



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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear an address by Mr. Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic of Finland. 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. KOIVISTO: May I begin, Sir, by extending my warm congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Your country and mine have always enjoyed friendly relations. I am convinced that you will lead this session to a successful conclusion.

3. Permit me also to express the best wishes of Finland to the newly independent State of Saint Christopher and Nevis, the 158th Member of the United Nations.

4. We in Finland recall vividly the recent visit of the Secretary-General to our country. He made a deep impression by his wisdom and experience when analysing the problems the United Nations is facing. I hope that we convinced him of the dedication of the people and Government of Finland to carrying out their responsibilities towards the Organization.

5. As my predecessor did in 1970, I have come to the Assembly in order to reaffirm Finland's active commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter, and to the United Nations as the principal instrument available to nations for keeping the peace in the world.

6. Finland's security is based on co-operation and friendly relations with its neighbouring countries and with all States of the world. We are ready and fully committed to work in co-operation with other Member States for collective security under the Charter and for joint action to preserve and to restore peace.

7. Many of the most serious threats to international security today seem, unfortunately, to be beyond the reach of the United Nations. The use of force in international relations has remained a regrettably common phenomenon. This is one of the principal challenges to the authority of the United Nations.

8. The United Nations must be strengthened.

9. A strong United Nations is in the interest of every Member State, big and small alike. Yet all too often this is forgotten by the parties to various disputes on the basis of short-sighted calculations and political expediency, with tragic consequences for all.

10. The world can ill afford such a development. To counteract it, we must look realistically at the capabilities of the principal United Nations organs.

11. The Security Council bears the primary responsibility for international peace and security. Implementation of and respect for Security Council resolutions by Member States are the corner-stone of the Charter and the foundation on which the viability of the United Nations as a whole rests. This applies to all Member States, yet the heaviest responsibility falls on the permanent members of the Council. Their failure to agree in the case of a specific dispute in no way absolves them or the Council from the duties entrusted to them by the Charter.

12. The international community, and in particular small States like Finland, will always look to the Security Council to take swift and decisive action to impose its will, to stop aggression and to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. This has often proved impossible. States have learned not to turn to the United Nations in their security need. There is another lesson to be learned: that the task of the United Nations is not only to stop wars, but to prevent them.

13. The United Nations could be the most effective instrument for preventive action. Member States should make full use of the services the Organization can provide for making peace and keeping the peace. This is the way to a rational world order based on the Charter of the United Nations.

14. The Charter remains as valid as ever, but the working methods and procedures of the principal organs of the United Nations may need adaptation on the basis of experience. Above all this concerns the functioning of the Security Council. We hope the Council will be able to develop procedures for initiating action in the early stages of conflicts in order to prevent the use of force.

15. Preventive diplomacy and the prevention of the use of force are challenges both to the Security Council and to the whole international community. All countries live in the shadow of nuclear weapons, and nothing can be more important than the prevention of nuclear war. Tension between nuclear-weapon States is therefore a source of concern to all.

16. We have been witnessing mounting tension and distrust in recent times. Harsh language has been their measure; increased fear may be their consequence. In this Hall, intended to provide a forum for dialogue in which all States ought to be able to participate without impediment and where courtesy and respect are every Member State's due, I wish to make an earnest appeal for a cool attitude when tempers are hot. Such an attitude does not exclude generosity and compassion.

17. Yet to an optimistic mind some signs of hope have been discernible. There are indications that the political will to negotiate has not been lost. The 35 States participating in the follow-up meeting at Madrid of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have agreed on a substantive concluding document, which opens new avenues towards improved security. This fact justifies cautious optimism, as do the hopes recently born that the leading nuclear Powers will finally find a way to proceed successfully in their negotiations on both

strategic and so-called intermediate-range nuclear forces. Security will increase not with the acquisition or deployment of new and even more destructive nuclear weapons, but rather with limitation and reduction of their number. The world expects that the dialogue between the nuclear-weapon States will help to turn the arms race in the opposite direction.

18. Without new agreements the arms race will continue, producing more fear and tension. It is an undeniable fact that the nuclear-weapon States already possess a manifold over-kill capacity. Nuclear weapons are not weapons in the old sense of the word. They are devices of senseless and uncontrollable destruction, the scope of which eludes our imagination. No rational political aims can be pursued by reliance on the use of these fearsome products of modern technology. They have become a source of infinite insecurity for all nations, including the nuclear-weapon States themselves. Possession of them therefore implies an enormous responsibility.

