



Monday, 27 September 1982,  
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like at the outset, Sir, to convey to you the greetings and congratulations of the delegation of Peru on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. This is a recognition of your personal qualities as well as a tribute to Hungary, a country which has participated so actively and so significantly in the work of the United Nations.

2. My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation and to convey its congratulations to Mr. Ísmat Kittani, who at a critical time for the international community demonstrated his exceptional abilities as an experienced and skilful diplomat.

3. You will understand, Sir, with what satisfaction we greet Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the Secretary-General. Peru takes pride in his election and in the contribution that he is making to the cause of the international community.

4. Since it took office on 28 July 1980 the constitutional Government of Peru has shouldered the difficult task of putting into practice a spirit of democracy in which the effectiveness of a modern Constitution, the interplay of the branches of government, respect for human rights and the full enjoyment of freedoms should constitute the best assurance that we shall achieve our ideal of making man the supreme end of our social efforts.

5. Two years have elapsed under the present Government and Peru takes satisfaction in the fact that it is fulfilling its aims. Freedom of expression for all the communications media is now absolute in our country. The elections that took place in 1980 were followed in November 1981 by complementary elections at the municipal level. These indicated increased support for the party led by President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, which gained 70 per cent of the votes cast at the national level.

6. The problems of the present-day world are clearly causing serious frustrations in society to which it is reacting in different ways. The great majorities opt for political avenues which, in various ways, seek to find within the legal order appropriate replies to the requirements of collective well-being. Unfortunately, there are also those who react to adversity in irrational, blind and irresponsible ways.

7. Despite the resolve and efforts of our Government to promote justice, well-being and progress within the framework of democratic principles, some minority groups, seeking to use violence to introduce an ill-defined political, economic and social programme, have resorted to acts which cause irreparable loss of human life and very serious material damage for a developing country. The Peruvian people rejects this criminal activity as shocking to its conscience and damaging to its interests, for what is destroyed is lost to all. Our whole country has, therefore, through its representative institutions and the broad range of political parties present in our national Parliament, condemned terrorism and continues to do so. Our Government has taken steps to prevent it, in strict observance of human rights. To that end, our Government will guarantee public peace with the necessary firmness, but without overstepping legal bounds in any respect. Persons involved in criminal offences have been brought before the judiciary the independence of which cannot be questioned for it is the only authority empowered to decide on the guilt of those involved and to apply the necessary penalties.

8. His Holiness Pope John Paul II, in his pontifical message of 1980, reminded us that building peace is the task of all men and all nations and that violence is an evil unworthy of man, unacceptable as a solution to our problems, contrary to the truth of our humanity and, indeed, destructive of what it seeks to defend: the dignity, life and freedom of the human being. But he told us also: "We cannot sincerely condemn recourse to violence unless we engage in a corresponding effort to replace it by courageous political initiatives which aim at eliminating threats to peace by attacking the roots of injustice." That is precisely what the Government of Peru is seeking to do at the domestic level.

9. Hence, together with the legitimate exercise of its constitutional responsibilities, the Government is pursuing a set of activities designed to bring about improvement in the depressed economic and social conditions of the poorest areas of our country, those areas in which the largest number of acts of violence have taken place. This poverty is the result of complex geographical conditions, isolation and the failure for over a century to address basic needs. It is being faced through courageous development programmes that will alleviate the difficult situation of the people living in those areas.

10. Peru has signed all the international agreements on human rights to which it could accede and the principles of those agreements are embodied in the new Constitution. Our Government bases its efforts upon those principles in bringing about the full realization of each person and a régime of democracy and social solidarity. The occasional stories reaching the inter-

national community which attempt to contradict the spirit of authentic respect for human dignity in my country today must surely come as a surprise to those who have had an opportunity to visit Peru and to witness the climate of freedom prevailing in my country.

11. In the international arena, Peru has sought further to achieve ever closer ties with its neighbour countries, links to which it attaches particular importance within its traditional policy of respect for the rights of others as well as zealous defence of its own rights.

12. Peru has continued to participate actively in the processes of regional economic co-operation and integration. My Government has supported and resolutely contributed to the reactivation of the Andean Group and to promoting the Latin American Integration Association, as well as in regional consultations and co-operation, within the framework of the Latin American Economic System, which are institutions to which Peru attaches the greatest importance in the strengthening and unity of Latin America as an effective response to the frustrations and unusual economic measures that the region as a whole and some countries in particular have experienced during the recent crisis in the South Atlantic.

13. Moreover, in order to foster Latin American integration and co-operation, the Latin American region must be organized physically. In this respect, the Bolivarian Highway along the edge of the jungle, an initiative of President Belaúnde Terry, which has received broad support from Latin American and Andean countries, is today in an advanced stage of completion. In the same spirit, President Belaúnde has rescued the ambitious project of interconnecting the three major watersheds of the South American continent, a project which would make it possible to move large volumes of goods, services and passengers in the heart of our region. My Government is confident that, after the technical meeting on watershed interconnection which took place last year in Lima, we will soon be able to undertake that work.

14. On the other hand, the project for the creation of a trust fund for the promotion of horizontal technical co-operation with the countries of Central America and the Caribbean, which I presented at the 6th meeting of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, has met with broad support from the countries of that area and from the Administration of UNDP. We hope that that fund, too, will be established in the near future.

15. Similarly, my country is participating in the necessary deliberations relating to the inter-American system. It is our view that it has become imperative to re-emphasize the capacity for concerted action among the countries of the region vis-à-vis the only country of the region which has world-wide interests. This task should not lead to exclusions of any kind, but rather to a clearer identification of our interests and a better representation and defence of those interests in continental and world forums.

16. The number of critical situations in the world has increased and, paradoxically, none of those that have now become traditional has yet been overcome. The worsening of the situation is seriously affecting the United Nations, and the constantly repeated appeals

to States to act in conformity with the principles of the Charter are no longer sufficient. It has become absolutely necessary to prevent the spread of a cynical attitude.

17. The basic elements of this situation are an alarming tendency to disregard the obligations of international law, in particular the obligation to abstain from the resort to aggression or the use or threat of force; policies of strength and the maintenance of spheres of influence or domination; interference in the internal affairs of States; the impossibility of getting the process of disarmament under way, and the frustrations encountered at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament; the obstacles that are preventing the establishment of a new international economic order; the difficulties experienced in concluding the process of decolonization; policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination; and the crisis in the United Nations.

18. The Secretary-General has submitted his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], the importance and scope of which will be recognized by the world public. This report sums up the genuine anxiety of our peoples and shows the need to listen to the voice of reason and morality in the present dramatic circumstances. The Assembly will examine various aspects of the report, debate the proposals it contains and draw from it the new inspiration the Organization needs for the preservation of peace and the betterment of mankind and to ensure that it does not fail as the depositary of ideals which are beyond its ability and the will of our Governments to achieve.

19. The meagre results of the action of the Security Council compel us to ask whether the assumptions upon which the Organization was founded have been overtaken by events. What is required is concerted diplomatic action at the highest level, as proposed by the Secretary-General [*ibid.*, p. 4], or any other approach which can ensure that the position of political privilege conferred upon the permanent members of the Security Council will be used for the effective fulfilment of their responsibilities with regard to international peace and co-operation. Otherwise we shall have to consider amendments to the Charter.

20. We hope that the Secretary-General's firmness in presenting matters to the Assembly as he sees them and not as we would wish to see them will serve to promote a debate that will renew the Organization, because our peoples are beset by a two-fold anxiety: daily survival in terrible economic and social conditions, and survival as a species in the face of the increasing probability of a nuclear conflict.

21. Our region has brought to the Assembly the question of the Malvinas Islands. Everybody is aware of our support for the principle of decolonization of the Malvinas Islands and for the claim of the sister Republic of Argentina to sovereignty over that archipelago. This is also called for in resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of American States and in declarations by the movement of non-aligned countries. Faithful to its dedication to peace, Peru has made intense and repeated efforts to ensure a negotiated solution of the conflict and will continue to support negotiations between Argentina and the

United Kingdom through the intermediary of the Secretary-General.

22. In Central America there is a growing tendency towards confrontation, and the considerable difficulties faced by the peoples of the area are compounded by forms of foreign intervention, political polarization and internal and external armed struggle. It is necessary for States both within and outside this region, instead of trying for ideological reasons to decide how others should organize themselves to try urgently to provide broad support for their development.

23. Peru deeply regrets the recent deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. We have made clear our rejection of intervention in and military use of the territory of Lebanon, in violation of its independence and sovereignty, the persistence of policies of force and the commission of genocidal crimes against the Palestinian people.

24. In this world forum, in the name of the Government and people of Peru, I reiterate our most vigorous condemnation, as already expressed by the Chief Executive of my country, of these acts, which violate the most elementary principles of human coexistence.

25. Recent developments have clearly and painfully shown that the question of Palestine constitutes the central factor of the Middle East crisis. It is our view that for reasons of principle, of history and of justice, the Palestinian people must exercise the inalienable rights of all people, as recognized by the Organization.

26. We renew our appeal to all the parties to the conflict to co-operate in the search for a comprehensive and definitive political settlement, taking into account the rights of all the peoples of the region, within the framework of the relevant resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

27. The stability and well-being of South-East Asia are linked to the problem of Kampuchea. Peru is a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and we hope that the bases established by the General Assembly, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, will lead to a negotiated settlement.

28. We support the steps taken by the Secretary-General with respect to Afghanistan and Cyprus. Only with the political will of the parties will it be possible to achieve just and balanced agreements which, as in the case of Kampuchea, presupposes the withdrawal of foreign troops and self-determination for the peoples involved.

29. Peru hopes that the question of Korea can be resolved by peaceful and negotiated means by the parties.

30. The struggle for independence in Territories that have not yet overcome colonialism continues. Namibia must be rescued from the illegal occupation from which it is suffering. Peru, an active member of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, condemns and rejects this practice, which is an infringement of human dignity.

31. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea<sup>1</sup> is the fruit of a long and arduous effort to reconcile the rights and interests of States in different

circumstances by means of universal rules ensuring the rational utilization of the ocean areas not as an instrument of hegemony but as an instrument of justice, peace, security, co-operation, development and well-being for all peoples. Each State must now evaluate the advantages of a legal order, respect for and implementation of which would protect their most essential rights and interests both within and outside zones of national jurisdiction. My Government is making such an assessment in the light of certain provisions of our Constitution and the laws of our Republic. It will be for the Congress of my country to express its approval or disapproval of the Convention. Meanwhile we shall follow with close attention the statements made by other Governments, in the hope that the will for justice and international concord will prevail.

