



Friday, 8 October 1982,
at 10.50 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. NAMALIU (Papua New Guinea): Mr. President, I join the previous speakers in extending to you, on behalf of my Government, our congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. My congratulations also go to your predecessor for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the last session.

2. This session of the General Assembly is convening at a time when the very foundations of international peace, stability and prosperity are being assailed by global disharmony and serious economic crisis. Hardly a day goes by without our attention being drawn to a new and terrible flashpoint where reason and negotiation yield to rash and precipitous conflicts under arms. Border wars rage, and nations parry and thrust over the negotiating table with all too little concern for the consequences of their inability to compromise.

3. On a different plane, where the stakes are much higher and the destructive capabilities terrifyingly lethal the super-Powers have yet again failed to secure any meaningful agreement on nuclear arms limitation.

4. The impunity with which nations flout the Charter, too, gives rise to our fears that true and lasting peace is an impossible dream.

5. As a small country, far removed from these areas of conflict, Papua New Guinea has no illusions about its position in the scheme of things. However, we feel obligated to draw the Assembly's attention to the perspective we hold of the deterioration of relations between countries.

6. Our concern also extends to the growing disparity between the industrial and non-industrial countries. We are therefore compelled to express our concern at the indifference shown by industrial countries in procrastinating in the implementation of successive economic summits dealing with the world economic order.

7. Papua New Guinea believes that removing the threat of armed conflict and establishing procedures designed to assist the economic improvement of poor nations are the two issues requiring the urgent attention of the General Assembly. These are not new issues in the General Assembly's agenda. They have in fact been debated many times both here and in other

international forums. Regrettably, on each occasion, no satisfactory solution has been reached. My Government believes that the time is now overdue for all of us to make some real progress on these crucial issues. Instituting reforms to correct these anomalies will require a degree of strength and unity of purpose which has so far eluded the Assembly. My Government therefore hopes that at this session the Assembly will distinguish itself by finding common ground where these and other issues of global concern can be resolved.

8. I now wish to address myself to those specific issues that my Government considers appropriate for debate in this forum.

9. My Government continues to consider colonialism an anachronism of our times. We fully share the view that dependent and Non-Self-Governing Territories must be given the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence as stipulated in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960.

10. Papua New Guinea, like other independent Pacific island countries, is particularly concerned with the remaining dependent Territories of the Pacific region. Since Papua New Guinea became independent seven years ago, we have been obliged to support independence for our Pacific island neighbours. Our resolve in this respect today is undiminished. We shall continue to ensure that the colonial era in the Pacific region comes to an end.

11. We note with satisfaction the recent developments within New Caledonia resulting in greater participation of the Melanesian people in the Council of Government. We commend the French Government on the reforms which are aimed at achieving greater political, economic and social benefits for the indigenous Melanesian population. We trust that this is an integral part of an evolutionary process which will eventually lead New Caledonia to plan its own destiny towards independence. Hence, pleased as we are at the progress made so far, we cannot be fully content until we see the emergence of an independent New Caledonia. These views were echoed at the South Pacific Forum meeting in August. We urged the French Government to work closely with the Kanak people of New Caledonia in formulating a political programme for a peaceful transition to independence. We also hope that other French Territories in the Pacific are given equal opportunities to determine their own future.

12. I also wish to state that Papua New Guinea cannot be indifferent if the Micronesian people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands are denied their right to decide their own future. We acknowledge the efforts that are being made by the United

States Government to place before the people of Micronesia a range of options which will include a plebiscite to enable them to determine their own future. To deny them these options would be contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the spirit of the Trusteeship. Who is better able to decide whether the Micronesian people are ready for self-determination than the Micronesians themselves?

13. Over the past few years we have witnessed the resurgence of a particularly deplorable world-wide phenomenon. I speak here of the tendency of countries in recent times totally to disregard the principles of sovereignty and independence of other States by pursuing blatant acts of aggression and interference. It is indeed disheartening to note that those same States, which have representatives at the Assembly, freely abuse the principles of the Charter. The use of superior economic and military strength to invade small countries for the purpose of securing spheres of influence is a matter of the utmost concern to my Government.

14. A prime example was Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea in late 1978, and its installation of a puppet régime. The Kampuchean people have suffered intolerably; thousands have been killed and others have fled to neighbouring and far away countries to seek sanctuary. Together with other concerned countries, Papua New Guinea supported initiatives to bring about a peaceful solution to the problem of Kampuchea. We actively participated in the International Conference on Kampuchea held here last year.

15. Last year Papua New Guinea, along with the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and many States Members of the United Nations, adopted a declaration which advocated a negotiated settlement of the problem of Kampuchea. Viet Nam's continued rejection of these calls has necessitated the recent formation of a Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We consider this development a positive move and therefore pledge our support, together with the member States of ASEAN, in welcoming the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

16. The Afghanistan issue is somewhat analagous to the Kampuchea issue. Papua New Guinea has opposed and will continue to oppose the foreign occupation of Afghanistan. We note with regret that the Soviet Union has not responded to General Assembly resolution 36/34, calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. We believe that the situation in Afghanistan cannot be normalized as long as foreign troops are present in that country.

17. While taking note of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament this year, we are dismayed that there has been no real effort to reduce the manufacturing and stockpiling of trade in both conventional and nuclear weapons. My Government, nevertheless, commends the efforts of the Committee on Disarmament to curb the arms race. While we have not succeeded in effecting a comprehensive reduction in arms, the fact that both bilateral and multilateral disarmament measures exist

in the form of treaties and conventions provides some hope for optimism.

18. There is, however, a great danger in the belief that armaments are causes of war. Arms do not decide to go to war; it is human decisions that put them to war. Arms control alone cannot remove the possibility of war, but arms control backed by political will can prevent war and contribute to peace and security.

19. Another alarming aspect of the arms race is the expansion in nuclear weaponry. For a number of years now one of the major tasks of the United Nations has been to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy while attempting to deter its military application. In spite of those efforts, however, nations still find reason to develop nuclear weapons. Like our neighbours in the South Pacific, we are increasingly alarmed at the continued testing of nuclear weapons in the region by outside Powers. At this year's meeting of the South Pacific Forum, the Pacific island leaders again strongly condemned France for its nuclear activities in our region and called for an immediate halt to them. Furthermore, the Forum called on those States with nuclear capability not to store or dump nuclear wastes in the Pacific. We object to the long-term effects of nuclear experimentation, which could adversely affect the lives and the welfare of our people. It is against this background that Papua New Guinea is totally opposed to nuclear testing and to the dumping of nuclear wastes in the region.

20. For many sessions now the Assembly has adopted resolutions condemning South Africa and seeking to eliminate its abhorrent policy of *apartheid*. Papua New Guinea finds it difficult to understand why some members of this body continue to condone the actions of a régime which has persistently spurned United Nations resolutions and yet continue to support South Africa indirectly through trade and other relations. I make particular reference here to those countries which saw fit to veto a Security Council draft resolution in April 1981 requesting Members of the United Nations to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.¹ Their actions in this respect are indicative of the indifference of some Members of this world body who profess to be guardians of the rights and dignity of mankind.

21. It is this kind of hypocrisy that provides reason for the Pretoria Government to continue pursuing its repugnant racist policies. The attitude so far displayed by these countries evokes no optimism concerning the total abolition of *apartheid*. My delegation looks forward to the time when all Members of the Organization can sincerely and effectively impose trade and economic sanctions against South Africa. When that time comes, and my Government hopes it will come soon, it will be a triumphant vindication of the human values which have been totally repudiated by the South African Government.

22. It would be remiss of me to bypass Namibia at this juncture. Papua New Guinea has supported and will continue to support United Nations efforts to accord Namibia the right to free itself from its subservient role to South Africa. We shall continue to press for an early and peaceful settlement to

this long-standing question, as provided for in Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978).

23. We find consolation in the efforts of the contact group of Western States. However, we strongly urge all concerned speedily to facilitate a durable solution for Namibia's independence.

