



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This afternoon the General Assembly will hear an address by Mr. Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. MUBARAK (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is my pleasure to address, in the name of Egypt, this solemn gathering of heads of State and representatives of nations in this Hall, which is the forum for peace, justice and right and the symbol of the consensus of the international community on the noble objectives and lofty principles guiding relations between States and peoples.

3. I congratulate the people and Government of Saint Christopher and Nevis on attaining national independence and their admission to membership in the United Nations, and on behalf of the people and Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt I wish them prosperity and progress.

4. I also wish to extend to you, Sir, and to your friendly country, Panama, my congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly during this important session, which witnesses an active move by the international community to face up to political and economic issues endangering international security and prosperity both now and in the future.

5. In the present circumstances, it is of the utmost significance to underline the necessity of strengthening the United Nations and consolidating its role in maintaining international peace and security, of enhancing its effectiveness and capability in contributing to the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and of urging all States to abide by the rule of law in their policies and dealings.

6. In his report on the work of the Organization in 1982,¹ the Secretary-General stated:

"I believe therefore that an important first step would be a conscious recommitment by Governments to the Charter.

"Certainly we have strayed far from the Charter in recent years. Governments that believe they can win an international objective by force are often quite ready to do so, and domestic opinion not infrequently applauds such a course. The Security Council, the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those that feel themselves strong enough to do so. Too frequently the Council seems powerless to generate the support and influence to ensure that its decisions are respected, even when these

are taken unanimously. Thus the process of peaceful settlement of disputes prescribed in the Charter is often brushed aside."

7. Egypt considers that the international situation requires a serious pause and a dynamic approach that transcends the traditional outlook which has bridled our movements since the Second World War. An objective reassessment of the contemporary international system and a search for an optimum remedy of its deficiencies are strongly warranted by the prevailing circumstances. The early convening of a special session to consider this issue in all its aspects would be timely and appropriate.

8. In our view, the issue is not the performance or the effectiveness of the Organization or its principal organs. The issue is basically and primarily related to the overall international situation, the role of the great Powers, their special responsibilities, the policies they pursue and the interests they represent.

9. The issue involves certain countries' international behaviour and disregard for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, their deviation from the rule of law and their tendency to resort to the use of force to attain political and economic gains, thus undermining the basis of the post-World-War international system.

10. Highest on our agenda is the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, a subject which should be accorded the greatest attention. Such a war could annihilate human civilization and achievements since the dawn of history; there would be no victors or vanquished; mankind would forfeit its past, present and future. We should therefore redouble our efforts to prevent such a thing from happening, wherever we are geographically situated and whatever are our political or ideological persuasions. It is also incumbent upon both super-Powers, in particular, to exert further efforts successfully to conclude the nuclear disarmament talks at Geneva, notwithstanding the increasing bilateral tensions caused by other issues. The destiny of us all is in the balance.

11. My country was among the very first of those that were particularly conscious of the necessity of nuclear disarmament. Our deep awareness of this fact took shape both in our long-standing support for the principles of nuclear non-proliferation and in our accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], as well as in the devotion of our efforts to peaceful uses of nuclear energy in furtherance of the objectives of economic development. A case in point is that the call for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East was an Egyptian initiative.

12. The issue of general and complete disarmament cannot be ignored. The spiraling production of conventional weapons and their use constitute a serious threat to the security of many medium-sized and small countries and an onerous burden upon their economies. It suffices to point out here that the world expenditure on armaments in 1982 exceeded \$650 billion—which equals the revenue of 2 billion people living in the 50 poorest

countries on our planet. Any effort to achieve complete and general disarmament should stem from an appreciation of the interrelationship between disarmament, international security and development.

13. This session of the General Assembly is taking place in the midst of a highly acute international economic crisis reminiscent of the great depression suffered by the world during the thirties, which led to lower world production, deteriorating terms of trade, an imbalance in the international monetary system, higher rates of unemployment and a disequilibrium in the relationships between developed and industrialized countries on the one hand and developing countries on the other. The economies of some of the least developed countries suffered from negative development rates of growth that fell far short of the most basic subsistence needs of their populations.

14. It has become clear that the debt problem of the developing countries is one of the major problems confronting us, as these debts have risen to more than \$700 billion, with an annual average of debt-servicing surpassing \$120 billion, as a result of the reduction in the prices of raw materials produced by those countries totalling 30 per cent during the past two years, as well as the feverish increase in interest rates and the prices of finished products. Consequently, negative repercussions will adversely affect social and economic development efforts in the developing countries.

15. On the other hand, we should be fully aware of the necessity of introducing structural changes in the existing international monetary, financing and trading systems in view of their inability to cope with the problems now plaguing the world economy even though they functioned actively for a quarter of a century after the Second World War.

16. Allow me to present here a general outline which could contribute to strengthening our ability to deal with such problems.

17. First, the United Nations, which since its inception has assumed a major responsibility in the establishment of economic co-operation among States, could still play a pivotal role in remedying the present international crisis, a role which would transcend its role in resolving political disputes. Therefore, we pinned great hopes on the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983. We expressed those hopes in the document issued at the Buenos Aires meeting of the Group of 77.² Unfortunately, the outcome did not live up to expectations in the three major areas of raw materials and trade, commodities and services, and monetary and financial issues. Prompted by those considerations, we welcomed the initiative of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to hold a number of meetings with heads of State and Government under the auspices of the United Nations during the present session. This would generate new momentum in the North-South dialogue and in the preparations for launching global negotiations in accordance with the approach agreed upon at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.

18. Secondly, the point of departure in resolving these economic problems should be an acknowledgement of the close interdependence between the developing and the developed countries. We are all in the same boat, producer and consumer, debtor and creditor, rich and poor. Any contradiction in our economic interests is of secondary, transient importance. Unless efforts are pooled and geared to confront such a crisis, all of us will suffer from its dire consequences and its destructive effects. For the

era in which we live is one of interdependence. No country, no matter how strong or rich, can afford to live in isolation from the conditions under which others suffer. Consequently, the North-South dialogue should be conducted in a spirit of co-operation and solidarity, not in a spirit of discord and contradiction. Our approach should be an objective one, based on a global view and unaffected by parochial or selfish attitudes adopted solely to extract the maximum advantage at the expense of others. Such concepts are outmoded, given the realities of our age.

19. Thirdly, the developing countries can set an example by devising an integrated approach to co-operation amongst themselves, which would in itself be a complementary step towards North-South co-operation. Egypt, which in July 1962 was host to the first conference of developing countries to consider issues of common interest, is profoundly convinced of the necessity for co-operation among countries of the South and is ready to initiate further steps in that direction. In this respect, representatives might have followed the process of integration between Sudan and Egypt, which opens new realms in the development efforts of two countries joined together by close cultural bonds, common economic interests and deep mutual sentiments.

20. Fourthly, the situation is of such urgency that generalized recommendations or loose slogans would be wasteful. We have wasted too much time on generalities and good intentions. We should now move on to committing ourselves to specific steps which would guide our future actions. Allow me to propose the following steps as a beginning: first, developed countries should attain the goals and objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade by allocating 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for development aid, to be raised to 1 per cent by 1990; next, there should be an increase in the resources of IMF through raising quotas and facilitating access by developing countries to its credit facilities, improving credit terms and exploring new methods to distribute special drawing rights in support of the development process; then there should be an increase in the resources of the World Bank and an expansion of its programmes of credit to developing countries; and lastly, we should adopt a collective approach to solve the debt problem of the developing countries in order to forestall paralysis of the inter-governmental and private financial institutions, which would lead to the disintegration of the world economy, thus disappointing the aspirations of the peoples of the third world for better times.

21. Situated in the heart of the Arab world in the north-eastern part of Africa, thus providing a link with Asia, and lying on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, which links Africa and Europe, Egypt duly recognizes the importance of issues of security and peace in all those regions.

22. Egypt's concern has been manifested in its various initiatives aimed at establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, the denuclearization of Africa and the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, as well as in its support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVII)*]. Egypt has worked tirelessly for closer co-operation and interaction among the peoples of the Mediterranean.

23. The key to peace in the Middle East lies in reaching a just settlement of the Palestinian problem based on recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and on enabling that people to establish their national entity on their soil, as well as on the

recognition of Israel's right to exist, and on agreement on security guarantees for both parties, leading to a new era of relations between Israel and all its neighbours. This should lead to the elimination of war and destruction, paving the way to friendliness and harmony instead of rancour and hatred. Resources would be released for industry and agriculture instead of being used for stockpiling deadly weapons and imperilling the lives of whole generations in an area that was once the cradle of civilization, refined culture and peace.

24. Most regrettably, Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories are in total contradiction with the goal of peace and reconciliation. Such practices can yield only a crop of hatred and fresh impediments to the course of peace, destroying whatever hope is left in the hearts of millions. The first of these practices is the Israeli policy of establishing settlements in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, a policy that is assuming new dimensions daily in defiance of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and in contravention of the rules of international law and international treaties, including the Regulations annexed to the Hague Convention of 1907³ and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁴ as well as the commitment undertaken by Israel on the very day that the framework for peace in the Middle East was signed.

25. In such conditions, we should all think together about new ways and means of confronting this perilous policy, which threatens to undermine the very foundations of peace and make any Arab-Israeli coexistence impossible. It is quite evident that coexistence cannot be reconciled with a policy of territorial annexation and violation of rights. We are all urged to explore new measures with regard to this illegal policy, having established that it contravenes the rules of law and is totally inadmissible. A policy based on illegality remains illegitimate; a policy of *fait accompli* cannot legitimize itself in the eyes of the international community at the end of the twentieth century.

26. Representatives have no doubt followed the recent repressive Israeli actions in the occupied Arab territories: the expulsion of elected mayors and local administration officials and the stifling of peaceful expressions of views and grievances. These practices are added to the existing accumulation, destroying opportunities for genuine peace based on mutual acceptance and good faith.

27. Allow me to address an appeal from this rostrum to the Israeli people to respond to the challenge of peace, to reject concepts of expansion and territorial annexation and to give concrete expression to its desire for coexistence with the Palestinian people. A golden opportunity exists for Israel to achieve true peace, transforming its borders with the Arabs into areas of attraction, interaction and fruitful exchanges. These borders should no longer be marked by trenches, barbed wire and barricades. We are all called upon to work for a historic reconciliation. We cannot proceed towards the future saddled with the antiquated notions and residues of the past. It is impermissible for any party to try to impose peace because such a peace would be no more than an armed truce, an invitation to revenge and a source of future bloodshed, violence and hostility.

28. We have all witnessed in agony and sorrow the painful and bloody events in Lebanon, the obliteration of the traditional character of the country, the murder of its citizens and the destruction of their property. The country's national unity and territorial integrity have been compromised and its social peace undermined, while it has become a vulnerable target of foreign intervention,

plots and dissension. It is the obligation of all of us to stand by the Lebanese people in its efforts to change this painful reality and its determination to play a constructive role in the region.

29. The point of departure in confronting the situation and preventing further deterioration is total Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Such withdrawal should not be contingent upon factors beyond the control of Lebanon. Israel's obligation to withdraw stems from the illegality of invasion and the provisions of Security Council resolution 509 (1982), as well as from Israel's commitment to pursue comprehensive peace with all its neighbours who are willing to live in peace and refrain from the use of force in settling disputes.

30. The Arab Republic of Egypt, while welcoming the cease-fire agreement reached in Lebanon, calls upon all parties to respect the sovereignty of Lebanon and its legitimate authority. It also calls for national reconciliation among all the factions in Lebanon. We are determined that all forms of foreign intervention should be terminated and that all plans to partition Lebanon and turn it into spheres of influence and control must be rejected. An independent and unified Lebanon would be a force for peace, stability and progress and a viable model for creative coexistence based on unity in diversity. Therefore, the safeguarding of Lebanon is a moral imperative for all of us.

31. The international community, which members of this Assembly represent, is called upon to exert concerted efforts to put an end to the Iran-Iraq war, which is an aimless and meaningless war. Its continuance spells the death of thousands more citizens in both countries, which are bound together by spiritual and cultural ties, and further dissipation of the resources which should be diverted to their reconstruction and development. Furthermore, its continuance means more tension and more instability for the strategic Gulf area and provides a pretext for more foreign intervention and ambitions.

32. We are not asked to take sides, but we should adopt a clear and unequivocal stand: the war must be stopped and peace must be established. The situation warrants no more indifference, no more waiting for events to unfold until the two warring parties have been exhausted. All of us have a direct interest in seeing to it that the fighting stops and reconstruction begins.

33. In our view, Iraq honoured its legal and moral obligations when it withdrew from all Iranian territory, declared its willingness to end the war forthwith, accepted the border agreement of 1975 and welcomed negotiations to settle disputes. What remains is for Iran to respond to that constructive position and for the international community to determine its position in the light of those facts. Only then will the war-mongers realize that they are gaining nothing by continuing the war and that their position is becoming weaker and more self-destructive. This war obviously benefits no one.

34. As the African peoples are engaged in a heroic struggle to rid themselves of the residues of colonialism, as they prepare to take off towards a future of wider horizons through the absorption of modern science and technology and the modernization of their production methods, as they strive to overcome the scourge of drought, malnutrition, economic imbalance caused by the deteriorating terms of trade and the rising prices of imports, we find precious parts of the continent subject to flagrant violations of human rights at the hands of a minority racist régime, a régime which monopolizes power and wealth leaving the majority—the rightful sovereign owners of the land—subjected to ugly repression. Meanwhile, the Pretoria régime continues its

aggression against the struggling peoples of southern Africa. That régime persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia, plundering its resources and launching aggression against the front-line States because of their support for our African brothers in the south.

