



Monday, 27 September 1982,  
at 10.35 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate**

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, and to invite him to address the Assembly.
2. Mr. FIGUEIREDO (Brazil):\* Sir, on behalf of the Government and people of Brazil, I wish to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.
3. I warmly greet the representatives of the Member States gathered together in this Hall. I extend warm greetings to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, a brilliant diplomat who is a credit to Latin America. I also wish to extend my sincere compliments to Mr. Ismat Kittani, representative of Iraq, who with assurance and ability presided over the work of the thirty-sixth session.
4. At this time, as the general debate begins, I wish to express my hope that this session of the General Assembly will effectively contribute to a just solution of the controversies which are jeopardizing international peace and security and to the removal of the threat to the stability of the world's economy.
5. A few decades ago, an unprecedented economic depression and uncontrolled political tension brought about a catastrophic war. The society of sovereign States decided then, in 1945, to create a vast network of institutions to further co-operation between Governments in order to avoid a repetition of such severe economic crises, promote economic and social development, ease political tension and spare future generations from the scourge of war.
6. Symptoms dramatically reminiscent of the events of the 1930s are reappearing today. A new economic crisis of global dimensions indiscriminately affects countries under different systems and resists orthodox therapies.
7. Paradoxically, the United Nations, which was established in order to examine and resolve controversy between States, has all too often been transformed into a forum for sterile confrontation. We are aware, however, that alternative forms of organizing international life inevitably depend on the arbitrary will of the most powerful States which, at

times, runs counter to the cause of freedom and justice among nations and men.

8. Having these considerations in mind, the Government of Brazil renews its pledge to work together with the other Member States in order to make the United Nations a true centre for harmonizing the actions of States. I do not hesitate to call on all Governments represented here to adhere strictly in their international behaviour to the purposes and principles of the Organization. I launch a pressing appeal that we rededicate ourselves to the task of building peace.

9. There is no future—nor can there possibly be one—in that sad, unacceptable substitute for peace which is the balance of terror. We cannot persist in the illusion that world harmony can be founded on an excess capacity for destruction. Decades of talks and attempts at negotiation have not prevented the increase, improvement and diversification of nuclear arsenals capable of destroying mankind in various ways and under various circumstances, several times over.

10. I view with great apprehension the persistence of the Middle East crisis, the major features of which are the conflict between Iraq and Iran and the consequences of the military action that has engulfed Lebanon, a country with which we have close fraternal relations. The recent massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut has deeply shocked the world public. We are all aware that the question of the Middle East will be solved only when the Arab territories now under military occupation are evacuated and when the right of the Palestinian people to a sovereign State is recognized, as well as the right of all countries in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within recognized borders.

11. In southern Africa, also, there persist situations of tension caused by the occupation of Namibia and by repeated acts of aggression against independent countries, notably Angola. Brazil cannot fail to condemn racial discrimination, particularly its institutionalized forms, which threaten international peace itself. The success of the on-going negotiations for the speedy independence of Namibia on the basis of United Nations resolutions is the right way to remove the tension which has so terribly frustrated the just aspirations of the peoples in the area to economic development and true independence.

12. My country is deeply troubled by the increasing transfer to the less developed areas of the tension generated by the confrontation between the super-Powers. The policy of prestige and power applied to the third world engenders divisions and seriously affects the prospects for co-operation among developing nations. It is the firm stand of Brazil that such a process should be immediately stopped and

\* Mr. Figueiredo spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

reversed, and we are ready to continue our efforts to that end.

13. We cannot accept that, as a result of power-bloc policies, sovereign countries should be occupied, their domestic affairs subjected to interference and their freedom restricted, as is the case in Afghanistan. The principle of the non-use of force should be strictly observed in today's main areas of tension.

14. In Central America, there are recurring symptoms of a deep crisis of historic proportions, with social, political and economic implications. In accordance with the principles of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Brazil believes that a political solution to Central America's problems must be found by the peoples involved, free from any overt or covert outside interference. In the economic sphere, one cannot isolate the difficulties of Central America from the world crisis or minimize the responsibility of the industrialized countries to work for the creation of conditions favourable to the resumption of economic and social development. Peace and stability in that region are basic prerequisites for sound hemispheric co-operation.

15. In the South Atlantic, the mechanisms of violence were recently set in motion for a while. My Government has made considerable efforts during the last few months to help find a permanent political solution to the question of the Malvinas, and we are determined to pursue these efforts in the interests of peace, security and harmony among nations. Since the beginning of the controversy in 1833 Brazil has recognized the sovereign rights of the Republic of Argentina over the Malvinas, and it continues to insist on the necessity for negotiations as a suitable means of solving that problem.

16. I wish to stress the importance of consideration by the General Assembly of the question of the Malvinas. An initial step must be the implementation of all the provisions of Security Council resolution 502 (1982). It is time for those who so vigorously condemn the use of force in the solution of controversies to demonstrate the consistency and sincerity of their designs. Negotiations must start in order to avoid the risk of increasing tension in an area naturally inclined to co-operation and prosperity.

17. Brazil lives in peace with its neighbours in Latin America and with all nations which observe the principles of sound international behaviour. Relations between Brazil and friendly countries of Latin America are clear testimony to the success achieved when the path of mutual respect and non-interference is taken with determination and when the search for harmonious and profitable co-operation prevails over controversies or topical divergencies.

18. As part of Latin America, Brazil trusts that its neighbours will know how to resolve their differences, including those of a territorial nature, by peaceful and conciliatory means, and hopes that our sister countries in Latin America will strengthen their capacity for dialogue and understanding at the regional level. We must all work to see that our region attains higher levels of development and co-operation and engage in positive actions on the world scene.

19. With sister countries of Africa—our neighbours across the sea, with which we are linked by a common history—Brazil's objective is to develop close, direct and cordial relations. Equally friendly purposes guide our policy of strengthening ties with the other nations of the third world.

20. As part of the Western world, Brazil strives to fulfil its national aspirations with total respect for freedom, democracy and human rights. These lofty values and the Western tradition of pluralism and equality among nations provide Brazil with a framework for action outside the constraints of the hegemony of the super-Powers and of the pressures of opposing ideologies.

21. With the Eastern European countries Brazil seeks to maintain correct relations, particularly in the economic and commercial fields, on the basis of mutual interests and reciprocal respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

22. For my country, peace and development are not ideals detached from the goals of and action on foreign policy. Brazil is firmly committed to the principles of universalism, friendly co-operation and national dignity.

23. It is the seriousness of the international situation that, for the first time, has brought the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil to the United Nations. Never in the history of the Organization have the risks and threats to the peace, security and progress of nations been so serious. Never have the challenges been so great. I call on the Governments of all Member States to make a determined effort together to tackle the mounting international problems and turn back the tide which leads to despair. It is our common duty to fulfil the expectations of our predecessors, who, having themselves experienced the direct consequences of political disorder, economic depression and war, pledged their resolve, as well as ours, to promote peace and development.

24. There are too many shortcomings in the present international order. It is a picture poor in accomplishments, yet rich in problems, poor in creativity, yet rich in disorder; poor in efficacy and justice, yet rich in waste and imbalances. It is not possible for me to remain indifferent to this picture. I believe it to be imperative to correct the serious flaws that so clearly stand out.

