe reflecting the wishes of the majority, we expected to see more rapid progress towards the freeing of Namibia from illegal occupation. We hope that the situation will now be peacefully and speedily remedied and that the people of Namibia will very soon be able to decide their own future in free and fair elections. It is long since time Namibia took its rightful seat in the Organization.

59. New Zealand maintains its steadfast opposition to the system of institutionalized racism imposed by a minority Government in South Africa on the vast majority of its people. New Zealand has no diplomatic or consular representative in that country. For many years we have embargoed the export of arms to South Africa. In accordance with its obligations, as a member of the Commonwealth, under the Gleneagles Agreement<sup>3</sup> my Government has consistently sought to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa. The great majority of New Zealand sport organizations, including the Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association, have steadfastly refrained from such contacts.

60. It is time that the disgrace of *apartheid* was ended. It is an affront to human dignity. Tragically, the South African Government has ignored the calls of its own people and of the world that it dismantle the *apartheid* system and introduce one which upholds racial equality and respect for human rights and basic freedoms. Only then can South Africa resume a normal relationship with the rest of the world and play its proper role in a continent which has desperate need of its technology and resources.

61. I should like to end by saying something about the small island countries of the South Pacific and their problems. These are, after all, New Zealand's closest neighbours and friends. We have with them strong ties of history and culture. Many of their people have migrated to New Zealand but retain close links with their island homes. New Zealand's overseas aid programme is increasingly concentrated in these countries. We welcome the fact that the great majority of the island countries have now achieved independence or an advanced stage of self-govern-

ment. Some of them now speak with a distinctive South Pacific voice in the Organization.

62. It is good that self-determination in the South Pacific has been achieved peacefully. The process is, however, not yet complete. We welcome the progress that has taken place towards self-determination in the Trust Territory of Micronesia. We welcome also the programme of reform which has been instituted by the French Government in New Caledonia. In common with our fellow members of the South Pacific Forum, we hope for quick progress towards the goal of self-determination for this Territory. We are actively promoting political development in the small island Territory of Tokelau and have welcomed visits by United Nations Missions to monitor its progress.

63. The fragile economies of small island States pose enormous problems for their development. The United Nations criteria for least-developed States take insufficient account of the problems of minute size, lack of resources and extreme isolation, which are common to many of these island States. New Zealand has sought to help overcome these problems by lowering trade barriers, promoting private investment and helping to develop regional shipping services. We have welcomed the increased involvement of the United Nations in the South Pacific area. But more outside help is needed, and the small size of the recipient countries should not deter the appropriate international agencies from making a more effective contribution than they have up to now.

64. One of the few significant resources which the South Pacific countries can export is fish. The most important part of this resource consists of the highly migratory species such as tuna. The establishment of the 200-mile economic zone under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea<sup>4</sup> offers the island countries the opportunity to exploit this resource for their own benefit. It is for that reason, among others, that New Zealand and other South Pacific countries are strong supporters of that Convention and look forward to its early entry into force. My Government will continue to urge the major industrialized countries to accept and become parties to the Convention. All South Pacific countries are naturally sensitive to the possibility of pollution of the surrounding ocean, for example by the dumping of nuclear waste. We are also strong advocates of the complete cessation of nuclear-weapons testing, especially in the Pacific. It is a matter of great regret and concern that the negotiation of a comprehensive test-ban treaty has virtually come to a halt.

65. New Zealand and its South Pacific neighbours will continue to press for the conclusion of a test-ban treaty. Such a treaty not only will remove a possible environmental threat from our own backyard, but will be an important step towards nuclear disarmament, which has seen no progress in the past year but becomes more urgent day by day.

66. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is, Sir, a pleasure to express to you on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Iraq and on my own behalf warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I am sure that you will conduct the proceedings of this session with all the

wisdom and knowledge you are known for, and I wish you success in discharging the duties of your high post. May I also express our appreciation for the great spirit of co-operation which the General Assembly showed Mr. Kittani, President of the thirty-sixth session. We are satisfied that he enjoyed the confidence and appreciation of this esteemed body, which made it possible for him to perform his functions most efficiently at the last session. I would also take this opportunity to express whole-hearted congratulations and best wishes for success to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election as Secretary-General. I am confident that he will be able to fulfil the functions of his distinguished post and to deal with momentous international events requiring him to exercise all the virtues of knowledge, patience and wisdom for which he is known.