35. It is with much regret that we note that successive resolutions of the Security Council have not made any dent in the conduct of the minority régime, which continues to usurp power by means of force. That situation is truly intolerable; it reflects contempt for the international community and the flouting of its laws and standards. It furthermore diminishes the prestige and standing of the United Nations. Therefore, we must all step up our efforts against those aggressive practices. Our responsibility does not end with the adoption of resolutions and appeals. We should ensure the implementation of the resolutions adopted in order to safeguard the people's rights to freedom, justice and dignity.

36. Another issue that should command our attention is the situation arising from the foreign intervention in Chad, with its repercussions on the peace, security and stability of the area, the killing of innocent civilians, the revival of the outmoded concepts of spheres of influence and the use of the *fait accompli* and attempts at partition and fragmentation. The situation poses a grave threat to the interests of the African peoples. It violates their consensus on safeguarding their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We pledge our support to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to put an end to foreign intervention in Chad and to enable its people to direct their energies to the challenge of reform and reconstruction.

37. By the same token, we cannot afford to overlook the existing problems in Asia and Latin America, particularly the question of the peaceful unification of Korea, the situation in Kampuchea, the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, the dispute over the Falkland Islands and the escalating tension in Central America. We cannot afford the luxury of standing aloof from those events. Those events affect us; we suffer from their consequences regardless of the geographic distances separating us.

38. We stand today at the crossroads. The choice is obvious: either we enjoy a comprehensive peace based on justice under which all nations and peoples could live, or we suffer from chaos, denial of rights and lawlessness.

39. The only course open to us is to double our efforts so that we can nurture the tree of freedom, hoist the banners of peace and build for progress.

40. We have to proceed together on the path of equity and virtue. There is no real conflict of interest between nations of the North and those of the South or between East and West. The only contradiction is between life and death, between existence and extinction and between war and peace.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Pradhan (Bhutan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

42. Mr. van den BROEK (Netherlands): I should like first of all to congratulate Mr. Illueca upon his election to the presidency of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, and I am fully confident that he will guide our deliberations with benevolence and wisdom.

43. With the chair's permission, I wish to extend, on behalf of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, warm words of welcome to the new Member, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

44. We are convening at a time when the need for an organization like this, the United Nations, with the essential concrete and practical purposes set out in its Charter, is greater than ever, because the international situation is deeply disturbing in many respects.

45. Relations between a number of States have deteriorated since we met here last year. Several countries continue to suffer the oppressive effects of foreign invasion, and the end of their suffering is nowhere in sight. The savage war between Iran and Iraq has entered its fourth year. Millions of people continue to live in extreme poverty. Less than a month ago, we were stunned by the cruel destruction of a civilian airliner by the Soviet Union, which has since been rightly condemned in various forums within the United Nations system.

46. In a world which is subject to such stress and where violence so often takes the place of justice and the rule of law, we need this unique and universal Organization, the United Nations. We have to do all we can to make it into an effective and efficient instrument.

47. According to the Charter, one of the purposes of the United Nations is to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of its Members in the attainment of their common ends. In many instances the Organization has been highly successful. The era of colonization has virtually been brought to an end, as witnessed by the representation in this Hall of 158 independent States, a threefold increase in its original membership. The work of the specialized agencies should be mentioned too. Public attention is seldom commensurate with their unmistakable achievements. Equally important progress has been reached in the codification of human rights and the creation of instruments for their implementation.

48. Yet there is a general feeling that the United Nations has more often failed in being the centre for harmonizing our actions, a feeling so acutely expressed by the Secretary-General in his reports on the work of the Organization. Up to a point we should allow ourselves a sense of realism and recognize that tension will always exist between the lofty principles and purposes of the Charter and the harsh realities of our time. In bridging this gap the Organization may perhaps never be completely successful. But even a modest view of what we can ultimately achieve does not absolve us from keeping constantly in mind the Organization's guiding principles.

49. Whenever the United Nations appears unable to steer the course of events, we ourselves should take the blame. The United Nations is only a stage on which we, the Members, are the actors. If the United Nations fails to implement its decisions, it is again to ourselves that we should look for an answer. We, the Members, should harmonize our positions and our actions, making the most of the United Nations as a centre for our endeavours.

50. Last year's report of the Secretary-General¹ has been the subject of wide-ranging consultations among the members of the Security Council. Representing a country which took part in the consultations, I regret to say that their outcome cannot as yet be considered very satisfactory. Nevertheless, I do hope that the Council's report² can at least serve as a starting-point for more in-depth consultations and practical conclusions. The credibility and effectiveness of the Organization require us to give a constructive response to the urgent appeal of the Secretary-General, and after eight months of experience as a member of the Security Council, I cannot but voice some disappointment over the way the Council functions or sometimes appears unable to function. To quote but one example, I refer to the case of Chad. That country, faced with armed intervention, had recourse to the Security Council without gaining any satisfaction on

its fully justified complaint. In other cases the Council succeeded in adopting resolutions, but one wonders whether these were all up to the measure of the duties and responsibilities of the Council. The reasons for this were perhaps manifold, but I should like to point to one which, to my mind, is also relevant to the work of the General Assembly and to international conferences under the aegis of the United Nations.

51. Here I have in mind the misuse of the procedure of consensus. In his recent report the Secretary-General calls for a concerted approach to problems of peace and security and a constructive search for consensus on difficult and controversial issues. To my mind consensus is the perfect expression of the Charter's image of the United Nations as the centre for harmonizing our actions. It is true also that the broadest possible support is necessary for United Nations recommendations and decisions to be effective. A strong argument in favour of the consensus procedure relates to the democratic necessity of taking legitimate minority views into consideration instead of simply overruling them. For all these reasons my country favours the consensus procedure, consensus being understood in its true meaning of a view or feeling basically shared by all. Only in the case of such a real consensus will it be possible to move from words to action.

52. Sometimes, however, the effectiveness of the consensus approach is considerably reduced. This happens when consensus is used for covering up instead of reconciling differing views. Then the final result is only very meagre, a lowest common denominator with the appearance but without the strength of real consensus. Of course, no result at all is likely to come of efforts to arrive at a consensus where there is basic disagreement, let alone open conflict; for instance, a complaint of a victim of aggression against its aggressor. The work of the Security Council gives examples of both situations.

53. A more common malpractice, not unknown to the Assembly either, occurs when pressure groups produce draft resolutions on a "take it or leave it" basis, intended to extract formal support from an unwilling minority. Decisions taken on this basis in my view can only be a flimsy victory for their sponsors, because such superficial unanimity lacks the force of a commonly shared political will and the decisions reached tend to remain a dead letter.

54. To give an example of what I have in mind I refer to the Paris conference on Namibia. This conference adopted a declaration and a programme of action⁶ by official consensus. The contents of these documents were highly predictable, not only because their drafts ran along lines to be expected, but above all because no real negotiations on these texts were allowed. When subsequently a number of countries abstained from full participation in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, this certainly was due, at least in part, to the precedent set by the Namibia conference. To sum up: if we really want the United Nations to be a centre for harmonizing not only our words but also, and foremost, our deeds and actions, then I think we should apply the consensus procedure as judiciously as we possibly can.

55. Next to being scrupulous about the way in which we arrive at decisions, we should be wise to support the Secretary-General in his efforts to improve the efficiency of the Organization itself. The times when real growth in programme budgets could realistically be envisaged are over, I am afraid. Both we and the Secretariat will have to set priorities and adhere to them, because both we and they have to do more with the same amount of money, or even less.

56. I welcome the establishment by the Secretary-General of a high level advisory group on administrative reform with the task of identifying issues and areas in which modification or reform could be effected. I hope this group will not hesitate to come forward with constructive proposals.

57. The problems of the Middle East will again be among the Assembly's most urgent and most intractable. The use of force, originating both from within and without, is the daily predicament of the people of Lebanon. We welcome the cease-fire, and I congratulate those who brought it about. We sincerely hope it will allow the parties in the conflict to engage in a dialogue soon. The Government of Lebanon deserves support in its efforts to realize a comprehensive national reconciliation and to uphold the country's unity and independence. This requires the complete and prompt withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory, except for those whose presence may be requested by the legitimate Government. United Nations observers might play a useful role in supervising the cease-fire.

58. The Organization has been especially involved in the Lebanese situation by the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping force in the southern part of the country. It is a sorry state of affairs that for more than a year now UNIFIL has been held hostage to a situation beyond its control. This frustrating experience cannot, in our view, go on indefinitely, and the Netherlands Government has consequently decided to terminate its participation in UNIFIL in its present form. In due course, the Security Council, acting in agreement with the Government of Lebanon, may devise a more meaningful role for UNIFIL than the Force is able to fulfil nowadays. In view of this possibility, ways and means are being considered for the Netherlands withdrawal not to be complete, so that our presence can be easily expanded again at a later date, because the Netherlands interest in United Nations peace-keeping remains undiminished.

59. The Palestinian problem is very much at the centre of the problems in the Middle East. Together with our European partners we have stated many times that the Palestinian people must be enabled to exercise its legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination, with all that this implies. It is certain that there will be no peace in the Middle East without the Palestinians' finding their rightful place among the other peoples of the region. Nor will there be peace as long as the Palestinian people do not recognize the right of Israel and its people to exist within secure and recognized borders.

60. Peace in the Middle East will not prevail unless the security and legitimate interests of all States and peoples of the region are taken into account. Their rights must be mutually recognized by the parties themselves. The threat or use of force must be renounced by all.

61. The Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are in our view an extremely worrying factor. As a first step Israel should refrain from expanding these settlements, which my Government considers to be illegal, and they should refrain from creating new ones. This settlement policy in our judgement is not a matter of the right of individual people to live where they want, but of prejudging the question of how and where the Israeli and the Palestinian people will live next to each other in the future. For this reason we view this settlements policy as a major and growing obstacle to peace.

62. Afghanistan and Kampuchea share the fate of being victims of foreign invasion and occupation. Both peoples are denied the full exercise of their right to self-determination and self-government. Neighbouring countries have to provide shelter to huge numbers of refugees. The

Soviet Union and Viet Nam, who pride themselves on being progressive and peace-loving, hold in their grip two Members of the Organization by force. The Assembly should once again press for a political solution which would enable Afghanistan and Kampuchea to regain their full independence. We owe it to the suffering people of both countries to show that our support for their rights remains as strong as ever. With reference to the situation in Kampuchea, I should like to commend the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] for their endeavours to promote a political solution.

63. Korea remains an area of persistent tensions. We are convinced of the need for a speedy resumption of the dialogue between North and South in order to settle the Korean question by peaceful means. The Republic of Korea should be allowed to become a full Member of the United Nations, and so should North Korea, if and when it so desires.

64. For many reasons the situation in Central America is a matter of serious concern. The States in this region are going through a painful period of internal strife and instability, caused by social inequality and economic underdevelopment and aggravated by foreign interference. They face the possibility of wider armed conflict. Discussing this situation in the Security Council, the Netherlands representative stated that the problems of the region require a negotiated solution based on the principles of non-interference, non-aggression, sovereign equality and self-determination. The nations of Central America should be free to choose their own form of government, and there is no justification to impose revolutions on these peoples. Neither is there any justification to support efforts to destabilize existing governments through overt or covert operations in co-operation with internal resistance movements. We heartily welcome and support the efforts of the Contadora Group to find solutions to the problems besetting their region. The Group's Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, issued on 17 July 1983 [A/38/303], contains many constructive proposals, of which I would like to mention the call for an end to the arms buildup in the region and for evolution and progress in the field of economic development and social justice, closely linked to the creation or strengthening of democratic political institutions.

65. Our relations with Latin America and the Caribbean region remain particularly important to us. The Kingdom of the Netherlands follows with great interest the efforts towards closer economic and political co-operation in that part of the world. While the Netherlands welcomes trends toward democracy, we deplore the continuing serious disrespect for human and civil rights, which remains, sorry to say, a widespread phenomenon in the area. I have to make special mention of our relations with Suriname, which have been put under so heavy a strain by the appalling events of December 1982 in Paramaribo. We sincerely hope that the people of Suriname will soon be allowed to revert to democratic values and that respect for human rights will be restored.

66. The situation in Namibia seems to remain inextricable, even though the mission of the Secretary-General, in pursuance of Security Council resolution 532 (1983), was as successful as it could have been under the circumstances. Virtually all outstanding issues with regard to the United Nations plan for Namibia were resolved. However, it is still impossible to launch the plan because South Africa sticks to its position regarding the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

67. In my view this state of affairs is very discouraging and unfair to the Namibian people, whose independence

is further delayed by extraneous factors. A peaceful solution to the Namibian problem is also, as the Secretary-General observed, the key to a peaceful future for all countries of the region. I would urgently call on all concerned to redouble their efforts and to remove as quickly as possible the last obstacles to the implementation of the settlement plan.

68. As a first and urgent step to get things moving the Assembly, in my modest opinion, should call on South Africa to stop its military incursions into Angola and to agree to a cease-fire. This seems a first prerequisite, as the Secretary-General rightly advocated, "to reduce the tensions and contentious issues and to put an end to conflict in the area as a whole".⁷ After so many years of frustration an initiative of this kind may not seem good enough, but it could serve to put matters on the right track.

69. As far as sanctions against South Africa are concerned, the world community simply cannot indulge South Africa's forever defying the principles of inter-State and human behaviours. *Apartheid* is one of the most abhorrent examples of racial discrimination and of institutionalized denial of human rights. For that reason the Netherlands has associated itself with numerous Assembly resolutions calling for sanctions against South Africa, provided that these sanctions are selective and compulsory, both being basic requirements for any effective impact on South Africa's policies. For some years my country's delegation has sponsored the Assembly's resolutions on investments in South Africa. Moreover, we have supported the call for an oil embargo, also on the basis of a mandatory decision by the Security Council.