24. The Middle East issue will continue to be of grave concern if the recent and unfortunate events in Lebanon are not properly resolved. These events have surely undermined the efforts of the parties concerned to find a lasting solution to the problems of the sovereign State of Lebanon. We are particularly concerned that Israel's action has led to the massacre and undue suffering of hundreds of innocent Lebanese civilians and Palestinian refugees in west Beirut. We abhor such action, irrespective of whoever is responsible.

25. Although we acknowledge Israel's right to exist and thus to defend its political and territorial integrity, Papua New Guinea also firmly believes that this long-standing crisis can never be resolved without acknowledging the Palestinians' right to have their own State. Papua New Guinea recognizes that right and will support any initiatives that are aimed at convening a conference on Palestine as a means to finding a lasting settlement to the Middle East situation.

26. After many years of protracted negotiations, my Government was happy to welcome the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea² in April this year. We, however, remain disappointed that certain countries sought to alter some fundamental provisions of the Convention. I feel obliged to remind those countries that the provisions in question are there for the benefit of mankind.

27. My Government is especially concerned that the United States has decided not to become a party to the Convention when it is opened for signature. Papua New Guinea's concern stems from the fact that key provisions within the Convention relating to sea-bed mining may not be effectively implemented, while some industrial countries possessing sea-bed mining technology fail to support the Convention. Papua New Guinea trusts and urges other industrial States to support the Convention as the principal treaty governing the exploitation of resources of the world's oceans.

28. The single most important issue facing the world community today is the current global economic recession, especially the adverse impact it has had on the economic and social well-being of all nations. Against the background of the current world economic crisis, Papua New Guinea joins other nations in recognizing that co-operation at the international level is urgently required in order to arrest and improve the deteriorating economic situation.

29. We are aware that the world economy has suffered over the past decade from problems arising from inflation, high interest rates, exchange rate instability, deteriorating terms of trade in commodities, rising unemployment, slow growth and protectionism. Because of the general downturn in economic growth, industrial countries have had to apply so-called safeguard measures in order to cope with their own domestic pressures. Thus we have seen substantial falls in the industrial countries' demands

for non-industrial-country products, the proliferation of tariff and non-tariff barriers and a general drift towards protectionism. In addition there has been a substantial reduction in the flow of official aid and development finance to developing countries.

30. Trade barriers in various forms have effectively curtailed markets for non-industrial-country exports. Most of the restrictions have been concentrated on manufactured products, although agricultural products have been subjected to similar restrictions as well. As most of the barriers to trade exist outside international rules, efforts to limit their restrictive and trade-distorting effects have never been successful.

31. We in the Pacific have suffered because of a serious drop in the demand for those agricultural commodities upon which we are so dependent, such as copra, cocoa, palm oil, fish and timber. Our small Pacific economies often rely for survival on the income from just one or two of these primary products. Marginal changes in the volume and price of agricultural imports from industrial countries result in plummeting prices for non-industrial countries like ours.

32. At this point I must pay a tribute to the efforts of the European Economic Community to compensate its associated African, Caribbean and Pacific countries for drops in export earnings. Papua New Guinea has recently benefited from this STABEX scheme, Stabilization System for Export Earnings, and is due to receive additional loan and grant finance. This assistance is certainly appreciated, but let us all not forget that relatively small loans can only be partial compensation for the much larger drops in export earnings we have been forced to bear. STABEX though welcome, is merely a palliative. We must all still strive for a new international economic order in which the small producers are not forced to bear a disproportionate share of the sacrifices all have to make during times of economic recession.

33. Papua New Guinea, like many other countries, is experiencing dramatic falls in foreign exchange earnings. Consequently, like other countries, it has been faced with very serious balance-of-payments difficulties and problems of debt servicing.

34. Both industrial and non-industrial countries have a responsibility to help revitalize and rearrange the current economic order. Economic recovery depends upon a number of factors, such as the elimination of trade barriers and the elimination of other barriers that restrict trade growth. In this regard, we urge GATT at the next ministerial meeting and UNCTAD at the sixth session to establish effective proposals for economic recovery.

35. There is one other area of concern to my Government. This is in regard to the way in which quotas are distributed under current international commodity agreements. During the recent meetings of the International Coffee Organization in London, for example, it was quite evident that the major coffee-producing nations used their economic power to increase their quotas, to the detriment of smaller producers like my own country. Papua New Guinea would like to see a fairer, a more equitable distribution of quotas so that justice not only is done but is seen to be done.

36. There are many problems that beset our world today. Although I have only touched on some of them, all of them need to be solved, and solve them we must. To do this, however, we need one another's shoulders to carry the burden jointly. But to do this effectively we need the political will to do it, a factor which is required if most of our collective endeavours are to succeed now and in the future. My delegation believes that it is pointless discussing what can be done unless we first establish that there is a collective will to do it. Only then can we hope to create a world order in which States can strive to live together in peace, stability and prosperity.

37. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, please accept my warm congratulations on your election to your high office. It is a great pleasure to see the representative of the fraternal Hungarian People's Republic presiding over the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and we wish you every success in your work.

38. The period since the last regular session of the Assembly has been filled with complex and contradictory events. The peoples have persistently demanded that the threat of nuclear war be averted, the arms race curbed and disarmament achieved, but those in the belligerent circles of imperialism have been accelerating the arms race and pushing the world towards nuclear catastrophe. Mass anti-war demonstrations have gained in strength, and we have been deafened by the explosion of the bombs of the aggressors. The national liberation movements have broadened in scope, and the colonialists and racists have mounted ominous plans for suppressing those movements. Peace-loving peoples have won new and constructive victories, while the forces of imperialism and reaction have developed monstrous doctrines and programmes for the mass extermination of human beings and to undermine the process of détente and co-operation. In this new tense international situation the peoples of the world are once again realizing that there is no task more important or more urgent today than that of defending peace and averting the threat of nuclear war. That cannot be refuted by those whose statements at this session have constituted merely another routine attempt to distort the real picture of the present-day world and to shift all the blame for its troubles from themselves to innocent parties.

39. As has already been noted during this session of the General Assembly, the current aggravation of the international situation and the mounting threat of war are due to the fact that some Western States, above all the United States, persist in policies inimical to the interests of peace. The situation is all the more alarming in that some of those States are permanent members of the Security Council and their policies are totally in conflict with the particular responsibility for international security and the preservation of peace that the Charter places upon them.

40. A close analysis of statements by leading United States officials on the substance of the military and political problems in the world today and a careful analysis of the goals of the intensive rearmament programme that has been launched in the United States and of the strategic concepts being put forward cannot but show that Washington's present course is by no

means peace-oriented. We have all heard the frank statement at the 11th meeting by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, that the United States is guided in its actions by the principle of the position of force and will be unswerving in its use of it. Is this not an express policy of military and political confrontation, a policy of seizing dominant positions on a global scale? Is it not making this all part of a fundamental principle?

41. It would be difficult to imagine a political credo in greater opposition to the requirements of the Charter. The policy of discarding in practice the principle of equality and equal security, which, in this nuclear age, is an absolutely vital principle, erodes the mainstays of the structure of relations between States and contributes to the threat of war.

42. The United States is provoking tension and protracting conflicts; it acts on its own behalf and through proxies in order to justify the further buildup of arms and its growing demand that its allies toe the line. The United States is instigating an anti-communist crusade and is spreading lies about an alleged Soviet threat and other fabrications in order to impose its latest missiles on the territories of others and to cause an impasse in disarmament talks. Those provocative actions are camouflaged by demagogic utterances about a "commitment" to peace "through strength"; to the "prevention of wars in general," and so forth. But the legitimate question arises of whether the authors of those pronouncements did not indeed have an opportunity, for example, to prevent or halt the Israeli aggression in Lebanon.

43. Acting at variance with the commitment to prevent nuclear war they entered into in the 1970s, Washington's strategists are now proclaiming the "admissibility" and even the "acceptability" of a nuclear conflict. The world has been subjected to cynical bombast about first, second and subsequent nuclear strikes, about "nuclear escalation in doses", about "demonstrative" and "selective" use of nuclear weapons, and so forth. Over the past year and a half, the United States has put forward more different concepts of the use of force—primarily in a nuclear context—than in any preceding decade. They talk about a "secured" nuclear war, then they talk about "limited" war, about blitzkrieg, and about "protracted" war.