19. People everywhere—in the West and in the East, in nuclear-weapon States and in non-nuclear-weapon States alike—are expressing their anxiety about the present course of events. The Governments bearing responsibility for nuclear weapons, and the international community as a whole, should finally be able to display the moral courage and the common sense needed to respond in the only sensible way: by eliminating the nuclear danger.

20. Nuclear war is nowhere professed to be a means of rational policy. To limit such a war would scarcely be possible. Its effects would extend beyond all national boundaries. The authorization of even the smallest nuclear reprisal in a crisis situation would quite probably lead to an all-out nuclear war. Awareness of this fact should lead to further agreements now. The use of force is prohibited by the Charter, but the peoples of the world are entitled to specific assurances against the use of nuclear weapons.

21. Finland has made its contribution by becoming a party to all treaties in the disarmament field open to it. In particular, Finland has consistently supported the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII) annex] as the best instrument to combat the spread of the possession of nuclear weapons, which is a threat to all States, nuclear and non-nuclear alike. We urge all nations to accede to it and to accept international safeguards on all their nuclear activities. The supply and use of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes and the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons are necessary complements of each other.

22. By acceding to the Treaty, my country has reaffirmed an obligation never to acquire nuclear weapons of its own. Nor do we allow any nuclear weapons on our territory. The non-nuclear status of Finland is thus comprehensive in the full meaning of the word. As a consequence, we are entitled to expect and to demand that such weapons are never, under any circumstances, used against us and that we are not threatened with such weapons. We welcome the assurances given so far in this respect by the nuclear-weapon States. We hope that they will eventually agree on a set of effective security guarantees.

23. Finland has sought to consolidate the prevailing nuclear-weapon-free status in the region of northern Europe through initiatives for the creation of a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone.

24. The days when a State could pursue a policy completely independent of all others are long past. It is therefore of great importance that all countries, irrespective of their social systems and their belonging to different

military alliances, be ready to increase their co-operation. This by itself will strengthen confidence in a peaceful political development in the world. Peace is the best guarantee for all peoples that they will be able to achieve their own objectives. This requires consideration for the valid interests of others, mutual understanding and tolerance.

25. The United Nations, together with the specialized agencies, is a unique instrument for international co-operation, not only in the field of security. Through the United Nations, Finland and other small States have learned to carry wider responsibilities than ever before. Thus we all take part in the efforts to reduce poverty and implement human rights and fundamental freedoms. In areas such as these, the practical results of the work of the United Nations cannot be easily quantified. They are important components in the contribution that the United Nations and its specialized agencies make to the construction of a safer and more just world.

26. Here I want to pay a tribute to the initiative of the chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries leading to the presence of a number of heads of State or Government at the present session of the General Assembly. This is convincing proof of widespread willingness to give full weight to the efforts of the United Nations to maintain peace and to strengthen its authority.

27. Maintaining relations of trust and co-operation with its neighbours and pursuing an active policy of neutrality designed to promote peaceful development, Finland hopes to play a constructive role as a member of the international community. Our policy of neutrality enables us to maintain friendly relations with all States, irrespective of their social system, size or security policy. Through this consistent policy, we stand ready, whenever possible, to work for conciliation and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

28. We believe in the United Nations. We need the Organization, and we are convinced that the United Nations needs the full co-operation of all its Member States.

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

30. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):\* I wish first of all, Sir, to take this opportunity to convey to you the congratulations of the Federal Republic of Germany on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. You are a person with exceptional qualities and wide experience, among other things in the work of the United Nations, as well as the representative of a country and a continent with which friendly relations are for us traditional.

31. I wish also to extend my country's thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Hollai, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary, whose presidency of the thirty-seventh session bore the stamp of commitment and balance.

32. I am grateful to the Secretary-General and his staff for their dedicated work in the past year in the service of the Organization and in the cause of world peace.

33. On behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany, I extend a warm welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis as the newest Member of the United Nations.

34. Ten years ago the Federal Republic of Germany became a Member of the United Nations. On that

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

occasion, speaking from this rostrum, our then Foreign Minister, Walter Scheel, said:

“Peace takes first place. The times have gone when the family of nations allowed a single State or a political group to upset the coexistence of the whole family through the use of force.

“In our time there is no longer any room for the law of the jungle.”<sup>1</sup>

Today those words ring more true than ever. All Members of the United Nations have solemnly undertaken not to use force of any kind. Yet what do we see around us? Afghanistan, Cambodia, South-West Asia, the Middle East, Chad, southern Africa, Central America and other regions of the world are scenes of ghastly wars and civil strife.