70. I believe the best thing would now be for us to concentrate our immediate efforts on one measure, aimed at strengthening the existing United Nations arms embargo against South Africa. We feel it is of the utmost importance to deny this country the means to pursue its policies by force. Its constant pattern of armed intervention in neighbouring countries and repression of internal opposition forces obliges us to deprive it of any assistance in the field of the manufacture or acquisition of arms. The Security Council, in its resolution 418 (1977), has already prohibited the sale or transfer of arms to South Africa. In view of South Africa's efforts to build up its own capacity in arms manufacturing, we should agree to expand the existing embargo by a ban on arms imports from South Africa, since such purchases enhance the economic viability of the South African arms industry and strengthen that country's autarky in the armaments field.

71. This year the Assembly will celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Universal Declaration was the foundation for the International Bill of Human Rights. This comprehensive body of human rights norms must be considered one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations and, together with the Charter, as the basis for United Nations involvement with human rights. My Government was encouraged by the Assembly's adoption last year of resolution 37/200, affirming that "a primary aim of international co-operation in the field of human rights is a life of freedom and dignity for each human being, that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interrelated and that the promotion of one category of rights should never exempt or excuse States from the promotion and protection of the others". By adopting this resolution the Assembly has committed itself to an even-handed and strong policy in the field of human rights.

72. They are being violated in all parts of the world. The resolution I referred to urges all States to co-operate with the Commission on Human Rights in its study of the violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the world. It is therefore distressing to see the continuing unwillingness of some Member States to extend their co-operation to the special rapporteurs appointed by the Commission to study the human rights situation in those States.

73. Although the lifting of martial law offered some hope for a more forthcoming policy, the Government of Poland, which in the past has supported calls for co-operation by other Governments, has shown no sign so far of heeding the legitimate concern of the international community over the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Polish people.

74. It is equally to be hoped that the Government of Chile will co-operate with the Commission's new special rapporteur. Speaking of Chile, I want to add that the democratic forces in that country have my Government's full support and that I feel they deserve the support of other countries as well. It is heartening to realize that no amount of official repression has been able to eradicate the movement for the restoration of democracy. But Chile is not the only country where such a movement has proved to be stronger than the régime it has to resist.

75. The full horror of the scale on which the fundamental right to life itself is violated became painfully clear in the report on summary or arbitrary executions, including extra-legal executions, submitted to the Commission by Mr. Amos Wako. Conservative estimates cited by Mr. Wako put the number of known victims of such executions at no less than 2 million in the last 15 years: men and women, young and old, who were perceived in one way or another to be in opposition to their Government. Since then reports of summary or arbitrary executions and of disappearances, torture and other violations of the sanctity of the human person continue to be received. We are reminded daily of the human suffering taking place in various parts of Central America, where the names of some countries have acquired an unfortunate connotation of pain and fear.

76. From Iran, too, we hear of the maltreatment and execution of members of the Baha'i faith, in defiance of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief [resolution 36/55].

77. In many parts of the world the full enjoyment of human rights is undercut by the state of development and by sheer poverty. These problems will figure high in the economic section of the agenda of this session. The President of the European Economic Community has dealt extensively, also on our behalf, with the issues involved in international economic co-operation and North-South relations.

78. The economic issues before this session will once again centre on the ability of the international community to make a common assessment of the present state of the world economy and to make the necessary recommendations for concrete and immediate action. The disappointing results of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which took place at a crucial moment, given the situation of the world economy, have shown that the international community is deeply divided over the question of how to solve the present economic crisis and in particular on the role that Governments should play in overcoming this crisis. At the same time that session showed broad agreement on the analysis of the present situation. There seemed to be agreement on the interdependence of our

world, on the internal diversity within both the North and the South and on the necessity to find common solutions to these various problems.

79. The global economic dialogue is taking place at various levels and in different forums. In recent reports on North-South relations, the Brandt Commission and the Commonwealth experts have made interesting suggestions on ways to improve the handling of the dialogue. I think we owe it to them and to ourselves to revitalize the negotiating mechanisms in order to arrive at practical solutions to outstanding problems.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.

80. Looking at the general situation of the world economy we discern some hopeful signs of economic recovery. However, there is no assurance of an early overall recovery. It is evident that there is a need for action both at the national and at the international level to promote sustained economic recovery. A concerted approach is required among nations whose economies are interdependent, so as to avoid our making short-term gains at each other's expense. There continues to be a great need for international support for and co-operation with those weaker countries whose economies are vulnerable and which for their development cannot do without considerable assistance. In particular we feel it is imperative that developed countries take the required measures to support the poorest, in order that they too may benefit from the economic recovery.

81. The Netherlands Government, for its part, is committed to maintaining the present level of its official development assistance, which amounts to well over 1 per cent of its gross national product. Allow me to appeal to all rich nations equally not to falter in their efforts concerning development co-operation.

82. Over the years we have consistently called for the balanced financial participation of all donor countries in the voluntary funds of the United Nations. We firmly believe that the development system of the United Nations can function satisfactorily only if the financial burden is more evenly spread over the donor countries. The situation whereby only a few countries, among them my own, carry a disproportionate burden cannot continue. In 1984 another important international element will be added to the decision-making on multilateral development co-operation, that is, the International Conference on Population to be held next August at Mexico City. We hope that that Conference will deepen our knowledge of the relationships between population and economic and social development and lead to new operational activities to solve the pressing problems of population growth, poverty and environmental degradation.

83. All our efforts to solve political problems or to improve the international economic order will be in vain if we do not succeed in our primary task of maintaining international peace and security. Wherever war and armed conflict occur, the need to fight for survival tends to become the single overriding issue. Moreover, it is a tragic truth that because of the destructive power of modern weaponry the means of war threaten to destroy the very values they are meant to defend. This applies particularly to nuclear war, which would spell disaster for all, but we have only to look at countries like Lebanon or Afghanistan, for instance, to realize what destruction so-called conventional weapons can produce.

84. In view of this we must feel bound to agree on curtailing the armaments race and to adopt incisive measures in the field of arms control and disarmament. At stake is the basic question whether man is to be master or slave of the forces of his own creation. It is therefore

painful to note that although United Nations efforts in the field of disarmament have increased in recent years, they seem to have yielded diminishing results. The report of the Committee on Disarmament [A/38/27], which forms the basis of our discussions at this session, speaks of strenuous efforts but not of concrete agreement.

85. The same may still be said of the crucially important negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the question of reducing their nuclear forces to lower and safer levels and achieving a more stable balance. The present state of East-West relations, which a number of events have put under a heavy strain, should not lead to a lessening of efforts to bring these negotiations to substantial results. On the contrary, in a period of increasing tensions the rationale for seeking nuclear arms reductions should be even more apparent. Especially in the field of intermediate-range nuclear forces, the coming months will be of critical importance. In this respect, I welcome and endorse the proposals made public by President Reagan in his speech at the 5th meeting of this session.

86. The Government and people of the Netherlands are anxiously waiting for a breakthrough in the negotiations at Geneva which would eliminate the threat of existing intermediate-range systems and thereby make it possible to forgo deployment on the Western side. Should this goal prove unattainable in one step, we should follow the road of redressing the existing imbalance at the lowest possible level.

87. The quantitative as well as the qualitative growth of the arms buildup makes it an increasingly complex matter. Arms control negotiations aimed at reductions are no longer sufficient by themselves. It is generally accepted nowadays that they must be accompanied by confidence-building measures. These measures can create more openness about military activities and thereby create a climate more conducive to arms control in general. It is for this reason that I warmly welcome the convening of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, to be held at Stockholm.

88. Nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, with all that this implies, is one of the most challenging issues confronting us all. Here at the United Nations we should not relax our efforts to achieve eventually a comprehensive prohibition of nuclear testing as an effective collateral measure. Such a prohibition would constitute an important step forward on the road to nuclear disarmament by diminishing the dangers of both horizontal and vertical proliferation. The Netherlands continues to attach great importance to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. We therefore co-sponsored the request to include on the agenda of this session of the Assembly the question of an early and adequate preparation for the third review conference of the parties to the Treaty [see A/38/192]. A failure such as that of the last review conference should at all costs be prevented. An agreement between the nuclear Powers on nuclear security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States would constitute a positive contribution to these efforts.

89. The application of space technology evokes admiration of man's ingenuity but also fear of his perennial temptation to turn his capacities to evil ends. It appears that we still have the opportunity to prevent an arms race in outer space which, if it took place, would add a new dimension to the existing world-wide arms buildup. Before we are overtaken by rapid technological developments, especially in the field of anti-satellite weapons, we must agree to forego such a dangerous course. The

Netherlands delegation will be active in promoting a solution along these lines.

90. The issue of chemical weapons was one of the main and most extensively debated items on the agenda of the Committee on Disarmament. One would have hoped that this year, after so many years, this issue would have matured sufficiently to allow for practical and fruitful negotiations. Substantial progress has been made, and at least from a technical point of view the analysis of the problems involved seems to have been exhausted. We should exhort the Committee to engage in a final drive to conclude an agreement which would free the world from the spectre of chemical warfare.

91. I have reached the end of my statement. Little of what I have said in my commentary on world events was particularly cheerful, but it would be wrong for me to finish on a gloomy note. We are here at the United Nations, at the centre of an organization which could perform miracles if given the opportunity. It was designed to perform something like a miracle: to save us from war, to realize human rights, to help establish justice and social progress.

92. The opportunity is there for us to take. It is completely up to us to make full use of the Organization, which we have set up or joined of our own free will. The Netherlands has not yet lost hope that this will come about.

93. Mr. ABE (Japan):* On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, Sir, I extend my heartfelt congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session. I am confident that, given your wealth of experience and wise views, this session will prove fruitful indeed. Please be assured that the delegation of Japan will spare no effort in co-operating with you as you carry out your important tasks.

94. At the same time, I wish to express my deep appreciation to the President of the thirty-seventh session, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the very capable manner in which he discharged his awesome responsibilities.

95. I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General. As we begin the second session under his leadership, I am most encouraged by his determined efforts and capable leadership, despite the tense international situation.

96. It is a great pleasure to be able to extend a sincere welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis as the 158th State to be admitted to the membership of the United Nations.

97. It is most regrettable that I must begin my formal remarks at this meeting of an organization devoted to the pursuit of peace and international harmony by speaking of the recent downing of a Korean Air Lines jetliner by the Soviet Union. Allow me here, on behalf of the Government and people of Japan, to express my sadness at the passing of the 269 passengers and crew members who were the victims of one of the most tragic incidents in history and to convey my heartfelt sympathy to their families.

98. The shooting down of an unarmed and defenceless civilian aircraft is an intolerable outrage against humanity and international law. Not only has the Soviet Union failed to provide a satisfactory explanation of events to Japan and the other countries concerned; it has desperately sought to shift the blame for this incident on to others.

*Mr. Abe spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

99. I strongly urge the Soviet Union to respond to the verdict of international condemnation of this grave illegal act and duly recognize its responsibility, as well as to deal with this situation promptly and with sincerity.

100. Despite the fervent wishes and determined efforts for peace by the peoples of the world, there is not a day that goes by without anxiety and concern. The world situation continues to be plagued by tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and between East and West, conflict and disputes in some regions, global economic recession which invites protectionist movements, and more.

101. Under its peace constitution, Japan has long made its basic foreign policy one of refusing to become a military Power and of contributing to world peace and prosperity, and in full recognition of the heightened international expectations that Japan play a more positive political role in the world community, we are resolved to continue to make every effort to contribute to world peace and stability commensurate with our national strengths and position.

102. Of course, the various problems in the international community cannot be resolved by any one country acting alone. They demand concerted action by all the countries of the world, and it is precisely in the United Nations that these international problems should be studied and concrete policies for their solution debated.

103. From this perspective, I should like to speak today on Japanese foreign policy efforts, with particular attention to the issues before the United Nations, and also to outline future directions.

104. It goes without saying that disarmament is the issue of greatest concern to Japan, a country determined not to become a military Power and firmly maintaining its three non-nuclear principles. Our generation has a grave responsibility to save the world from the tragedy of war, especially from the scourge of nuclear weapons, and to pass it on intact to posterity.

105. My Government therefore attaches primary importance to the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces now under way between the United States and the Soviet Union. The success or failure of these negotiations not only will have a major impact on the strategic arms reduction talks and disarmament negotiations in general but will also have a crucial influence on the overall international situation, including the fate of East-West relations. The Soviet SS-20 missiles, the subject of these intermediate-range negotiations, greatly affect the East-West military balance by virtue of their range, mobility and destructiveness, and they cannot be ignored in the context of world peace and security. Although the Soviet Union has taken the position that the present negotiations only cover the SS-20s deployed in Europe, these negotiations must be conducted from a global perspective, including the Asian region.

106. Japan has long emphasized that the intermediate-range nuclear forces negotiations should be conducted and a solution sought, not by sacrificing Asia, but from a global perspective by paying due consideration to the security interests of that region. I have accordingly taken every opportunity, including my trip to Europe in January and my attendance at the Summit of Industrialized Nations at Williamsburg in May 1983, to argue this position and to seek the understanding of the United States and other countries concerned. This Japanese position met with the agreement of the major industrialized countries and was incorporated into the political statement of the Williamsburg Summit.

107. Given the gravity of the worldwide impact which the outcome of these negotiations will have, I sincerely hope that progress toward a substantive solution will be made in the future. Japan appreciates and supports the serious efforts of the United States, as seen in its recent initiative, and at the same time I strongly urge the Soviet Union to respond in good faith and approach these negotiations realistically for the sake of world peace.