44. All these statements and actions are permeated with the idea of the first use of nuclear weapons and an insane reliance on winning a nuclear victory. Such notions are the sheerest adventurism, fraught with enormous dangers for mankind. They constitute nothing but naked war propaganda. There can be no doubt that any use of nuclear weapons will cause a chain reaction. That being so, strategic planning of this kind, in any of its versions, represents in actual fact planning for a nuclear catastrophe. But those so-called planners ought to be reminded that planning and preparation for a war of aggression are qualified in international instruments—specifically in the Charter of the United Nations, in the judgement of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, and in the Definition of Aggression and other United Nations documents—as a crime against peace and against humanity.

45. Military political stereotypes inherited from the time of the former monopoly on the atom bomb are now outmoded. In his message at the twelfth special session [12th meeting], the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, described as indisputable and determinant the fact that nuclear war, should it break out, could, in the current international situation, mean the destruction of human civilization and perhaps even the end of life on Earth.

46. Such is the harsh imperative of this nuclear age: there can be no security for anyone through nuclear adventurism. A nuclear Power can be secure only if its foreign and military policies pose no threat to any other country. As to notions that one's own security can be strengthened by chasing the phantom of military supremacy, plans to achieve such supremacy simply cannot be carried out, and measures undertaken to that end can only aggravate military tensions and lower the level of security for all.

47. While, in this nuclear age, strategic stability based on an approximate balance of forces is an extremely important basis for universal security, it is no guarantee of that security. Mankind can free itself from the deadly threat only by gradually lowering the level of military confrontation, through the implementation of agreed measures on the limitation and reduction of armaments and on disarmament. There is no other way, for security and disarmament are inseparably linked.

48. Today's realities demand the adoption of urgent and effective measures for the prevention of nuclear war. Particular responsibility for that lies with the permanent members of the Security Council, which are in addition nuclear-weapon Powers. In present conditions, the commitment by each nuclear-weapon Power not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would be of key significance for removing the threat of nuclear war. That is the express duty of the nuclear Powers; it is their primary responsibility towards mankind.

49. As is known, the USSR, which takes a very serious view of its status as a nuclear Power and as a permanent member of the Security Council, has already shouldered that responsibility. The step taken by the USSR is a powerful stimulus for the drastic easing of the threat of nuclear war and for the strengthening of trust in relations between States. The exclusion from international relations of force in all its manifestations, both nuclear and conventional, would be fostered by early completion of the work on a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, a draft of which was submitted by the Soviet Union in 1976 for consideration by the United Nations.³ A set of specific and constructive proposals set out in the memorandum of the USSR on "Averting the growing nuclear threat and curbing the arms race", which was submitted to the Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament,⁴ creates possibilities for making progress along all avenues leading to the limitation and radical reduction of armaments, whether nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, conventional

weapons, or naval activities. There is no kind of weapon which the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on a basis of reciprocity.

50. Further evidence of the readiness of the USSR to reduce the nuclear threat, to curb the arms race and to make our planet safer for life and for constructive work is provided by the proposals aimed at the speedy cessation and total prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing; these were formulated with due regard for the views and suggestions of many countries, including suggestions regarding verification and regarding an appeal to all the nuclear Powers to declare, within an agreed time-frame, a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, pending the conclusion of a treaty banning them completely.

51. The USSR initiative entitled "Intensification of efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war and to ensure a safe development of nuclear energy" [see A/37/242] is also of vast significance. That proposal develops further the work already begun on questions of preventing nuclear war and of nuclear disarmament—ranging from a simultaneous freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles to the elimination of existing nuclear capabilities—as well as of strengthening the security of non-nuclear countries. It is designed to ensure the safe development of nuclear energy for constructive purposes in all countries. Any destruction of non-military nuclear facilities should unquestionably be qualified as a nuclear attack, which, in the definition of the United Nations, is the gravest crime against humanity.

52. The aggressive actions of the imperialists and their henchmen even today are leading to bloodshed in many flashpoints on our planet. A typical example of this reign of bloody terror—a war of annihilation which is nothing short of genocide—is the aggression launched by Israel against Lebanon and the Arab people of Palestine. The tragedy in Lebanon has shaken the entire world and provided yet further evidence that in this latest criminal adventure, in addition to all the others, the "strategic allies", Israel and the United States, acted hand in hand.

53. Scores of thousands of human beings and the destiny of hundreds of thousands more, have fallen victim to the most sophisticated American military technology, tried out with the help of Israel in Lebanon. In shamelessly arming the aggressor, which has repeatedly been condemned by the United Nations, and overtly and covertly acting as its accomplice, the United States—contrary to its obligations as a permanent member of the Security Council—is doing everything possible to establish in that area an order which would enable it and its henchmen to do as they please in other people's territories.

54. However, they should know better than to labour under such a delusion. Attempts to rule the destinies of the peoples of the Middle East from Washington or Tel Aviv are inevitably doomed to failure. The selfless struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the courage and determination of the Syrians and the Lebanese, have clearly demonstrated this. The "new plan" for a Middle East "settlement" which has been announced by the President of the

United States and widely publicized does not contain anything new. The United States proposals are flawed in their very essence. They fail to provide for the liberation of all Arab territories seized in 1967, deny the right of the Palestinians to create their own State and disregard the PLO. This is nothing but a continuance of the treacherous Camp David policy of acquiescence, designed to enslave the peoples of that region.

55. Our position on the Middle East problem has always been and continues to be crystal clear. The complex problem of the Middle East can be resolved only by the concerted efforts of all the parties concerned, which must certainly include the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. This problem cannot be resolved without strict observance of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by forces; the recognition and exercise of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to create their own independent State on Palestinian soil, which must be freed from Israeli occupation; and ensuring the right of all States of the region to a secure existence and development in conditions of mutual respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, with appropriate international guarantees.

56. This is the only course that will lead to a settlement, as envisaged in the Soviet proposal on the convening of an international conference on the Middle East. The results of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez constitute a constructive contribution to the settlement process. We take a positive view of the principles that were adopted at that Conference [see A/37/696] for the solution of the Palestinian question and the Middle East problem as a whole.

57. Nowadays it is more necessary than ever before for political leaders to demonstrate common sense, clear-sightedness, prudence and genuine realism in their approach to the problems that arise. We should also, of course, be guided always by the fact that international détente calls for peaceful co-operation with other States, not military preparations or hostility toward other States. Détente is a conscientious observance in good faith of the norms of international law and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others. It also implies a constant desire to contribute by practical action to curbing the arms race in the world and strengthening security by gradually building up mutual confidence on a just and reciprocal basis. This is exactly what the States of the socialist community are doing. Unfortunately, this cannot be said for the United States and its partners in aggressive blocs.

58. Yet another example of the fact that the Washington Administration adheres to diametrically opposite principles is its policy with respect to Afghanistan, South-East Asia and the Caribbean. They are trying to achieve their aim of barring the way to social reforms by staging military adventures against peoples seeking freedom and progress. This is clearly demonstrated by the continuing hostile actions of the United States of America against Cuba, Afghanistan, the countries of Indo-China, Nicaragua and other States of the world, and this should serve as a warning. It is also shown by its support for reactionary anti-people régimes in Chile, South Korea, El Salvador and other countries.

59. The long chain of irrefutable facts indicative of the dangerous course followed by the foreign policy of the United States, which is a threat to peace and social progress, includes the well-known action of that country against the anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples of the world. When in August 1981 the racists of Pretoria launched their large-scale aggression, which is still going on now, against the People's Republic of Angola, the United States chose to act as a forthright advocate of that naked act of aggression. In the Security Council it vetoed the draft resolution strongly condemning the aggression and calling for its immediate cessation.⁵ The veto was in no way accidental; it constituted the implementation of what had earlier been proclaimed "the new regional strategy of the United States regarding southern Africa".