32. Peru will continue to defend its rights of sovereignty and jurisdiction over its adjacent waters and the sea-bed and subsoil thereof to the limit of 200 miles, for the purposes that have been foreseen since 1947, as part of its maritime territory and without prejudice to freedom of international communication. Furthermore, it will not renounce the defence of the rules established by the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, adopted in 1970 [resolution 2749 (XXV)]. Those principles have been incorporated in the Convention, according to which the sea-bed and its resources outside the limits of national jurisdiction constitute the common heritage of mankind and can be exploited only for the benefit of all countries, under an international régime and international machinery. We shall regard as illegal any use of the international sea-bed zone by States that have adopted unilateral legislation or which have subscribed to agreements of reciprocity contrary to the principles of the Convention. We trust that those States will refrain from following a course whose implications would be very grave in the area of international law and in the development of friendly co-operation among countries, as well as in relation to policies applicable to other areas of ocean space.

33. The results of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament are discouraging. Not only was there no progress with respect to what had been agreed at the first special session on disarmament, but the consensus of 1978 itself has apparently been challenged.

34. It is indispensable that all countries of the international community, particularly the nuclear Powers, participate in a new effort to move forward in the complex problem of disarmament. For its part, Peru will continue to exert efforts, both internationally and regionally, to effect limitation of arms expenditures and to protect Latin America and other regions of the developing world from the nuclear threat, in the conviction that the goal of disarmament will be reached only by approaches that take due account of the interests of all parties.

35. We are witnessing a day-by-day deterioration of the opportunities for diplomatic negotiation and political agreement. In view of this, the movement of non-aligned countries clearly has a role to play. Its objectives and its reason for existence as an independent factor in international relations have become

all the more significant and relevant in view of the grim picture we are facing in all parts of the world.

36. The international economic situation could not be more critical. Inflation and recession continue to be the main features of a crisis that has ceased to be a mere slump in the business cycle. While it is true that the crisis affects everyone, it is also true that we are not all equally affected. Unemployment is the most serious social consequence of the international economic crisis, but the developing countries, unlike the industrialized countries, find it difficult to provide help for the unemployed. Capital goods have continued to rise in price, in inverse proportion to the prices of raw materials. Financing for development projects is becoming increasingly costly and difficult to find. The industrialized countries—some more than others—are beginning to introduce tariff and non-tariff barriers which are contrary to the spirit of free trade that they themselves champion. The mounting external debt now constitutes for all countries, industrialized and developing alike, both a burden and a threat not only to their economic progress but to the very stability of the international financial system.

37. Things cannot be allowed to remain as they are much longer. The international economic crisis is the result of grave difficulties of a political and social order facing the international community. The sense of urgency among all peoples of the world today is accompanied by a deep frustration at the lack of understanding and inability Governments have demonstrated in finding common approaches to alleviating the tragic situation facing them.

38. We must prevent despair from setting in, and we must remove tension in order to facilitate the solution of grave problems that directly affect international peace and security. A supreme effort on the part of all members of the international community is required to find a minimum consensus that will enable them to reactivate the world economy, at the same time taking care to prevent the return of inflation.

39. We therefore consider it to be appropriate to agree on an emergency world economic plan, in which all States and international organizations would participate without discrimination or self-exclusion. To that effect, my Government will put forward at this session of the General Assembly, a proposal for the immediate adoption of such a plan, in order to give impetus to the recovery of the world economy.

40. At the same time, we must continue our efforts for the construction of a new international economic order. We must emphasize that the launching of global negotiations is an imperative need for the international community as a whole, in order to rebuild, from the ground up, the imbalanced system of international economic relations.

41. My Government recognizes the position assumed by the developed countries at the Versailles Economic Summit in June, and is prepared to cooperate closely with the rest of the countries of the Group of 77, in the definition of a consensus that would permit the earliest possible beginning of global negotiations. In view of the urgency of the present circumstances, my Government expresses the hope that at this session the General Assembly will adopt a resolution stipulating the beginning of global negotiations.

42. Peru is also aware of the importance of the sixth session of UNCTAD, to be held next year in Belgrade. The serious problems faced by the developing countries make it imperative that that Conference achieves specific results, especially in the important areas of primary commodities, trade, currency and finance.

43. Peru also reiterates its support for the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the Common Fund for Commodities, as a central instrument for the organization of international trade in such commodities.

44. My country, as a member of the Consultative Group of 18, is participating in preparations for the ministerial meeting of GATT to be held later this year. We find it indispensable that that meeting attach priority to the interests of the developing countries in view of the reduced benefits that they have derived from multilateral trade negotiations, bearing in mind that the process of global negotiations must not be disturbed.

45. Peru wishes to reaffirm the great importance of South-South co-operation for the developing countries and unreservedly supports the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries in May 1981 at Caracas.<sup>2</sup> In this context, we support the immediate convening of a meeting to establish a generalized system of preferences among the developing countries as a practical and effective means of promoting our economic links.

46. Next year the Republics of America will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, the founder of nations, a man of his time and of our time. We hope that his spirit of freedom and justice will preside over the endeavours of Governments today and we pay a well-deserved tribute to his memory and to his work.

47. This thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is taking place in particularly difficult circumstances. It has been many years since we have seen an economic crisis such as that of today, in which communication among States is so charged with anxiety and discouragement is so prevalent among our peoples.

48. Our country has demonstrated its dedication to peace, defence of the principles of law and international conciliation, which we do not wish to abandon. We believe that the only way in which the urgent problems of mankind can be faced and overcome is through negotiation, and we reaffirm our faith in the United Nations as the highest forum of the peoples. For all these reasons, we declare that Peru will spare no effort to ensure that this session will be qualitatively different from others—more effective and more committed to the goals of reconciliation and harmony, peace, freedom, law and justice.

49. Mr. STRAY (Norway): At the outset, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly.

50. During the last few years we have witnessed a serious deterioration in the international political climate. The tensions between East and West are particularly serious since the East-West relationship

still plays the dominant role in shaping international relations. But crises have emerged also in other regions and with grave consequences.

51. However promising the possibilities may be for modern man to create positive conditions of life, we must nevertheless acknowledge that we have still failed to deal with many of the world's major challenges of today in the political, economic and military fields. The most disturbing development is the increasing tendency to resort to the use of force in international relations. Events in Lebanon, in Afghanistan and in the Falkland Islands are clear examples of this.

52. When conflicts between nations create threats to international peace and security we need international mechanisms which can intervene to stop the escalation of such conflicts into open war. We need organs which can promote peaceful political settlements of disputes. The United Nations was established to serve these purposes. However, the United Nations is not always used in the way intended under the Charter; and when it is used, we have seen that its demands, calls, recommendations and resolutions are not heeded.

53. This development harms both the United Nations and its Member States. Norway has always regarded the United Nations as the cornerstone of its foreign policy and we therefore regret this development. In his annual report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General highlights just this situation. We greatly appreciate his open, frank and constructive presentation of the problems.

54. The Charter has invested the bodies of the United Nations with clearly defined and well-balanced responsibilities for independent action. It is up to us, the States Members of the United Nations, to make constructive use of the mechanisms provided for in the Charter in order to further the common causes of the world community.

55. Over the years we have witnessed a disturbing tendency to use the Organization for political propaganda and condemnations rather than for seeking realistic and constructive solutions to the problems before us. Member States ought to consider whether this is compatible with our desire to develop the United Nations into an instrument for the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security.

56. In his report the Secretary-General draws our attention to the same problem by stating that public debate, which often can become rhetorical and confrontational, is in itself not enough and cannot be a substitute for serious negotiations. He has also put forward a number of proposals on how we should tackle the problems now facing the Organization. I would in particular mention the following proposals.

57. The Secretary-General proposes, as an important first step, a conscious recommitment by Governments to the Charter. In response to this I hereby reaffirm Norway's commitment.

58. The Secretary-General asks us to reconstruct the concept of collective action for peace and security within the framework of the Charter. The Norwegian Government agrees with him and we are prepared to co-operate with him in investigating ways and means of achieving this urgent goal.

59. The Secretary-General comments on the Security Council and suggests that the Council should keep an active watch on dangerous situations and if necessary initiate discussions with the parties involved before they reach the point of crisis. We support a more forthright role for the Secretary-General within the framework of Article 99 of the Charter in bringing potentially dangerous situations to the attention of the Council. We find his suggestion for developing a wider and more systematic capacity for fact-finding in potential conflict areas very useful and we look forward to a discussion on how this capacity could be strengthened.

60. The Secretary-General also comments on peace-keeping operations. As a country that has contributed troops to several United Nations forces since 1956, and is contributing to UNIFIL, we have a direct interest in this vital aspect of the activities of the United Nations. We therefore strongly support the Secretary-General's recommendation that Member States, especially the members of the Security Council, should now urgently study the means by which our peace-keeping operations could be strengthened. We are not convinced that an increase in their military capacity or authority is a viable option, but we find very interesting the suggestion of underpinning the authority of peace-keeping operations by some kind of guarantees.

61. I should like to mention one last aspect concerning the role of the United Nations. Perhaps the greatest strength of the United Nations is embodied in its universality. Norway has always considered the principle of universality to be of cardinal importance for the authority of the United Nations. We shall continue to do so, and in this connection I should like to stress the strong concern and protest of my Government concerning the vote in the General Conference of IAEA on 24 September<sup>3</sup> not to accept the credentials of the Israeli delegation. Such moves will inevitably have negative repercussions for the whole climate within the United Nations system.

62. The reaction in Norway to the recent reports of the massacre of Palestinian refugees—children, women and men—in Beirut has been one of shock and revulsion. My Government fully associates itself with the international condemnation of this massacre. Such a cruel act is a clear demonstration of how far the antagonisms and hatred have developed between the different groups in the area. This act shows us more clearly than ever the urgent need for national reconciliation in Lebanon and a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict in general. In the present circumstances we know this is extremely difficult. It can be possible only if all parties concerned are willing to show moderation and act in a spirit of compromise.

63. Norway fully supports all the Security Council resolutions adopted on the crisis in Lebanon during recent months. We urge all parties to respect the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

64. We also recognize the legitimate concern for the security of the State of Israel. The events that took place prior to 6 June this year did not, however, justify the massive Israeli invasion that followed. All

States in the area, Israel as well as its neighbours, must have the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. There can be no just and durable solution to the Middle East conflict unless this principle is fully respected.

65. The implementation of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination, is of equal importance. This implies Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied in 1967. It also implies that representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the solution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. The procedure for the realization of Palestinian self-determination should be established through such negotiations.

66. In spite of the tragic events of the last few weeks we have noted some encouraging signs of a positive development towards a peaceful and comprehensive solution to the conflict. The plan outlined by the President of the United States on 1 September for a more general settlement of the Middle East problem, and in particular the Palestinian question, has been welcomed by Norway as a significant and important contribution to the peace process. The agreement at the resumed Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez earlier this month on a number of principles for the solution of the crisis [see A/37/696] strengthens our conviction that serious efforts are being undertaken to try to solve the conflict in the Middle East.