108. With the risk of global nuclear proliferation growing as it is today, it is all the more important that we strengthen the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons régime. As one of the contracting parties to this Treaty, Japan would like once again to call upon all countries that have not yet adhered to this Treaty to do so as soon as possible, whether they possess nuclear weapons or not.

109. At the same time, I should like to point out that it is especially important for the maintenance and strengthening of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty régime that the nuclear Powers faithfully fulfil their responsibilities for nuclear disarmament under this Treaty, and so I call again upon the United States and the Soviet Union to make substantive progress in their disarmament negotiations.

110. Japan has long opposed nuclear testing of any kind conducted by any State and has worked to promote the establishment of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, including underground testing, in order to halt the further upgrading of nuclear weapons, and we must continue untiringly our international efforts in this field.

111. The realization of credible disarmament in both nuclear and conventional weapons demands the establishment of verification systems for each disarmament measure. Recognizing this, Japan has consistently stressed the importance of verification in the disarmament field.

112. Japan suggested a number of concrete measures to this end at last year's second special session devoted to disarmament, including the establishment of an international verification unit within the United Nations framework,⁸ and I hope these Japanese measures will be promptly implemented.

113. If verification is to be effective, it is important to promote the disclosure of a broad range of information regarding military affairs and disarmament. It was in this spirit that the system of standardized reporting for military expenditures was established under resolution 35/142 B, adopted in 1980. Japan hopes as many countries as possible, regardless of their different social systems, will report on their own military spending in accordance with these standards and so lay the foundations for spending reductions.

114. With these elements as our basic approach, Japan has made every effort to promote disarmament. I assure you that Japan is resolved to continue to play a positive role for disarmament to enhance global security and hence to create a brighter future for all mankind.

115. In June I attended the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at Belgrade. The North-South issue debated there is a theme about which both sides have been concerned and on which they have worked together for a solution. At root, world peace and prosperity cannot be achieved, at this time of increasingly interdependent relations, without efforts by both the North and the South and without co-operation based upon these efforts. The struggles of the developing countries for economic development can be rewarded with success only in a sound international economic environment and only with the support of the industrialized countries. Likewise, economic growth in

developing countries will stimulate efforts for economic revitalization in industrialized countries.

116. I am convinced that the vitality of the countries of the South in a variety of pursuits is indispensable for the world as it enters the twenty-first century, and I feel very strongly that fostering that vitality requires that we create an international climate in which the people who live in these countries can believe that their lives are better today than they were yesterday, and that they will be still better tomorrow.

117. Although there have recently been signs of recovery in the world economy after a prolonged recession, there still remain numerous destabilizing factors such as unemployment and protectionism in industrialized countries and debt problems in developing countries. If we are to resolve these issues, both the industrialized and the developing countries must renew their commitment to work untiringly to solve the problems confronting them.

118. It was for this reason that I stressed at Belgrade that each country must do its part, the industrialized countries working to revitalize their domestic economies, further open their markets and expand and improve their official development assistance, and the developing countries promoting courageous adjustment efforts responsive to their present economic difficulties.

119. I should like to take this opportunity to express my admiration for the zeal with which Yugoslavia, as host of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, strove to achieve a North-South accord.

120. As an industrialized country itself, Japan is taking the initiative in seeking to fulfil its responsibilities. In the management of its economy, Japan is striving to achieve sustained growth without inflation. It decided to raise the generalized system of preferences ceiling on industrial products by approximately 50 per cent, to about \$5 billion, for next year in an effort to open its market. It has also been endeavouring to meet its new medium-term target, which is to double its official development assistance over a five-year period.

121. Great numbers of people in those least-developed countries which have been left behind in global economic development are suffering and on the verge of starvation, and it may be said that we have a humanitarian responsibility to the international community to extend special assistance to these countries. As well as working for the faithful implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, Japan intends to make further efforts to expand its assistance to these countries and to extend it on a grant basis as far as possible.

122. The Common Fund for Commodities is one concrete example of international co-operation in support of the self-help efforts of the developing countries. Japan has already taken the initiative and agreed to contribute over 8 per cent of the funding for this Fund, but I should like once again to urge that all countries which have not yet ratified this Agreement do so as soon as possible so that the Fund may become operational.

123. In addition, it is imperative that the industrialized countries strive to fulfil the promise of Belgrade and work systematically to reduce and eliminate those protectionist measures which inhibit the expansion of the world economy. We must also see to it that the seventh replenishment of the International Development Association is achieved at a substantial level in order to secure the funding needed for development.

124. It is necessary that we steadily implement the international co-operation which was pledged at the sixth

session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. I believe that such international co-operation is a responsibility to be shared by all members of our increasingly interdependent international community, whatever their social or economic systems. The North-South dialogue will proceed one step at a time on the basis of such co-operative action. In this connection, it should be recognized that the launching of the long-pending global negotiations should be one step in the search for common ground.

125. The basic aim of Japanese foreign policy is to contribute to world peace and prosperity by playing an active role in promoting constructive dialogue of this kind. Especially now, when there is so much concern about the tension on the international political scene, I believe that we should choose amity over animosity and co-operation over confrontation, that we should rally behind the elimination of poverty as the common goal of all mankind, and that we should come to grips with the historical imperative of North-South co-operation.

126. I should like next to touch upon the international situation which forms the context of the important issues which I have just discussed.

127. Today, the area where conflict and dispute between countries and peoples has intensified and where the situation is the most unsettled is the Middle East. This is especially true in the Gulf region, where the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq is dragging on and where there is concern that if the introduction of new offensive weapons results in a widening of the conflict, the peace and stability of the region may be irrevocably damaged, with immeasurable ramifications for the entire world. Profoundly concerned about this situation, I visited Iran and Iraq last August and strongly urged the leaders of both countries to refrain from any action which would result in an escalation of hostilities, and to strive for an early peace. Fortunately, Japan maintains very friendly and co-operative relations with Iran and Iraq and strongly hopes for the further development of its friendship with both countries as well as for their stability and prosperity. Having gained a full understanding of their respective positions through my talks with the leaders of these countries, I feel that for the settlement of the conflict it is necessary that the just and legitimate grievances of the countries concerned be remedied. In this connection, Japan attaches importance to the report on the United Nations mission dispatched to inspect the damage to civilian areas in the two countries.⁹

128. I would emphasize that no country can be indifferent to this conflict and that all countries should refrain from any action which might invite its escalation. Moreover, I strongly hope that the Security Council, which is responsible for maintaining international peace and security, will take effective measures to resolve it. Japan will continue to work on its own to create a climate conducive to peace, and at the same time it will spare no effort to co-operate with the constructive efforts of the United Nations for an early settlement of the conflict by peaceful means.

129. Japan has been concerned over the oil spill from the Nayruz oil-field, and I sincerely welcome Iran's successful capping of one of the damaged wells and its halting the outflow in response to expressions of concern by the international community. Japan very much hopes that the other damaged wells also will be capped as soon as possible, and we are prepared to extend all possible co-operation to this end.

130. Turning next to Lebanon, Japan sincerely welcomes the cease-fire recently agreed upon by the various

forces there, and we should like to express our profound appreciation to Saudi Arabia and to the United States for their mediation efforts. I earnestly hope that this cease-fire will be the first step, in a spirit of national reconciliation, towards the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty, the re-establishment of domestic order and the withdrawal of all foreign military forces.

131. It is truly regrettable that the unsettled situation in Lebanon and the Gulf area has lately absorbed our attention and that the need for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East has been neglected. I should like to urge all the parties concerned to redouble their efforts towards peace in the Middle East.

132. It is already nearly four years since the Soviet Union launched its military intervention in Afghanistan. We cannot allow the situation to become a *fait accompli*. Japan has high regard for the efforts made by the Secretary-General's personal representative. However, it is regrettable that these efforts have not resulted in an immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces, the quick restoration of the Afghan people's right of self-determination and a safe and honourable return home by Afghan refugees.

133. In recent years Japan has steadily expanded its assistance, purely on humanitarian grounds, to the refugees resulting from local conflicts, and we intend to continue such assistance in line with this basic policy.

134. Asia continues to be calmer than other regions, but the problem of Kampuchea remains unresolved. In late June this year I visited refugee camps near the Thai-Kampuchean border and saw for myself the dire conditions in which these refugees live. We must put an end to this situation as soon as possible. I should like here to reiterate my appeal that Viet Nam enter into negotiations in response to the call for a comprehensive political settlement, including the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the exercise of self-determination by the people of Kampuchea.

135. Continuing to support the efforts of the members of ASEAN towards a solution of the Kampuchean issue, Japan intends to deal positively with this situation.

136. On the Korean peninsula tensions still persist, but the settlement of the Korean question must be achieved by peaceful means, and this requires the actual resumption of dialogue between North and South Korea. In this sense, Japan highly values the initiatives taken by the Republic of Korea to bring about dialogue. The Government of Japan will spare no effort in trying to create a climate conducive to the relaxation of tensions in the Korean peninsula. Believing that there is also considerable room for the Secretary-General to play a role here, I both look forward to and will support all his efforts.

137. I strongly urge the Republic of South Africa to abolish its *apartheid* policies. I also hope that the question of Namibian independence will be resolved at the earliest possible time.

138. As shown in this brief review, the global community is today beset by dangers that could easily lead to a world crisis with one wrong move, and an equilibrium is just barely being maintained. Yet all the peoples of the world devoutly hope that the fragile foundation will be consolidated and lasting peace and prosperity secured throughout the international community. Is it not the duty of all leaders assembled here today to respond to these hopes?

139. I should also like to take this opportunity to say a word about our relations with the Soviet Union, one of our most important neighbours. Japan has long hoped to work for the development of a stable relationship with

that country based upon genuine mutual understanding. However, it has not been possible for our two countries to conclude a peace treaty because of the existence in Japanese-Soviet relations of the unsettled Northern Territories issue. Moreover, an extremely regrettable situation has arisen in recent years as the Soviet Union has deployed and strengthened its military forces in Japan's Northern Territories. Japan strongly calls upon the Soviet Union promptly to rectify this situation and come to the negotiating table to resolve the Northern Territories issue, to conclude a peace treaty with Japan and hence to begin work on building a bilateral relationship of trust.

140. The United Nations was founded after the Second World War, which had caused immeasurable destruction and suffering to all mankind, in the determination to band together to maintain peace and security and save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It is now incumbent upon us to renew that determination by returning to the ideals which inspired the establishment of the United Nations.

141. In this context and as the Secretary-General has emphasized in this year's annual report, we must recognize that the capability of the United Nations to meet the world's hopes for peace and prosperity depends fundamentally upon the will and the efforts of individual Member countries. The United Nations cannot succeed in discharging its peace-keeping functions without the active support and co-operation of all Member States.

142. In recent years there has been a conspicuous tendency for the United Nations and its associated organizations to engage in non-essential, non-urgent and sometimes duplicative activities. If the United Nations is to retain the confidence and support of Member States for its activities, given its limited financial resources, efforts must be made towards further rationalization. Serious efforts, particularly by the Secretariat, are needed more now than ever before, since many Member States are making great sacrifices in their own efforts to bring about administrative and fiscal reform.

143. It is easy to bemoan the functional enervation of the United Nations and to draw up a list of its operational difficulties and the limitations of its capability.

144. However, it is also true that the United Nations has compiled a proud record of achievement on behalf of world peace and prosperity in the 38 years since its founding. We have a grave responsibility to pass on to future generations not only the brilliant achievements of the United Nations but also an even more effective and more vital Organization.

145. Japan would like to pledge, together with all other Member States, its rededication to the revitalization of the United Nations, reaffirming its own international responsibilities.

146. The questions of war and peace have been considered eternal throughout human history. Since ancient times, people have lived either in intervals of peace between wars or in intervals of war between peace, and this fate seemed unavoidable.

147. However, even though we cannot yet eradicate from this earth a certain level of hostilities, the international community has now entered a time when it is virtually inconceivable that the super-Powers, possessing destructive capabilities equivalent to more than 1 million Hiroshima-type atomic bombs, would mobilize all their resources and engage in a war of annihilation. Nevertheless, there is still that one-in-a-million chance that such a war may be started, and we must employ every conceivable means to prevent it. At the same time it

is imperative that we discover ways to establish and maintain lasting peace.

148. This is an unprecedented concept for mankind, and its realization will not be easy. Yet if we fail to meet the challenge of our times we shall run the risk of falling into spiritual despair and the madness of nuclear war, thus putting an end to the history of mankind.

149. There are well over a hundred nations in the world today. Moreover, there is great diversity among countries, and no two are alike. The maintenance and development of this international community in sound harmony is the ideal of Japan's peace Constitution and the way to secure lasting peace.

150. The fundamental goal of both the East-West dialogue and North-South co-operation should be the discovery of ways and means of ensuring such a lasting peace.

151. In closing my remarks here today, I should like to express my confidence in the success of the diverse activities which are taking place throughout the world to this end and to affirm that Japan is resolved to make every effort to do its share in accordance with the principles and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

152. Sir Geoffrey HOWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I begin by joining other speakers in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. You have my best wishes for the difficult task which lies ahead of you. May I also express my thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Hollai, who has so ably fulfilled his role on behalf of the Assembly.

153. It gives me particular pleasure to pay a tribute also to the Secretary-General. We owe a great deal already to his careful authority and leadership. His report to last year's session¹ brought out in a striking way the gravity of the problems facing us in the United Nations. His report this year [A/38/1] has again underlined the crucial problem of trust. He has also drawn our attention to the need for the Secretary-General, in the interests of all, to exercise tighter control over the administration of the Organization. It is now up to us to do something about these problems. As my predecessor said last year, the blame for the state of the world does not lie with the United Nations system or with the Charter, but with us, the Member States. I endorse that conclusion wholeheartedly, but I see absolutely no evidence that it has sunk in.