60. The basic tenets of this strategy, which in its very essence is a doctrine of recolonization, amount to nothing less than a naked threat to use South Africa to bring about the destabilization of independent African States. As regards the Namibian problem, the so-called new doctrine basically encourages the South African racists to retain Namibia as a colony of South Africa and to impose on the Namibian people conditions that are advantageous to Pretoria. The *apartheid* régime is allowed to use force in pursuing its colonial policy, to employ the piratical methods of the Israeli militarists in Lebanon, and to attempt to destroy the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and to exclude it from participating in decisions on the future of its homeland. The task of the United Nations is to prevent this and to work for the early attainment of independence by the people of Namibia.

61. Washington is known never to have fulfilled its obligations as regards the developing countries. When the conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina erupted as a result of the stubborn opposition of the United Kingdom to the decolonization of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the United States ignored its obligations as far as Argentina was concerned, extended the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] activities to Latin America and took advantage of the situation in order openly to assist in the colonialist plunder and to penetrate the South Atlantic region.

62. A vivid example of the policy of force and blackmail as a means of carrying out imperialist plans on a global scale is provided by the actions of the United States aimed at undermining the regional organizations of the developing countries, nullifying the United Nations decision to convene the Conference on the Indian Ocean, opposing the drafting of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and refusing to sign the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

63. The same strategy of force is being carried out by the United States in the realm of international economic relations. It is precisely those in the ruling circles of that country that impede by every means available the implementation of United Nations decisions on the establishment of a new international economic order, obstruct the launching of global negotiations and defend in every possible way the activities of transnational corporations, which are

detrimental to the sovereignty and the economies of the developing countries.

64. The policy of blackmail and threats is being employed not only against socialist States but also against those developing countries that have chosen the road of independent development and social progress. Attempts are being made to split the non-aligned movement, to play down its significance as a major factor in improving the international situation. The weapon of coercion is being used also against the developed countries allies of the United States. One recent example of this in addition to the constant demands for an increase in their military budgets, is the unseemly efforts of the United States Administration directed against a mutually advantageous project for a gas pipeline between Siberia and Western Europe. We almost have the impression of hearing a cowboy's lasso whistle over some countries of Western Europe. All this is a significant lesson for the young developing countries, which should indeed think twice before developing ties, especially economic ties, with the United States.

65. The Soviet Union and other socialist States oppose that policy of diktat and blackmail by a clear and unequivocal policy of developing international economic co-operation on a basis of equality and in the interest of all the participants and with due regard for the special interests of the developing countries, at the same time providing them with assistance on a scale greater than that recommended by the United Nations.

66. Given the deterioration in the international situation caused by the policy of imperialism, of overriding importance for the destiny of mankind is the positive implementation of the Leninist strategy of peace, the Peace Programme for the 1980s worked out by the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and promoted by the Soviet Union, which is celebrating its sixtieth anniversary. The creation and the successful development of the Soviet Union are of undying international significance and an important historic landmark in the age-old struggle of progressive mankind for equality, the progress of nations and world renewal.

67. Faithful to the principle of peace and friendship among peoples, to which it pledged itself at the hour of its birth, the Soviet State takes this as the basis of all its activities in the international arena. It underlies all its successes and achievements. Leninist ideals and principles embodied in the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the highest State bodies of the Land of the Soviets and in the Constitution of the USSR determine the approach of the Soviet State to all problems of relations between countries and peoples.

68. The sixtieth anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is clear testimony to the triumph of the Leninist national policy and to the historic achievements of socialism. The workers of the Byelorussian SSR cherish the fact that they belong to the unified family of Soviet peoples. They realize that everything we have done and achieved has been brought about by the concerted efforts of all the peoples of our multinational homeland. We have every reason to be proud of our achievements in political,

economic and social development. In this period Byelorussia has become a Republic with a highly developed industry and intensive agriculture. At present our industry produces 30 times more than in the pre-war year, 1940, despite the fact that it was almost totally destroyed by the Hitlerite aggressors in the Second World War and that those aggressors murdered a quarter of its population. Education, science, health care and culture have made great strides in the Republic. We live and work in a socialist democracy which guarantees genuine rights and freedoms for every human being. In order to continue their successful and constructive work the Byelorussian people, like other peoples of the USSR and of the entire planet, need above all lasting peace.

69. Deadlocks in the international arena do not occur of themselves. It is well known that they are created deliberately. This can be said about almost every situation of conflict and outstanding problem—the continuing conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, opposition to the peaceful reunification of Korea free from outside interference, and to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, the refusal to take part in, or the obstruction of, disarmament talks, the desire to put weapons into outer space and other pressing problems.

70. Let us take as an example the problem of Cyprus. Here again we see who is doing what to impede United Nations efforts to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to demilitarize the island by withdrawing all foreign troops and eliminating all foreign bases; how attempts are being made to impose on the Cypriots a solution alien to them. In those circumstances United Nations efforts should be directed towards making the intercommunal talks a success, while fully respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cypriot State and its policy of non-alignment.

71. Thus in the final analysis underlying all these deadlocks there are selfish imperialist interests and a reluctance to take account of the real situation in an evolving world and of the will of the peoples.

72. Today political wisdom lies in concerted, persistent and patient efforts to solve the problems threatening universal peace. In that way, even if not all the problems are solved at once, many will be. It is particularly important, of course, to solve the most pressing problems of our time: that of averting a nuclear war, curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament. If we do not, the "wise sphynxes" to which the United States Secretary of State recently alluded in justifying Washington's policies will no longer be there.

73. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, guided by the testament of Lenin that the Soviet State "wishes to live in peace with all peoples and directs its efforts to the building of its own State", will actively promote the preparation and adoption of measures designed to avert the threat of nuclear war, strengthen peace, bring about co-operation among peoples and solve other problems on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

74. Mr. QIONIBARAVI (Fiji): My delegation wishes to associate itself with the compliments paid to you,

Mr. President, on your election to your high office, and we pledge to you our continued co-operation. We would also like to acknowledge with satisfaction the outstanding leadership of your predecessor in office. I would like to place on record my Government's satisfaction with the excellent work being done by the Secretary-General during his first year in office. We wish to assure him of our continued support. We extend to him our compliments and endorse his forthright and incisive views on the major issues confronting this planet and on the role of the United Nations in the efforts to resolve the problems that we share as a result of our inseparable humanity. He has highlighted not only the problems, but the structural weaknesses of the Organization in tackling those problems. In our view, the United Nations must, as a matter of urgency, address both dimensions if all of humanity is to have even a chance.

75. In the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], he alluded to the failure of the collective security system of the League of Nations. It will be recalled that concurrently with the failure of the League of Nations the world suffered an unprecedented economic depression which in many ways contributed to the upheaval of the Second World War.

76. It has been noted that the only thing we learn from history is that we do not learn from history. How true that is. The present world political and economic situation, which I need not reiterate before the Assembly, and the inability of the United Nations to deal effectively with issues pertaining thereto, bear an unnerving resemblance to the events that ushered in the Second World War.

77. While my country, Fiji, in the peaceful South Pacific Ocean, is thousands of miles away from the Middle East, our commitment to world peace led to our direct involvement in United Nations efforts to bring peace and stability to the area. Of particular concern to my Government has been the recent resurgence of war in the unfortunate country of Lebanon. The resultant massacres of Palestinian men, women and children is a matter to be deplored by all. My Government has already condemned all those that were directly or indirectly involved in the killings. The problem of Lebanon is part of the overall problem of the Middle East, which has defied solution for more than three decades. In the mean time, new elements have been injected into the conflict and this has made peace in the area even more elusive.

78. My delegation continues to support the principles set forth in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as a basis for peace in the region. It is also imperative that the aspirations of the Palestinian people to a homeland be realized, and that the rights of all States, including that of Israel, to live within recognized boundaries be acknowledged.

79. My country has always advocated the peaceful resolution of all disputes through dialogue and negotiations. It was in this spirit that my Government agreed to contribute peace-keeping forces to UNIFIL in 1978. In the same spirit, Fiji decided to contribute troops to the multinational forces and observers last year in order to further the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel that led to the return of the Sinai.

80. The cost of the contribution to UNIFIL has been particularly burdensome for a small country such as ours. For the past four years our ability to maintain our troops in Lebanon has been seriously undermined by the accumulated arrears of reimbursements, which amount to millions of dollars. It is our earnest hope that all Member States will meet their obligations and pay the assessed contributions promptly so that reimbursements at the agreed levels can be made to participants in UNIFIL without delay.