67. The world is going through a delicate and frightening era unprecedented since the Second World War. Undoubtedly the tense world situation, with all the grave consequences that could flow from such a state of affairs, is being steadily exacerbated because of the intensifying rivalry among the great Powers, which jeopardizes world security and peace and disturbs the confidence of peoples and their aspirations to achieve détente and peaceful coexistence. This hazardous phenomenon engulfs the third world countries, particularly the non-aligned ones. It presents them with the dangers of confrontation and the devastating effects of tensions, and it threatens to expand the centres of polarization by luring third world nations and bringing pressure to bear upon them in a bid to exhaust material and human resources that otherwise would be used to achieve security, stability and development for those nations.

68. What the great Powers and colonial States are reluctant to accept is the fact that the non-aligned nations, which forced their way to freedom and sovereignty through decades of struggle and a determination to achieve full independence and to exercise their free will, are determined not to form part of military blocs that are engaged in global conflict and to steer clear of the currents generated by the centres of polarization. No wonder, then, that conflict persists between the non-aligned movement on the one side and colonialism, including zionism, on the other.

69. Iraq, being a non-aligned State, backs the policy of independence which any State might pursue. It maintains that all States should manage their affairs on the basis of the fundamental principles of the United Nations and in accordance with their legitimate national interests that are compatible with those principles, regardless of the requirements of bloc policies and cold war. That would serve the cause of maintaining world peace and encouraging the trend towards progress and freedom, as well as political and economic independence, and the cause of extending the principles of justice and equality to all nations, regardless of size, affiliation and of any power considerations.

70. Iraq abides by the principles of non-alignment and wishes to advance the non-aligned movement, to maintain a sound relationship among its members and to promote its effective role in international relations. Iraq is also determined to implement those principles in order to ensure security, justice and economic

well-being. Thus, over 10 years ago, Iraq offered to host the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Baghdad. Indeed, it was those very principles which prompted Iraq not to insist that the Conference be held at the scheduled time and place, despite the elaborate preparations made for it, including the drafting of relevant declarations and documents, and despite the fact that all the administrative and technical requirements had been met. Iraq had earlier sent out invitations to all heads of State or Government of countries of the movement and, in fact, had received answers accepting the invitation from the great majority of them. Thus, Iraq honoured all its obligations towards the movement and the Seventh Conference.

71. What should, however, be emphasized in this regard is that Iraq did not, from the outset, present its bid to host that non-aligned conference in order to gain publicity or as a national objective. Rather, Iraq's initiative came to underscore its international good name, not to create one by so doing. Iraq viewed the matter with a sense of responsibility and concern for the well-being of the movement, both at present and in the future, for non-aligned principles constitute a major component of our foreign policy and we believe that the strength and dignity of Iraq are identical to the strength and dignity of the movement.

72. Being proud of our commitment to the movement and anxious about its future and the development of its capability to face world events and in order to avoid possible division in the ranks of the movement's members, we declared our intention not to insist on holding the Seventh Conference in Iraq, as we recognized that some circles within the movement took seriously, either in good faith or otherwise, the blackmail and attempts at obfuscation carried out by Iran. There is no doubt that Iran's behaviour simply demonstrates the short-sightedness of the rulers of Iran and their ignorance concerning the importance of the non-aligned movement and their lack of belief in it. One cannot rule out the possibility that Iran's objective is to undermine and weaken the movement and to diminish its role as an effective Power in international relations by resorting to blackmail and threats as well as by encouraging the enemies of the movement to belittle it.

73. The non-aligned movement considers the question of Palestine to be its problem and is committed to supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people to realize their inalienable national rights. It emphasizes that that struggle is one of the responsibilities of the non-aligned countries. Obviously, the question of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East problem and represents the essence of the Arab-Zionist conflict. Unless a just, comprehensive and lasting solution is found that is acceptable to the Palestinian people and satisfies their national aspirations, peace cannot be established in the area and a state of continuous conflict will persist, with all its continuing implications for world peace and security. Meanwhile, let it be known that might, no matter how overwhelming, will not dampen the zeal of patriotism and will not suppress the revolutionary urge of the people. Therefore, to achieve genuine peace in the area, the Zionist entity must withdraw unconditionally from all occupied Arab territories, and the estab-

lished inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, Palestine, should be restored as should their properties, their right to exercise self-determination and their right to establish their own independent, fully sovereign State. Moreover, Jerusalem must be recognized as part of occupied Palestinian territory and the Zionist entity must withdraw from it. There should also be recognition of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and it should be enabled to exercise its right to participate in all conferences and activities relating to the question of Palestine on an equal footing and standing with all parties concerned. Further, existing Zionist settlements on Arab territories must be removed, and the policy of establishing new ones there must be discontinued. In addition, confiscation of Arab land must cease.