154. This is my first year as a foreign minister. But it is a reflection of today's increasingly complex and interdependent world that this year has not by any means been my first taste as a minister of international affairs.

155. My own particular experience has been in international economic and financial affairs, and I have learned from that one very clear lesson: the problems which face us can effectively be tackled only through close international co-operation and, of course, with the necessary determination and patience. If that is true, as it is, of economic and social questions, it must be even more so in the political field, where major questions of peace and security are at stake.

Mr. Pradhan (Bhutan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

156. Economic and political problems are, of course, often interlinked. Indeed, the former can cause, or exacerbate, the latter. That is why foreign ministers, even if they were so minded, cannot fail to concern themselves with economic questions. These are, of course, questions which require effective action at the national level, and national determination to solve, but the need for action on the international plane is no less clear.

157. So, as a foreign minister, I remain very interested in what is happening—and what is not happening—in the world economy. There are signs of recovery in my country and in others, but complacency and over-confidence would be equally damaging to the prospects of sustained non-inflationary growth: complacency because there will not be much growth if we rest on the laurels of our achievements so far; and over-confidence because growth will not be sustained if we abandon the fight against inflation. The consequences of inflation, of inflated expectations and of over-ambitious and over-promising governments, are still very much with us, in particular, the problems of debt and the pressures to resort to quick and wrong solutions, like protectionism. It will take patience as well as energy to ensure that they are safely overcome.

158. On the whole, I am optimistic. While vast problems remain, there have been encouraging signs that many members of the international community recognize that we are all affected by the same economic conditions and are ready to respond to the challenge of joint action. For example, the Interim Committee of the International Monetary Fund was able to reach agreement in February on an increase in quotas and a parallel enlargement of the General Arrangements to Borrow—an agreement which would not have been possible if all parties had not been willing to show considerable flexibility. It remains vitally important for countries to take legislative action necessary to implement their increased quotas so that IMF can be more effective.

159. Some of these problems are technical, or perhaps it is just that they are made to sound that way by the economists who propose solutions in a language which does not always make for easy understanding. But the underlying reality shines through any amount of jargon: we need to restore the balance and vitality of the world economy in order to provide a rising standard of living, and above all to meet the basic human needs of the people of the world for food, shelter and a decent standard of life.

160. For the last decade, the world has been proving Malthus wrong, but only just—world agricultural production has kept slightly ahead of population increase. But this conceals the fact that in many countries agricultural production per capita has stagnated or declined. Experience shows that the opposite can be achieved where policy is directed to encouraging individual enterprise and more widespread use of appropriate technology.

161. Population policy must be part of the answer, and some progress has already been made. But much more needs to be done. We should give a high priority to this since it is the poorest people who will benefit most. Aid too has a vital part to play, but food aid is only first aid. The main requirement is for aid to increase production where it is most needed, and it is on this that the international community should concentrate.

162. Production alone is not enough. We cannot afford not to make the best use of the resources at our disposal, and therefore we cannot afford to relent in the fight against protectionism. Barriers to trade are barriers to economic efficiency and the creation of wealth. We all need to fight more resolutely against them. There must be no new upward twist to the spiral of protection. Instead, I should like to see a vigorous programme of commercial disarmament.

163. I have mentioned the word "disarmament" in an unusual context. That is not because I underrate its importance in the more normal one. Indeed, nothing could illustrate more vividly the link between the economic and the political world.

164. Without security there can be no lasting prosperity; arms control and disarmament can contribute to both by reducing at the same time the risks of war and the burden of defence costs.

165. It would, of course, be madness to turn our backs on such a prospect, or to reduce our efforts to achieve so obviously beneficial a result. In theory, there is no doubt that agreements can be reached which will bring lasting economic and military benefit to both sides.

166. Over the last two decades there have been practical examples of successful agreements between East and West, which should encourage us to persevere in our efforts. But history shows also that the road is not an easy one: confidence is hard to build up and all too easy to destroy; secrecy inevitably breeds suspicion; and the stakes are high enough to underline the need for caution.

167. But caution should not prevent movement, and on the Western side, at least, it has not. President Reagan has proposed major cuts in strategic missiles and the elimination of a whole class of intermediate range missiles. Speaking from this podium only two days ago [5th meeting], he revealed a further package of steps designed to advance the negotiations as rapidly as possible. These are radical measures by any standards, and they have our full support. So do the Western proposals to reduce the forces facing each other in central Europe to a common footing. And we have put forward proposals of our own to bring nearer a ban on chemical weapons. It is clear that the West means business over disarmament. It is now up to the Russians to respond.

168. Our objective in these and other negotiations is simple: we want realistic, balanced and verifiable measures of arms control and disarmament which will enhance peace and security—not just for ourselves, but for all participants. We do not seek unilateral advantage, nor shall we give in to those who seek it at our expense.

169. That, for the moment, is what the Soviet Union is trying to do by claiming that British and French systems should be included in the intermediate-range nuclear force negotiations. The two participants in the negotiations, the United States and the Soviet Union, have agreed that their own strategic systems should be excluded. There can be no reason in equity or logic why the strategic systems of non-participants should be included. The Soviet attempt to suggest otherwise should perhaps be dismissed as a smokescreen designed to hide what I hope is only a temporary unwillingness to negotiate seriously.

170. Taken literally, what the Soviet leaders are asking for is either the unilateral strategic disarmament of Britain and France or a monopoly of intermediate-range missiles in Europe at the expense of the United States and its allies. These demands are unacceptable and will remain so—not because British weapon systems would be affected, but because what is proposed is unbalanced and inequitable and would benefit one side at the expense of the other.

171. When it comes to arms control and disarmament, we in Britain claim no special privileges and no sanctuary. The record makes this clear, and we remain ready to play a full part in the arms control and disarmament process.

172. As far as the British deterrent is concerned, we must naturally take into account that our force is a strategic one and that it represents less than 3 per cent of the strategic nuclear forces available to the United States or to the Soviet Union. It would be absurd as things stand for us to seek to trade reductions with a super-Power. But we have never said "never". On the contrary, we have made it clear that, if Soviet and United States strategic arsenals were to be very substantially reduced

and if no significant changes had occurred in Soviet defensive capabilities, Britain would want to review its position and to consider how best it could contribute to arms control in the light of the reduced threat. That remains our position.

173. I have spent some time on the subject of arms control and disarmament because it is one which is rightly at the centre of the international stage and rightly of concern to the United Nations and its Member States. But, as Mrs. Thatcher made clear when she addressed the twelfth special session of the General Assembly in June 1982,¹⁰ the causes of war do not lie in the existence of particular weapons, whether nuclear or conventional, or even in particular numbers of weapons. They lie in the disposition of States to ignore international law and to seek to impose change on others by resort to force.

174. We in Britain had direct experience of this last year, when Argentina invaded the Falklands in flagrant violation of one of the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. That invasion has not faded into history. We, for our part, have upheld and will continue to uphold the principles of the Charter. We will defend the Falkland Islands and their inhabitants against the possibility of renewed attack; our military dispositions are designed solely for this purpose. We will continue to defend the right—the inalienable right—of the people of the Falkland Islands to self-determination, a right to which they are no less entitled than other small island peoples, and we will carry forward economic and constitutional development in close consultation with the islanders.

175. At the same time, we shall continue to seek a more normal relationship with Argentina and a reduction of tension in the South Atlantic. We have played a constructive part in international efforts to help with the problem of Argentine debt. It was very much at our initiative that progress has been achieved in the removal of bilateral financial restrictions. We look to Argentina to honour the agreement that has been reached. We would like to do the same in the commercial and economic fields and have supported the initiative of the European Community to this effect. We have also taken other initiatives intended to promote the development of a more normal bilateral relationship.

176. The return for these efforts, I regret to say, has not been encouraging. The Argentine authorities have shown no regret at their resort to the use of force, no interest in reducing tension and no response to these various initiatives from the British side aimed at restoring a better relationship between our two countries. They continue to see negotiations purely as a means for transferring sovereignty without regard for the wishes of the islanders. A radical change of approach is required in Buenos Aires.

177. The lengthy passage on the Falklands in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Argentina [6th meeting] consisted of rhetoric which is as unhelpful as it is tendentious. His reference to respecting the existing cessation of hostilities has yet to be translated into a convincing and dependable renunciation of the use of force. The whole world knows who stands rightly convicted of deception and of dangerous military adventures. The Argentine invasion, launched without warning when we were negotiating in good faith, cannot be wished away. I can understand why the Argentine representative found it too embarrassing to mention. To accuse us of threatening the security of the Latin American region is lurid nonsense; we have done and will do no more than is necessary to protect the Islands and their population against a threat which recent history has shown to be all

too real and which the current pattern of Argentine arms purchases seems designed to keep alive.

178. As for the charge of colonialism, the answer can be seen by looking round this chamber. Britain's record speaks for itself. Only a few days ago, in response to the freely expressed wishes of the people exercising their right to self-determination, we gave independence to the Federation of Saint Christopher and Nevis. I congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on becoming, last week, the 158th Member of this Organization and the 48th member of that unique association of nations, the Commonwealth. The strength of the Commonwealth will once again be reaffirmed when its heads of Government meet in November at New Delhi.

179. It is sad that so many of the political problems which confronted us last year are no less acute now. The Middle East is a prime example. Violence and the rule of force are the order of the day. There is not much time left for peaceful change. The United Kingdom was greatly disappointed, especially after the initial response from the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez on 25 November 1981 and 9 September 1982, that the proposals put forward by President Reagan on 1 September 1982¹¹ were not taken up by the parties. They offered a realistic starting point for negotiations aimed at reconciling the right of Israel to live within secure and recognized borders with the right of the Palestinian people to determine their own future.

180. Only through negotiation will there be a just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israel dispute. But we are a long way from a negotiation, and we shall stay a long way as long as the parties do not take the first steps to build mutual confidence and trust. On each side there is a long-canvassed step which could transform the picture: for Israel, to halt its policy of building illegal settlements in occupied territory; for the Arabs, including the Palestinians, to show that they are ready to accept Israel's right to live in peace and security.

181. Efforts to tackle the central issue of the future of the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza have been diverted by events in Lebanon. This is a tragedy for Middle East peace, but it is a greater tragedy for the people of Lebanon. Let us be honest about this: Lebanon has internal problems which would be difficult enough to solve in conditions of peace. It has no chance of solving them as long as it is at the mercy of foreign forces. That is why we shall continue to support all efforts to restore Lebanon's sovereignty and independence and to secure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country. The presence of a small contingent of British troops in Beirut is a symbol of that support.

182. Israel's invasion of Lebanon last year has, predictably enough, solved nothing. On the contrary, it has led only to more suffering, while making even more difficult the essential process of national reunification. Meanwhile, the Syrian refusal to withdraw, despite the clear wishes of the Lebanese Government, only prolongs the agony and increases the risk of partition. I warmly welcome the declaration of a cease-fire and the intention of all parties to pursue a dialogue aimed at reconciliation of the various communities. The important thing now is for this to be implemented fully and faithfully by all concerned.

183. Sadly, conflict in the Middle East is not an isolated phenomenon. In the Gulf we shall support all efforts to end the bloody war between Iran and Iraq. The work of the Secretary-General's mission of inquiry⁹ provides a starting-point for a consensus. Meanwhile, members of the international community should avoid any action

which could extend or increase the level of conflict in the area.

184. This is an appropriate place to mention also two other issues with which the United Nations remains closely concerned: Korea and Cyprus. The best prospect of peaceful reunification in Korea lies in direct talks between the two sides. The Republic of Korea has made clear its positive approach. It is high time that it received a constructive response from Pyongyang. In this context let me repeat my Government's total condemnation of the shooting down by the Soviet Union of a South Korean civilian airliner. What is essential now is full redress and effective arrangements to avoid such incidents in future. We will work strenuously to this end in ICAO.

185. In Cyprus the United Nations has been tireless in its efforts to promote a settlement. The Secretary-General has this year increased his personal involvement. My Government welcomes this and stands ready to help in every appropriate way. Despite some limited progress in the intercommunal talks held under United Nations auspices, a peaceful and lasting settlement regrettably still seems to be a long way off. I cannot believe that it is in the interests of any of the parties that the current situation should become frozen, still less that it should deteriorate.

186. That conclusion applies overwhelmingly also in southern Africa. Violence cannot be the solution. Human rights must not be trampled upon or ignored. South Africa will not succeed in the end in coercing its neighbours into a change of heart through the use of military force or subversion. Nor, on the other hand, will bomb attacks against innocent people incline the South African Government to change its course.

187. The only hope for a peaceful future in southern Africa lies in political change and the creation of greater trust through regional co-operation and international support. We believe these can be achieved and achieved peacefully. The independence agreement for Zimbabwe was an important first step. A settlement in Namibia has still to be reached, but I am confident that, with so many of the difficult issues now settled, it can be reached, and on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). My country is committed to such a settlement and will continue to use its weight and influence to help bring it about, both through our own efforts and in conjunction with the other members of the Western contact group. We have no doubt that the front-line States will be using their influence in the same direction.

188. We do not see or seek to present all the problems and conflicts in the world in terms of East against West. It would be factually wrong to do so and wrong also in terms of policy. Problems like those in southern Africa and the Middle East are quite hard enough to deal with as it is. To introduce an element of East-West rivalry, or to add to it where it already exists, could only make things worse. And it is indeed the case that problems are worse where tension is exploited from outside and where international efforts to promote peaceful change are thwarted.