67. There are several other pressing international problems on our agenda.

68. In Namibia, the ongoing efforts to reach a negotiated political settlement are entering a crucial stage. Norway strongly supports these efforts and we sincerely hope they will succeed so that Namibia can obtain its independence in 1983.

69. In South Africa, the inhuman system of *apartheid* persists. Together with the other Nordic countries, Norway will continue to examine ways and means of exerting pressure on the South African Government so that the necessary and inevitable changes will come about by peaceful means.

70. In Afghanistan, the tragic war is continuing. The Soviet Union assumes a heavy responsibility by ignoring the clear decisions by a vast majority in the Assembly that it should withdraw its military forces. The Afghan people must be granted the right to determine the future of its country without external interference. Norway supports the efforts by the Secretary-General to solve this conflict.

71. In Kampuchea, the impressive humanitarian effort of the international aid agencies, led by UNICEF, has helped to save the Kampuchean people from famine and starvation. The illegal Vietnamese occupation of the country continues, however. Norway will support resolutions and efforts to achieve a political solution so that the long-suffering Kampuchean people can finally obtain true independence and self-determination.

72. The Norwegian delegation will express the position of my Government on these and other important questions on our agenda in more detail at a later stage. I feel it necessary, however, to make some

remarks on the position of my Government on three of the most vital questions facing the United Nations and the international community, namely, the problems of disarmament, the question of human rights and the North-South dialogue.

73. Arms control and disarmament were dealt with extensively in the United Nations during this year's special session. In spite of positive results on some important issues, the second special session on disarmament this summer did not succeed in developing further the important Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], the first special session on disarmament, in 1978. However, this must not be allowed to undermine our resolve to continue to work for arms control and disarmament within the global framework which the United Nations represents.

74. Our deliberative process in the United Nations must be realistic. We cannot force agreement in the absence of consensus, nor must divergent views deter us from seeking agreement. Unless we succeed in our consensus-building here, our ability to influence negotiations outside this Hall will be minimal.

75. Norway attaches great importance to the follow-up to the second special session on disarmament. We intend to submit proposals for the strengthening of the machinery in the multilateral field of negotiations and research, including a limited expansion of the Committee on Disarmament.

76. Furthermore, Norway, together with the other Nordic countries, would like to see concrete action taken by the Assembly with regard to the United Nations study on disarmament and development.<sup>4</sup>

77. Our follow-up discussions during this session of the General Assembly must necessarily be addressed to a broad range of issues. At this time, however, I should like to make a few observations regarding nuclear and conventional weapons. Priority must be assigned to questions related to nuclear disarmament. The prevention of both a further vertical nuclear arms build-up and a horizontal proliferation of such weapons is one of the greatest challenges facing the community of nations today, and there is a clear link between these two tasks.

78. In this connection, the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union at Geneva on strategic nuclear weapons—the strategic arms reduction talks—and intermediate-range nuclear forces are of particular significance. It is our hope and goal that the talks will lead to substantial reductions in strategic nuclear weapons on both sides. With regard to the intermediate-range nuclear force negotiations, Norway supports, as a first step, the total elimination of American and Soviet land-based intermediate-range missiles.

79. Progress in those talks would in our view also provide a further incentive to our efforts to halt the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. Nuclear disarmament is also closely linked to ongoing talks regarding a future comprehensive test-ban treaty. Norway attaches great importance to the activities of the Committee on Disarmament in this regard, and we shall continue our involvement in these matters.

80. Our preoccupation with the need to halt and reverse the nuclear arms build-up must not make us forget developments in the conventional field—and the increasing destructiveness of conventional weapons. Therefore, the security problems involve not only nuclear weapons, but also conventional arms.

81. Real progress towards disarmament can be achieved only through negotiations resulting in binding and verifiable agreements. Declarations of intent alone concerning those questions can never be sufficient.

82. To conclude my remarks on disarmament, I would like to point out that positive results from these negotiations could lead to a lessening of tension in the East-West relationship in general.

83. Since the creation of the United Nations substantial efforts have been undertaken to establish international instruments and norms for the protection of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights, one on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights, have become our basic instruments. In spite of those and other declarations, we are nevertheless confronted almost daily with reports of gross and systematic violations of fundamental human rights. Such reports show that a number of Governments do not live up to the commitments and principles embodied in those covenants and declarations. We must also, regrettably, conclude that the mechanisms established for the protection and promotion of human rights are inadequate.

84. With that situation as the background, it must be an overriding concern to ensure more effectively each individual's enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. This issue has been discussed for a number of years within the United Nations. Concrete proposals have been submitted; the establishment of a post of United Nations high commissioner for human rights is only one among several examples. Thus, it is not a lack of ideas that hampers the promotion of respect for human rights, but a lack of political will.

85. Recognizing that violations of human rights must be regarded as an international concern, it must also be the duty of the international community to react to such violations whenever they occur, regardless of the political colour of the régime in question. The invocation of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs cannot be accepted as a justification for the international community not to act. If we do not respond similarly to comparable violations, our credibility will be at stake. My delegation will address itself to those issues later in this session, in particular with regard to the situation in Iran, where the violations of human rights are becoming increasingly severe through religious persecution, torture and arbitrary executions.

86. Before concluding, I would like to comment briefly upon the importance of the international economic situation, in particular the North-South dialogue.

87. One conclusion from the September meeting of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank in Toronto was that the world economic situation

has worsened and that the short-term prospects for improvement are still bleak. The low-income developing countries have been particularly hard hit by the recession in the industrialized world. Many of the developing countries are faced with crushing debt problems, the ramifications of which may threaten the stability of the international financial system. We see increasing protectionist tendencies and a risk of an erosion of the open international trading system. The spectre of mass unemployment threatens the stability and cohesion of the international community, in particular because of its effect on our youth.

88. At the same time, the economic and development organizations within the United Nations system are faced with a crisis of their own. In a joint Nordic statement to the IMF/World Bank meeting the crucial importance of multilateral assistance was underlined, as well as the necessity for donor countries at least to keep their contributions to the present level. In this forum, I would in particular point to the very difficult situation now facing UNDP. If we do not find a rapid solution to the present financial problems of UNDP the resulting cutbacks in projects and assistance will have serious repercussions on the entire United Nations development system.

89. My Government intends to maintain an active role in the work for a new international economic order. We regard the concept of a new international economic order as an effort, through international negotiations, to achieve a combined strategy to foster just and equitable economic relations between rich and poor countries. We see this as a matter of developing mechanisms for co-operation which will enable the international economic system to function in the best possible way to the mutual advantage of all parties, and in particular to the benefit of developing countries.

90. If the present situation regarding the North-South dialogue is allowed to persist, it may not only have a negative impact on the relations between the developed and developing countries, but also further aggravate the stress on the international economy. The Norwegian Government still thinks that the planned round of global negotiations represents a comprehensive and integrated approach to the North-South problems, and it still hopes that agreement can be reached so that this round can be launched during this session of the Assembly. We also intend to take a very active part in the preparations for the ministerial meeting of GATT in November and for the sixth session of UNCTAD to be held next year at Beigrade. The commitment of Norway to the goals of international development co-operation will also be evident from the decision of my Government to maintain its official development assistance at the level of 1 per cent of its gross national product in the years to come in spite of the economic problems which are facing my country also.

91. Mr. MacEACHEN (Canada): Mr. President, may I first associate myself with the congratulations extended to you on your election as President of the General Assembly.

92. I am very pleased to have the honour once again of addressing the General Assembly after an interval

of seven years. In an international perspective, seven years is not a long time. Yet in that interval, profound changes have imposed themselves on the world community—changes that have distanced us from the relatively optimistic days of the mid-1970s.

93. Simply stated, the world at present is facing acute economic and political crises. World economic conditions have deteriorated sharply, with devastating consequences on the aspirations of all nations, rich and poor alike. Political upheaval has driven the international community towards recurrent instability. And these forces are closely linked. Political crises generate economic consequences and economic dislocations breed political instability.

94. How can we chart a course for our institutions that will bring us through this period of grave economic dislocation and dangerous political tension and serve the interests of all members of the General Assembly?

95. When our present institutions, such as the United Nations, IMF, the World Bank and GATT, first took shape, there was hope of maintaining a network of relationships which would match the complexity of post-war interdependence and help us to stabilize it. Today, the need to manage interdependence is even more pressing. But in the present crisis there is a disturbing tendency to discount and discredit multilateral institutions. Because the maze of international problems has become more resistant to conventional solutions, attacks are being made on the institutions through which solutions are being approached. The United Nations, in particular, has been the object of much criticism.

*[The speaker continued in French.]*

96. We cannot fail to realize that interdependence is a reality that we must accept, for better or for worse, and that no nation can hope to resolve its problems on its own. Multilateralism, whatever its specific form, is our primary hope for counteracting on a world scale political and economic aggression which can only too easily result from a long period of uncertainty and fear.

97. However, let us have no illusions: the credibility and the effectiveness of the multilateral institutions depend on the political will of nations and of their leaders, and on the will to find a collective response to serious national and international problems.

*[The speaker resumed in English.]*

98. Most countries, developed and developing, are now grappling with high rates of inflation. Slow or stagnant growth and international payments imbalances compound already serious debt problems. Record high unemployment in many countries threatens the social and political fabric of our societies and feeds protectionist sentiment. At the international level, the economic crisis is having a devastating effect on growth prospects and on development assistance. Debt-servicing problems have reached proportions that impose considerable strain on the international financial system.

99. The consequence has been an increasing tendency towards economic parochialism. Pressures for short-term relief put at risk the multilateral system and narrow the longer-term prospects for all of us. These pressures must be resisted.

100. The collective response to the current economic situation was extensively discussed at the annual meeting of IMF and the World Bank held recently in Toronto. I was encouraged by the determination of participants at that meeting to treat economic problems as matters of common concern requiring common action.

101. I should like to underline two important themes. First, the magnitude of the financial difficulties many of our countries face makes it imperative that IMF should have adequate resources to ensure that it can continue to play its vital role in promoting adjustment in member countries. That is why Canada supports a substantial increase in quotas during the Eighth General Review.

102. Secondly, the current economic situation has meant that development assistance has become even more essential for a number of developing countries and it is important that bilateral and multilateral flows continue. We welcomed the agreement reached at Toronto to ensure an adequate level of funding through the life of the Sixth Replenishment of the International Development Association (IDA VI).