74. The latest form of brutal aggression by the military forces of the Zionist entity was the war of mass annihilation against the PLO and the helpless, homeless refugees in camps in various parts of Lebanon. That war was launched in the first week of last June and continued through the last week of August. There then took place a massacre such as has never been witnessed in modern times. Those racist malicious forces brought destruction to all the towns and villages of southern Lebanon and slaughtered tens of thousands of innocent Palestinians and Lebanese, who were buried under debris in mass graves. Those forces wrought devastation and havoc in that part of Lebanon, which is an independent neutral State, a founding member of both the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. The forces of the Zionist enemy unleashed the burning fire of its military machine from land, air and sea at Palestinian refugee camps, killing unarmed children, women and the elderly, destroying plantations and reducing buildings and houses to rubble. Those forces pursued their crimes in west Beirut and its suburbs, exposing their latent hatred to the extent of cutting off water, medicine, food and electricity from the residents while bombarding the city with heavy artillery and continuing air and sea attacks for many hours daily for several weeks. Many shells and rockets were fired indiscriminately at residential communities and civilian installations, causing the loss of thousands of human lives; it will not be possible to assess the amount of property destroyed for a long time.

75. The barbaric invading forces did not stop at genocide and brutal acts committed throughout Lebanon. They also organized a massacre in Beirut on 16 September 1982. Over 3,000 unarmed Palestinians were annihilated for no reason except that they were Palestinians. This racist massacre outraged the entire world, including even the traditional friends of the perpetrators. The carnage at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps is a disgraceful stain on the history of mankind that will never be forgotten. The international community is called upon to take, through the international organs of the United Nations, the appropriate deterrent measures, to condemn categorically the actions and policies of the Zionist entity, to impose sanctions that are proportionate to its horrifying acts, and to consider seriously disqualifying it as a Member of the Organization, for its presence

here constitutes a challenge to the Charter as well as to all human norms and conduct.

76. The Foreign Minister of the Zionist entity declared on 6 September 1982 that the condition which his Government set for withdrawal of its forces from southern Lebanon and the termination of its military occupation of the area was agreement by Lebanon to sign a peace treaty with the Zionist entity. He also said that certain agreements needed to be introduced regarding southern Lebanon, to ensure the security of the State of Israel. At the same time, the Zionist Minister of Defence declared that the invading forces would remain deployed in southern Lebanon for at least 15 years. In our view, such a condition and determination illustrates the intention of the Zionist entity to proceed with its expansionist plan of annexing parts of southern Lebanon, including control of the Litani River and other water resources, as one further step towards the realization of Zionist ambitions for the establishment of Greater Israel.

77. Hence, in view of this grave situation, we believe that the United Nations should live up to its responsibilities and stand firmly by the side of Lebanon as a free, independent and fully sovereign State and a founding Member of the United Nations, and should ensure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist entity behind the Lebanese borders. Also, the Security Council, in particular, should take appropriate action to eliminate aggression against Lebanon should the Zionist entity refuse to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Lebanese territory. In our view, the appropriate action which the Security Council should take is the imposition of deterrent sanctions against the Zionist entity. Foremost among such sanctions should be the suspension of its membership in the Organization and the imposition of a comprehensive embargo against it. This would, of course, require a show of will by the United States to act seriously in the exercise of its responsibilities as a great Power claiming to have an interest in the question of security and peace and alleging concern for the good name of the United Nations. It is indeed high time for the American Administration to recognize that its policy towards the Arab Zionist conflict does not serve the interests of the American people and is in contradiction with their renowned traditions. Thus it is incumbent upon the United States Government to uphold justice and equity and to display courage and political will, free from the pressure of the Zionist minority.

78. The danger of the Zionist entity in the Middle East is not limited to aggression committed at such time and place as it might deem proper in order to achieve its colonial expansionist goals, thus jeopardizing peace in the area and impeding the development programmes required for the resurgence of the Arab nation and its economic and social progress. In fact it goes beyond all that to threaten to continue its intensive effort in developing the Zionist nuclear programme for military purposes and using it against the Arab countries. It is no longer a secret that the Zionist entity has now acquired a number of nuclear bombs and weapons, with the relevant systems to direct and deliver them against any part of the Arab world. It is indeed regrettable that no great Power has paid serious attention to this imminent danger

which threatens more than the Middle East. The great Powers cared neither about the non-accession by the Zionist entity to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons nor about its non-compliance with the Treaty safeguards. Furthermore, the Zionist entity refused to allow IAEA to carry out inspection measures in regard to the Zionist nuclear reactors and programmes. Thus the Zionists were encouraged by this to escalate and intensify their aggression against the Arab nation, as they had learned from repeated experience that any aggression committed by them would pass without serious attention being paid to it by the great Powers, especially the United States of America, and would not result in any sanctions or other practical action, regardless of the dimensions of the aggression and even if it involved human loss.