189. In Afghanistan the Soviet Union continues to use military force to suppress a small and non-aligned people. But after nearly four years of brutal military occupation in support of an unpopular and unrepresentative régime, the struggle of the Afghan people for national liberation continues to inspire widespread admiration. Only a complete and prompt Soviet withdrawal can open the way to the return of the Afghan refugees and to the establishment of an independent Government, in accordance with the true wishes of the people and with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

190. The Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia is another example of a situation in which foreign military force is being used to deny the right to self-determination of a neighbour. We shall continue our full support for the efforts of the United Nations and the neighbouring countries of ASEAN to find a comprehensive political solution based on self-determination.

191. In Central America there is no doubt that many problems stem from social, economic and political injustice. But there is no doubt also that these problems have been and are being exploited by those who seek, not to solve them for the good of the people of those countries, but rather to use them to bring about violent revolution. Our own position is clear. On the one hand we support all efforts to correct injustice by peaceful and democratic means, and we welcome efforts such as those of the Contadora Group to reduce tension and encourage dialogue. On the other hand, we condemn the action of all who use force to block the path to peaceful reform and evolutionary change.

192. The conduct of the Soviet Union in these regional problems has contributed to the present state of strain in East-West relations. The Soviet military buildup, the situation in Poland and the disregard of human rights in the East have also played a part. The brutal destruction of the Korean Air Lines airliner and the murder of its passengers only a few weeks ago were a reminder of how far Soviet international behaviour can fall short of civilized standards. Britain has made plain to the new Soviet leadership that these are matters of grave and continuing international concern to the entire world. But together with our partners we have also said—and said repeatedly—that we are ready for a more constructive relationship, provided that the Soviet Union is prepared to adopt a new approach. What we are calling for is willingness by the Soviet Union to base its actions and its policies on respect for internationally accepted standards of behaviour. If the Soviet Union were ready to take real steps in this direction, I have no doubt that the international response would be overwhelming.

193. I have already had occasion to mention human rights when speaking of southern Africa and East-West relations. I could equally have done so in relation to the Middle East, Afghanistan and elsewhere. This year is the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet human rights continue to be widely disregarded in many parts of the world. It is an appalling comment on the failure of the international community to implement the commitments that its Members so readily proclaim.

194. Personal freedom and individual rights are the foundation of national and international order. If they are absent, both national and international edifices, however imposing and monolithic, are a betrayal of those they serve and must ultimately crumble away. Where they are encouraged, international co-operation—and thus international security and prosperity—will grow on firm foundations. Let each country look honestly at its own performance in this field and resolve to do better. That, rather than speeches, will produce the improvements the people of the world demand.

195. I have ranged widely in my speech and yet left many important subjects untouched. The challenge before us is indeed formidable, but it can be faced successfully if we are prepared to work effectively together. International co-operation is the key: it has worked in Antarctica and it can surely be made to work also nearer home. We need to think more about our neighbours and to co-operate more with them. We need to take more seriously our international obligations, including respect

for individual rights and freedoms and the need to settle problems by peaceful means.

196. Confrontation is easy. Pursuit of national interest appears to be. But neither confrontation nor blind nationalism can provide the conditions of stability essential for peace to break out and the world economy to flourish. That is what our people want, and we owe it to them to make a reality of international co-operation under the Charter.

197. Mr. CAID ESSEBSI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Tunisia is particularly happy to see such an eminent statesman as Mr. Illueca presiding over the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. He represents Panama, a friendly country and a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which has distinguished itself by its active support for just causes throughout the world. In conveying to him the warm congratulations of the Tunisian delegation, which in the past has had occasion to appreciate his distinguished personal qualities, we find it a pleasure to be working under him again. We assure him of our wholehearted support and co-operation.

198. His predecessor as President, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, discharged his important functions with an acute sense of responsibility and objectivity, allied with great competence and unfailing courtesy. We were very appreciative of that, and we should like today to pay him the sincere tribute due him.

199. In undertaking last year an evaluation of the situation in the world, all of us agreed with the Secretary-General that the world was “perilously close to international anarchy”.

200. More than six months ago the heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries, at their seventh Conference, solemnly reconfirmed the details of that view. What we called the “New Delhi Message” [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2] contained an urgent appeal for a general heightening of awareness. It advocated at the same time concerted action to restore peace and security and to promote development in harmony.

201. We see today that although the diagnosis was confirmed, it has not been followed by any concerted action. We see absolutely none of the changes we had hoped for in the attitudes and conduct which in fact originally led to the state of disorder and anarchy which we are living through today. On the contrary, we note a decline in the world situation and an exacerbation of the dangers threatening mankind as a whole. We see that there is an upsurge of violence in all its forms, in terms of a systematic recourse to force on the pretext of security, ideology, retaliation, pre-emption or plain intimidation; a recrudescence of localized conflicts, declared or latent, gravely threatening regional equilibrium; and the undertaking of military operations which are as dangerous as they are futile.

202. We know that force cannot provide a lasting solution of any dispute, and that in any case it has never provided a solution for deep-rooted problems which remain complete and intact.

203. We know that there is a people still condemned to wandering, that another is still groaning under the yoke of colonialism and segregationism, and that in various places on all the continents the rights of States, peoples and individuals are being violated, that insecurity reigns everywhere, even on board civilian aircraft of regular airlines.

204. We note that within this context and within this kind of logic, arms become the expression and the means

of a policy and overarmament becomes a so-called imperative necessity, while at the same time hunger, disease and poverty are stalking throughout the world and the economic crisis, with its particularly disastrous consequences for developing countries, is assuming global dimensions.

205. It is for all the world as if the powerful protagonists in this world have adjusted themselves to the prevailing anarchy on the international scene, exploiting it to strengthen their own positions, to consolidate their gains, to expand their zones of operation, interest or influence, to organize anarchy to their own advantage, to arm themselves and over-arm themselves, invoking various pretexts or theories, each one less convincing than the last, disregarding the coming holocaust, giving precedence to selfish national concerns and immediate interests over any consideration of ethics or respect for the unanimously acknowledged principles of law. During this period, when confidence has disappeared from international relations, this is what seems to determine the attitudes and conduct of the most powerful.

206. We are even impelled to consider whether the world has not finally entered a stage when the levers of command are pulled at the dictates of circumstance rather than as the result of deliberate policy. This is a frightening thing in the nuclear age.

207. The time has come for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to which all of us here have subscribed, to be brought back into force and scrupulously observed. The time has come to accept that the United Nations is the sole instrument which can save us from chaos, anarchy and war. We must give the widest possible hearing to the appeal of the Secretary-General, who, shouldering his responsibilities with a courage and frankness to which I should like to pay tribute, did not hesitate in his report to this session in calling us to recognize our responsibilities and inviting us to renew our faith in the principles of the Charter and our commitment to the Organization.

208. But over and above this profession of faith to which we have been invited, we must of course give deeper thought to specific measures that could restore to the United Nations its prestige and credibility.

209. It is necessary for the members of the Security Council, particularly the permanent members, to recognize that their responsibility in the matter of international peace and security is as much a collective as an individual responsibility. They are responsible to all the Members of the Organization and to the international community for the use they make of the powers conferred upon them.

210. It is necessary for the permanent members to accept the fact that improvements in the functioning of the Council are necessary to ensure that its action is effective. It is also necessary that the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization apply itself seriously to its work and at last present us with its recommendations with a view to rationalizing our working methods and enabling the Organization to fulfil its responsibilities properly, particularly with regard to international peace and security.

211. In pleading once again the cause of the strengthening of the United Nations and strict respect for the principles of the Charter, Tunisia is simply acting in accordance with its profound convictions, the first of which is that the United Nations constitutes the sole and ultimate recourse for those of us that are the victims of any violation of the principles which underlie the conduct of international relations. It is also our conviction that it is this Organization that establishes the law and creates

international legality, that very legality of which my country has made a watchword and which President Bourguiba—desirous of giving his own thinking and action the necessary legitimacy—has always advocated as a basis for the settlement of conflicts throughout the world. Finally, it is our conviction that it is within the framework of the Organization, the objective of which is universality, that the interdependence of our interests, our common destiny, in short, our indispensable solidarity, can find expression and concrete form.

212. This solidarity, which we have always believed to be essential within our own frontiers, is something which we consistently propose beyond our frontiers as the best means of ensuring stability, development and peace, first and foremost in our own region, for our brothers and neighbours in the Arab Maghreb.

213. In this world of disorder and ever growing tension we are happy to note that the action undertaken in our Maghreb region for almost a year now is designed to bring about the easing of tension and the narrowing of differences in a spirit of concord, harmony and complementarity.

214. Thanks to the wisdom of the leaders of the Maghreb, we can assert that it is now generally conceded that the relations between our countries can be based only on the principle of interdependence, that conflicts and crises which affect some inexorably have an effect on the interests of others, and that therefore we must show solidarity concerning the way in which we want to mold our own world for ourselves and for future generations.

215. It is in this spirit, in a process of development, aware of the need to lay the foundations of a solid and lasting edifice, open to all our partners in the region, that we view the Treaty of Friendship and Concord between Tunisia and Algeria, signed on 19 March 1983 by President Habib Bourguiba and President Benjedid Chadli.

216. This act, which we believe to be of historic significance, opens to our eyes the path towards a common future. Freely entered into by the various partners in the whole of the Maghreb, this could constitute a precedent for African, Arab or other regions.

217. In this context, the OAU—which at the nineteenth session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983, proved to the world its ability to pull itself together and overcome its transient difficulties—will find less difficult its work in dealing with the conflict which persists in the north-west region of the continent. Tunisia, for its part, while subscribing to the resolutions of the heads of African States on the question of Western Sahara, which it considers to be important steps in the right direction, will be ready to undertake at any time any action that may be deemed useful.

218. It is in the same spirit and with the same readiness that Tunisia views the other conflicts which have shaken the African continent, and in particular the conflict which is raging in Chad.

219. Bearing in mind that war has been ravaging that brother country for nearly two decades, Tunisia can only exhort the people of Chad to try to act so as to spare themselves the horrors of war, desolation and death and not to allow themselves to be deflected from their proper course, which is that of devoting their efforts to the social and economic development which they so sorely need. It is essential that the language of guns and bombs be replaced by the language of dialogue and negotiation between the parties concerned, on the basis in particular of respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial

integrity and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

220. In this regard, the OAU offers a framework which will make it possible to bring back peace and harmony in this sensitive region of our continent. No sign of goodwill should be rejected and no efforts should be spared to achieve this goal.

221. On the African continent there still persists an anachronistic problem which threatens ultimately to become the most resounding failure of this Organization, of the principles it advocates and indeed of international legality itself. This is the question of Namibia, which is still under the yoke of illegal occupation and the worst type of colonialism.

222. After so many concessions by the Namibian people and its sole representative, the South West Africa People's Organization, after proofs of impartiality and balance by the United Nations, no pretext or subterfuge—certainly not one which would make of the sacred struggle of the Namibian people an East-West issue—is any longer acceptable. We expect of those who bear special responsibility for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and who so far have not been able to keep the promises they have made us, explanations and indications of their intentions.

223. Similarly, we expect explanations of the action undertaken or to be undertaken to put an end to that major aberration of our time, the inhuman practice of *apartheid* which the Pretoria régime continues to elevate to the status of a system. We believe that this scourge of mankind constitutes a political, economic and social problem, but also and above all a problem of civilization. To those who are relentlessly waging a genuine struggle for liberation and civilization, to the people of South Africa and its leaders from the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, we would like to reaffirm here our active support and solidarity.

224. As I said at the beginning of my statement, in this era of tension and conflict no continent is spared.

225. In South-East and South-West Asia there persist conflicts which are a challenge to the Organization and the principles of its Charter. To this day, foreign troops continue to occupy Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The peoples of those two countries are still being prevented from freely exercising their right to decide on their own system of government. It is time for the Afghan and the Kampuchean peoples, as for other peoples, to have restored to them the right to speak.

226. In the Gulf region, for three years now we have witnessed the continuance of a fratricidal and unjustifiable war between Iraq and Iran, with an increase in the cruel loss of human life and property and an exacerbation of the danger to stability and equilibrium throughout the region. In Tunisia we are extremely sensitive to the effects of this murderous confrontation between two peoples which are both so close to us. We call on the leaders of those two brother and neighbour countries to have recourse to peaceful means of settling conflicts, as advocated by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and in the Charter of the United Nations. We exhort them to bring about peace, peace with honour and dignity, in which there will be no victor and no vanquished.

227. Central America cannot remain outside this interminable list of hotbeds of serious tension throughout the world. We would remind those who are tempted to resort to a show of force and violence that lasting solutions can be brought about only by means of political negotiations

between the parties concerned. That is what it will take for this disturbed region of the world to recover peace and stability and for its peoples to consolidate their gains on the way to liberty and independence.

228. If these many conflicts, and others, are a heavy burden on international relations, there is one particular one which from our own standpoint constitutes the most direct and most serious threat to international peace and security. That is the tragedy of the Palestinian people and of that brazier which is the Middle East. That explosive situation is of the gravest concern to us. Indeed, ever since its foundation Israel has constantly and relentlessly pursued the same policy of permanent and systematic violation of the principles and rules of the Charter. The many resolutions, decisions and recommendations adopted in the United Nations system have remained dead letters, which is very eloquent testimony to the arrogance and disrespect which Israel has ceaselessly shown to the international community.

229. The tragic situation in which Lebanon now finds itself is nothing but the direct consequence of this policy, which is based upon invasion, the occupation of territory and the expulsion of the inhabitants. The most recent phase in the plot concocted against this country is the redeployment of troops by Israel, aimed at making it possible to retain its grip on the south of the country. The previous phase of that plot consisted in sowing the seeds of discord and division among the inhabitants of Lebanon, which has nevertheless so often set us an example of perfect coexistence of communities and religions.