103. The tendency to turn inward economically is also exerting strain on the multilateral trading system. Protectionist sentiment arising from economic dislocation is difficult for all Governments to deal with, my own included. But it is absolutely essential that we manage these pressures collectively to avoid undermining GATT. That organization has been enormously beneficial in promoting world economic growth in developed and developing countries. Any serious weakening of GATT through beggar-thy-neighbour policies would have the ultimate effect of making beggars of us all. GATT can and should be strengthened.

104. Canada will chair the 1982 annual session of the GATT Contracting Parties, which will be held at the ministerial level in November. We regard this session as a significant test of our collective determination to manage an interdependent system.

105. Intense preoccupation with domestic economic concerns also confounds our attempts to persevere with development assistance programmes. What should be our response to the inescapability of shrinking resources? How do we face the difficulties in generating increased development assistance flows?

106. We should all—national donors and multilateral agencies alike—rationalize deployment of available resources for maximum possible effect. The best results can be obtained from this process of compulsory selectivity only if donors focus on areas of special national expertise and resources. Canada has chosen to concentrate its efforts in three particular areas which draw upon considerable national experience. These are the food and agricultural area, energy, specifically petroleum exploration, and human resources.

*Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

107. Another response to shrinking resources should be to make full and timely use of every opportunity for enhanced co-operation. In this connection, I am disappointed with the lack of progress made on global

negotiations since the Versailles Economic Summit in June. Canada believes that the text of a compromise resolution worked out at Versailles represented a significant step in the effort to find a formula for launching global negotiations. I regret that it has not been possible to find a basis for real negotiations.

108. Economic problems are all the more vexing and potentially dangerous because they are bound up with serious political instability. Political instability produces consequences extending far beyond the immediate region in which conflict has erupted. In a shrinking world local vulnerabilities and tragedies become the common concern of us all.

*[The speaker continued in French.]*

109. We have witnessed the long agony of Lebanon and, but 10 days ago, the horror of the massacre of Palestinians. These terrible events show us in stark fashion the price that must be paid when one strives to resolve political problems by military means, when disputes among nations and peoples and political factions replace negotiations, when one misuses or disregards the instruments that the international community has established to settle disputes and prevent human suffering.

110. I should like to stress that Canada staunchly supports the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon, and that it endorses the Security Council resolutions which call for Israel's withdrawal from west Beirut and the whole of Lebanon. No foreign force should remain in that country without the full consent of the Lebanese Government; otherwise that ravaged country will never know stability again.

*[The speaker resumed in English.]*

111. Equally important, efforts must be intensified now to grapple with the problems at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. More than ever the tragic events of the last few months illustrate the need for a just and permanent solution which assures the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland in the West Bank and Gaza, and the right of Israel to exist in security and peace. Important proposals for such a solution have recently been made. The United States proposals of 1 September in particular offer opportunities for progress which should vigorously be pursued.

112. Other arenas of conflict continue to contribute to the generally high level of international tension. Events in Poland remain an object of our particular attention, not only because of concern for the basic rights and freedoms of the Polish people but also because of serious implications for stability in the heart of Europe.

113. In Afghanistan and Cambodia we witness agonizing, protracted and deplorable military occupations which are in sharp contradiction with the aims and ideals of the Organization and the Charter. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia continue to violate the sovereignty of their victims and to ignore resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. Once again this year draft resolutions are before the Assembly on Afghanistan and Cambodia. I urge all Member States to support these draft resolutions.

114. The Korean peninsula has long been an area of tension and concern. We are encouraged however by the proposals made in January this year by the President of the Republic of Korea seeking dialogue and reconciliation, without conditions, and we hope for the greater integration of the peninsula into the international community.

115. The extent to which local or regional conflicts draw their energy from mutually antagonistic ideological systems is also cause for considerable concern. In recent years the breakdown of détente and an increasing anxiety over the unpredictability of events have fuelled public fears of nuclear war. Our peoples fear that everything is at risk: the economic and technological systems which sustain us, the political and social systems which underpin them and the very biosphere which permits the existence of life itself.

116. The world had high hopes for the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. When the session ended and no final agreement on a comprehensive programme of disarmament had been reached, there was much disappointment and frustration. However, a disservice is done to the special session and to the United Nations as an institution if it is simply dismissed as a failure. Of course the results were disappointing, but then the expectations of many were probably unrealistically high given the prevailing international climate. Moreover, in this climate it is essential that the campaign for nuclear disarmament be waged at the negotiating table. My country strongly supports the present negotiations in Geneva to limit and reduce the level of nuclear arms.

117. Canada has chosen to contribute to the arms control and disarmament process by concentrating on the vital issue of verification. We are doing this through participating in the international seismic data exchange and by substantially increasing research in verification. I would appeal to other Member States to consider how their particular circumstances and resources might be drawn upon to contribute to the arms control process. It is basically the same question as with development: given the need for selectivity, what can you contribute?

118. I have evoked today a set of perplexing and interrelated economic and political problems. What is the United Nations capacity to respond to these? The question is an urgent one, because the United Nations and the specialized agencies address virtually the entire range of human concerns.

119. Within the United Nations, crisis management capacity has been called seriously into question by divisions within the Security Council, by an erosion of the constitutional division of authority between the Security Council and the General Assembly and by a cycle of ineffectual resolutions. We have seen an increasing tendency to introduce extraneous polemical issues in the specialized agencies, with a diminution of their effectiveness and credibility. Official spokesmen of key States Members of the United Nations have expressed scepticism regarding the Organization.

120. To counter attacks on the United Nations from within and without we must more closely bind our policies and our behaviour to the principles expressed in the Charter. We must also vigorously reaffirm the

singular contribution that the United Nations has made to the development of international law. As the Secretary-General explained at length and with eloquence in a statement delivered last month in Montreal, the United Nations plays a unique and absolutely essential role in the promotion of the rule of law. It is only the United Nations, with its virtually global scope, which has the capacity to play that role.

121. This year the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea succeeded in producing a profound achievement: a comprehensive constitution for the oceans of the world. The Conference could not have produced such a comprehensive convention without the active support and participation of all nations during the long years of negotiation. We deeply regret that the Conference was not able to adopt the text of the Convention by consensus. No State can remain aloof from the régime, and we must not be swayed by any attempt to undermine it.

122. The United Nations has succeeded in making human rights violations a legitimate subject of international scrutiny and it is significant that the Secretary-General has identified human rights promotion as a priority area. Canada will support the Secretary-General in these efforts. Effective procedures must be worked out to deal with flagrant violations of human rights.

123. A role of critical importance for the United Nations is the peaceful resolution of disputes. However maligned the Organization may be concerning its efforts to resolve disputes, it can achieve notable successes. In Namibia, the United Nations has worked out a balanced settlement plan which should bring Namibia to independence peacefully, and has obtained for that plan general acceptance. The substantial progress that has been made must be attributed in part to the dedication and constructive approach of the front-line States and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. We hope that remaining problems will be quickly resolved.

124. The appointment of a new Secretary-General has come at a time when the United Nations is facing unprecedented problems and when the need for institutional reform has become obvious. In his first report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has addressed this need in direct and specific terms. He has put forward several innovative suggestions, in particular directed at a more effective Security Council. He has himself undertaken to play a more direct role in bringing urgent matters before the Council. These specific proposals and the Secretary-General's commitment to administrative streamlining are very welcome and should be encouraged. Pragmatic reforms must be made or the United Nations will lose its validity as a forum for international negotiations, not only for the promotion of peace and security but also for the shaping of our economic future.

125. The aims of the institutions we have invented are under considerable and potentially crippling strain. We must rededicate these institutions and the driving force of our determination must be a sense of shared vulnerability.

126. The present crisis demands intelligence and will. Intelligence must lead us to a more profound

understanding of political and economic forces; our will must reside in commitment to those national concessions dictated by our mutual dependency. We cannot, must not, allow mutual antagonisms or self-absorption to divert our attention from the full range of difficulties which we face, and which we must face together.

127. Mr. ROJAS GALDAMES (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is the tradition of the General Assembly that its President carry out the important duties assigned to him in a forthright spirit of equanimity and impartiality. My Government trusts that this valuable tradition, so well respected by his predecessors, will be maintained during the deliberations that are beginning today.

128. I wish to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Mr. Kittani of Iraq for the dedication and energy with which he discharged his functions during his presidency.

129. This is also an appropriate opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for the zealous, devoted and skilful performance of his duties in the brief period of less than a year since he was chosen to shoulder this great responsibility. We must express the deep satisfaction with which we welcomed his election as Secretary-General. This once again highlighted his great personal and professional talents and was a clear demonstration of the confidence which the international community feels in a distinguished representative of Latin America and a worthy son of the Republic of Peru—a factor of particular significance to our region. We offer our warmest wishes for his success and once more reiterate our sincere willingness to co-operate with him in the fulfilment of his important and sensitive responsibilities.

130. Chile comes to the General Assembly with feelings of deep concern about the delicate international situation, which is affecting and impairing world peace and the very foundations of the Organization.

131. This recently inaugurated session is taking place while the military occupations of Afghanistan and Kampuchea persist and the war between Iraq and Iran continues. No solution has yet been found for the Namibian situation. Lebanon has been practically destroyed by the war being waged on its territory by foreign nations. The Palestinian people remain without a physical territory in which to grow and develop as a nation. And, finally, the cowardly practice of terrorism, international subversion and foreign intervention to gain political or ideological objectives continues to spread with impunity in central America and other regions of the world.

132. The armed confrontations and conflicts and the systematic violation of the principles of the Charter and of international law have worsened dangerously, while juridical and political mechanisms remain ineffective, not having the necessary power to impose real and just solutions.

133. Our people note with great disillusionment the inability of world organizations to keep the peace and to create a climate of consensus in order to advance along the road of co-operation and progress. Un-

fortunately, confidence in the international system is waning in a way that could become irreversible, especially in the Organization, which was created to promote harmonious and peaceful coexistence among States. We must face the reality of this situation with vigour, a sense of responsibility and decisiveness and work intensively to achieve the necessary convergence of views, so as to restore the world's faith in the principles and objectives embodied in the Charter. We are facing a situation which demands all our capabilities and efforts since at stake is the very future of mankind, of the international system and of respect for the obligations which all Member States have contracted and to which our respective nations are in honour pledged.

134. We have affirmed in various forums that one of the elements which guide the foreign policy of Chile is its unwavering support for the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and its rejection of the threat or use of force in international relations. Today more than ever we reaffirm our political will to abide by the principles of international law. We call upon the conscience of the world for the abandonment of mere declarations and decisive support for the development of legal instruments that will give these principles the quality of mandatory standard for the international conduct of States.