79. The clearest evidence proving the deliberate cover-up of the repeated Zionist acts of aggression by some great Powers and their failure to shoulder their responsibilities was the raid by Zionist planes of American manufacture on 7 June 1981 on the Iraqi nuclear installations, despite the fact that those installations, as certified by IAEA, were meant for strictly peaceful purposes and were subject to regular international inspection.

80. Iraq firmly adheres to the principles of the Charter which call for the policy of the non-use of force, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. Although Iraq strove to establish good relations with Iran after the fall of the Shah's régime, all our endeavours were in vain in persuading the rulers of Iran to cease their acts of provocation, aggression and interference in our internal affairs, as well as to fulfil their international obligations towards Iraq.

81. That remained our approach in dealing with Iran even after it started its armed aggression against Iraq on 4 September 1980. Since that day, the President of the Republic of Iraq, Mr. Saddam Hussein, has stressed the fact that we look forward to enjoying relations of good-neighbourliness with the countries of the region, including in particular Iran, and that Iraq has neither any territorial ambitions in Iran nor any intention of waging war against it, nor does Iraq intend to expand the scope of the conflict with Iran beyond the defence of its rights and sovereignty. But the armed Iranian aggression against us has continued at an intense level to this very day, while the Iranian régime has declined to respond in a spirit of constructive co-operation to any of the international endeavours to settle the dispute and has turned down all the peaceful initiatives put forward by Iraq to reach a just and honourable solution. The rulers of Iran favour the continuance of aggression, and that can only be interpreted as evidence of their desire for expansion at the expense of our country, as a first stage, to be followed by Iran's overrunning the Arab countries of the Gulf region, including Saudi Arabia, for the purpose of colonial expansion and the consolidation of a reactionary régime and in order eventually to force our region back into the Dark Ages, in which racism and religious intolerance would reign supreme.

82. Our peace initiatives with Iran were submitted at a meeting of the Security Council on 12 July of this year, at which meeting the Council adopted resolution 514 (1982). Iraq welcomed that resolution, whereas Iran rejected it. It is well known that between the eve of the adoption of that resolution and 30 July the Iranian régime launched a series of massive military acts of aggression against Iraqi territory to the east of Basra, an account of which is contained in document A/37/428. It should be recalled here that the Arab countries took a unified position in support of Iraq at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held in Fez early this September, after the expansionist intentions of the Iranian régime had become crystallized in a tangible fashion. The Arab Summit Conference adopted a clear and firm decision expressing the Arab countries' support for and solidarity with Iraq and their willingness to implement the Common Defence Pact of the members of the League of Arab States. The entire region would be in a new and dangerous situation were the Iranian régime to proceed further with its plans. We should like to draw the attention of the world public to this development, which is obviously fraught with potential dangers. The full responsibility for the consequences of a possible confrontation between Iran and the Arab States as a whole would therefore be Iran's alone.

83. At a time when efforts to settle the dispute and stop the fighting are being made by the United Nations, which is a source of hope for all peace-loving nations, the Iranian régime is carrying out a further act of aggression against the central sector of Iraq. By the morning of 1 October 1982 Iran had made four large-scale attacks. The Security Council discussed this matter on 4 October and unanimously adopted resolution 522 (1982), in which the Council recalled its two earlier resolutions and urged Iran once again to act in accordance with the principles of the United Nations by settling the dispute by peaceful means and emulating Iraq's co-operative attitude to the Council.

84. My delegation will explain to the General Assembly in detail the peace initiatives Iraq has taken in order to reach a just and honourable settlement of the dispute with Iran when the Assembly debates agenda item 134, entitled "Consequences of the prolongation of the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq". At this juncture, I should like to say that Iraq has given adequate proof of its good intentions and of its sincere desire to see peace and security established in our region, which is of significant importance to international peace and security. The rejection by the rulers of Iran of all peace initiatives indicates that they lack a sense of responsibility for security and stability in the area, and this could exacerbate the disturbances and tension there, lead to an escalation of the conflict and jeopardize international peace and security. I would also like to stress that should Iran continue its intransigence and its rejection of the call for peace and persist in its aggression, Iraq would inevitably have to resist that aggression by all the means available to it in the exercise of its legitimate right to self-defence. In the mean time, we believe that the Iraq-Iran dispute warrants the General Assembly's maximum attention and care, since it represents a test of its will and of the strength of the Charter. By the same token, any success in

this endeavour will enhance the chances of peace and will prevent further deterioration of the situation in that sensitive and dangerous part of the world.