81. No one can deny that UNIFIL has proved its usefulness, but for peace-keeping forces to be effective it is essential that they have both a clear mandate and the co-operation, respect and support of all Member States and, more particularly, of the immediate parties to the disputes. This, regrettably, has not always been the case in Lebanon.

82. The situation in the Asian region has remained the same. Foreign armed intervention and occupation continue in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In both cases the majority of United Nations Members have taken an unequivocal stand, to which we subscribe. This international concern will continue until the foreign forces are unconditionally withdrawn. Only then will the freedom of their people and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries be restored.

83. With respect to Kampuchea, the recent initiatives that have brought the resistance groups into a coalition provide a better basis for a negotiated and peaceful solution of the problem in that country. We hope that there will be a more positive response to this important development.

84. The vexed question of the peaceful reunification of Korea remains with us. However, we regard the recent proposal by South Korea as an important step towards reconciliation. It is our hope that a unified Korea will soon become a reality.

85. In the field of disarmament very little has been achieved. All we hear of are new initiatives or the breakdown of talks. The recent special session of the General Assembly on disarmament was no exception. If anything, the arms race has been escalated. The goal is no longer to establish deterrent forces, but rather, as one of the super-Powers has stated recently from this rostrum, to achieve armed superiority and maintain it. We must pause to think of the logical consequences of such a course and where the super-Powers are leading us all. There appears to be no limit to man's quest for self-destruction.

86. It is more urgent than ever that, as a first step, the international community agree to the total prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing. Fiji supports this proposal, as well as efforts to conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty. In this regard, it urges the resumption of the trilateral talks.

87. We in the South Pacific find ourselves a direct victim of the arms race. One major Power continues its nuclear testing in the Pacific, in total disregard of the protests of the peoples and the Governments in the region. These tests, conducted by France on small atolls, pose great hazards to the marine environ-

ment in the region. No one can say with certainty what the effect of those tests may be in the future.

88. Last August the heads of Governments of the South Pacific countries, who met in Rotorua, New Zealand, once again condemned those tests and urged their immediate cessation. They also expressed their opposition to the dumping of nuclear wastes in the Pacific. We hope that those calls will not go unheeded.

89. Since its inception the Organization has played an important role in the field of decolonization. As a member of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples over the past 12 years, Fiji has seen the decolonization process evolve further. Apart from Namibia, the African continent is liberated. But there are still other dependent Territories in other parts of the world. Some of these are in the Pacific, and we note with interest that this process of evolution is beginning to take place in Territories such as New Caledonia. In this connection the leaders of the countries of the South Pacific Forum find reassuring the determination of the French Government to introduce important reforms in that Territory. If these reforms are followed through, they should eventually lead to self-determination and independence with the full participation of its indigenous population. We welcome this important development.

90. After years of arduous negotiation, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea adopted in April this year a comprehensive Convention dealing with all uses of the sea. It is a pity that, because of a few delegations, this important milestone in recent history could not be reached by consensus. But this cannot detract from the significance of the achievement, given the vastness, importance and complexity of the subject-matter, the conflicting interests of States and the difficulty of working out an international régime for the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction capable of equitably balancing the interests of developed and developing countries.

91. For Fiji and similar small island countries the Convention consolidates their inherent rights to the resources in their surrounding seas. It was therefore not surprising that the heads of Government of the South Pacific countries, at a recent meeting, unanimously welcomed the adoption of the Convention and urged all States to sign and ratify it. Indeed, my Prime Minister observed that it was an historic act and a milestone in international negotiations. Fiji, which participated actively in the negotiations, looks forward to signing the Final Act in Jamaica this year.

92. The world economy is beset by severe problems. The industrialized countries are facing continuing recession and heavy unemployment. Although interest rates have tended to decline recently, they have been at unprecedentedly high levels in the past two years. Commodity prices are at their lowest levels and the volume of international trade has virtually ceased to grow. Global interdependence is such that the prosperity of the developing countries is dependent on the performance of the industrialized countries. The recession in the industrialized countries, therefore, has a profound impact on the economies of the developing

countries. Many developing countries which are already struggling with large debt repayments have had their problems exacerbated by high interest payments, adverse trends in the terms of trade and depressed export volumes.

93. The conditions of weak demand and high unemployment in the industrialized countries have led to an increasing tendency towards protectionism. In particular, there has been an expanding commitment in developed countries to protect agriculture through high tariffs, variable import levies or variable export subsidies. As a result, there is hardly a major agricultural product in which developed countries compete with developing countries for which the world market is not undermined or distorted by subsidized exports or concessional sales from surplus stocks of developed countries. In some cases, as a consequence of rising agricultural protection, countries which were once large importers have become large subsidized exporters. International commodity agreements are rendered useless by large-scale dumping.

94. A case in point is that of sugar. In 1981, for instance, the European Economic Community became the world's second largest exporter of sugar, after Cuba. Ironically, it is the developing countries, which cannot afford large-scale competitive subsidization of major exports, that are forced to adjust.

95. In the present world economic climate the plight of the small island countries such as Fiji is a difficult one. They are vulnerable. Their economies are highly susceptible to external economic influences beyond their control. Fiji's export base is narrow, with sugar and tourism the two major foreign-exchange earners, accounting for the major part of total foreign-exchange receipts.

96. The unpredictable and harsh impact of external developments has brought a number of small island economies face to face with precarious financial situations. Their efforts to develop and diversify their economies have been dealt severe blows by adverse world economic developments, such as the oil crisis, high rates of interest, protectionism and drying pools of multilateral and bilateral loans. The smallness of island economies and their high dependence on international trade leave these countries limited policy options for solving the problems of low income, high unemployment and balance-of-payments deficits.

97. In a period when global arrangements for trade liberalization have not made progress, my Government finds at least two limited arrangements of particular interest, the first being the Lomé Convention between the African, Caribbean and Pacific States and the European Community, and the second the South Pacific Regional Trade and Co-operation Agreement [SPARTECA] between the small island countries in the South Pacific and Australia and New Zealand. The Lomé Convention also guarantees access to part of our vital sugar exports into the European Community. Under SPARTECA, certain products from the island countries enjoy preferential access to Australian and New Zealand markets. Both these arrangements have provided considerable economic benefits to the developing countries concerned and are examples of the kind of schemes required under the North-South economic dialogue.

98. As a member of the Governing Council of UNDP, Fiji is concerned about the general decline in the resources available to UNDP. The numerous projects supported by UNDP in many developing countries and the increasing number of requests regularly made for such assistance amply demonstrate the significant role being played by UNDP. It is to be hoped that Member States, both donors and recipients, will make extra efforts to build up the resources of UNDP so that it can meet the demands on it.

99. These and many other issues of international concern, on which previous speakers have addressed the Assembly so eloquently, have become the stumbling-blocks in the efforts to achieve a peaceful and secure world. They have to be resolved, and this world body cannot abdicate this responsibility. Like others, my delegation knows only too well the magnitude of this responsibility. The task before the United Nations in ensuring peace and security in the world and in promoting development is not an easy one. We represent an organization in which diversity is the norm rather than the exception. However, many of the achievements that we as an organization have registered and hope to continue to register have been and remain possible only through a commonality of purpose, accommodation of differences and understanding. The issues before us at this session of the General Assembly reflect this diversity and call for much greater understanding than has been demonstrated in the past.

100. I wish to conclude my statement by drawing to the attention of the international community the plight of the very small communities—micro-States, as they are called—most of which are islands. I do not pretend to be a spokesman for them, but it is clear that their special needs are not being adequately addressed and that so far as the United Nations is concerned such countries, including my own, appear to be nobody's baby.

101. The economic situation to which I referred earlier, which is so well-known to representatives, bears particularly harshly on small, scattered communities. Their fragile economies are often tied to a single crop and they are susceptible to natural disasters. These are the harsh realities of their daily existence. We experience major disadvantages as we try to modernize, and find ourselves caught in vicious circles in our interaction with larger, more powerful countries. For example, it is not relevant to use per capita income as an index of our status. Its use inevitably denies us access to concessionary finance with which to advance our development. Those of us that make a little headway through our own efforts appear to be penalized for doing so. It is as if whenever we think we are making ends meet someone moves the ends.