135. These essential norms, explicitly laid down in Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4, of the Charter, find their practical application in Chapter VI, devoted to the obligations of the parties to a dispute and the powers and attributions of the Security Council. In a similar manner, numerous later instruments prepared within the framework of the Organization have repeated them and expanded their scope. Outstanding among these are: the draft Declaration on Rights and Duties of States, prepared by the International Law Commission in 1949 [*resolution 375 (IV), annex*]; the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in 1970 [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*]; the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, also adopted in 1970 [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]; the Definition of Aggression, adopted in 1974 [*resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex*]; and, most recently, the draft Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes,<sup>5</sup> finalized by the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization at its meeting in Geneva in March of this year.

136. In the American region the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes has been very clearly established in three of the most important documents of the regional system: the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance concluded in Rio de Janeiro in 1947;<sup>6</sup> the charter of the Organization of American States of 1948;<sup>7</sup> and the Pact of Bogotá of the same year.<sup>8</sup>

137. The unrestricted application of the principle and its full doctrinal implications have not been sufficiently developed, especially during the past 30 years, despite the fact that it was contemplated in the documents I have mentioned and in many other documents of a bilateral and multilateral nature. At

its current session the General Assembly has the important task of adopting the draft Manila Declaration, thereby giving a strong impetus to the vitalization of the system of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

138. Within this context, I should like to stress before the Assembly the special relevance and priority that my Government attaches to the obligation of Member States to settle disputes by peaceful means and the obligation to abstain from recourse to the threat or use of force in their international relations. These two obligations constitute the basic pillars of international relations. Repeated and systematic non-observance by some States has led to the creation of the present turbulent international situation—a situation which is diminishing the credibility of the United Nations.

139. Taking into account these and other norms concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes, we believe that these should be put into treaty form so as effectively to facilitate their practical application. As I have already noted, we believe that the surest guarantee of the preservation of peace among nations would be the existence of agreements and instruments making recourse to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means obligatory under international law, in order to eliminate for ever the risk of a conflagration. What better guarantee could there be for our peoples than the protection afforded by the procedure of peaceful settlement, thus sparing them the constant fear of a confrontation, with incalculable consequences? What better way could there be to demonstrate dedication to and respect for the law as peace-loving Members of the Organization than by being bound by treaties and agreements which establish the means of effectively preserving peace? We feel that the United Nations, as the supreme body entrusted with the preservation of international peace and security in our time, cannot remain aloof from this noble task.

140. Unfortunately, events of recent years have shown that the failure to apply the norms and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes provided for in Chapter VI of the Charter results in the Security Council's being charged with the responsibility of acting once hostilities have broken out, when the solution becomes much more complex because of the loss of human lives and the natural exacerbation of feelings. In other words, there is no effective and rapid fulfilment of the obligations the Member States assume in accordance with Chapter VI or the functions entrusted to the Security Council under Chapter VII. How much more better it would be if the Organization could carry out the preventive and dissuasive role assigned to it by the Charter, reduce the sources of conflict and guide countries towards a peaceful settlement of their disputes.

141. We are particularly pleased that the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, concurs with the observations that Chile has been making throughout this year, particularly in the Security Council and at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. This task cannot be deferred and we believe that the Organization and the regional systems are especially qualified to draw up and agree upon some procedure for preventive vigilance which could lead the parties concerned in a dispute towards the effective applica-

tion of the means of settlement available, or to pursue the development of a procedure to prevent the frustration of efforts and the creation of an irreversible situation.

142. A discouraging and disquieting world economic situation has been added to the increase in international tension. The common and almost unmanageable problem of inflation has been accompanied by a slow rate of growth, unemployment and governmental budget deficits, to which has been added external indebtedness. This last, which fundamentally complements the financing of the economic growth of almost all developing countries, has made more difficult the solution of urgent problems, owing to the high cost of money. This is particularly serious in the social sector, since there is a daily increase in the millions of human beings who have been left out of the mainstream of the progress which scientific and technological knowledge has brought to much of mankind.

143. The search for easy solutions to the problems has resulted in rising budgetary imbalances in many countries, including the industrialized nations with market economies, and the worsening of their difficulties over the medium term.

144. The legitimate attempt by some developed States to find basic solutions to their internal problems has caused a slump in economic activity. This in turn has resulted in the reduction of the prices of practically all raw materials, severely affecting the developing countries which are the principal exporters of such materials.

145. The international crisis has buffeted the weakest economies with a force hitherto almost unknown, and few countries have escaped its effects. Its magnitude is such that however forceful internal efforts to combat the problem the effects can be only temporarily minimized and in no case has there been complete recovery and progress for such economies. The international economic co-operation which could have mitigated the effects of this crisis has also decreased with the reduction of the resources devoted to that end.

146. In view of this situation, we must stress that the world economic order must be reformed, in a spirit of co-operation and with complete international solidarity. While recognizing that the present world political climate may not be the most propitious for beginning such an exercise, we believe that the cost of maintaining the present situation would exceed that of initiating global negotiations, even in conditions which, in our view, are not the most desirable from the point of view of the developing countries.

147. The international community has a duty to study solutions within the existing institutions in order to facilitate the efforts and possible modifications that should be made by developing countries deeply affected by the international crisis, a phenomenon not foreign to the Latin American region.

148. In the mean time my Government has well-founded hopes that the forthcoming ministerial meeting of GATT will achieve concrete steps towards liberalizing international trade, and putting an end to existing protectionist measures which, we are certain, can only contribute to further aggravation of current difficulties.

149. We trust, likewise, that the economic co-operation between developing countries formally begun in 1981 at the meeting at Caracas will begin to bear fruit and permit alleviation of the situation in many of our countries.

150. I cannot refrain at this time from referring to certain specific instances which constitute persistent focal points of world tension and which are deteriorating despite resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

151. Unfortunately, we have noted that the efforts of the Organization to find a solution to the problem facing the people of Afghanistan have proved sterile, despite the fact that another year has passed since three fourths of the Member States voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 36/34.

152. We again condemn the flagrant aggression from which the people of Afghanistan are suffering and we reiterate our support for those who are struggling to re-establish that country's complete sovereignty. We add our voice to that of the international community, as we did in commemorating the day of Afghanistan, and demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces. We likewise wish to express our sorrow over the situation affecting numerous inhabitants of that land who have had to seek refuge beyond their borders in order to escape foreign oppression.

153. A year has also passed since the adoption of Assembly resolution 36/5, insisting on respect for the territorial integrity, independence and right of self-determination of Kampuchea, together with the withdrawal of invading forces, and that resolution has likewise been flagrantly disobeyed.

154. Chile, which gave its support to the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea to find a comprehensive political solution of the problem, now expresses its satisfaction with regard to the recent formation of the Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

155. The tense and unstable situation now prevailing in the Korean peninsula confirms our conviction that inter-Korean negotiations are the only practical way of resolving through peaceful means and without foreign intervention, a problem that has been dragging on for almost 40 years.

156. The situation in the Middle East continues to represent a threat to international peace and security. During the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly, I emphasized that our rejection of the use of force as a means for settling disputes, controversies or conflicts is the principle which, for a country like Chile, has necessarily assumed the highest priority. For this reason we emphasize the need for a realistic solution based on the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories, with recognition of the right of all States of the region, including Israel, to live within secure and internationally recognized borders, and the full exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including the right to the establishment of a sovereign State—all this in accordance with the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations, especially Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

157. The tragic crisis involving Lebanon today has shaken the not always alert sensitivity of the international community. We are deeply concerned over the situation affecting that country, with which we are linked by so many ties of friendship and co-operation. The grave problems besetting the Middle East have, unfortunately, resulted in the clashes between the various parties taking place on Lebanese soil and at the expense of its people. We insist on the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and demand complete respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of that nation.

158. We cannot but express our grief over the base attack upon the President-elect of Lebanon, Mr. Bashir Gemayel. We condemn also most energetically the inhuman and brutal massacre of the Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps. We view with horror the terrorism which has struck down yet more victims, breeding hate and loss of confidence among a people which was naturally longing for peace and prosperity after long years of misfortune and desperation.

159. We trust that these reprehensible crimes will not hinder the pacification process of that noble country, which now faces the challenge of starting its own reconstruction in order to seek the good fortune it deserves. We therefore wish President-elect Amin Gemayel the greatest success in his management of the difficult tasks of government that he has undertaken.

160. Chile, in its dedication to peace and love of justice, has supported all initiatives designed to bring about a just and lasting solution to the complex and delicate situation in the Middle East. In this context we applaud the peace plans of the President of the United States and those of the Arab nations emanating from the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez. We call upon the States of this disturbed area to consider the proposals which can contribute effectively to the cause of peace and offer hope for the productive development of all its people, in a climate of understanding and good neighbourliness.

161. My country, 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 and of the United Nations Council for Namibia, has participated actively in the process of self-determination and independence that has been developing in recent years. For this reason we note with special attention the negotiations under way to find a peaceful solution that will permit the people of Namibia finally to achieve independence in accordance with its interests. In this regard, my Government firmly supports Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). We hope that a solution will be found to ensure a stable peace in the region and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the zone.

162. Chile is a country with strong feelings of loyalty to the American continent. It is proud to belong to a young and forceful continent which has given proof throughout its history of its genuine spirit of co-operation and world solidarity. For this reason, we observe with concern the crisis affecting the inter-American system, the result of feelings of frustration

and disenchantment among the American nations themselves resulting from the various conflicts and divisions within the confines of our continent.

163. The Government of Chile reaffirms from this rostrum the urgent need for the nations of the continent to strengthen their regional coexistence on the basis not only of the continent's legal system, but also of an essential political consensus that will enable us to recover an appropriate position in the international community.

164. This year, Latin America was shaken by the outbreak of the Anglo-Argentine conflict over the Malvinas Islands. The deep impact on the hemisphere of this unfortunate confrontation reflects our natural concern about the problems which trouble the Latin American community, especially the loss of faith in the effectiveness of the mechanisms of the inter-American and world systems. Faithful to its tradition of respect for the norms and principles of international law, my Government, together with 19 other Latin American countries, sponsored a request to include an item on the Malvinas Islands in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly and we make an urgent appeal for the peaceful settlement of the dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom under the auspices of the United Nations.

165. Faced with the present uncertain world panorama, it is necessary to continue fighting tirelessly in order to attain the positive goals which will strengthen the Organization. In this respect we attribute special importance to the development of the new international law of the sea, to the efforts being made on disarmament and on the exploitation of outer space for peaceful purposes.

166. After nine long years of negotiations which established consensus as the method of legislating on international affairs, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has adopted a convention which should be a cause of pride to the world community. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has described it as one of the greatest achievements of the century. The law of the sea Convention, which brings together important institutions and principles, such as classic maritime law, the rules governing the sea-bed and for the peaceful settlement of disputes and other no less significant matters, constitutes the new international law of the sea. These norms are designed to cover the activities of mankind on two thirds of this planet.