85. Racial crimes, including the policies of *zionism* and *apartheid* and political doctrines based on racial discrimination are still being committed in many parts of the world, in spite of the fact that such crimes violate the Charter, the principles of non-alignment and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination is now drawing towards its end, and although it has produced some positive results, certain régimes—especially the Zionist entity and the racist minority régime in South Africa—still refuse to accede to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*. In this regard, a more serious position against them should be adopted, with stronger condemnation, in order that the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, along with all the liberation movements in Africa and Latin America, may achieve their aspirations to freedom, independence and self-determination.

86. It is important to recall that the reactionary racist régime in South Africa violates all values, and that it was owing to its antagonistic stand that the most recent meeting, held at Geneva, on the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia proved abortive. We must also mention the conclusions of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, which was held in Paris in 1981, and commend the declarations it adopted,<sup>5</sup> which, in keeping with the Charter, reject racist concepts.

87. Furthermore, we should like to draw attention to the fact that a number of Western countries, and the Zionist entity, boycotted that humanitarian conference. While the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations supported General Assembly resolution 36/172, which calls for comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter against the racist régime in Pretoria, the same group of Western countries and the Zionist entity continue to take negative positions. That confirms their collusion with the racist régime in South Africa and their dealings with it in the economic, trade, diplomatic and military areas, as well as the development and co-ordination of joint action with that régime in the nuclear field, including the production of enriched uranium. Obviously, such behaviour on the part of Western countries and the Zionist entity constitutes a flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, and encourages the racist régime in Pretoria to pursue its policy of aggression against the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, and to disregard any action, even if adopted by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations.

88. The practices of the racial minority régime in Pretoria are not limited only to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, but also include the artificial creation of crises and other conditions, as well as the recruitment of mercenaries to commit military aggression against many independent peaceful African States, especially Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and Seychelles. Apart from violating the security and sovereignty of the countries of the region,

such acts of aggression always result in the killing of large numbers of unarmed civilians and poor peasants and in the destruction of their homes and farms.

89. We therefore appeal to the international community, and especially to the Western countries which are permanent members of the Security Council, not to block the efforts made to put an end to the aggression by the racial minority in South Africa, through the imposition of legitimate sanctions against that régime under Chapter VII of the Charter.

90. The world economy is passing through a very serious stage, in which a heavy burden is being placed on the developing countries in particular. The dimensions of the situation are reflected in: receding economic activity and growth; increasing balance-of-payments deficits in the developing countries and a decline in the prices of their export commodities; rising unemployment figures; monetary inflation; the adverse effects of high rates of interest in the world markets on foreign loans to the developing countries; a weakening of the flow of multilateral assistance on favourable conditions; dwindling supplies of foodstuffs; increasing protectionism exercised by the industrial countries against exports of the developing countries; harsh and unfavourable conditions for the transfer of technology to the developing world; deliberate control of raw material prices with adverse effects on the terms of trade of the developing countries; and the recurrent application of irresponsible concepts, such as gradualism, selectivity and discrimination, which are being introduced by the industrial nations in their trade transactions with the developing world. All those factors impede the efforts made by the developing countries to secure their economic growth, to continue interest payments on their foreign debts and to meet their basic needs for imported goods.

91. The developing countries sought seriously and sincerely to maintain a constructive dialogue with the industrialized countries in a bid to restructure the world economy on just and balanced terms. But the industrial nations were not responsive to such endeavours and initiatives. On the contrary, some of them even opposed any international action to improve the world economic situation. Among the vital issues raised by the developing countries was the initiation of global economic talks within the framework of the United Nations. Ever since the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, held in 1980, obstacles have remained in the way of initiating those important and essential negotiations. Therefore, Iraq and all other developing countries support the call for starting those talks as early as possible, and we urge all States that oppose them to reconsider their positions in the interests of us all.

92. The Group of 77 this year submitted constructive and moderate proposals to resolve the question of starting such negotiations, but those proposals did not suit some industrial nations.

93. The problems of debts and cash liquidity which face the developing countries have become so dangerous and pressing as to require an overall solution. In our judgement, the industrial countries bear great responsibility in this connection. At their recent annual

meeting the World Bank and IMF recommended some measures to alleviate the financial burden weighing on the developing countries. Those measures, however, do not go far in addressing the essence of the problem, a problem which is due basically to the failure of the existing world monetary system to develop along with the changes that have been taking place since the Second World War. Moreover, those measures constituted a mere reaction to the crisis, which is assuming intolerable dimensions, and therefore cannot be considered as remedial measures in the true sense of the word.