230. That is why we learned with the greatest satisfaction of the cease-fire brought about thanks to considerable and praiseworthy efforts. We hope that the cease-fire will be consolidated definitively in the field and that it will be possible to begin on that basis dialogue and negotiations within the framework of national harmony. We also hope the parties will strive to make it possible for this brother people to recover its unity and liberate its territory from Israeli occupation.

231. The same policy is being systematically applied in the occupied Palestinian Arab territories, where the Tel Aviv authorities are feverishly building settlements, and regarding the Arab populations of the territories under Israeli control, whose rights are being violated and whose lands are being requisitioned and expropriated. Everything seems to follow the same logic, a logic with implacable objectives: to bring the Palestinian people to their knees by the military elimination of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and to realize the dream of David Ben Gurion by creating "the third Kingdom of David", which would extend from the Nile to the Euphrates.

232. Today, Israel's intentions are secret to no one. Every day brings us further striking proof that the Israeli policy of *fait accompli* is meant to be irreversible and that this end justifies any means.

233. The destruction of the Iraqi atomic reactor, the annexation of the Golan Heights, the doubling in the space of three years of the number of settlements in occupied Arab territories, the brutality against the Palestinian people and the denial to them of their fundamental rights, the invasion of Lebanon with its train of victims and destruction and the massacres of Sabra and Shatila are all milestones on the path of aggression trod by Israel and are all part of a systematic plan and a deliberate policy. The ultimate objective of Israel is to Judaize the occupied Arab territories before annexing them and to deprive the just cause of the Palestinian people of its strength and meaning and to reduce them to wanderers.

234. If the situation in the Middle East has seen no progress over the last 30 years that is because the international community has not been capable of considering it reasonably or in its objective reality or of stripping it of the emotional attitudes and feelings which have always constituted the backdrop to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

235. So long kept outside the political arena, the Palestinians have been the victims of a fallacious concept of the true dimensions of the problem, which has been reduced to a conflict between Israel and the Arab States. Today the Palestinian problem can be seen in its true geopolitical context, and there is a broad consensus which now places it at the very heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

236. Unfortunately, however, some people persist in trying to impose their own concept on the overwhelming majority of the international community, thus placing themselves outside universally acknowledged norms. Equating the occupied Arab territories with a *res nullius*, they are engaging in the use of force, repression and oppression in order to achieve their own objectives, thus defying the Charter and decisions of the United Nations as well as the most elementary rules of international law. This flagrant defiance, based upon blind force, has reached such a level that the Israeli leaders seem no longer to believe in anything but the language of force. Israel has recourse to that language of force on the fallacious pretext that its security is threatened, whereas according to the most enlightened observers Israel is the fourth-ranking military Power in the world.

237. It is scarcely necessary to recall that security is the constant, legitimate concern of all the countries of the region.

238. Just as my country is devoted to international legitimacy, it deplores the extent to which the values reflected in the Charter have eroded. That erosion today causes a State Member of the Organization to act with impunity. We appeal to those who bear the greatest responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security to stand alongside us as vigilant guardians of the values defended by the Charter. We repeat our conviction that any acquiescence or siding with Israel which could promote its policies of aggression, annexation and destabilization in the region strengthens that feeling of impunity, encourages that attitude of defiance and does the greatest possible damage to the Organization.

239. Resolutions adopted by the United Nations provide the elements of a just, comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict.

240. We are convinced that the United Nations provides an irreplaceable forum to negotiate a lasting peace between the parties concerned. In this context, the appeals for negotiation which have from time to time been made to the Arab countries must, if they are to be realistic and sincere, be addressed above all to the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, which is the principal party in the conflict.

241. The Arab countries and the PLO have constantly repeated that their desire for peace is sincere and that they are open to any proposal based on justice and right. This desire has been reflected in the past in many statements by Arab and Palestinian leaders. It was made clear again last year, immediately after the tragic events in Lebanon, with the publication of a series of peace initiatives.

242. The Arab world has never refused to consider these initiatives, whether the Franco-Egyptian draft resolution,¹² the Reagan plan¹¹ or the Brezhnev plan,¹³ thus

putting a favourable construction on the intentions of their authors.

243. What has been the reaction of Israel, in contrast? It has been a categorical, unreserved refusal to all, a stinging slap in the face to the international community, on the pretext that the Bible confers upon Israel a divine proprietary right over Palestine.

244. In the face of that refusal, we stand by the resolutions of the United Nations, upon which the Arab States drew abundantly in order to present to the world on 9 September 1982 their initiative known as the Fez plan.¹⁴ That plan, which is based upon international legality as it appears in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, reaffirms, in different words, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the creation of its own State, and entrusts to the Security Council the role of guaranteeing the security of all the States of the region so that they may live in peace and security.

245. Tunisia is convinced that along these lines may be found the way to a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict, as was confirmed by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.

246. For the third year in succession the world economy is in the throes of crisis, the most serious since the great recession of the 1930s. It has paralysed growth and slowed down development. Its consequences are serious for the developing countries. In all of them, production has failed to increase for the first time since the war, and per capita income has fallen by about 3 per cent. The prices of commodities, the main exports of many developing countries, and sometimes their only exports, have fallen in real value to their lowest level since 1945. The developing countries' terms of trade, already very precarious, have continued to deteriorate for the fifth year in succession.

247. The contraction of international trade and the proliferation of protectionist measures have had a very bad effect on the most dynamic export sectors of the developing countries, thus worsening their trade deficits and aggravating their balance of payments difficulties.

248. The external indebtedness of practically all the developing countries has reached, and in some cases passed, the danger point, placing certain developing countries—not only the poorest—on the edge of bankruptcy. Faced with declining export earnings and contracting foreign exchange holdings, most developing countries have been compelled to reduce their imports of capital goods, thus seriously affecting their development programmes.

249. The poor countries of Africa continue to languish in sordid conditions of absolute poverty, hunger and malnutrition, and a large proportion of their populations do not have even the necessary minimum for survival and human dignity.

250. The international environment is far from favourable to strengthening international economic co-operation for development. Certainly, signs of economic recovery have begun to appear in some major industrial countries, but their effects do not yet seem to have made it possible to overcome the prevailing difficulties in the economies of those countries.

251. Inflation, unemployment and recession are the major concerns of the industrial countries, and they are giving rise in those countries to reactions of economic nationalism and protectionism, reflected in a whole array of protectionist regulations and measures improvised to adjust to the prevailing situation. This is also reflected by a contraction in the volume of public development aid,

the real value of which, expressed as a percentage of gross national product of the donor countries, was still lower in 1982 than it was at the end of the 1960s.

252. The worsening in the terms of trade, the monetary disorder and the rise of protectionism are illustrative not only of the extent of the crisis but of the present system's failure to adapt to the new realities of the interdependence between the economies of different countries.

253. It is undeniable that a global solution must be found to this global economic crisis, a solution which takes account of the legitimate interests of all countries, particularly the weakest, within the framework of a common endeavour and dialogue on an equal footing.

254. We do not believe that market forces, however magical they may be, can overcome the structural crisis through which the world economy is now passing. Nor do we share the optimism of those who believe in the "automatic fall-out" from the growth in the industrial countries on the economies of developing countries.

255. We believe that the current recovery can be sustained only if it is supported by a powerful dynamism which takes into consideration, in an equitable manner, the well-understood interests of all countries. This will make it possible to ensure growth and full employment for the industrialized countries and to guarantee to the developing countries conditions for true development within the framework of their legitimate aspiration to establish a new international economic order that is just and equitable.

256. I should like to recall in this regard that the approach advocated at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, constitutes in our view the most appropriate response to break the deadlock in the North-South dialogue that has existed over the past few years. While envisaging the adoption of a programme of immediate measures to meet the urgent economic difficulties of the developing countries, this approach aims at launching global negotiations in two stages, to define and adopt long-term structural measures and reforms, within the framework of a global, egalitarian dialogue.

257. It is for the international community to seize the opportunity, during this session, to launch seriously a constructive dialogue, bringing together developed and developing countries in a common endeavour matching the seriousness of the situation.

258. This is particularly urgent because the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in which such great hopes were placed, unfortunately generated nothing but frustration and disappointment. Most of our partners in the developed world have in fact refused to debate seriously the new approach proposed. In this regard, the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/38/1] quite rightly notes: "The opportunity of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was to a large extent allowed to lapse, thus exacerbating political tensions on a range of economic issues". We believe that it is not too late to remedy this failure, but we have to want to do so and therefore to act by means of a true dialogue, which is the best way of bringing about a settlement of the grave and urgent problems of the world economy, particularly the problems of the developing countries.

259. The continuation of the efforts to launch the North-South dialogue and to ensure its success does not prevent South-South co-operation from being strengthened and diversified further. The developing countries

are today fully aware of that. They recently again confirmed this at the second meeting of the Group of 77's Intergovernmental Follow-up and Co-ordination Committee, of which Tunisia had the honour to act as host at the beginning of this month.

260. We are convinced that the decisions taken on that occasion will have a positive effect not only on co-operation among developing countries but also on international co-operation in general.

261. We are concerned about this mood of disaffection about multilateralism which has grown up over the past few years. The most alarming illustration of this is the ever more serious reduction in the contributions to financing operational activities for development, and particularly to UNDP. We think that the present serious financial crisis of UNDP will—if some large-scale action is not undertaken by the contributor countries to ensure UNDP financing on a foreseeable, sure and regular basis—deal a fatal blow to this irreplaceable instrument of multilateral co-operation for development.

262. We are happy to take note of the agreement reached on setting up the United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development, and we hope this will encourage all countries to make financial contributions in order to accelerate its entry into force.

263. At a time when the state of the world has aroused concern and anxiety, we are pleased to see the United Nations admitting its 158th Member State, Saint Christopher and Nevis. We welcome it to our midst. Its admission is a timely occasion to recall the universal nature of the Organization and to strengthen our conviction that it is by means of this international body that the world will find its salvation.

264. Indeed, it is this conviction that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has expressed in making itself the champion of the multilateral approach and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; it is this conviction that is reflected in the fortunate initiative of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the chairman of the seventh summit conference at New Delhi, in inviting her counterparts to come here and consult together at the very highest level on the state of the world and this international society, which we should like to see capable of respecting a discipline freely agreed to. Let us hope that we can gird ourselves to restore faith and vigour to this international system, which was established on the basis of so much hard work. Let us be convinced that development, independence, disarmament and peace are closely linked together and that they are our only means of salvation.

265. Mrs. FLESCH (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): It is a very agreeable duty as well as a true pleasure for me to join my colleagues in congratulating the President on his election to the presidency of this thirty-eighth session of the Assembly. Convinced of his outstanding qualities as a diplomat and aware of his long experience in international affairs, I have no doubt whatever that in the weeks and months to come he will lead the work of the Assembly with authority and tact.

266. I wish also to thank Mr. Hollai, the President of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly, for the skill and dedication with which he guided our debates.

267. Furthermore, I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of the exceptional dedication, lucidity and foresight of the Secretary-General and to assure him of the sincere and constructive co-operation of the Government of Luxembourg.

268. Finally, I extend a warm welcome to the delegation of Saint Christopher and Nevis, which has just joined the Organization.

269. The past year, like others, has been rich in events that have had an impact on the work of the Assembly. My Greek colleague, Mr. Haralambopoulos, speaking at the 7th meeting on behalf of the 10 members of the European Community, set forth the Community's position on the many problems confronting us. It goes without saying that we completely support that statement. I can therefore confine myself to dealing with some issues that seem to us particularly worthy of attention.

270. Since the thirty-seventh session we have unfortunately not succeeded in putting an end to any of the many conflicts that continue to afflict the peoples of our world. Some problems have taken a slightly more positive turn; others have stagnated; still others have clearly worsened. On the whole, it is unfortunately impossible for us to say that the world situation has developed in a positive way during the past year. East-West relations, following the deterioration during the past few years, are now in particularly difficult straits; the North-South dialogue has not evolved in any way that could be described as satisfactory; and, lastly, the economic situation of the large majority of Member States is still in a state of crisis that has left deep marks.

271. Furthermore, recent events have been marked by a particularly outrageous act: the destruction of a civilian aircraft by Soviet armed forces. That inhuman act has been severely condemned by the Government and people of Luxembourg. We expect the Soviet Union to co-operate fully in the inquiry decided upon by ICAO and pay fair compensation to the families of the victims. It ought also to participate freely in a better definition of the rules of conduct to be observed in such cases, which must in any event forbid the use of force against civilian aircraft under any pretext whatsoever.

272. The tragic event I have just mentioned concerned a Korean airliner, and I should like to take this opportunity to express the fervent desire that a dialogue may at last begin without preconditions between the two parts of Korea and that as a gesture of goodwill and as a humanitarian measure members of families divided by the 38th parallel will be permitted to be reunited and to bring their family units together again.

273. Luxembourg also supports the candidacy of the Republic of Korea, which for so long has wished to become a Member of the Organization. It will not oppose the admission of North Korea.

274. Equally vigorously, we condemn the attacks and atrocities of which the populations of Afghanistan have been victim, and we strongly deplore the fate of the countless Afghan refugees who have had to flee abroad. The fact is that the occupation of that neutral, non-aligned country by the Soviet Union goes on in spite of the many resolutions adopted by nearly all the States Members of the Organization. In the name of all the principles which form the foundation of the United Nations, we demand that the Soviet troops be withdrawn and that the Afghan people be allowed to exercise its fundamental right of self-determination.

275. Another problem, and one which has concerned us for a long time, is that of Kampuchea, which remains under the domination of Viet Nam despite repeated appeals by the United Nations for a negotiated political solution. It is time to put an end to the terrible suffering that the Kampuchean people has had to endure and to make it possible for that people to control its own destiny in a neutral, independent Kampuchea free from all foreign interference. We welcome the formation of a coalition Government as an important step in that direction.