102. There is no point in preaching to us that we should pull ourselves up by our own bootstraps when those who give that advice keep standing on our hands.

103. Yet let us not abandon hope. Huxley's "Brave New World" may not have anticipated a world in which islands come closer to centre stage, but that world is not far off. For the first time in human history, small States are finding themselves expanded almost overnight as their jurisdiction encompasses millions of square miles of ocean. How to utilize

that space, how to explore and exploit it to improve the lives of our people and, indeed, all mankind, poses a challenge that we cannot face alone. No longer will the development models of the 1950s and 1960s, based on large land masses, as in Africa, Asia or Latin America, distract or delude us.

104. I do not imply that islands will soon be the inheritors of untold wealth or that all our problems will be overcome. My point is that the day is dawning when a new order of importance must be attached to us, our needs and our potentials, for in that process interdependence itself will be made more manifest and achieve a real meaning beyond today's fashionable rhetoric.

105. Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On 8 October 1967, exactly 15 years ago, revolutionaries and freedom fighters all over the world learned with both grief and indignation that Commander Ernesto Che Guevara, the heroic guerrilla, had been murdered in Bolivia. Today, from this rostrum, where he spoke as a representative of the Cuban revolution, we should pay him the only tribute he would accept, that of following faithfully his example and struggling to achieve true independence for our peoples and to repulse any attempt to rob us of the rights that we have already won. May he continue fighting wherever the children of our oppressed peoples are struggling for freedom and keep working wherever creative efforts are paving the way to development.

106. The Arab peoples have waged a long struggle to win recognition of their right to govern in their own land. As early as 1881 José Martí said "The brilliant Arabs should at all costs return to Arabia, as though avenging their centuries-old oriental drift". He was then referring to the rebellions against European colonial domination and movingly praising the spirit that the Arab peoples brought to their fight. Few struggles, however, have attained such heroic heights and mobilized all the people—young and old, women and children—as the one that we have just witnessed in the long days of the Palestinian people's struggle against the genocidal Zionist-imperialist invasion of Lebanon.

107. At the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned held in Nicosia, during the unforgettable moments of the defence of Beirut, the non-aligned movement, that powerful, independent force grouping nearly 100 States, declared that it was necessary to recognize the Palestinian people's right to establish their own State and return to their homeland. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference expressed itself in much the same terms, and it also insisted on the necessity of recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

108. The non-aligned countries call for the immediate holding of an international conference on Palestine, with the participation of the PLO and all States interested in finding a real, permanent solution to the situation in the Middle East, where the nub, the first step, must be recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

109. By entering west Beirut, in a gesture of utter disregard for world public opinion and for Israel's pledges to respect the peace agreements, Israeli troops created the conditions for Haddad's murderous

gangs to take cowardly advantage of the honourable withdrawal from Beirut of the heroic Palestinian leaders and fighters—a withdrawal designed precisely for the purpose of avoiding the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians—and fall like bloodthirsty savages on the defenceless Palestinian camps. In doing so they relied on the collaboration of Israel, which had responsibility and which set the scene for them and facilitated the carrying out of the slaughter. Hitler would have had much to learn from the madness of Messrs. Begin and Sharon.

110. The Zionist genocide in Beirut is the direct result of the United States Government's policy of force, violence and oppression. Nobody has failed to notice the direct connection and manifest complicity between the crimes committed in Lebanon and the continual United States vetoes in the Security Council, which have convinced the criminal Tel Aviv authorities that they are immune to any political or moral limitations that the United Nations should have placed upon them a long time ago.

111. In his denunciation of this situation to the United Nations, contained in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General, Fidel Castro, President of the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba and Chairman of the non-aligned movement, asked:

“How long can mankind and all decent and sensible Governments endure this brutal and merciless genocide? What new horrors will be necessary before the aggressors are stopped and their bloody hands stayed? Is not this proof that Israel's rulers are preparing to continue, in defiance of all, to eliminate the Palestinian people, annihilate the patriotic Lebanese resistance and extend their aggression to other Arab States?

“In the name of the non-aligned movement, whose indignation I voice; in the name of the Cuban people, whose feelings of grief and staunch solidarity I represent, I join in the universal demand that the murderers and those who set the tragic scene for them and facilitated this abominable action be punished. It is indispensable that there be at least a political and moral exemplary sanction of all those guilty of the Beirut crime. For crimes against humanity such as this, for a murderous and racist philosophy such as that which motivated these deeds, the criminals at Nuremberg were seated in the dock and sent to the gallows.”

112. The time has come for the United Nations to act, and only exemplary, prompt and energetic punishment of those who committed the genocide and their accomplices will save the honour and respectability of our institution before the coming generations and the inexorable judgement of history.

113. The Palestinian leaders and fighters have withdrawn honourably from Beirut, but only to continue the fight for the Palestinian people's inalienable rights until victory is won.

114. Mr. President, we should like to say how pleased we are that you, Mr. Hollai, an outstanding son of the heroic Hungarian people, are presiding over this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We should also like to express our appreciation for the exemplary work done by the former President of

the General Assembly, our friend Ismat Kittani. We greet the Secretary-General, the first Latin American to occupy such a high post of responsibility, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for his tenacious efforts aimed at strengthening and reinforcing the Organization.

115. We are living in a world characterized by a sharpening of tension in international relations, due to the acts of provocation and the policies of arms build-up and nuclear blackmail advocated by United States imperialism. The danger of a nuclear war that would wipe out all the work of mankind grows constantly and hangs like an ominous cloud over man's right to live in peace.

116. All attempts to hide from the peoples the real consequences of a nuclear conflict and make them believe that such a conflict could be limited to a specific geographic area or instil in them the idea that it is feasible to start such a war with the possibility that some Power may emerge victorious, is exceedingly dangerous and incompatible with the vital interests of all mankind. Therefore, it is necessary to continue mobilizing public awareness of the dangers posed by nuclear war and weapons of mass destruction.

117. The arms race has continued its upward spiral, and imperialism keeps on trying to impose policies from positions of strength. In spite of the fact that negotiations have started on strategic weapons, on nuclear weapons in Europe and on the reduction of weapons and military personnel in Central Europe, the United States shows no willingness to negotiate and tries to hide its militaristic plans from the world public and impose them upon its Western European allies.

118. The second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, held midway through this year, was an example of the lack of political will of a group of States to negotiate seriously and constructively to find solutions for the problems of disarmament.

119. The unbridled arms race that some countries are practising—a race which includes attempts to install 572 medium-range missiles in Europe, the production of neutron bombs and the establishment of interventionist rapid deployment force—constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security and to mankind's very survival.

120. The arms buildup policy is closely linked to the imperialists' plans to impose their dictates in various parts of the world. Thus, on the one hand, imperialism is obstructing the negotiations on disarmament and, on the other, is encouraging and providing political and military support for the reactionary forces all over the world.

121. Thus, besides the concerted aggression of Israel and the United States against Lebanon, other trouble spots are present in the explosive Middle East.

122. Unfortunately, the war between the peoples of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq still continues. As chairman of the non-aligned movement, Cuba has made tremendous efforts, together with other countries, to help find a peaceful, just and honourable solution to the conflict. We take this opportunity of addressing this important forum to reiterate our hopes

and renew our offer of services to help bring the war to an end for the benefit of both peoples, of other peoples in the region and to prevent the spread and worsening of the conflict.

123. This is also a good occasion for expressing a most energetic protest against the direct and indirect aggressions which United States imperialism has perpetrated against the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and other peoples in the north of Africa engaged in peacefully building their destinies.

124. Concerning Namibia, the United States is ignoring Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as well as General Assembly resolution 36/172 B, proclaiming 1982 the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, and is not using the means at its disposal to pressure South Africa into accepting a negotiated and law-abiding solution based on the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In fact, Washington is playing the game of Pretoria which seeks to rob the Namibian people of their victory and true independence.