25. The society of nations is essentially a political community. Just as domestic decisions cannot be taken without consulting the interests and yearnings of the people, so it is impossible to ignore in this forum the just and legitimate claims of the great majority of nations, thus preserving vertical structures of international power.

26. The United Nations has a crucial political role to play in the struggle against conformism, intransigence and ambitions for absolute victories. Only through the Organization can a truly democratic framework of relations among States be created.

27. The extraordinary release of productive forces on a world-wide scale in the post-war period wrought within a few decades the intricate patterns of a different world, a complex and unstable world, but

also a diversified and promising one. The interdependence of nations has thus become a historic necessity.

28. Yet the improvements we have been able to introduce in the structures of international life have been few and unsatisfactory. Regrettably, even the efforts towards international co-operation for development, however meagre, are being scaled down. The practice of the interdependence of nations appears at times to degenerate into attempts to reconstruct hegemonistic situations or systems of subordination, which in no way contribute to prosperity, either in the industrialized or in the developing world. As actually practised in many cases, interdependence seems to have become a new name for inequality.

29. The interests of the North and the South are not in contradiction. In truth, there is no crisis between North and South; there is, rather, a profound crisis in the international economic system itself. The same situation affects both groupings. It is a uniquely adverse situation, which can be overcome only through mutual understanding and solidarity, not through a retreat into acrimony and confrontation. The challenges faced by all countries alike is that of adjusting to the new realities of the 1980s.

30. The North must understand to its full extent—and its potential for enriching international trade—the inescapable fact of the definitive emergence of the third world as a dynamic partner, and of its search for a position of greater prominence in the world economy.

31. As for the South, the moment has come for us to give effective expression to the cohesion we have been able to preserve above external difficulties and internal differences. We must move towards the consolidation of a truly solidary interdependence between Latin America, Africa and Asia. We must make it clear, by deeds as well as words, that the diversity within the third world contains unsuspected opportunities for economic complementarity, and is a uniting element, not a fact to be used as a pretext for initiatives—such as the arbitrary discrimination among developing countries embodied in the concept of “graduation”—which aim at undermining the cohesion of the third world international co-operation for development and North-South dialogue.

32. We must also demonstrate our capacity for seeking, in a serene and constructive spirit, the fulfilment of our claims. However legitimate, our claims should not lead us into rigid and maximalist negotiating postures—lest we weaken our own principles and ideals and exacerbate even further the intransigence which characterizes certain sectors of the developed world.

33. The efforts of the third world to change normative frameworks, decision-making structures and discriminatory rules in institutions such as International Monetary Fund [IMF], the World Bank and GATT, among others, have been fruitless. Claims repeated for years or even decades clash against the impenetrable wall of the veto power of a few countries, which are in a position to oppose the most obvious considerations of rationality or the soundest requisites of equity. But initiatives multiply whenever the interests of the great powers are at stake.

34. GATT's role should not be diverted towards new normative tasks in areas such as the export of services and investment policies, with a view to creating rules which might hamper access of developing countries to international markets and even hinder their capacity to regulate their own internal markets. By the same token, fundamental questions related to the improvement of GATT and to the satisfaction of the claims of the developing countries should not be neglected.

35. In financial institutions, measures are devised—sometimes adopted against the will of the majority, as a result of inadequate decision-making processes—which restrict the flexibility of operations, add to the requirements of conditionality, and unjustly discriminate against the developing countries. Paradoxically, certain countries endeavour to maintain control over organizations which they appear to condemn, if not to disappearance, at least to insignificance, so great is the disproportion between the growing needs of the developing countries and the financial resources placed at the disposal of those organizations.

36. The principles of free trade must not be applied selectively and arbitrarily to the flow of capital, while the transfer of technology is inhibited and the capacity for action by capital-importing developing countries is restricted. The ideals of free trade cannot be in contradiction with the preservation and even strengthening of the autonomy of the countries of the third world. Interdependence should not be a concept inimical to national sovereignty.

37. The developing countries, which for so long have striven for the principle of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, today face the new challenge of maintaining sovereignty over their own economic space. That does not mean, however, that the developing countries should oppose or show lack of interest in greater interaction at the international level, with respect to the flows of capital and technology and even operations of multinational corporations. Quite the contrary. It is undeniable that the vast majority of developing countries, beginning with those which have a clear Western identity, such as Brazil, but including others with a different political-economic organization—aim at improving and diversifying their links with the developed West, which is a valuable source of the factors of production necessary for their development.

38. The preservation and strengthening of the national economic space of those countries will not hamper the expansion of the international economic system, but will rather be a factor in the broadening of the global economic space, for the benefit of us all.

39. Although I was unable, for reasons of health, to attend the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, which was held at Cancún in October 1981, I followed that event with interest and hope, and even with emotion. I cannot therefore fail to voice here, on behalf of the Government and people of Brazil, the feeling of deep disappointment at the lack, so far, of any practical follow-up action to the Cancún meeting.

40. We are watching with anxiety the continuous and even accelerated erosion of the instruments and institutions which should bring about a solution to



international problems. We are troubled to see that there is even more resistance by important sectors of the developed world to what had been the great conceptual achievement of Cancún, namely, the recognition of the fact that the paths to the solution of the present crisis pass also through the South, and should lead towards co-operation among nations, instead of being subject only to the uncertainties of the market.

41. The crisis we face is global in more than one sense: it affects practically all countries and encompasses both the financial and commercial spheres. It is not only broad, but also deep: productive investment is being stifled on a world-wide scale under the impact of high interest rates, and of the uncertainties over the prospects of international trade and finance. It is as if a sudden paralysis of a large economic Power in the developed world had taken place: such is the situation created by the fact that 30 million highly qualified workers are now unemployed in North America and Western Europe.

42. However, the effects of this crisis situation on the countries of the South are even more devastating. The non-oil-exporting developing countries have experienced over the past three years a deterioration in their terms of trade unequalled in history. Their often successful efforts to increase exports have been neutralized by declining foreign exchange revenues, leading to spiralling pauperization. Years of patient investment in the creation of an export infrastructure, which made it possible for consumers in developed countries to acquire products from the South on advantageous terms, have been frustrated by insurmountable protectionist barriers. The persistence of high interest rates makes existing long-term investments unprofitable and threatens to undermine the viability of projects which are indispensable for overcoming present difficulties. The high cost of foreign debt servicing has created impossible situations for certain countries, as shown by recent events which have dramatically affected a few of the most promising countries of the South.

43. All this sacrifice could be tolerated if, in return, a restructuring of the international economic order could be seen on the horizon within a reasonable period of time. Regrettably, this is not the case. The present economic policy of the great Powers is destroying riches without building anything in their place. The decreasing fluidity in financial flows and the mounting difficulties in international trade are destroying the prospects for overcoming present difficulties.

44. The circumstances require that we all assume an attitude of reciprocal understanding and flexibility. The North-South dialogue must be urgently reinvigorated. Long-term efforts—for which the launching of the global negotiations is so necessary—must be supplemented now by a discussion of the short-term aspects of the crisis.

45. The shaping of the future world economy necessarily requires the overcoming of our present problems. The task of reformulating the international economic system cannot be deferred but, in the present circumstances, we must begin it by an effort to prevent the disruption of the system itself.