94. Iraq was among the first countries to diagnose the nature of the economic problems that are plaguing the world. That is why the President of the Republic of Iraq has proposed the establishment of a world fund for long-term assistance to developing countries. The proposed fund would help them to cope both with the effects of inflation passed on to them by the industrial countries, and with the increasing bill for their oil imports. This vital plan, which was welcomed at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979, was the subject of extensive discussion by experts of the Group of 77 at a meeting they held at Baghdad in March 1982. An outline of the fund was drawn up and later approved by the co-ordination and follow-up Committee of the Group of 77, which met at Manila in August this year. That Committee decided to recommend the inclusion of the Iraqi proposal in the list of items to be discussed in the global negotiations. We now trust that the industrialized countries will seriously consider this plan, which we hope will eventually be translated into action.

95. Economic co-operation among the developing countries has undoubtedly become more important in recent years. Iraq, as a developing country, views this matter as a major component of its foreign policy, and it contributes to many regional and international funds. We also try to help to enhance and promote such co-operation through bilateral agreements. I should like to recall in this regard that the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held in Caracas in 1981 approved an overall programme for such co-operation and that the developing countries are in the process of implementing it.

96. We call upon all the industrial nations and the international institutions to take all possible action to ensure a constant and increasing flow of assistance to the developing world to help to maintain that co-operation. At this point we must emphasize, however, that the expansion of economic co-operation among the developing countries does not relieve the industrial countries of their responsibilities towards the developing nations.

97. Mr. STREET (Australia): On behalf of the Australian Government, Sir, I congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. It gives me particular pleasure to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, who has shown great imagination and integrity in his first year in office.

98. No one can ignore the sombre mood of the Assembly as it faces the critical issues of the day,

particularly the terrible events of three weeks ago in Lebanon. Even in a world used to acts of violence, the Beirut massacres have numbed and shocked us all. Outrage, however strongly worded and deeply felt, must appear inadequate to innocent non-combatants whose unhappy history has been written in blood and tears. Australians share the view of civilized men and women everywhere on the need for, and welcome, a full and independent inquiry into these appalling events.

99. Beyond Beirut, however, there is a wider tragedy of 30 years and more of the Middle East conflict that inexcusably still defies resolution and clouds the future of the region. One can only hope that the events in Beirut will shock more countries into a realization of the need for a comprehensive settlement.

100. Australia has always been deeply conscious of the age-long suffering of the Jewish people and their right to a homeland. We understand Israel's concern that it be able to live in peace, free of terrorist attacks. Recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace can, however, settle only one side of the Middle East problem. Israel must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, rights which should include a homeland for the Palestinians alongside Israel. Israel, pre-eminently among nations, should understand the significance of a national homeland for a dispersed people.

101. Equally important is the need for movement from the Arab side. We recognize that the proposals from the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez provided an implicit recognition of Israel by calling for the Security Council to guarantee peace among all States of the region. Why, however, cannot the implicit be made explicit? All Arab nations should clearly accept what so far Egypt alone has accepted, namely, that Israel has a right to exist in peace and security behind stable borders.

102. So the problem has two aspects. It will need courage and imagination on both sides to deal with it. Otherwise there will be no peace in the Middle East—and the Middle East without peace will remain a threat to the peace of the world.

103. The Middle East is only one area of conflict. Other crises in other areas seem to arise with frightening frequency. It is only too apparent that the international machinery developed here in New York to contain and settle conflicts has not been working as it should. The fact is that some Member States, including Australia, have had to go outside the United Nations framework for alternative peace-keeping arrangements. Examples are the Sinai Multinational Force and Observers, in which Australia is a participant, and the current international force in Lebanon.

104. In an unusually candid report on the state of the United Nations, the Secretary-General has this year set out the concerns so many of us feel about the present weaknesses in the Organization. We commend him for doing so. The recent record is dismal. As the Secretary-General has observed, we are perilously near to a new international anarchy.

105. The Security Council, the primary organ for the maintenance of international peace and security,

finds its resolutions routinely ignored. Those provisions of the Charter dealing with collective action for peace and security have been rendered ineffective. Too often Member States have contrived to avoid bringing particular problems to the Security Council, or to do so too late for the Council to have any effective impact. Distressingly, for many Member States, the Council's writ hardly runs at all. And what applies to the Security Council applies even more in the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations.