167. Special reference should be made to the economic zone of 200 miles. This concept, which was originally framed by the Governments of Chile, Ecuador and Peru in 1952, is based on the legitimate right of States to their natural resources for the benefit of their respective populations. Latin America has gradually made this new maritime space its own, to the point of transforming it into one of the pillars of Latin American law of the sea and then into general international law.

168. We believe that the significance and scope of the law of the sea Convention make it advisable that all member countries of the international community should participate in it. We must make every effort to achieve this and to avoid looking for alternative schemes lacking legal foundation and validity, and

therefore not deserving of international recognition. It is important that the Convention be ready for signature on the date scheduled, that the Preparatory Commission established by the Conference<sup>9</sup> start functioning and that this decisive instrument enter into force as soon as possible.

169. In June of this year I had the honour of addressing the Assembly at the twelfth special session, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [see 11th meeting]. In stating the position of my country on that occasion, I pointed out that Chile, as a peace-loving nation, respectful of the law, condemned the use of force in any of its manifestations. Those principles, I added, constituted the basis of our foreign policy and determined our conduct in the difficult field of international relations. For that reason, we are concerned over the arms race in which today certain nations are involved, which is increasing tension and the threat of destruction hovering over mankind. Disarmament is closely tied to development and for that reason it will be most difficult for nations to find the path to progress if they have not first established effective and lasting peace. That is why we have supported demilitarization by regions, under the control of the United Nations, supporting valuable proposals, such as that made by the Japanese Government [see 5th meeting], which seek to neutralize the conventional and nuclear arms races. Chile, moreover, favours the strengthening of IAEA so that, through universal acceptance of its monitoring of nuclear facilities and the comprehensive use of its technical assistance capabilities, nuclear energy can be directed towards those objectives which seek to expand development and consolidate world peace.

170. Among the challenges to the improved development of nations is the exploitation and utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes. Its condition as the common heritage of mankind must be safeguarded so that its exploration and exploitation can be conducted for the benefit of all peoples. We believe also that in order to preserve that condition it would be highly useful to have a world authority to administer the resources that may derive from exploitation, adequately channelling applications of technology and indirectly preventing the militarization of outer space.

171. At the regional level, Chile has supported the establishment of a Latin American space agency which could serve to obtain the greatest advantages of the uses of space and improve expectations of well-being. We are happy to see that this initiative was favourably received by the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

172. Within this context of promising perspectives I believe it would be appropriate to comment on the interesting developments taking place in the area of the Pacific basin. Various indicators have shown that we are in the presence of a process of growing economic interdependence between the coastal nations of that Ocean, where transportation and communications, trade, investments and the general flow of goods, services and people have been growing more than in any other area of the world during the past decade. As a result of these positive developments, various initiatives, especially from the academic and private business sectors, have been moving forward around

a structure of regional integration and co-operation plans. Although this involves a vast basin, with many dissimilar racial, linguistic, religious, political and development factors, they frequently complement each other and provide incentives, together with the phenomenon of interdependence I have already described, for establishing a course towards a future economic community in the Pacific.

173. Chile, a maritime country which attaches great importance to its diplomatic, economic and cultural activities in the Pacific region, decisively supports such initiatives. My Government therefore upholds the concept of a continuing interchange of ideas and consultative mechanisms for a common Pan-Pacific dialogue and, more particularly, the South-South co-operation, which is feasible among Latin America, the islands of the South Pacific and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN].

174. The Chilean Government, faithful to its unwavering tradition of resolving disputes through peaceful means under international law, and its consistent respect for treaties and international instruments, is continuing its attempt to settle its existing differences with the Republic of Argentina in our southern waters. We reiterate our faith in and full support for the noble mission undertaken by His Holiness Pope John Paul II in his capacity as mediator. His providential intercession permitted the staving off of a dangerous crisis between our two nations at the end of 1978. The happy initiative of this distinguished mediator has already yielded valuable results which allow us to hope for the final and complete success of his efforts. We are certain that the final agreement to be achieved will contribute to the greater strengthening of the deep historical ties which have joined the two republics together since the dawn of their independence.

175. It is my very pleasant duty to reiterate to the Assembly the gratitude of the people and Government of Chile to a man who, as Vicar of Christ on earth, is engaged in such a noble undertaking in a world convulsed by violence.

176. As I stated at the beginning of my intervention, the Chilean Government brings to the General Assembly a deep concern about the sensitive situation facing the world today. We agree with the Secretary-General when he states in his report that "We are perilously near to a new international anarchy... one symptom of which is the crisis in the multilateral approach in international affairs and the concomitant erosion of the authority and status of world and regional intergovernmental institutions" [A/37/1, p. 1]. In order to avoid such anarchy, my country considers it essential to deal firmly with the situations which today constitute the principal sources of international tension, employing the means available to the Organization to ensure that States conform to the principles set forth in the Charter, in particular refraining from the threat or use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and international co-operation in every area.

177. An act of collective creativity is required which, with imagination and realism, will enable us to find agreed legal formulas to banish the apocalyptic phantom of war and to prepare for a future of world

coexistence. To do so, we must not allow the Organization to become merely a body to which States bring their differences and problems. We must arrive at a sufficient consensus to enable us to avoid the outbreak of armed clashes, because once such a clash begins, it is almost impossible to stop it. To achieve that aim, we reaffirm the need to change the procedures for the peaceful settlements of disputes, and give them the necessary mandatory character.

178. In the course of this statement, I have stated the fundamental principles upon which our foreign policy is based, namely, respect for the individual and for the law. Our Government, maintaining a clear and consistent position, is applying those same principles to its domestic life. With the broad support of its citizens, it is carrying out a process of institutionalization designed to modernize the country in every sphere and to give its people greater opportunities for spiritual and material development.

179. Chile is prepared to continue along the road of peace and respect for the law, a tradition which is deeply rooted in its national character.

180. Mr. AKAKPO-AHIANYO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): In this last quarter of the twentieth century, the world is beset by upheavals which bode no good. We are seeing a major deployment of arms, to such an extent that a wise man of Africa rightly said that today the weapons of death are greater than those employed to ensure the survival of humanity. Palestinian and Lebanese peoples have been massacred by Israel, and the racist *apartheid* régime in South Africa constitutes a continuing challenge to humanity at large, committing ever-increasing acts of arrogance and destruction against the front-line States. One's thoughts turn naturally to this painful question for the universal conscience: is there still hope of speaking of peace in a world of hatred?

181. As you are aware, Sir, you have acceded to the post of President of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly at a critical moment for humanity. The United Nations was created to maintain and strengthen world peace, but today that peace is threatened more than ever. Thus we fully understand the complexity of your task. Your country, Hungary, has more than once experienced the complexity of events; therefore we are confident that your outstanding qualities as a seasoned diplomat, combined with your experience, drawn from the age-old history of your country, are assets that will enable you to guide our work, by calming passions, and creating the calm atmosphere essential to our deliberations. It is therefore, my agreeable duty to extend to you, both in my personal capacity and on behalf of the delegation of Togo, my heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly.

182. Your predecessor, Mr. President, did not have an easy task. With rare distinction, he rose above the general confusion and took a high stance in presiding over the deliberations, both those of the thirty-sixth session and those of the special session held during the course of his mandate. We extend to him our heartfelt congratulations.

183. We have all benefited from the unflagging concern of the Secretary-General, who, throughout

almost a year in office, has been an able helmsman, a year in which our ship has crossed some storm-tossed seas. In his report he highlighted with characteristic sincerity the causes of those storms which threatened the existence of our States and our Organization. He deserves all our congratulations and thanks.

184. The key word which describes the international political situation this year is "storm". Can we still talk of peace when daily life is beset by war, assassination, kidnapping and persecution? One cannot ask that question without anguish, without despairing of the future for peace in the world.

185. Without being an evangelist, one has a clear impression that most of the conditions listed in the Apocalypse are now present. Not a day goes by without the teleprinters clattering out dispatches announcing the cold-blooded murder of innocent bystanders, or the explosion of a bomb which has destroyed apartment buildings at dawn while everyone was asleep or raids by racist Powers to destroy the already fragile economic infrastructures of developing countries, or the outbreak of what is in fact war in this or that country; the list is very long.

186. Invariably we return to the same question: should we despair of the world at this tumultuous end of the twentieth century? In other words, is the peace so necessary to the union and solidarity of peoples still possible? An examination of the various crises which afflict the world show that it is important to ask ourselves that agonizing question.

187. At the international level, the world economic crisis has reached a stage where an explosion is possible at any moment. The developing countries, emerging from the dark period of decolonization, started on bold programmes to revitalize their economies; but then came the energy crisis; we still have the aberrant system of the unequal trade; we still have the absurd increase of interest rates leading to the constant growth of the indebtedness of the poor countries to others; then there came the problem of the continual rise of the dollar, so that all their debts calculated in that currency are now quintupled, if not worse. Thus the efforts that they undertook have been cancelled out before having had any effect on their standard of living, on health, or on the level of education of their populations, which remain the most deprived in the world.

188. Even in the industrialized countries, the situation is no more encouraging. The crisis has reached unforeseen proportions. Factories have been closed and over 10 per cent of the population is unemployed.

189. In the face of such a crisis, unless the world takes care we will have the bitter surprise of living through another 1929; that is to say, a world crash which will hurl countries, all countries, into a cataclysm leading to a system rejected by mankind, one possibly worse than nazism, which grew out of the 1929 crisis. Will the rich come to their senses? For in such a crisis none will be spared.

190. Let us stop talking of aid to the third world as if it were manna. The rich countries, as they realize the danger of a generalized crisis, must now understand that a global policy towards the developing coun-

tries should be their main concern today. That global policy must be to raise the prices of raw materials, to stop any deterioration in the terms of trade, to do away with protectionist barriers in order to promote the trade of the developing countries and to enhance industrial redeployment and the transfer of technology, because there can be no viable development without industrialization. In ensuring an equitable distribution of the riches produced by the labour of all humanity, the rich countries will guarantee their own survival. But the danger would be great for all if the rich want to cling to that selfish policy of every man for himself which has produced poverty next door and a flood of poverty-stricken people which breeds criminals whose main concern is certainly not to guarantee tranquillity and peace for other people.

191. The industrialized world possesses the technology, whereas the young developing countries have substantial natural resources. The developed countries must know that it is the complementarity of the technology of their countries and the raw materials of the third world that will produce the balance necessary for peace in the world. If the rich manage to understand the need for this co-operation, then we may venture to talk of the possibilities of peace in the world at the end of the twentieth century.

192. Unfortunately, some States continue to think that complementarity is synonymous with the subjugation of the poorest to the richest of the earth and do not hesitate to use force to violate the independence and territorial integrity of other States and to flout their fundamental freedoms, disregarding the essential principles governing relations among nations and causing situations of tension, wars and destruction of human lives.