46. Therefore it is essential that the major international organizations begin immediately to undertake an integrated and objective examination of emergency measures which can unblock the international flow of trade and finances. It is essential that the developed countries agree to take initiatives in order to liberalize trade, expand international financial flows, adopt a new policy on interest rates, and urgently start revising the international monetary system. The developing countries, because of their structural tendency to deficits in current accounts, cannot be the first to eliminate trade barriers, a measure which would only add to their deficits without creating sufficient momentum towards a recovery in the world economy. The developed countries have to accept the idea that a restructuring of their economies is inevitable. Only when the developed countries give up the protection of sectors which are no longer competitive can the manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from developing countries take their place in international markets, thus benefiting both the consumers of the North and the producers of the South.

47. It is urgent that there be an increase both in the availability of resources controlled by the international financial organizations and in the participation of monetary authorities in the preservation of the liquidity and stability of the international financial system. Only thus will the international community, particularly the developing countries, be freed from the strait-jacket resulting from the simultaneous contraction of trade and of official financial flows.

48. As for the question of interest rates, there need be no discrepancy between the major objectives of the economic policies of the countries of the North and a management of the interest rates compatible with the economic and financial viability of the developing economies. Indeed, it is in everybody's interest to avoid a dislocation of the developing economies which would result in an undesirable destabilizing effect on the countries of the North.

49. Furthermore, it must be recognized that one of the essential conditions for reactivating world trade is the recovery of a minimum of stability in the international monetary system, which must not become a factor of turbulence, left to the whims of unilateral changes in the economic policies of a few great Powers.

50. The solution of the present crisis lies not in aid for developing countries but in ensuring conditions that would enable them to meet their obligations through a fair return for their work.

51. I have come here to express the most legitimate aspirations of my country. I am motivated, above all, by the desire to ensure my people's well-being. We have made considerable efforts towards economic development, with promising results which fill with hope not only the people of Brazil but also all peoples yearning to attain standards of living compatible with human dignity and present-day levels of social, economic, scientific and technological development.

52. It is my duty to seek international conditions propitious for the pursuit of this noble effort by my people, for Brazil will never give up its rightful place in the concert of nations.

53. I hope that the competition from the South will be understood as a valid expression of the political and economic dynamism of peoples that aspire to development. I hope that this competition will not serve as a pretext for the compliant preservation of unjust and inefficient patterns of exchange but will instead be a motivation for a courageous search for renewal. I am convinced that the most powerful countries will respond creatively to the reality of the emergence of the developing world as an active partner in the many sectors of international life. I have unshakable confidence in the international society's capacity for renewal.

54. Today, however, the climate of conflict among nations in the political and economic fields is reaching threatening levels. It is in times like these that the moral and political imperative of international co-operation has to be fully acknowledged if the destinies of the society of nations are to be rationally assured.

55. The awareness that the international community today faces the broadest challenge to its capacity for action makes necessary bold and urgent efforts in the following areas: negotiated solutions to the tension and disputes which are poisoning international relations, both on the East-West level and in third world areas; greater use of dialogue and compromise and the strengthening of international institutions, starting with the United Nations itself; effective resumption of the North-South dialogue, including the launching of global negotiations, as a token of the will to respond to the expectations of the great majority of nations; concrete and immediate action, without prejudice to the resumption of that dialogue, on the most pressing economic questions which present a short-term threat to the international community.

56. I express my hope that this session of the General Assembly will be most successful. I urge representatives of the Governments assembled here to shoulder to the full their inalienable historic responsibility to live up to the hopes and expectations of those who founded the Organization in 1945 and to build for future generations a broader road to peace and development. We are on the threshold of a new world. May God grant that, thanks to our efforts, it will be a better world. Brazil, I can assure the Assembly, is ready to undertake its share of this task.

57. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil for the important statement he has just made.

58. Mr. ZAMBRANO VELASCO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I should like on behalf of the delegation of Venezuela and on my own behalf to congratulate you on your well-deserved election as President for this session of the General Assembly.

59. In addition I should like to express our appreciation to Mr. Ismat Kittani for the effective manner in which he carried out his duties.

60. I should also like to congratulate Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on his election as the fifth Secretary-General. His credentials, his personal qualities and his search for solutions to complex problems all indicate that his course of action as head of the Secre-

tariat will be a wise one. We wish him every success in his major aspiration to reactivate the political role which it is within the competence of the Secretary-General to fulfil.

61. At the same time it is our duty to transmit to Mr. Kurt Waldheim our appreciation for the commendable work he did during the 10 years he held the post in promoting the United Nations as an absolutely essential institution which we need to maintain, develop and strengthen.

62. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] raises questions of great importance and dramatic urgency for Member States. Venezuela wishes to praise the frankness and direct style reflected in the report and at the same time to confirm our absolute adherence to the Charter and our hope that the political will of nations will be expressed without reticence in favour of collective action for peace and security, as stated in that document.

63. If, as the Secretary-General states in the report, we are "perilously near to a new international anarchy", that is largely due to the constitutional role of the international organizations, which has led and leads to conflicts between national aims and the goals of the Organization, as is pointed out in the report.

64. Resort to confrontation, violence and war in the pursuit of national interests has not infrequently been encouraged by the historical practices of powerful States and the growing scepticism regarding the results of measures taken by multilateral organizations whose actions towards peace are halted by the very States which enjoy privileges within the United Nations.

65. We believe that the tragic conflict in the South Atlantic would not have led to such bloodshed if there had been multilateral action towards peace and timely attention to the just claims of peoples which had suffered from the unpunished aggression of the empires that were all-powerful in an international order which no longer exists today.

66. The States with the greatest relative power in a world living in conditions of a balance of fear and the constant risk of a nuclear war can hardly expect to consolidate their privileges by considering overall relations among peoples in terms of their own specific interests. These privileges in many cases were acquired at the expense of the dignity and the resources of the weaker people. As long as justice and respect for the nations which represent two thirds of all mankind are not reflected in resolute action by United Nations organs constant disappointment will merely foster a phase of absolute cynicism in international relations.

67. The consequences of colonialism and neo-colonialism have been devastating for peace. Venezuela maintains that the continent of Latin America should be a reserve of peace. We share the feeling of all the fraternal people of our hemisphere that the elimination of the colonial strongholds which still exist in our hemisphere brooks no delay. There is no valid argument for any European nation to retain territories, authority or troops in America.

68. In order "to reinforce the protective and preemptive ring of collective security", as the Secretary-General urges in his report, we, the Member States without hegemonistic ambitions, would like the



United Nations machinery to be respected and imposed upon all States equally, for disappointment regarding the effectiveness of the Organization and the lack of hope of any future improvement are caused by the belief that the powerful accept mechanisms and decisions only when it suits them, and that when it does not they create obstacles to them or ignore them.

69. Serious consideration of practical ways for the United Nations to develop its capabilities and to be used as a positive institution in the promotion of the free and peaceful progress of mankind in our time forms part of the Secretary-General's plan of action. Venezuela considers that his report contains courageous ideas and is prepared to respond constructively within the possibilities open to it.

70. My country wishes to point out that the ability to use properly the means available today to the Organization to tackle the grave problems which mankind faces depends decisively on the States which have the privilege of being permanent members of the Security Council.