276. There can be no doubt that the situation in Poland has not yet developed in a satisfactory way. To be sure, my Government was pleased at the lifting of martial law and at the announcement of a law of amnesty last July. But we could not but note that at the same time the Polish Government enacted other measures to strengthen the machinery of repression, such as its amendment of the Constitution and of the penal code. The formation of truly free unions is not yet allowed; dialogue between the Government and the nation's active forces is not progressing; the writers' union and several other artists' unions have been disbanded; and further arrests have occurred.

277. We solemnly call upon the authorities at last to take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Polish people and thus to make a decisive contribution to the improvement of relations between East and West.

278. To return to the general situation, I would say that while the backdrop of the world stage is rather gloomy, we should not lose sight of certain more encouraging elements. I am thinking in particular of the Madrid meeting of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which ended in agreement, and of the signs of economic recovery seen in certain Western economies, especially that of the United States.

279. We venture to hope that these are harbingers of more positive developments which will eventually lead to a lasting improvement in East-West relations and to economic recovery at the world level. Let us seize the opportunity to transform these encouraging elements into real possibilities for reversing certain negative trends which have taken deep root in recent years.

280. Along these lines, it is somewhat reassuring that at the Madrid meeting it was possible to arrive at agreement on a Concluding Document. It is not perfect, of course, but it makes it possible for dialogue to continue and for the spirit of Helsinki to survive. The Government of Luxembourg is pleased at this development, and it hopes that the meetings to be held after that at Madrid will lead to genuine, tangible progress, starting with the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which will take place at Stockholm at the beginning of next year. The importance we attach to that Conference, however, will in no way detract from the great interest we have in other bilateral or multilateral negotiations now under way in the field of disarmament and which, unfortunately, are hardly progressing at all.

281. The disappointing results of the Assembly's twelfth special session, the second devoted to disarmament, showed clearly that the beginnings of a solution and of a reversal of the trend in the arms race depend more and more on progress in the talks between the two super-Powers, which have particular responsibilities in this field.

282. Obviously, a country the size of Luxembourg is in favour of disarmament at the lowest possible level, which is the only guarantee of increased international stability. Negotiations, therefore, must lead to reductions which are truly balanced and verifiable, whether they concern theatre nuclear weapons, strategic weapons or conventional forces.

283. Given the serious economic problems and imbalances facing our planet, we consider that, among other measures, everything should be done to draft an international agreement to achieve greater transparency and true comparability in the area of military budgets.

284. Furthermore, the establishment of an international convention prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons seems to us to be a

priority objective. We also hope that the problem of the prevention of an arms race in outer space will be dealt with as soon as possible.

285. Members will understand, however, that the negotiations most important to us at present concern intermediate-range nuclear forces. Those negotiations must be concluded before the end of the year, and there must be a restoration of the approximate balance which even the Soviet Union itself acknowledges as having existed in Europe a few years ago.

286. The new proposals put forward here two days ago by President Reagan [5th meeting] are a proof of the firm determination of the United States and its allies to arrive speedily at a balanced agreement.

287. We urge the Soviet Union to reverse its negative reaction and to rejoin the United States in an intensive effort to achieve as soon as possible an equitable, verifiable agreement.

288. But we are aware too that progress in the sphere of disarmament is in no way conceivable in a climate of tension and mistrust. Therefore, to promote the cause of détente, there is a need for a certain moderation of language on all sides.

289. I have spoken of problems related to East-West relations, and I should like to say a few words on the subject of other hotbeds of tension. We cannot conceal our impatience at the fact that the question of Cyprus is still deadlocked. We warmly thank the Secretary-General for the personal commitment he continues to show in this connection, and we should like to reiterate our firm support for him. As to the substance of the matter, we continue to support fully and completely the principles set out in General Assembly resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 3395 (XXX).

290. As for the Middle East, it remains more than ever among the most unstable regions in the world.

291. During the past year, tragic events in Lebanon have followed one another at a terrifying pace. Until just a few days ago, that martyred country was engulfed in the horrors of war and of mindless violence. The occupation of large parts of Lebanese territory by foreign forces which, according to their Governments' interests, support opposing factions could soon lead to the partition and disintegration of the Lebanese nation.

292. As a small country, Luxembourg is particularly devoted to the principle of respect for the sovereignty of States, for their territorial integrity and for their national independence. Therefore, we cannot fail to keep repeating that it is essential for all foreign occupation forces whose presence is not required by the Lebanese Government to leave Lebanon as soon as possible. Freed from foreign interference, the Lebanese people could embark on the quest for genuine national reconciliation and internal peace.

293. As for negotiations on a comprehensive peace in the region, I need hardly reiterate the principles on which we consider that a solution must be based: justice for all peoples and security for all the States of the region. My Greek colleague recalled this once again on behalf of the European Community at the 7th meeting yesterday.

294. Europe is therefore in favour of self-determination for the Palestinian people, just as it will always be at Israel's side to defend the existence and security of that country and its inhabitants. But it is inconceivable that Israel should continue its present policy in the occupied territories.

295. I should like to take this opportunity to express our compassion for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, who have for 16 years now lived under foreign

occupation and who are not only subjected to the hardships of military rule but are also exposed to deadly attacks by private militia, whose crimes more often than not go unpunished.

296. The bloody war between Iraq and Iran, which has gone on for more than three years now, adds dangerously to the instability of that part of the world and takes a tragically high toll in terms of human life and material losses. It is highly desirable and in the interests of all that reason should prevail over fanaticism and that the resolutions adopted unanimously by the Security Council and by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Assembly, resolutions calling for an immediate cease-fire and the cessation of all military operations, should at long last be respected.

297. As regards the situation in Iran, the execution and detention of members of the Baha'i religion and the recent disbanding of all the organizations of that religious community constitute particularly flagrant violations, which we strongly condemn, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

298. On the African continent, the question of Chad has assumed a new and tragic dimension. The intervention of the Libyan army in the territory of Chad constitutes inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country and therefore a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations. In fact, the legitimacy of the Government of President Hissein Habré has once again been confirmed at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983. The fact that the Libyan Government questions that legitimacy in no way gives it a right to intervene by force of arms in the internal affairs of Chad. Foreign armed intervention only aggravates the conflict in that country and prevents the consolidation of the internal situation. Therefore the fighting must come to an end and negotiations must be resumed in accordance with the resolution adopted by the heads of State and Government of the OAU [A/38/312, annex, AHG/Res. 106 (XIX)], inviting Chad and Libya to seek a negotiated settlement to their dispute in the context of the *Ad Hoc* Mediation Committee established by the OAU. This, however, should not preclude similar efforts on the part of competent bodies of the United Nations, including the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

299. The African continent continues to be shaken by other conflicts and crises which require solution. In the south, especially, two objectives remain to be achieved: the independence of Namibia and the elimination of the racist policy of *apartheid*.

300. As for Namibia, our hopes have been disappointed once again. At the thirty-seventh session, from this same rostrum [9th meeting] I expressed cautious optimism as to the chances of success in the near future of the initiatives of the contact group. Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible for those negotiations to succeed. None the less, in a report drawn up by the Secretary-General following his recent visit to that part of the world,⁷ we find positive elements which give us grounds to hope that the people of Namibia may soon take control of its own destiny.

301. Unfortunately the illegal occupation of Namibia does not constitute the only problem in that region. *Apartheid*, that institutionalization of racism, seems nowhere near an end. That policy, aimed at maintaining the privileges of a minority, can in the long run have only tragic and violent consequences, which must be averted. This is why we have always condemned that flagrant

injustice and will continue to demand from the South African authorities action aimed at the genuine establishment of a society based on justice and equal rights for all.

302. Central America has in the course of the past year experienced a dangerous escalation of conflict and is at present one of the most unstable regions in the world. There can be no doubt that at the root of that situation is, above all, the injustice and inequality which the majority of the population of that region has suffered for generations. But local problems are now aggravated by external intervention. That internationalization of the conflict is particularly dangerous and must be averted before it can lead to an outbreak of hostilities whose magnitude and consequences could extend far beyond Central America.

303. We therefore support the regional approach as the most promising. We support the initiatives of the Contadora Group and we encourage it to persevere in its efforts to bring about, through political dialogue and negotiations, a peaceful solution to the region's conflicts.

304. But it is not possible to discuss Latin America without mentioning Chile, a country which has for 10 years now been subjected to a military dictatorship. In the course of recent weeks, the protests of the Chilean people against its fate have been stifled in blood. We forcefully condemn the conduct of the leaders of that country and we join our voice to that of the Chilean people to demand an immediate return to democracy.

305. After having thus considered basically political questions, I should like to turn to more specifically economic issues.

306. It seems to me that the most striking fact revealed in the past year has been the vast dimensions of world indebtedness and, hence, the enormous tension to which the international financial and banking system has been subjected. In spite of these difficulties, the officials of IMF and of private and central banks have managed to avoid major crises and have found, if not permanent solutions, at least temporary compromises, which have made it possible to avoid the worst.

307. The debt problem erupted after interest rates reached dizzying heights and the longest and most serious economic crisis of the post-war period gave rise to stagnation and even a decline in world demand. According to figures of the World Bank, in 1982 most economies had negative growth rates and world trade actually decreased in volume.

308. That depressed situation has been a fertile ground for the proliferation of protectionist measures, which in turn have contributed to worsening the situation.

309. Although the vicious circle that is the inevitable result of the imposition of tariff and non-tariff barriers is a familiar one, it seems that we have not yet learned our lesson from history. Although these protectionist measures give the illusion of resolving certain problems in the short term, mainly by yielding to the demands of powerful pressure groups, it is a well-established fact—and the recent slowdown in world trade following the upsurge of international trade after the Second World War is ample proof of this—that in the long run protectionist measures lead to a widespread decline in the flow of goods and services, which eventually has harmful effects on all of us.

310. The international community seemed to have become aware of the danger when last autumn it convened a ministerial meeting of the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade precisely to attempt to stem this dangerous trend. Other international gatherings, such as the sixth session of the United Nations

Conference on Trade and Development or the Williamsburg Summit of Industrialized Nations, also produced declarations of principle about combatting protectionism.

311. But now these declarations must be put into practice and we must all be prepared not only to ask that our neighbours do away with such barriers, but also to take the first step and dismantle our own protectionist measures. If this is not done, not only will we run the risk of curbing or even stifling the economic recovery emerging in certain industrialized countries, but we will also prevent the steady transfer of its beneficial effects to the world economy as a whole. Are we prepared to pay that price for a few short-term gains?

312. I hope that we are all aware of the magnitude of the stakes and that we shall be able to make a reasonable response. A world economic recovery is in fact by far the most effective means, if not of overcoming our economic difficulties, at least of alleviating them.

313. Whether it be in respect of the debt problem, the question of the development of industry and trade, the distribution of resources between the North and South or the distribution of national income within each of our countries, only sound and stable growth offers realistic prospects for the recovery of national economies and therefore for an increased transfer of resources from North to South. That is what is really at stake in our struggle against protectionism.

314. It would in fact be unforgivable to hinder the recovery of the world economy on which such hopes have been pinned. The consequences for the North-South dialogue seem evident to me. The re-establishment of sound and stable growth would considerably increase the possibilities of the resumption of that highly desirable process, whether in the framework of global negotiations or a step by step sectoral approach.

315. Those are the main issues on which I wished to speak. Every year the list of our problems becomes longer without our really being able to remove questions from the agenda and consider them resolved. Some of those questions have remained with us year after year, and some even date from the founding of the United Nations. This is an unhealthy situation which tends to undermine the credibility of the Organization, credibility that is more than ever necessary in our tormented world.

316. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization last year,¹ raised this problem and requested the co-operation of Member States and, in particular, of the members of the Security Council to remedy the situation by attempting, *inter alia*, to increase the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations. That report, which has been a constant source of reflection, prompted many reactions from Member States and from the Security Council.

317. We hope that this will apply as well to the report that the Secretary-General submitted this year [A/38/1]. We commend the realistic and lucid way in which he has analysed both the international situation and the functioning of the Organization. While fully aware of the difficulties inherent in the work of the Secretary-General, we should like to encourage him again to persevere in the task on which he has embarked so courageously.

318. We believe that this process of reflection is highly desirable and we hope that it will lead to a genuine improvement of the functioning of the world Organization. It seems to us that the Charter contains all the provisions necessary for that purpose, but the problem is how to implement it and how to realize its full potential. That, of course, depends first and foremost on the attitude of

the Member States, on what we ourselves want to make of the Organization.

319. We hope that the serious economic crisis which has troubled the world in recent years will have made us more realistic, more pragmatic and more able to distinguish between what is feasible and what is not. If we want to increase the effectiveness of the Organization, let us not make demands that we know from the start to be unattainable; let us not defend positions that we know to be untenable; and let us be aware of that interdependence so often invoked but so rarely respected.

320. I believe that the main point of the contribution that can be made by a small State such as Luxembourg to a debate such as this is the lesson in realism, pragmatism and moderation.

321. Whatever solutions are finally decided on, it seems to me that those which are sometimes neglected virtues will be essential in developing the capacity of the United Nations for action and making it an instrument capable of meeting the goals defined in Article 1 of the Charter, that is: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to achieve international co-operation; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of those common ends.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.*

² *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

³ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 100.

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1983*, p. 21.

⁶ *Report of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, Paris, 25-29 April 1983* (A/CONF.120/13), part three.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting.

⁹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15834.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 24th meeting.

¹¹ See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1982*, vol. 18, no. 35, p. 1081.

¹² *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.

¹³ *Ibid.*, document S/15403.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.