193. Thus the tragedies suffered by the peoples of the Middle East leave mankind perplexed and very often, in view of the absurdity of the massacres perpetrated by Israel, we have no reaction because we do not understand. Indeed, about half a century ago, Hitler, on the basis of nazism, decided to annihilate part of mankind, the Jewish people. The nations of the entire world, to a man, rose to prevent the holocaust. And the Organization, through an historic vote, decided quite rightly that the Jewish people was entitled to a homeland. We fail to understand how today the State of Israel can refuse a homeland to another people, the Palestinian people; we cannot understand today how the Jewish people can have decided to annihilate part of mankind, the Palestinian people. Today, Beirut has been transformed by the Government of Israel into a place of extermination which oddly brings to mind certain camps where the Jewish people were literally massacred. Has that Government already forgotten the horrors of Oradour and the extermination perpetrated at Auschwitz? It is enough to cause the human conscience to despair. There is a double standard, as has been quite rightly said by a famous French writer: "Depending on whether you are powerful or poor, the verdict of the court will make you white or black." The most elementary ethics seem not to exist for certain people.

194. Togo, for its part, in view of the tragedy of the Middle East, has always supported and continues to support the principle of negotiation, so that all peoples

of the region can have a homeland, the only condition for guaranteeing peace and stability in the area.

195. From time to time Israel talks of negotiation, but negotiation requires several parties. If the side facing you is destroyed, then you will be the only one at the negotiating table and there can no longer be a question of negotiation.

196. There can be no possible explanation for the Beirut massacres. The Israeli population itself no longer understands its political leaders. The thousands of people killed were civilians, women, children and the elderly. It cannot even be said that those who were massacred were combatants. The pretext of terrorism used by Tel Aviv can no longer be taken seriously. Nazism, in wanting to exterminate the Jewish people, succeeded only in giving that people the only weapon left to it: terrorism. Prime Minister Begin has considerable experience of that and he will certainly remember it. Today, the massacres carried out against the Palestinian people have compelled that people to scatter to the four corners of the Middle East. By thus forcing the Palestinian people into a diaspora, does the Government of Israel not see that it alone is creating the conditions which force the Palestinian people to use the only weapon left to it, one used by the Jewish people to gain a place under the sun, namely the weapon of terrorism? It is regrettable that the experience of nazism did not serve as a lesson. The mention of nazism reminds us of the concentration camps and the cremation ovens and we believe that the peoples who subscribed to the Charter had once and for all repudiated violence and killing as ways to settle disputes among nations. Therefore our conscience is sorely troubled by the savage massacres of Shatila and Sabra, since Israel was one of those which acceded to the Charter of San Francisco. Therefore, the Government and people of Togo join their voice in the general condemnation of the crime of genocide and demand that the responsibility of its perpetrators and their accomplices be brought to light.

197. In passing, we salute the memory of those martyrs who fell to the cowardly vengeance of those who believe that the Israeli invasion of foreign territories was the panacea for the problem of the Middle East, whereas the reality of the Palestinian fact is more than ever compelling.

198. Still on the subject of the Middle East, we note that two events have appeared recently which give us a glimmer of hope, notwithstanding the intransigence of the Government of Israel. The first was the acceptance by Yasser Arafat of the United Nations resolutions on the problems of the Middle East in their entirety. At the same time, the majority of the Arab countries are moving progressively towards recognition of the State of Israel. These elements, curiously, instead of being viewed by Tel Aviv as positive data, were played down by them. In a process of belligerence we must not always want to bring the adversary to his knees before envisaging any negotiation. History is full of telling examples: the Allies, in 1918 as in 1945, did not demand that Germany change its Constitution before any peace negotiations took place. The Allies negotiated with Germany as it was and the fundamental law creating the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, was passed much later. It

is odd to lay down as a pre-condition to any negotiation on the Middle East a complete renunciation by the protagonist of all his principles, since the aim of negotiation is precisely to obtain reciprocal renunciations of positions.

199. The second event which provides a glimmer of hope was the change in the attitude of the United States with regard to that part of the world. Its positive vote in the Security Council on resolution 521 (1982) on the Lebanon massacre represents a meaningful dynamic element. If these events can combine to create a solution to the Middle East problem, then we may venture to say that it is not too rash to talk of the possibility, however minimal, of peace in the Middle East, which has suffered for more than 30 years. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in committing itself behind its leader Yasser Arafat to the realistic process of peace, will once again furnish proof of its maturity and acute sense of its responsibilities.

200. Can we still speak of peace at the end of the twentieth century while we witness what is happening in South Africa and Namibia? Pretoria continues to defy humanity at large with arrogance. By its dilatory manœuvres Pretoria is doing everything to hold up Namibia's independence. Using the impunity it enjoys, the Government of South Africa is bent on systematically destroying the already fragile infrastructures of the independent countries of southern Africa. The repeated invasions of Angolan territory perpetrated by the racist troops of South Africa, the raids against the territory of Mozambique and infiltrations into Zimbabwe, Botswana and other front-line countries constitute genuine acts of provocation.

201. The experience of the independence of Zimbabwe where the leaders of that country, after a struggle to recover their freedom, managed to set up a multiracial régime and where Zimbabweans co-exist whatever the colour of their skin, is proof that Africa is capable in Namibia, too, of facing its responsibilities in accordance with its maturity. Therefore the fears that South Africa claims to have that in Namibia, under the direction of SWAPO, a non-democratic régime might be established are only a manœuvre that does not fool anyone. Africa has already given proof of its ability to transcend ethnic differences. The majority of the Namibian people under SWAPO is resolved to follow this irreversible current of history to establish State structures designed for harmonious coexistence among the various social groups in the country. Africa fights the *apartheid* system and gives daily proof of its determination to see that system eliminated from the planet.

202. It is therefore odd that it is the champions of *apartheid* who dare to voice fears about the possibilities of coexistence among the various racial groups in Namibia. This is a pretext—an ill-chosen one at that—which Pretoria is using to perpetuate its domination over Namibia. But the independence of that country is inevitable. Pretoria's prevarications can do nothing. Nothing will come of the South African Government's attempts to destabilize the front-line States. The combined efforts of Africa, assisted by the gracious understanding of the international community, will hasten Namibia's independence. That

is why we can state that there is every hope that that country's independence will become a reality soon. But the sooner that independence comes the greater the number of human lives that will be spared.

203. The agonizing question of whether we can still hope for peace in this tormented world of today arises when we take a look at the present situation in Chad. Fortunately for that country, we can say: yes, today peace and reconciliation are possible in Chad.

204. Togo would like to express its satisfaction publicly that for the first time in 17 years one can go to Chad without being greeted with the gun-fire and explosions of the civil war. The process of reconciliation has been started to the satisfaction of all. Since the *coup* which brought to the head of the State of Chad the new President Hisssein Habré in June 1982, the desire of the leaders and political organizations in Chad has been made manifest—resolutely to commit themselves to a process of reconciliation and peace. The late lamented Ahmat Acyl, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of the now defunct Transitional Government of National Union, had stated that he favoured the peace and reconciliation process advocated by President Habré. He even wrote a long letter about this to General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Chad. The brutal death of Ahmat Acyl did not permit him to see that initiative through to the end. But today the situation has been normalized throughout the territory of Chad after the whole southern part of Chad rallied to that effort.

205. It is important that the international community at large join in the ongoing process of peace and reconciliation in Chad, rather than engaging in rear-guard action based on the defence of unavowed interests which run counter to those of the people of Chad. We make an appeal to all States which cherish peace for them to do all they can to participate in this endeavour of national reconstruction.

206. The Middle East and Africa are not the only flash-points in the world, but it would be rash to attempt to review all conflict situations which contain the seeds of a general breakdown of world peace. However, we should mention the tragedies of Afghanistan and Kampuchea where people have been refused the right to self-determination. Togo hopes nevertheless that the coalition Government which has just been established will finally bring to the people of Kampuchea the peace for which it hopes.

207. At the beginning of July 1982 Togo was host of the Governmental Conference of the Zone of Africa for the Support of the Independent Peaceful Reunification of Korea and we reaffirm our solidarity with the Korean people. Our Government supports the proposals made by the great leader Kim Il Sung to form the Democratic Confederation of Koryo. It is obvious that the Korean people as a whole wants to see the reunification of the country and is opposed to any attempt that would lead to a perpetuation of the two Koreas.

208. Finally, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] recently lived through some serious events which have given rise to doubts as to its ability to surmount the gravest crisis in its history. We believe that there also we can hope for a solution to the OAU

crisis for the sake of the vitally needed world peace. Now combined events—and not only the problems of the Sahraoui Arab Republic—have given rise to a grave crisis within the OAU. We are convinced that African wisdom will finally triumph. Were the Sahraoui problem the only one, the Committee on self-determination established by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government could find a solution which would enable the nineteenth session of the OAU Assembly to take place.

209. Togo is convinced that no African head of State wants to see the OAU break up, and that indeed no head of State of the international community wants to see the OAU break up, because it has shown how much it can contribute to peace in the world. A crisis of growth after 20 years is quite normal and it should not frighten us.

210. There will always be crises in the international organizations. Indeed, my delegation endorses the analysis of the Secretary-General about the causes of the ineffectiveness of the Organization, and which explains the crisis we are undergoing, which has unfortunately already broken out in the OAU.

211. While we accept that the present OAU crisis is one of growth which will enable it to gain further strength, we have serious doubts about the future of the United Nations, which has been in existence for almost 40 years. It is not normal that at this age the Organization should continue to see violated the fundamental principles to which States have freely subscribed. It is not normal that resolutions and decisions of the Organization be flouted. The profound upheavals in today's international life have arisen from all these violations.

212. It is important that all States examine their conscience, not only about the principles of the Charter but also about the scope and implementation of United Nations resolutions and decisions.

213. My Government subscribes to the specific proposal contained in the Secretary-General's report for a meeting of the Security Council at the highest level to discuss the question of measures which might strengthen the effectiveness of the Organization. Togo has more than once shared its experience in the cause of peace, and has participated in several mediation meetings; it is convinced that the Secretary-General's proposal can lead to action to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization.

214. This is the price to be paid for the maintenance of peace in the world, and we need that peace to build a just and equitable society. As General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, the President-Founder of the Togo People's Party and President of the Republic, has stated: "The Togolese people cherishes for itself and all nations a will for peace and progress. This peace must be real and must lead to the effective emancipation of our various nations." That is why we should like to make an appeal to the international community to combine all its efforts to build a world of peace, justice and freedom.

215. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): My delegation extends its warm congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. It is my

pleasure to have known him for several years as a friend. His wide experience, especially in the affairs of the United Nations, and his richly deserved reputation for skill, patience and the accumulated wisdom of experience constitute a guarantee that this session will be fruitful and constructive. We look to his guidance and leadership in the resolution of the numerous problems that exist at this most critical period for the relations among nations.