71. We are convinced that the Assembly will adopt sensible and just resolutions on the Malvinas, the Middle East, *apartheid* and Namibia, ratifying and strengthening previous resolutions on those delicate subjects, to mention only some of the more striking matters referred to in the Secretary-General's report.

72. If hope and confidence in the United Nations are to be restored, ways must be found to make those resolutions effective, with the full support of the international community, ways which will make it possible to overcome the obstacles which selfishness and injustice are undoubtedly raising in order to prejudice the harmonious coexistence of peoples.

73. The statement made by the President of Venezuela, Mr. Herrera Campíns, at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly had as its motto "Faith in the United Nations and hope for peace". At that time he affirmed that "This is an Organization of 'peace-loving countries'. In that spirit it was created, and in that spirit it should continue. That is the spirit that imbues Venezuela's foreign policy in all situations." [5th meeting, para. 146.]

74. Venezuela is attending this most important yearly exercise of the United Nations at a time when the Organization's reputation and effectiveness have been shattered. International crises succeed one another and continue. One of the problems which causes most concern is the situation in the Middle East, which has been exacerbated by recent events in Lebanon. We are following closely the tragic events there, realizing that we live in a world in which important and far-reaching events cannot be viewed as isolated facts. Violence in all its forms is rampant in the region. What has happened in Lebanon has shown the extreme cruelty to which some will resort.

75. Mass crimes have become a new practice in the face of which the international community has found itself unable to act. Today the world is the victim of an evil game which threatens to bring it to catastrophe and chaos, in the absence of effective machinery to enable all States to live together harmoniously.

76. Venezuela considers that at this session, more than any other, because no other session has been held

in the shadow of such painful and complex circumstances, the General Assembly must make an effective contribution and find a valid solution which will put an end to war and map out as soon as possible the road leading to peace. The escalation of acts of retaliation seems to be uncontrollable, encouraging and increasing the use of violence.

77. As Mr. Herrera Campíns said in his speech at the thirty-sixth session with regard to the Middle East, "peace cannot be achieved nor kept until there is a global solution to the conflict accepted by all the parties involved and until the legitimate rights of both the Palestinian and Israeli peoples to live in peace and freedom are recognized" [*ibid.*, para. 98].

78. In its international conduct, Venezuela has consistently followed a policy of decolonization. This attitude is demonstrated by its constant support for the innumerable resolutions that have been submitted on the subject. Puerto Rico has been a special concern of Venezuelans ever since the beginning of the struggle for the emancipation of Latin America led by our Liberator Simón Bolívar. Venezuelans share, with a deep-rooted feeling, his ideal that Puerto Rico should be a member of the Latin American family. We recognize the existence of democratic freedoms in that sister island, and we expect that its sovereign future will be an expression of its people's legitimate right to self-determination.

79. The Government of Venezuela recently took a step of great significance in the field of decolonization when it recognized the Democratic Arab Sahraoui Republic as a sovereign and independent State, one closely linked to Hispanic culture.

80. Venezuela has formally applied for full membership in the movement of non-aligned countries. Venezuela shares the fundamental principles and objectives which brought that movement into being and recognizes it as a forum in which the majority of the countries of the world are represented, thus constituting a force to promote peaceful coexistence, economic and social development and the political independence of its member States.

81. The twelfth special session of the General Assembly, which was held at United Nations Headquarters this year, ended in virtual failure because of the Assembly's inability to adopt the comprehensive programme for disarmament. The results of the special session should serve as a lesson for States, particularly nuclear-weapon States, which bear the greatest responsibility in this field, and they must redouble their efforts in the cause of disarmament and see to it that those efforts are reflected in concrete action in the Committee concerned.

82. Venezuela is persevering in its policy of co-operation with the countries of Central America and the Caribbean. Accordingly, the programmes derived from the San Jose Agreement remain fully in force. Our commitment to the institutionalization of freedom and democracy in the area has been maintained without interruption and with absolute clarity, as has our rejection of interference by bloc politics.

83. We support the effort of the Government of El Salvador, which bore fruit with the exemplary civic testimony of the elections held on 28 March. The

people of El Salvador went to the ballot boxes in numbers unprecedented in their history, bearing witness to their desire for peace and their repudiation of violence. Venezuela welcomes the happy outcome of the democratic process in Honduras and expresses its hope that complete normalization will soon become a reality in Guatemala and in Panama.

84. We reaffirm our unswerving determination to co-operate in the strengthening of peace, freedom, justice and a pluralist democracy in an area in turmoil where nothing that happens is alien to us. In this respect, the President of Venezuela, the only head of State invited to attend the celebrations marking the third anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, recalled on that occasion the international commitment to respect pluralism that the leaders of that country had entered into.

85. The efforts of Venezuela and Mexico with regard to the tension between Honduras and Nicaragua are being made in the context of a striving for peace, freedom and democracy within Latin American channels without recourse to foreign action.

86. Venezuela, like many other developing countries, views with profound concern the persistent deterioration and swift decay of the international economic situation. Nobody is unaware of the extreme gravity of those developments and their inevitable social and political consequences, which are the most serious threats to stability, progress and peace in the world. It is noteworthy that the most recent analyses of the world economy by international organizations shows such agreement. From a broader and universal perspective, the United Nations itself in the 1981-1982 economic survey, when referring to the widespread stand-still in the world economic expansion, stated that this "slow-down affected all major regions and groups of countries, independent of their level of development or economic structure. The deceleration was particularly intense in the developing countries".<sup>1</sup>

87. Taking a similar view, the report by the UNCTAD secretariat categorically affirms that "the developing world is facing the gravest economic crisis since the Great Depression," and that "this is the product of the malfunctioning of the economies of developed market-economy countries, and has been intensified by the growing disarray in the trade and financing systems".<sup>2</sup>

88. For their part, organizations and specialized agencies such as GATT and IMF confirm those evaluations. The symptoms of this situation can be summarized by the following indicators: low growth rates in production, the collapse of prices for commodities, the contraction of international trade, the revival of protectionism and counter-trade practices, monetary and exchange instability, extensive and sudden fluctuations in the balances of payments, extraordinarily high levels of indebtedness and soaring debt-servicing costs, a pull-back in productive investments and a flare-up of financial speculation, alarming and rising unemployment rates, lowering of expenditures for social purposes, growing military costs and an acceleration of the arms race by the great Powers.

89. The situation I have just described is the result of contradictory and mistaken economic policies, as

well as of the disorganization and malfunctioning of the world economy in its three basic aspects, commercial, financial and monetary. The increasingly blatant absence of rules and growing arbitrariness make forecasting impossible and thus sustain widespread unrest.

90. Thus, we see how the developed countries, instead of strongly encouraging the development of exports by the developing countries by just remuneration for their commodities, which in the long run would have led to a healthy expansion of international trade for the benefit of all, have preferred to finance the imports of the third world on scandalously exorbitant terms. The effects of those actions are striking: after a phase of expansion of international trade, which was artificially and pathologically sustained, in large measure, by the rising indebtedness of the third world, the burden of the corresponding financial charges is now being turned against the industrialized countries themselves as a result of the drastic curtailment of the import capacity of the developing countries, which virtually eliminates them as factors promoting international trade.