125. The racist régime of South Africa and its United States allies are insisting on linking Namibia's independence to the presence of the Cuban forces in Angola as an essential prerequisite for arriving at a negotiated solution. But they will not be able to hide the truth of the fact that Angola's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty have made and are making an important contribution to Namibia's independence. The Cuban internationalist fighters went to Angola to help defend Angola's independence and prevent the spread of the *apartheid* régime beyond the borders of Namibia; for no other reason.

126. If the Yankee imperialists and their partners of the *apartheid* régime have been forced to talk about the independence of Namibia, it has been because of the armed struggle of the heroic sons of the people of Namibia, because of the actions headed by SWAPO and because they have failed in their attempts to prevent the independence of Angola.

127. In 1976, the Governments of Angola and Cuba decided to begin withdrawing the Cuban military forces that were in Angola and the number of Cuban personnel was reduced by more than one third. New threats against Angola interrupted this process and even made necessary the return of new forces to replace those which had already left the noble Angolan soil. Other aggressions by South Africa frustrated similar attempts on other occasions. Now, when the racist troops of the Pretoria régime have been occupying a part of the territory of southern Angola for more than a year and are threatening to invade other provinces, the United States Government seeks to present a demand that the Cuban forces should be withdrawn from Angola as a condition, a prerequisite, for the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia, as something that would contribute to Namibia's independence.

128. That is why the front-line States, at their recent meeting in Lusaka, resolved categorically to reject any attempt to tie the Cuban presence in Angola to the process of decolonization in Namibia, reaffirming in their final declaration that that matter concerned only the Governments of Angola and Cuba.

129. Cuba and Angola stated in February this year that Cuban military co-operation with Angola constituted an absolutely sovereign and legitimate act by the two countries and as a result was completely unrelated to the problem of Namibia. They also pointed out that if the selfless struggle waged by SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and the demands of the international community succeeded in bringing about a real solution to the problem of Namibia, based on strict compliance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and it resulted in truly independent rule and to the total withdrawal of the South African occupation troops to the other side of the Orange River, which would considerably reduce the danger of aggression against Angola, then the Angolan and Cuban Governments would consider the renewal of the implementation of the programme for the gradual withdrawal of the Cuban force within a period of time determined by the two Governments.

130. We can consequently reaffirm here, in the General Assembly that when the Governments of Angola and Cuba so determine, the withdrawal of the Cuban forces stationed on Angolan territory will be effected by virtue of the sovereign decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola once all or any possibility of an attack by an armed invading force has disappeared. In this regard, the Government of Cuba reiterates that it will unhesitatingly respect any decision that the sovereign Government of Angola makes concerning the withdrawal of those forces.

131. In view of the evident closing of options for negotiation, SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, has the right to continue the armed struggle to achieve Namibia's independence, with full respect for its territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, and without the presence of South African troops on its soil.

132. The struggle of the African peoples will inexorably bring to an end the vestiges of colonialism and racism on that continent. The Pretoria régime knows that historically it is doomed. The growing rebelliousness of the black South African masses, led by the African National Congress [ANC], shows that the exploited majority is advancing inexorably towards the liquidation of the power of the exploiting white minority. We endorse the decisions to support the ANC adopted by the heads of State of the front-line States at their Maputo meeting in March this year.

133. In Latin America, after nearly a century of imperialist domination, the situation could not be more hopeless for tens of millions of human beings subjected to the most dreadful poverty. Compulsory witnesses of the profits of the local oligarchies and of the transnational corporations, the peoples of Latin America will be carrying on their shoulders a foreign debt which, by the end of this year, will reach the astronomical figure of \$300 billion, without counting the \$30 billion they will have to pay annually in interest. The indices that measure the living standards of the popular sectors in the vast majority of the countries in our region are falling alarmingly without any restraint. It is precisely this state of permanent

inequality that is the main cause of the social revolt that is shaking Central America today.

134. Blinded by stupidity and lack of realism, Mr. Reagan's Administration has rejected dialogue and a negotiated political solution in this explosive area and is preparing the conditions for an armed intervention that would prevent a revolutionary triumph in El Salvador and drown the Nicaraguan revolution in blood. Such is the spirit of the Symms Amendment, passed recently by the United States Senate, preparing public opinion for the United States President's use of all means, including the use of troops, to oppose an alleged Cuban threat in Latin America.

135. The United States Government is engaged in using the armed forces of Honduras as a spearhead against Nicaragua and the Salvadorian patriots, with the aim of "legalizing" a probable direct intervention by United States forces. The entry of Honduran army personnel into El Salvador and of former Somoza supporters into Nicaragua from camps in Honduras unquestionably means dangerous and definitive steps towards the spreading of armed conflict throughout the Central American region.

136. Thus far the Reagan Administration has not contributed to the moves directed to a political solution to the tensions in the region. A few days ago, President López Portillo of Mexico and President Herrera Campins of Venezuela made new proposals which Cuba hopes will produce positive results.

137. If the United States intervenes militarily in El Salvador or Nicaragua, it would lead to the appearance of a new Viet Nam in Central America, because the peoples of Farabundo Marií and Augusto César Sandino will defend their national independence and their right to be free until they defeat their enemies.

138. President Fidel Castro pointed out in the letter he sent to José López Portillo, President of Mexico, in February this year that:

"If the Government of the United States—the source of all the problems which affect Latin America and the Caribbean today—pledges not to attack its neighbours, if it ceases its constant threats, if it stops using its weapons and finances to back genocidal régimes and if it puts an end to its subversive activities, all these being acts which have absolutely no legitimacy, Cuba is willing to co-operate in the noble efforts you outlined in Managua to bring about the atmosphere of peace, mutual respect and necessary change in the region, to which we also aspire."

139. Cuba today reiterates its full support for Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. Hard, concrete, stubborn facts have convincingly shown who is who in our continent. When forced to show its true colours the United States, the self-appointed arch-defender of Latin America and dedicated architect of the Rio Treaty and of the myth of hemispheric unity against dark extra-continental forces, dropped its so-called pan-American vocation and shamelessly joined forces with England to fall, as Martí would say, "with so much greater force" on our Latin American lands. At the moment of truth, the institutions built on hypocrisy went down in the Atlantic without the dignity of the crew members of the *General Belgrano*.

140. Now, a new awakening of Latin American awareness is the order of the day; a deepening of anti-imperialist feeling is spreading through our continent; the peoples are learning daily from history in the making, from the blows they receive and from the experience they acquire; and no propaganda, however sophisticated or subtle, can change or twist the historical positions taken on the facts relating to the Malvinas.

141. Cuba also reiterates its unswerving support for the legitimate struggle that the fraternal people of Puerto Rico are waging to attain full independence and sovereignty. Nothing can keep the peoples from travelling the destined path of their history; like it or not, one day the free Latin American people of Puerto Rico will themselves sing the beloved anthem of their homeland and they themselves will raise their flag with the lone star, free of hypocritical trusteeships and master of their destiny. There still remain on our continent tyrannies that every day spill blood on the road that will lead these peoples to the freedom to which they are entitled and for which they are waging an exemplary fight.

142. We reiterate our firm solidarity with heroic Grenada, which, with unparalleled efforts, is laying the foundations for a new society, in exemplary resistance against the imperialists' attempts to destabilize its economy, subvert domestic order and frustrate the revolutionary process rooted in that Caribbean island.

143. Cuba supports the aspirations and desires of the Panamanian Government and people in their struggle for implementation of the Canal agreements.

144. We support the right of Bolivia in its historical and just claim to recover its outlet to the sea.

145. Cuba's position is well known on the subject of the negotiated settlement of disputes. We hope that, in the spirit of the necessary strengthening of the relations among the peoples of our continent, the differences over the border limits between Guyana and Venezuela will be settled peacefully, by means of mutually accepted formulas.

146. Cuba supports the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Belize.

147. We must also struggle to guarantee peace and stability in South-East Asia. The Sixth Conference of Indo-Chinese Foreign Ministers was held in July this year; it announced that a summit meeting of those three countries would be held in December and that the withdrawal of a number of Vietnamese troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea had been initiated in late July. This shows the three countries' good will in trying to ease the tension in the region through political means. A climate of understanding, mutual respect and security must prevail in South-East Asia, and the efforts to begin a constructive dialogue between the parties in conflict should continue.