216. To his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who served under similarly difficult circumstances and emerged with honour, my delegation also extends its congratulations.

217. We are delighted to welcome the new Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. A thorough professional, he is universally regarded as a diplomat's diplomat, and we are happy that he is now at the head of the Organization. He has revealed to us the other side of his nature—courage and candour in admitting the deficiencies of the United Nations, together with constructive suggestions which should enable us to return to the first principles of the Charter. The Secretary-General has seen us as in a mirror and asked us to take a closer look at ourselves with a view to providing remedies for the ailments of the United Nations system. In expressing his views the Secretary-General has reminded us that the strengthening of the United Nations is the first order of business and that the performance of this task, difficult though it may be, is indispensable to the solution of the problems which threaten the peace of the world.

218. In the past we have often tended to substitute hyperbole for thought. Today the situation has changed: hyperbole has turned into fact. The tragic events in Lebanon, serious problems in themselves, reverberate throughout the entire Middle East and raise anew the unwelcome prospects of wider conflict. The Middle East is the vortex of crisis and, if the past is a guide to the future, it will almost certainly involve other Powers in a conflict which may well be larger and more destructive than any in the unending series of Middle East wars.

219. At the core of the problem is the issue of Palestine. The new and highly disturbing element is a widely perceived effort to solve the problem not through political means, but by the use of force. This is clearly unacceptable, not only in terms of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) but also in terms of the principles of the Charter.

220. No one is under any illusion that the Middle East situation can be solved on the instant, but it is quite correct to say that the end of armed conflict offers fresh opportunities for a new start. The intractable problem is ingrained psychological blocks which make dialogue more difficult than it should be. This is why negotiations must be a process—that is, a continuing dialogue which makes compromises possible. For this reason, my delegation welcomes the initiatives of President Reagan and the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez. We believe that these are starting-points which in the course of the negotiating process could be merged, in the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned.

221. My delegation identifies with the positive elements of the United States proposal, which is based

on the Camp David accords ratified by the Israeli Knesset, notably the immediate freeze on the establishment of Jewish settlements and opposition to permanent control by Israel over the West Bank and Gaza.

222. My delegation maintains, however, that the full autonomy envisaged for these areas should lead to the implementation of the right of self-determination by the Palestinian people and the establishment of an independent State coexisting with Israel. We hold, furthermore, that at an appropriate stage in the process the PLO should be a party to the negotiations leading to permanent peace in the area.

223. It should be noted that neither the United States nor the Arab States have rejected each other's proposals. This fact leads to the hope, however tenuous, that each recognizes certain common denominators in the proposals and to the further recognition that in the existing circumstances, modality is of the utmost importance.

224. It is Israel that has proved to be intransigent, possibly in the euphoria of military success. But the one thing it must acknowledge is that its military victory over the PLO has, by a curious paradox, improved the political standing of the PLO. Because of the events in Lebanon, Israel may find itself with its back against the wall, with foes but no friends and isolated beyond hope of redemption. We very much doubt that this is what Israel wants. We therefore call upon Israel to heed the voices of reason and moderation. Too much blood has been spilled in the Middle East and too many bitter tears shed for Israel to ignore the growing clamour for peace with justice and honour.

225. In Kampuchea, on the other side of the world, the hopeful sign is the formation of the Coalition of Kampuchean Nationalists under the leadership of Prince Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The formation of the Coalition signifies the determination of the Kampuchean nationalists to expel the foreign forces from Kampuchean soil and enable its people to exercise freely their right to self-determination.

226. In deciding on a coalition the Kampuchean nationalists have assumed the mantle of legality, a cloak denied them before although they fought and continue to fight, with valour, and in circumstances of insuperable difficulties.

227. If they are to succeed in their endeavour, they will require material assistance from friends that have in this very Hall condemned the illegitimate usurpation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam. At this very moment thousands of Kampuchean await the call in the determined effort to recover their birthright. We have every hope that, with the support of friends, the Kampuchean coalition or the democratic Government of Kampuchea will in the end pave the way for the restoration of Kampuchean sovereignty in free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. In the face of this development, Viet Nam has a final option: to wipe out the fledgling and under-supplied anti-Vietnamese forces before their movement gathers strength and momentum. There are reports that this is precisely what it intends to do. It is in this light that the need for support and assistance acquires urgency. We urge our friends to provide it.

228. Another potential source of tension in Asia is the uncertain and precarious relations between North and South Korea. Conflict in that divided country is bound to have a severe impact in the strategic region of North-East Asia. Therefore we would encourage the parties concerned to launch fresh initiatives which could lead towards the goal of reunification. President Chun of South Korea has taken the initiative in this regard and he deserves our support.

229. I shall refrain from dealing with subjects already touched upon by President Marcos when he addressed the Assembly the other day [3rd meeting]. I might only add that, with respect to the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, we might remind ourselves once more that these negotiations were conceived in the light of our shared concern over the steady deterioration of our economies. The need to establish a firm basis for global economic progress that is equitable to all acquires added importance in view of the inadequate response of some of our institutions to the problems of contemporary economic relations. In joint efforts and in an admirable spirit of compromise encouraged by the high-level meetings in Cancún, Ottawa, Versailles and New Delhi, among others, we have managed to reach agreements on nearly all the outstanding points of difference.

230. I recall that, at the signing of the Bretton Woods Agreement in New Hampshire in 1946, when I signed the Agreement on behalf of the Philippines, I then said:

“The economic pattern being drawn here was established by the victorious Allies, but this will not last long. More members of the United Nations will join in the future. Last year we signed a United Nations Charter with 54 nations. I envision more than 100 nations will join. In that case they will decide that they want a new international economic order.”

I said that in 1946, when we signed the Bretton Woods Agreement. That is now the North-South dialogue.

231. As we resume discussions at this session, we diverge on only two points. To those who hold differing views on these two points, these are no doubt of great importance, and their reluctance to accept either is therefore understandable. Yet the potential reward of agreement and the possible penalties of failure to reach agreement are of such magnitude that they allow us few, if any, options. Therefore I would urge all parties to look beyond narrower preoccupations for the sake of the larger good. On the part of the Philippines, my delegation is prepared to accept neither one nor the other formulation but both formulations in a common text. We do so in the firm belief that in practice and application the two points are not necessarily irreconcilable. Such an approach, in our view, would close the last remaining gap and thus enable the long-delayed global negotiations to get under way.

232. Turning to another subject of a global character, my delegation wishes to express its gratification at the completion of the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It has involved many years of difficult negotiations but it

is certainly one of the more hopeful signs of the rich possibilities open in the way of international co-operation.

233. Although the Convention on the Law of the Sea was not adopted by consensus, as originally planned, this does not detract from the importance of the work of the Conference. The monumental document produced by the Conference will, when it enters into force, become the international law, or the law of mankind, which will govern the rights and duties of nations on the uses of the waters of the earth. We in ASEAN are proud that the President who steered the Conference on the Law of the Sea to that final declaration is Mr. Koh, the representative of Singapore, one of the nations of ASEAN. It is the earnest hope of my delegation, as well as of the 130 nations which voted for the Convention, that in the interests of an orderly régime on the seas of the world those that did not find it possible to vote for it will in the future accede to it and thus make the Convention universal in fact as well as in law.

234. Allow me to return to the subject of the Secretary-General's report. It is a subject of extreme importance and should, if we are aware of our responsibilities, provoke a great deal of thought among us.

235. For years my delegation, having in mind Article 109 of the Charter, which suggests the holding of a general conference for a review of the Charter, has proposed that steps be taken towards amending it. Unfortunately, the assumptions, not to speak of the circumstances, which inspired the founding fathers in framing the Charter of the United Nations changed almost immediately after its ratification. To press the issue of a general conference at this time would raise a political storm which we can ill afford in a time of persisting crises.

236. In recognition of the post-atomic realities, the Assembly did approve the creation of a Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization in a search for ways and means of improving the functioning of the United Nations within the framework of the present Charter. The Special Committee is now ready to present to the Assembly the first concrete document resulting from a labour of nearly seven years. The draft Manila declaration is a worthy attempt to provide specific interpretations of the Charter's provisions on the peaceful settlement of disputes and in this sense it constitutes a watershed in the efforts of the Organization to ensure the well-being of peoples and the maintenance of international peace and security and in addition promote the progressive development of international law. If I read properly between the lines of the Secretary-General's report, that is precisely what he means.

237. It has been said that there are two United Nations. The first United Nations has on balance achieved remarkable progress in the economic and social fields, notably in assisting the younger nations in their first faltering efforts at development.

238. But the same cannot be said of the second, the other United Nations in its primary role of maintaining international peace and security. This is the theme which the Secretary-General develops in his bold and perceptive annual report. Thank God for a

Secretary-General who sees through the difficulties that we face. His suggestions cannot be dismissed lightly for, as head of the Organization, his voice carries special weight and authority.

239. My delegation is prepared to support the Secretary-General's suggestion for a meeting of the Security Council "at the highest possible level" to discuss the problems which have impaired the proper functioning of the Organization as envisioned by its founders. I can do no better in closing than to quote the words of the Secretary-General which we should always bear in mind in this Hall:

"... I am absolutely convinced that the United Nations is indispensable in a world fraught with tension and peril. Institutions such as this are not built in a day. They require constant constructive work and fidelity to the principles on which they are based.

"We take the United Nations seriously when we desperately need it. I would urge that we also seriously consider the practical ways in which it should develop its capacity and be used as an essential institution in a stormy and uncertain world." [A/37/1, p. 4.]

240. As one who has been deeply involved in the United Nations from the very start and bitterly regretted its defeats and savoured its triumphs, I compliment the Secretary-General on his acute analysis of the United Nations. I share with him the view that we should work unremittingly to build a sense of world community on the firm foundation of a political and moral order which alone can lift mankind to the "broad sunlit uplands" of peace and security.

241. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Guyana, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

242. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela in the course of his statement this morning made reference to the claim which his country continues to advance against four fifths of Guyana's national territory. In his attempt to justify his country's expansionism and its formidable appetite for territory and in order to pull the wool over the eyes of this body, he has seen fit to employ the techniques of deliberate distortion, falsification and misrepresentation, techniques with which we in Guyana have by now become very familiar. His statement is also significant for what it consciously omits regarding Venezuela's actions towards Guyana in prosecution of its claim.

243. In view of this my delegation considers that it has a duty to the Assembly to respond to the Venezuelan statement. My delegation merely wishes to indicate now that it intends to exercise its right of reply in a substantive way at a later stage in the general debate.

*The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

<sup>2</sup> See A/36/333 and Corr.1.