106. All that, as the Secretary-General has aptly observed, amounts to a crisis in the multilateral approach to resolving world problems, and to a crisis of confidence in the United Nations itself. But we must not be overawed by the problems. Their effects can be moderated if not overcome. The Secretary-General himself has proposed a number of measures which could improve the situation. Some of his proposals, moreover, could be realized immediately. That is the case, for example, with his concern that there should be more systematic use of the Security Council. There is clearly a role for the Secretary-General himself, acting within the terms of Article 99 of the Charter, to bring potentially dangerous situations to the attention of the Security Council. The Council itself should be able to move more promptly into a dispute without, as the Secretary-General says, waiting for those directly involved to bring the dispute to its attention. The Council and the Secretary-General acting together could do much to defuse smouldering conflicts through, for example, the early dispatch of fact-finding and good offices missions. Such measures could constitute a "diplomatic early warning system" designed to identify and isolate disputes before they degenerate into armed conflict.

107. The Secretary-General has gone further; he has urged the need for improving the collective security provisions of the Charter provided under Chapter VII. Specifically he has proposed—and Australia supports him—that Member States should use their collective influence to ensure respect for decisions of the Security Council. In an ideal situation Security Council peace-keeping orders would be backed up by guarantees of collective action, including guarantees by the permanent members, to ensure compliance with all decisions of the Council.

108. We recognize that these constructive ideas of the Secretary-General will be the subject of intensive scrutiny. They presuppose, as he says, at least a modicum of co-operation among the permanent members. It is the lack of that co-operation in the past which has so often frustrated the work of the Council. But some such evolution along the lines the Secretary-General has outlined is essential if the present drift is to be arrested.

109. Not that the recent record has been all bad; we should recall and reflect upon some of the significant achievements of the United Nations. One notable example is decolonization. The Organization has made it possible for very many peoples to attain independence and thereby make their own contribution to the international community.

110. There are today very few situations where non-self-governing peoples have yet to exercise their

right of self-determination. Namibia, however, remains on the agenda. The Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization reflects a sense of cautious optimism about Namibia. Let us hope that that optimism is well placed. A peaceful solution to this long-standing problem would clearly be a very great achievement. If such a solution is worked out, it will owe much to the persistent efforts of the contact group and the front-line States. Australia continues to stand ready to contribute an engineering and headquarters unit of about 300 men to UNTAG to help oversee and supervise the independence process.

111. Decolonization is not the only area of United Nations success. There have been, and continue to be, considerable achievements in the economic, social and technical fields—so much so perhaps that we sometimes take these achievements for granted. As a clearing-house for ideas and as an instrument for technical assistance and co-operation, the United Nations and its agencies have fulfilled a unique and valuable role.

112. In the North-South area, too, there has been progress, although we have not yet achieved our ultimate goals. Australia shares what I take to be the general sense of disappointment at the failure thus far to launch global negotiations. We also share in the concern, so evident at the recent meetings of IMF and World Bank in Toronto, about what the future holds. Finding durable solutions to the financial and economic problems besetting the world has never been more urgent.

113. One major issue rightly causing growing concern is the extent of the world's indebtedness. A particularly disturbing aspect is the concentration in areas with limited ability to service and repay borrowings, the cost of which has in some cases tripled since the time of the original loan.

114. Australia wants a break in the impasse in the North-South dialogue. There is a need to galvanize the kind of political will evident at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Melbourne in September/October 1981, and at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, at Cancún in October 1981. In both cases it was shown to be possible to break across traditional North-South lines. Australia accepts the North-South framework, and the developing country Group of 77 as a valid negotiating partner. But we also see merit in more flexible and open contacts across North-South lines as a means of bridging differences.

115. The benefits of such an approach were demonstrated in the recent law of the sea negotiations. It was a remarkable achievement for a Conference of 150 countries to draft and reach consensus on hundreds of articles of new international treaty law. While the Convention on the Law of the Sea perhaps never could have been entirely satisfactory to all parties, it represents a major step forward in the codification of maritime law and in co-operation between nations. This experience shows that we must not relax efforts to tackle the seemingly insoluble as well as the apparently soluble.

116. Among present international economic problems none concerns the Australian Government more

than protectionism and restraints on trade. Australia is acutely aware of the obstacles to progress and of the entrenched national interest and rigidities which have to be overcome. The Australian Government has promoted the concept of collective reduction of protectionism by Governments aimed at providing a stimulus to world trade. The Australian proposal involves a standstill on all trade-distorting assistance measures and, following the standstill, a gradual wind-back of this assistance. We intend to pursue these proposals vigorously at the forthcoming GATT ministerial meeting and afterwards at the sixth session of UNCTAD.