91. The total debt of the developing countries will be far in excess of the incredible amount of \$600 billion by the end of 1982. This debt imposes intolerable burdens on the foreign exchange earnings of the developing countries and makes them increasingly insolvent. In Latin America alone the debt will amount to \$280 billion by the end of this year. The amortization of this debt represents the equivalent of 56 per cent of Latin American exports. This situation, which in the context of traditional conditions is now to be reinforced for strategic purposes, could have grave political and social consequences.

92. The situation I have described is an unprecedented challenge to the international financial system. The developing countries will have to make constant efforts to revitalize their economies, increase their productivity and improve their efficiency in the management of financial resources. All this will have to be done in a way that will be socially and politically bearable.

93. The developed world must accept its responsibilities, not only for the sake of the principle of justice, but also in its own interest. Financially, it will be necessary to preserve the capacity of international organizations which supply funds on preferential terms. This implies the need to review contributions to IMF, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and similar institutions so that their resources bear some relation to the size of existing problems. There is one fact which cannot be questioned: the economies of the industrialized countries cannot be sustained without the support of strong development in the third world.

94. The time for major decisions is drawing near and we cannot afford to let slip any opportunity to have our voice heard. We, the developing countries, must reaffirm by our presence and active participation the importance of forums such as UNCTAD and must be attentive to what might happen at the next GATT ministerial meeting.

95. We have been fighting for a complete restructuring of the international economy, and we have



d-nounced the policy of making the developing countries bear the brunt of that readjustment. All this has brought the world economy to the critical situation in which it finds itself today. It would be senseless to expect that the steps the situation calls for will be taken overnight, just as it has been senseless to postpone the essential dialogue. An atmosphere of mutual trust must be established to contribute to the charting of a new course for the world economy. This is a pre-condition of the lessening of international tension and the building of a more rational and more humane world, in which harmony, justice and peace will prevail.

96. The developing countries promoted the idea of global negotiations and the international community endorsed it when resolution 34/138 was adopted by the Assembly in 1979, but so far the momentum needed to make them a reality has been lacking. Despite all the efforts made—not only by the Group of 77 but by practically the entire international community—hesitation, mainly on the part of the United States, has prevented the launching of global negotiations although these were approved at Cancún with the agreement of the head of State of that important country, without which the negotiations would lose their true scope and meaning.

97. In these circumstances, we, the developing countries, have been thinking about the need to be less vulnerable to the dealings of the countries of the North and, in any case, to stimulate effective co-operation among ourselves as a consequence of our solidarity.

98. Barely a month ago the Intergovernmental Follow-up and Co-ordination Committee, a key organ which was established in 1981 in the Caracas Programme of Action,<sup>3</sup> held its first meeting in Manila. The results of the meetings of experts were reviewed there, and on that basis important recommendations were made, to be submitted shortly to the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77. Without any doubt, it can be concluded that the Caracas Programme of Action is functioning. It is complementary to efforts which might be made in North-South negotiations and a contribution to the establishment of the new international economic order.

99. In the last quarter century Venezuela has succeeded in consolidating a genuine democracy solidly rooted in the conduct and beliefs of the Venezuelan people, a democracy which endeavours increasingly to play its part within a philosophy of social justice and respect for the freedom and dignity of all citizens. The promotion and effective defence of and respect for human rights have been important tenets in the foreign policy of Venezuela. These form the basis of our support for people that are struggling to gain, maintain or recover their right to freedom, as a contribution to the solution of present conflicts which affect and bar the progress of mankind in its quest for peace and well-being for all.

100. It is of the utmost importance for Venezuela to seek a peaceful and practical solution to the territorial controversy with the Co-operative Republic of Guyana.

101. Venezuela is a country in which the mixture of the indigenous peoples of America with the Spanish

conquistadores and African groups has created a population which rejects all forms of racial discrimination and in which political, social and economic democracy is practised, thus setting an example of coexistence and pluralism.

102. It is fitting to recall that Venezuela in its 172 years of independent life has never had a single war, not even an armed encounter, with any of its neighbours. This is an assertion which few countries in the world could make, and it is a source of satisfaction and pride for Venezuelans. The land borders of Venezuela with Colombia and Brazil were established by peaceful means. The maritime borders with four countries have already been set by common agreement, and Venezuela is at all times open to negotiations with its neighbours to solve all matters of common interest.

103. For 16 years now Venezuela has been tirelessly repeating its invitation to Guyana to negotiate, to seek mutually acceptable solutions to the dispute. The cause of the dispute is the mutilation of our territory by the British Empire. During the last century, starting from the Esequibo River, which was the boundary with the sector of Guyana which they had taken away from Holland, the British advanced from year to year, almost day after day, over the territory of defenceless Venezuela, making a mockery of its protests, until this culminated in an unprecedented legal farce, in which a so-called Arbitration Tribunal, with no Venezuelan judge or lawyer, imposed a totally arbitrary demarcation line. It did not even take the trouble to give any kind of justification, reason or explanation, however spurious or unprecedented, of what was from every point of view an unbridled plundering.

104. The history of this humiliating mutilation cannot be forgotten by Venezuelans. Our entire tradition and all our instincts move us to desire to maintain and develop with the Guyanese people the closest relations of friendship, co-operation and solidarity. In truth, like ourselves, they were the victims of British imperialism and, like ourselves, they are a people which is trying to achieve development. For this very reason we have insisted tirelessly on holding real and sincere negotiations, inspired by justice and equity, which will lead us to overcome this problem that we have inherited, in a satisfactory and practical way.

105. The obligation for Venezuela and Guyana to negotiate their differences is not only a moral imperative, not only a duty under international law, but, in this specific case, a commitment freely entered into in the Agreement signed at Geneva on 17 February 1966.<sup>4</sup> In fact, although the Venezuelan territorial claim naturally preceded the independence of Guyana, Venezuela, faithful to its tradition and to its principles, was most careful to do nothing which could in any way be used as a pretext to thwart or delay decolonization for its neighbouring people.

106. Shortly before the proclamation of independence, Venezuela and the United Kingdom, with the full participation of the Government of what was then British Guiana, negotiated and signed the Geneva Agreement, designed to seek satisfactory solutions for the practical settlement of the dispute. This international instrument is the legal and political framework for the pursuit of solutions to the dispute,



and Venezuela has adhered to it in all its actions. It is regrettable that thus far the Government of Guyana has failed to comply with its obligation to negotiate seriously and sincerely. Nevertheless, Venezuela has insisted that, within the peaceful procedures provided in the Geneva Agreement, the injustices of the past should be corrected, and thus lay more solid foundations for a fruitful and lasting co-operation between the peoples of Venezuela and of Guyana.

107. Guyanese spokesmen have for years been carrying out a systematic campaign to incite feelings of sympathy, by presenting their country as a small and poor nation whose territory is the object of the covetousness of a rich and powerful neighbour, and trying to create an image of Venezuela as an aggressor country, indifferent to the laws, to justice, and to the solidarity that should exist between countries which are struggling to develop. This kind of assertion, repeated relentlessly, tends to produce prejudices among those who have not had an opportunity to know and analyse the facts. For almost two decades international forums have been hearing Guyanese assertions about an imminent aggression, and yet it is an obvious fact that there has been no aggression.