148. My delegation reiterates its support for the legitimate aspiration of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bring about the peaceful reunification of its homeland—for which it is absolutely necessary that interference in its internal affairs should cease and that the United States forces of inter-

vention withdraw from the southern part of the Korean peninsula.

149. We support the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic in its legitimate rights to live in peace and take its rightful place among independent States. We support the aspirations of the Comoros to regain their sovereignty over Mayotte, the restitution of Madagascar's rights over the Malagasy Islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India, and the just claim of Mauritius to recover Diego García island.

150. The United States continues to increase its presence in the Indian Ocean and to enlarge its military installations in the area, as is the case with the Diego García base, and to block the holding of a conference for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. This policy is detrimental to security in the region and exacerbates tensions by constituting a threat to the Governments that are striving to defend their national interests.

151. We support the Cypriot people's sustained efforts to preserve its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in a united and non-aligned republic.

152. The efforts and actions that various agencies and the international community are carrying out with regard to the peoples' legitimate demand for a stable, lasting peace cannot be consolidated if we do not devote ourselves seriously and frankly to the constitution and practice of a new system of international relations whose main aspect is the implementation of a fair and equitable new international economic order that does away with the abysmal differences between the poor and the rich countries. This is not a question of alms or privileges; we demand the help of the developed countries so that, by combining our efforts, we may eliminate the differences that separate us.

153. The insistence on dealing from positions of strength, from positions of military superiority, is leading the present Republican Administration in the United States to plan increases in its military budget for 1983 that come to the astronomical sum of more than \$260 billion. By 1986 military spending will exceed \$372 billion, or 35.2 per cent of the total United States budget. This harmful trend of the United States Government towards increasing its military spending at an explosive rate will force other States to increase their budgets for the defence of their territories.

154. The world is sitting on a powder keg, without any guarantees of security, and the danger increases when the means for exploding it are in irresponsible hands, as unscrupulous as those that led the world to the conflagration of the 1940s. Therefore the struggle for peace is no mere slogan of enlightened forums or Sunday clubs; it is a pressing necessity for the survival of all mankind. We mean by that a peace that is equal for all, in whatever part of the globe they may be. We are constantly striving for those aims, and guided by those criteria. Cuba has made the struggle for peace a fundamental part of its Constitution, and the struggle to preserve peace, to contribute to easing the hotbeds of tension and to prevent the worsening of the international situation is one of the main elements of our international action.

155. The preservation of peace and the struggle for development are component elements of a single ideal, for what peace can there be without development? What peace can there be when the people are hungry and have no pillow to lessen the weariness of their despair? What peace can there be when their children are hungry, and there is no light in their eyes and no future before them?

156. The countries belonging to the non-aligned movement and all the other underdeveloped countries have constantly urged that the preservation of peace and the pursuit of development should be aims to be sought simultaneously. We recall that the 1979 Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Arusha, in the United Republic of Tanzania, stated its conviction that real peace was not merely the absence of war but should also establish the conditions for political freedom, sustained and accelerated development for the developing countries and the promotion of the methodical development of the world.

157. Today the situation is much more serious than it was then. Imperialism's aggressive, expansionist and exploitative posture has worsened. The recent events in Lebanon, the conflict in the South Atlantic and continual threats of aggression and armed intervention in the Caribbean have been dangerously added to the use of economic pressures as a weapon of political coercion against the underdeveloped countries that aspire to an independent, honourable life and seek the path of development. At the same time, we note with alarm that never before has the situation of the third world countries been so desperate as it is today, when inflation, monetary instability, blatant protectionism on the part of the industrialized countries, unparalleled indebtedness and the systematic lowering of the prices the third world countries get for their primary commodities are not only endangering their real prospects for advancing towards development within a more or less acceptable time span but posing an immediate threat to the lives of millions of people and the very future of dozens of nations.

158. The United States is maintaining an attitude of clear opposition to the launching of the global negotiations, which are an important instrument for enabling the international community to face in an appropriate manner the serious problems of the world economy.

159. Cuba supports the efforts exerted by the Group of 77 to obtain the launching of global negotiations, which would spur the development of the backward countries, but would also be an effective means of enabling the developing economies to emerge from the constant recession in which they have been enmeshed for several years.

160. Everyone knows that Cuba has always held the firm opinion that there can be no development without peace and no peace without development. Fidel Castro has reiterated that on several occasions, including here in this Hall during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly [37th meeting]. Therefore, we call on the General Assembly to devote itself to sustained hard work that will contribute to an ever-greater extent to making the United Nations a real participant in the process of building the future of the peoples, rather than a mere spectator, watching from the sidelines.

161. Cuba has presided over the non-aligned movement during three years filled with complexities, tension and conflicts in international relations. In the midst of the stubborn struggle waged by imperialism and international reaction to paralyse the action of the international agencies and to prevent the third world countries from concerting their plans and positions, the non-aligned movement has emerged from those trials as an even more united, more independent and stronger force.

162. Ever since the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979, our movement has been engaged in active efforts in the most diverse spheres, developing various initiatives of special significance; noteworthy among them are its efforts to mediate in disputes between member countries. During those three years, the movement consolidated a broad programme of co-operation, extending the scope of co-operation and exchanges of views among our countries.

163. Many meetings were held in the movement's various branches and spheres of action. Noteworthy among its activities were the extraordinary meetings of its Co-ordinating Bureau at the ministerial level on Namibia, held in Algiers; on Palestine, held in Kuwait; and on the situation in Lebanon, held recently in Cyprus; as well as the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February 1981; the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau held this year in Havana; and the meetings of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the non-aligned countries attending the sessions of the General Assembly, for the purpose of co-ordinating actions and setting priorities among those countries.

164. In spite of the obvious efforts to divide the movement and to boycott the work of its organs—especially its Co-ordinating Bureau—and in spite of the direct pressure brought to bear on many of its members, the non-aligned movement has given proof of its cohesion, maturity and strength. The tireless struggle for peace, disarmament, an end to the arms race, a new international economic order, respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, reununciation of the use of force in international relations and solidarity with national liberation movements have been important battles fought daily by the non-aligned movement.

165. History, as always, has made sure that deceit has been unveiled. Those who declared that in Cuba in 1979 the movement would be split are brought face to face with today's reality: that our movement has increased its dynamism, preserved its original principles and its unity, and extended its action, its strength and its influence in the international arena.

166. Within the framework offered by the present session of the General Assembly we have advanced

our preparations for the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which will be held at New Delhi in March of next year. Fidel Castro, Chairman of the movement, has had to make special efforts to overcome the obstacles that arose concerning the holding of that conference, efforts that brought out the movement's capacities, cohesion and unity, and the outstanding qualities and wisdom of the heads of State or Government of our member countries.

167. The present international situation presents enormous risks for man's survival. We must tackle that situation with determination and firmness: the same determination and firmness with which the heroic Palestinians defended Beirut, the same determination and firmness with which the Vietnamese people defeated imperialist aggression and the same determination and firmness with which the courageous Sahraoui fighters are waging their struggle.

168. The imperialists must abandon their policy of confrontation, threats and aggression. They must know that they will not succeed in intimidating the peoples, which have learned now that firmness is the position of principle to hold in the face of the imperialists.

169. On 26 July 1982, President Fidel Castro stated that

"We are not in favour of wars. We are in favour of peace, in favour of solutions. We are well aware of the consequences a war would have for the world. And the dangers really exist. We are in favour of solutions, and we have said this repeatedly concerning the various hotbeds of tension: solutions for the war between Iran and Iraq; solutions in the Middle East; solutions in Central America, solutions in Angola and in South Africa. Therefore, our attitude is not that of promoting conflicts. However, we are not going to step back even half an inch before the imperialist threats and aggressions—not even half an inch."

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1981, document S/14461.*

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

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 124, document A/31/243, annex.*

⁴ See A/S-12/AC.1/11 and Corr.1.

⁵ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981, document S/14664/Rev.2.*