117. What distinguishes the Australian approach is that we are ready to commit ourselves to action along these lines—provided that other comparable countries do likewise. In other words, the Australian Government, having considered the matter, has already taken the decision that, if the other major trading nations were to apply the approach we have outlined, or to attempt something like it, we would immediately join it.

118. It follows from what I have said that this is an area which must be addressed multilaterally and in which States will inevitably be looking to progressive, balanced global reductions in trade barriers, export subsidies and other trade-distorting measures as a condition of their own participation. It is a further rationale for getting on with global negotiations.

119. Now is not the time for a detailed analysis of the present difficulties in launching global negotiations, but a basis emerged from the Versailles Economic Summit. I interpreted the Versailles language to mean: here is an opportunity to launch global negotiations now. If it is rejected, I believe it could be some time before we get another chance. Indeed, if the debate is allowed to drift again into the details of what groups should be constituted here to handle the talks, and thus what the agenda and degree of decentralization should be, this will amount to turning the clock back to a much earlier and more difficult phase in the discussions.

120. As in the North-South so in the humanitarian area the United Nations has an important role to play. Here it can point to a number of significant achievements. In some cases results have been attained only after arduous and lengthy negotiations. This has often obscured the significance of the ultimate result.

121. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the two International Covenants on Human Rights provide the world community with a set of standards for the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms. The adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief [*resolution 36/55*] is a further step along this road. Working through the Commission on Human Rights, ILO and other relevant bodies, the United Nations system has been able significantly to mitigate some of the worst breaches of human rights. Human rights in South Africa and countries such as Poland, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Guatemala have come under increasing scrutiny. Australia will remain active in these important areas.

122. Meanwhile, new areas of humanitarian concern are being considered. We have particularly welcomed the recent emphasis on the protection of indigenous populations. Australia was active in encouraging the establishment by the Economic and Social Council this year of a working group on indigenous populations.

123. Yet another area, regrettably, of increasing concern is the plight of refugees throughout the world. The facts are stark: a world refugee population of at least 8 million to 10 million, an increasing number of other displaced persons and movements of peoples within regions in response to pressures of poverty or deprivation. UNHCR has helped to cope with this huge problem; success, however, has been mixed. UNHCR has assisted and continues to assist millions of refugees and displaced persons, but it needs the assurance of a continuing mandate, not a fixed-term mandate, and a vigorous pursuit of durable solutions, especially voluntary repatriation. It needs, too, a widened acceptance by the entire international community of the moral obligation to provide at least temporary refuge to those compelled to leave their own countries. Australia proposed a code of conduct embodying this principle of temporary refuge in Geneva two years ago. We shall be pursuing the initiative further in the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner and at a later stage here in the General Assembly itself.

124. For many Governments and ordinary citizens the second special session on disarmament was a disappointment and its results limited. Nevertheless Australia considers that the session did help clear the air. It did establish, if not a meeting of minds, a better understanding of the essential basis of mutual confidence if progress in arms control and disarmament is to be realized. It showed that a better understanding leading to an improvement in relations between East and West, essentially between the super-Powers, is imperative if there is to be any significant progress in disarmament and, indeed, in other issues of strategic and political concern.

125. I conclude by returning to the earlier theme of the role and promise of the United Nations. Statements made in this debate already indicate a sense of failure, frustration or disappointment felt by many

about the United Nations during the course of the year. While it may be argued that publicly held expectations of progress had been too high, it is undeniable that a serious crisis of public confidence now exists about the capacity of the United Nations to carry out some of its most central responsibilities.

126. Yet we must not turn away from the United Nations in frustration. Each nation must actively look for ways in which to strengthen public faith in the Organization and its potential capacity for negotiation and conciliation. We need less debate, less rhetoric and fewer resolutions; and more constructive effort, more effective action to resolve the major issues, including those of disarmament and development, which face us all. I hope that the Secretary-General's important and courageous comments will help to change the attitude of Member States towards adopting more responsible, more rational and more moderate approaches to the world community's problems. Australia is ready to play its part.

127. We are a growing middle Power. While our historical links are with Europe, we are situated in the South-East Asian and South Pacific region. We are thus a country with interests spanning both the developing and the developed worlds. We see our role as one of exercising a reasoned, responsible and steady influence in the world community. We have a strong and abiding belief in the essential validity of the United Nations. The Secretary-General can count on Australia's support.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1.

<sup>2</sup> See *I.C.J. Reports 1982*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See *Final Communiqué of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in London, 8-15 June 1977* (London, Commonwealth Secretariat), pp. 21-22.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

<sup>5</sup> See A/CONF.107/8, chap. X.