108. We have explained the conduct of Venezuela from its birth to independent life and regarding the dispute that we are dealing with. There is not the slightest basis for asserting that the Venezuelan territorial claim is prompted by coveting of present or potential riches which the people of Guyana could have used to achieve prosperity and development. Before the independence of Guyana, British companies were exploring for and exploiting oil on a large scale both in Venezuela and in Trinidad. British companies were mining gold in Venezuela and bauxite in Demerara. It will be easily understood that the British, before liberating their colony, had thoroughly evaluated the potential oil and valuable minerals of the lands that they controlled. Although prospecting has continued since the date of independence, no exploitable mineral resource has been found on the territory which Venezuela claims.

109. The truth is crystal clear: Venezuela's claim is based neither on territorial ambition nor on covetousness of the wealth of others. Had it been so based, our claim could never have received, as it has, the unanimous support of Venezuelans of the most varied political tendencies under all democratic Governments, which, during the last five presidential terms, within a system of complete freedom of expression, have defended the rights of our country. That is because this unanimity of the Venezuelan people has its origin in a very deep wound. For this reason, we fail to understand those who, representing the Guyanese people, take the stand as heirs to the fruits of British colonial imperialism and defenders of its unjustifiable abuses.

110. After repeated rejections of our formal invitations to the Government of Guyana to begin negotiations which will provide a satisfactory and practical solution, Venezuela will submit to the Secretary-General its decision to indicate a means to settle the dispute; thus our conduct will be in accord with the letter and the spirit of the international treaty signed between the parties, known as the Geneva Agreement, with a view to finding a solution to the dispute by peaceful means.

111. Venezuela would like Guyana to participate as the continent moves towards integration. Venezuela wishes to have a positive relationship with its neighbour. We feel certain that the people of Guyana share that desire. We greet all Guyanese, convinced as we are that an appropriate solution to the differences we have inherited from colonialism will spur us on our way to convergence toward progress and development. Venezuela wishes above all to win the battle for peace and brotherhood with Guyana, because we are neighbours and because in large measure we are born of the same American history.

112. On 24 July 1983 it will be two centuries since the birth of the Father of our Venezuelan nation, Simón Bolívar, one of the great liberators of America. The United Nations, with appropriate solemnity, commemorated in 1976 the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the convening by the Liberator Bolívar of the Amphictyonic Congress in Panama and in 1980 the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death. My country wishes to express its gratitude in advance for the tribute which will be paid to the Liberator in this political forum of the nations of the world on the occasion of the bicentenary of his birth.

113. His prophetic thinking on the need for a universal organization in which matters regarding the peaceful coexistence of nations could be dealt with has a particular significance and pertinence today. Bolívar's bicentenary brings all Latin America together in harmony on the international scene. It demands that we make a constructive effort to make the new hemispheric dialogue a shining success. It leads us to strengthen our ties with all peoples, especially those who have faced historical and political challenges similar to those faced by us.

114. Venezuela reaffirms its absolute loyalty to the ideals of Bolívar and commits itself to pursue a positive policy in all its actions as regards both our hemisphere and the world as a whole.

115. Mr. OLSZOWSKI (Poland):\* We are extremely pleased to see a representative of the sister Hungarian People's Republic elected to the high office of President of the current session of the General Assembly. Your election, Sir, testifies to the high standing of socialist Hungary and its peaceful policy in world affairs, it is a personal tribute to you by the international community. We sincerely congratulate you and wish you new successes in your work for the benefit of the Organization.

116. We also address our friendly wishes for all success and determination to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

117. I wish to assure you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General that Poland is as intent as ever on making a constructive contribution to the proceedings of another session of the General Assembly.

118. The Polish delegation has come to the present session at a critical juncture in Poland's history. Last December our country found itself confronted with an alternative: descent into the abyss of fratricidal bloodshed, which was the goal of the enemies of socialism and forces of anarchy, or temporary recourse

\* Mr. Olszowski spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

to emergency measures to steer Poland out of a profound crisis. The supreme interest of the nation and the State bade us, in compliance with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, to proclaim martial law. Its purpose, as we stated in the official notification in pursuance of article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], was to reverse an exceptionally serious public emergency threatening the life of the nation and to create the conditions for the effective protection of Poland's sovereignty and independence.

119. We are deeply convinced that the proclamation of martial law ultimately serves not only the most vital interests of Poland but also peace and security in Europe, for any dangerous development in the situation in my country, located as it is in the very heart of the European continent, could have disastrous consequences, especially as various forces hostile to détente have pinned on this hopes of undermining the existing relationship of forces.

120. The origins of the causes and determinant factors which have led to the present situation in my country are complex. We have explained them on numerous occasions; they are on record in the authoritative statements of the supreme organs of State. Those abroad who were willing to understand them did understand. Others failed to show sufficient good will and respect for the norms of international relations to leave Polish affairs to Poles. For no one knows or can know better than the Poles themselves what is good and right for Poland.

121. The proclamation of martial law in Poland, ratified in the Act passed by Parliament on 25 January this year, complied with all the requirements of the law. From first to last it was a sovereign Polish, and solely Polish, decision. No constitutional body, including the Parliament and the Government it had duly constituted, ceased to function as a consequence. They all continue to shoulder their great responsibility for the destinies of the nation and the State, in a situation in which the survival and the future of independent Poland, for which many generations have fought, were at stake. At the price of emergency measures introduced on a temporary basis, Poland was spared a civil war. We know ourselves how high a price this is, but it is not as supremely high as would have been the loss, on a mass scale, of a fundamental human right—the right to life. No one is entitled to try to raise this price. More than once in the past Polish blood has been shed, and not always in the interests of the people of Poland. We are learning the lessons of history.

122. In the passing months the rightness of our indispensable decisions has been confirmed. They halted the process of disintegration of the State and collapse of the economy; they stopped the dangerous drift towards internationalization of the Polish crisis. Despite difficulties, the country's political and economic life is proceeding towards normalization, to the accompaniment of a significant relaxation of the rigours of martial law.

123. We do see the possibility of lifting the existing restrictions. We are determined to advance patiently and unswervingly along a path of national dialogue

and accord, guided by realism and good will. We shall consistently follow the programme of the ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party—the socialist renewal of political, social and economic life, and the guarantees of socialist democracy. We shall develop it with absolute single-mindedness, with Polish hands and Polish minds and hearts.

124. Unfortunately, some Western Government, in particular the United States Administration, and also imperialist propaganda centres, have decided to take advantage of developments in our country to start a violent and anti-Polish campaign. It is being conducted with a wilful incomprehension of Poland's *raison d'état* and is based on a one-sided, tendentious appraisal of the situation as well as on false stereotypes. It has made Poland an object of inadmissible interference in its internal affairs and a target of economic blackmail. At the same time, all the weapons to be found in the arsenal of a propaganda aggression and instruction in subversion are being deployed against us. Indeed they bespeak attempts at a primitively conceived ideologization of international relations and translation of the relics of McCarthyism into this sphere.

125. The opponents of peace in our country seem to be turning a blind eye to the massive process of positive change that is taking place in all areas of public life. We are carrying out an economic reform, backed by a broad network of new legislation. This includes important laws for the implementation of the reform—on State enterprises and workers' self-management in a State enterprise. The proclamation of martial law has in no way interrupted the work of legislative organs or the introduction of new legal regulations in major spheres of the country's social and economic life.

126. A National Council for Culture and a Parliamentary Economic and Social Council, as well as other organs pursuing important national issues, have been established. The Teachers' Charter, laws on higher education, on special rights of war veterans and on co-operatives were passed in Parliament. Intensive work continues on press legislation and on the law on trade unions.

127. In the light of the foregoing, how would one assess in the United Nations the attacks against Poland, launched and conducted with unusual viciousness by certain Governments? We have already officially drawn these actions to the attention of the Governments on whose inspiration or from whose territories they are undertaken. Most of them, and especially radio programmes in the Polish language, consist of propaganda, based on attacking the country's internal order and incitement to change its socio-political system. In recent months they have acquired all the features of a propaganda aggression against Poland. This cannot but amount to a contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and a violation of the norms formulated so far by the international community in the field of information and mass communication, including in particular those of the United Nations and UNESCO. This has nothing to do with the right to freedom of information and the concept of its balanced flow. On the contrary, it represents their most evident abuse.



128. It is also hard to resist surprise at the behaviour of certain Governments which seem deliberately to obstruct the functioning of the Polish economy. Do they not realize that they are thereby weakening Poland's Payment capacities? After all, the country's discharge of its financial obligations depends on the rate at which its economic balance can be restored. As far as this is concerned, we shall not be found wanting in resolve. We therefore welcome initiatives for the development of equitable and mutually profitable co-operation with Poland. An altogether different approach, however, is taken by certain quarters in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. When observing their unfriendly and, indeed, unrealistic attitude towards Poland, when listening to their warnings and "advice" addressed to us, one is tempted to ask: have these gentlemen by any chance forgotten to whom they are speaking, have they forgotten that Poland is not part of NATO but it is and shall remain a sovereign and inseparable component of the community of socialist States?

129. If the object of all anti-Polish actions is to force us to back down and abandon the socialist path of development, we can only answer in the words of Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski:

"Poland has never yet bowed to a foreign ultimatum. Evidently not all abroad understand our history, our sense of pride and dignity. There are contradictions and conflicts in our country. But it is not foreigners who are going to resolve them".

130. We gratefully acknowledge the attitude of our friends and partners who hurried forward with assistance at a difficult time for us, who displayed an understanding of our problems and continue to help us overcome them. Especially priceless is the aid of our neighbour and closest ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. If friends in need are friends indeed, so today again we are realizing who our true friend is.

131. We reciprocate the understanding and sympathy of the developing countries which perceive in our situation a reflection of some of their own problems. We see in their attitude a fellow feeling of reciprocity for the numerous instances of Poland's resolute commitment to the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

132. We also appreciate the attitude of those Western States which have not submitted to pressure and continue their normal relations with Poland.

133. We should like to believe that there will soon be a return to dialogue with all our remaining partners on a basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and equality. In this spirit, we uphold as being still timely the appeal made, in July last year, by the ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party to our partners in the West to intensify frank dialogue and exploration of ways of averting cold-war threats and preserving what has so far been achieved by détente. The internal affairs of any country, Poland included, must not be exploited for the purpose of exacerbating international tension and intensifying the arms race.

134. I declare with absolute firmness: it is not Poland which is upsetting international relations. They are being upset by those who wish to take advantage of

the internal situation in our country as one of the pretexts to stifle détente and impose a new "cold war" on the world, to divert attention from their own doings aimed against other nations and against peace.

135. An ominous spectre is haunting the world—the spectre of nuclear war. Its danger is more evident today than ever before, as it is openly spoken of and is being prepared in the open. The genuine aspirations of the peoples lie on the side of peace. The first and supreme duty of politicians and Governments in the sphere of international relations is to keep awakening and perpetuating these aspirations and to do all they can to banish for ever an apocalyptic vision of the world. Whoever is unfaithful to this duty, whoever ignores his own and his country's responsibility for international peace and security and embark on generating tension, escalating armaments and preaching intolerance, is betraying the trust of his own people, is striking at its peaceful aspirations and is no longer fit to voice them.

136. We are witnessing disregard for the interests and security of States. This is destroying the laboriously assembled record of coexistence and détente and undermining the recognized foundations of international security, including the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The year that has passed since the thirty-sixth regular session of the General Assembly has regrettably seen the dangerous trends in the world grow stronger and many of them acquire the features of no less than political and military adventurism.

137. Obsession with nuclear superiority and pursuit of an illusory security through remorseless expansion of military arsenals are intensifying the arms spiral, destabilizing military balance and undermining international confidence.

138. Peace is awaited in the Middle East. The bloody massacre of the defenceless population in Beirut has appalled the international community. A heinous crime has been committed before the eyes of the whole world. We most resolutely condemn it as well as its instigators, perpetrators and protectors. The genuine aspirations for a just and durable peace, challenged by the aggressive policies of Israel, have been expressed by the Arab World at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez. The consistent policy of the socialist States, which has recently been spelled out in the six-point plan by Leonid Brezhnev [see A/37/457], is aimed at ensuring lasting peace in that region of the world. Peace in the Middle East cannot be a sum total of separatist endeavours and agreements but a collective and comprehensive settlement that respects the fundamental and just rights of all its parties, and in particular the right of the people of Palestine to establish its own State.

139. A tragic harvest is being reaped by the Iran-Iraq conflict. Events in that sensitive region today cheer the enemies of peace and of third world unity.

140. The pressure of retrograde relics of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism continues undiminished. In particular, the lack of a settlement in Namibia that would accord with the just aspirations of its people fortifies the South African régime in its arrogance and aggressiveness, not only there but also at home, towards its own population, the victims of *apartheid*.

141. Attempts are being made to spread confrontation and tension to all continents. The dangerous quality of the international situation at the beginning of the 1980s is not, however, a result of factors beyond human control. More than two years ago, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty noted in their declaration<sup>5</sup> that the main threat to peace and détente lies in the arms race, encouraged by cold-war quarters and military and industrial complexes, as well as in the attempts to revive a policy based on a position of strength. This appraisal is substantiated by the present policies of ruling circles of NATO which are at variance with the basic requirements of international realities and are founded on an over-estimation of their own capabilities and an under-estimation of those of others. Serious threats arise from the increasingly frequent attempts to globalize the NATO theatre of operations.

142. The picture of the contemporary world is not made up only of disturbing trends and actions. The world's progress towards peace is actively affected nowadays by a constructive factor—the community of socialist States. Faithful to the unchanged guidelines of their foreign policy, members of our community continue persistently to oppose the policy of armament and to counteract the threat of nuclear war. They resolutely declare themselves in favour of a peaceful and just settlement of the problems of the world of today, for détente and the strengthening of international security, the elimination of conflicts and trouble spots, as well as the expansion of all-round equitable and mutually beneficial international co-operation.

143. It would be hard, too, not to perceive the profound interest in expanding constructive co-operation displayed by the non-aligned, developing and neutral States. Longings to remove the nuclear threat are surfacing with growing force among broad sections of the public, in the activities of social forces and religious movements.

144. Despite their adversaries, détente tendencies have been lastingly embodied in the record of accomplishments of the international community. We realize that in today's divided world, détente is variously interpreted. But to consider it solely in terms of short-term gains and losses and to treat it expediently as a political instrument that can be discarded once it has ceased to serve one's momentary advantage reveals a profound lack of understanding of the laws of the contemporary world. For us it is the only effective instrument in the search for solutions to pressing world problems and for abiding guarantees of peace. Indeed, these accord with both the vital desires and interests of the Polish people and the requirements of progress in international relations. Polish foreign policy remains one of steadfast actions on behalf of détente and broad international dialogue. We have borne witness to this from the very beginning of Poland's membership in the United Nations, including our active participation in the work of the Security Council.

145. In a few days 25 years will have passed since from this very rostrum Adam Rapacki presented a Polish plan, known by his name, for the denuclearization of Central Europe.<sup>6</sup>

146. Unceasing in our efforts, several years later we presented a momentous regional initiative to convene a European security conference. Its great success should be attributed to the perseverance and single-mindedness of the socialist States and the understanding of its significance by other participants. Consummated by the Final Act of Helsinki, the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe stands out as one of the most optimistic elements of contemporary international politics and an important confirmation of the genuine opportunities that exist for a positive evolution of East-West relations, which exert their decisive impact on the general climate of world affairs.

147. The closeness of Europe's impingement on our destinies in no way obscures our perception of the wider international horizon, with all its determinants and needs. The interdependence of individual regions and the world as a whole has been the guiding factor in a number of Polish initiatives of a global nature, to mention only the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 33/73. Implementation in good faith by all States of its weighty provisions would help to build firm foundations for peace and co-operation, free from prejudice, arrogance and ill will.

148. The lasting record of Poland's foreign policy comprises the process of the normalization of our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany initiated by the treaty of December 1970.<sup>7</sup> That treaty is of historic significance for the two nations as well as for a constructive development of the European situation and the security of our continent. Practical implementation of its principles has yielded positive results, both for the two parties and for Europe at large. Poland is invariably motivated by the need for that process to be continued and, for its part, is ready to make a further contribution to its favourable advance. We expect also that the Federal Republic of Germany in its policy in relation to Poland will still be guided by its obligations under the treaty and by the supreme interests of European security and peace.

149. Throughout the history of the Organization we have often heard it asked from this rostrum: what must be done to save mankind from the tragedy that would result from negative actions of certain States if not checked in time? We ask the question again, conscious as we are of its acute relevance and urgency. The most pressing task at present is to prevent a further deterioration of the situation which, *inter alia*, amounts to breaking the deadlock in disarmament negotiations and talks aimed at eliminating conflicts.

150. The Polish Government has therefore particularly welcomed the commencement of Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms in Europe and on strategic arms limitation and their reduction. They both fit the formula, from which all stand to benefit, of strengthening international peace and security, that is, limitation and containment of the arms race as well as disarmament, which the Organization considers to be the most important problem facing the world today. The world awaits rapid and concrete results from these talks.



151. It is also in the perspective of results that we evaluate the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We do not conceal the fact that we find them insufficient by far. Nevertheless, the fact that the session was held in so complicated an international situation can be regarded as a positive development. Moreover, it witnessed an event of the calibre of an historic precedent: one of the nuclear Powers assumed a solemn obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It would be hard to exaggerate the momentousness of that Soviet decision. If some other Powers see in it alleged undertones of propaganda, we can only encourage them to make similar "propaganda" by pledging also that they will not be the first ever to use nuclear weapons.

152. The objectives of the special session were further helped by other important Soviet decisions, including the unilateral moratorium on deployment of medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR and a unilateral reduction of a considerable number of such missiles. Taken in conjunction with the whole complex of issues put forward by the Soviet Union, at the twelfth special session, at the memorandum entitled "Averting the growing nuclear threat"<sup>8</sup> and in the proposal entitled "Basic provisions of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction",<sup>9</sup> all these decisions and proposals add up to a new and constructive impetus enhancing an effective disarmament dialogue on a basis of equality, reciprocity and undiminished security of any party.

153. For the time being, even partial progress in arms limitation and disarmament can exert a positive influence on the growth of the sense of security of States and thus on their readiness to enter into dialogue and deal with critical political problems. Among issues of primary importance that also appear on the agenda of this session are banishing the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war, eliminating chemical weapons, and forestalling an arms race in outer space. In the light of the insane doctrines concerning the possibility of limited or local nuclear war, and even of winning a nuclear war, the Organization is facing tasks of a sempiternal order.

154. In the province of closest interest to us, we are in favour of promptly restoring the business-like nature of the proceedings of the Madrid session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, including the adoption of a decision to convene a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. That would also facilitate progress in the Vienna Talks on the Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe.

155. Other political issues await settlement, and they can be well served by the constructive proposals of the Sixth Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam relating to the situation in their region and especially to non-interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and recognition of its rightful place in the United

Nations [see A/37/334]. Still of great significance are the initiatives of the Government of Afghanistan concerning the situation in South West Asia and also the proposals of the Korean People's Democratic Republic for the settlement of the Korean question. They all have our full support.

156. Viewing international security in purely military terms no longer meets the requirements of the times. The Government of Poland believes that the present-day catalogue of confidence-building measures will be incomplete until and unless it incorporates effective economic confidence-building measures. Their object should be to counteract the transfer of tensions to the sphere of economic and trade co-operation and so enable it to become a permanent material foundation for the process of détente and a factor easing political strain. Our concept of economic confidence-building measures encompasses the prohibition of unlawful economic restrictions and discrimination as well as the pursuit by Governments of an active policy to induce economic units to discharge in full obligations incurred under relevant international instruments. We consider the adoption of large-scale and long-term projects in the basic fields of international economic co-operation to be an important element of economic confidence building.

157. We are convinced that the elaboration and subsequent adoption and implementation of a set of economic confidence-building measures would also make an important contribution to the furtherance of the progressive ideas and objectives of the new international economic order, and of sound solutions within the global negotiations.

158. The existence of the United Nations and its accomplishments and experience are proof that a comprehensive programme of positive action on an international scale is feasible even today, when various adverse developments in the world have led to the weakening of the Organization as a recognized political authority and forum for the easing of conflicts. Convincing reference to that effect has been made by the Secretary-General in his enlightening report on the work of the Organization.

159. The United Nations grew out of the good will of nations and Governments. Whenever that good will is lacking, the threshold of its capacity for effective action is lowered. To act in the interests of strengthening the role of the United Nations and the principles of its Charter is to invest in it the confidence and political good will of Member States. The success of the founding fathers of the United Nations 37 years ago arose from the way in which, after the great tragedy of destruction and suffering, the common interest prevailed over that of the individual. The desire to secure one-sided advantages today only too often takes precedence over the common good. We have to overcome this tendency and return to the main underlying ideas of the Organization. Poland is ready to continue to act for the benefit of the supreme common purposes of the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *World Economic Survey, 1981-1982* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.II.C.1), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Trade and Development Report 1982* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E. 82.II.D. 12), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.

<sup>4</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 561, No. 8192, p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13948, annex II.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 697th meeting, para. 136.

<sup>7</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 830, No. 11878, p. 332.

<sup>8</sup> See A/S-12/AC.1/11 and Corr.1.

<sup>9</sup> See A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.