35. This year the world will have spent the staggering sum of \$800 billion on arms. How ruthlessly force is resorted to is shown by the shooting down of a South Korean passenger aircraft by a Soviet military aircraft. That must never happen again. I appeal to all nations to participate in the efforts of ICAO to work out rules that will make a repetition of such a tragedy impossible.

36. The peoples of the earth long for peace and the absence of force, and they look to the United Nations in the hope that the Organization will accomplish its most noble task, which is to promote world peace. It was the desire to participate in this global task of fostering peace that motivated my country in joining the United Nations. We reaffirm our commitment to the United Nations and we shall do all we can to help it accomplish its task of safeguarding peace.

37. We laid the foundations of our policy for peace in the 1950s when we joined the European Community and the Western alliance.

38. The treaty policy with our neighbours in the East and with the German Democratic Republic followed. With our accession to the United Nations we assumed our full responsibility within the community of nations.

39. In 1973, the year of our accession, the efforts to achieve the goals of détente and co-operation between East and West were in full swing. No doubt all Members of the United Nations then hoped that the international community would from then on be able to concentrate its political energies and economic resources more and more on the three great global tasks of mankind: disarmament, the elimination of hunger and want, and protection of the natural environment.

40. This year 1972 was that of the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, and 1975 saw the commencement of the North-South dialogue. But hopes for the progressive, constructive development of East-West relations were dashed. Détente and co-operation have suffered severe setbacks since the end of the 1970s through the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the events in Poland and the destabilizing arms buildup by the Soviet Union.

41. Today once more international discussion focuses on East-West tensions rather than on comprehensive North-South co-operation in pursuit of development in the third world. Once again the East-West confrontation is preventing the United Nations from doing its job of preserving world peace.

42. Yet we must not give up. Proceeding on the basis of its membership in the European Community and in the Western alliance, the Federal Republic of Germany will continue to work for the maintenance of peace in Europe. The European Community, the core of which is Franco-German friendship, is an organization of

European democracies which have pooled their energies to shape their future together, as equals, in peace and freedom.

43. Referring to the goals of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's [NATO] defence alliance, the heads of State and Government declared at Bonn on 10 June 1982: “Our purpose is to prevent war and, while safeguarding democracy, to build the foundations of lasting peace. None of our weapons will ever be used except in response to attack.”

44. Europe, where two world wars have started in this century, must be a continent of peace. It must become a force for the peace of the whole world.

45. We shall continue to pursue détente and co-operation with our neighbours in the East. We shall continue to do everything in our power to help build a world order of peace in which nations, conscious of their interdependence, will work together as partners and human rights, the civil and political just as much as the economic, social and cultural rights, will be enjoyed by all.

46. At this moment the eyes of the whole world are on Geneva, the venue of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic arms reduction and intermediate-range nuclear forces.

47. My Government welcomes the new American proposals for the intermediate-range negotiations which President Reagan outlined in his address to the Assembly on 26 September [5th meeting]. We hope they will make possible at least an interim result in those negotiations before the end of the year. The United States has proposed the total renunciation of all American and Soviet land-based intermediate-range missiles. That remains our goal. Only such a result could render superfluous the deployment of Western missiles scheduled for the end of 1983. The key to that lies in Moscow. The Government and citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany and all nations of Europe and Asia long for nothing more ardently than the attainment of that goal.

48. We do not want to be constantly exposed to the threat of Soviet intermediate-range missiles. We shall not accept a Soviet monopoly of land-based missiles. As the Soviet Union does not at present seem willing to forgo that weapons system completely, we pin our hope on an interim agreement that would limit Soviet and United States missiles of this type to the lowest possible number.

49. The new Western proposals have opened up that possibility. They take account of Soviet interests and considerations. I appeal to the Soviet Union not to let the opportunity to achieve a concrete result pass. I appeal to the Soviet Union not to block the intermediate-range nuclear forces negotiations any longer by insisting that the British and French systems be included.

50. The Soviet Union should take careful note of what has been said by President Mitterrand [9th meeting] and the British Foreign Secretary [10th meeting], and also the Chinese Foreign Minister [8th meeting], about taking into account and limiting strategic systems in terms of arms control policy.

51. We must view these disarmament negotiations at Geneva in the overall context of East-West relations. The fact that today the West and East are engaged in such intensive and comprehensive negotiations on confidence-building, arms control and disarmament is encouraging. We have never doubted that the military aspects of security pose the most difficult problems in the détente process, but the settlement of these issues is indispensable for real détente and for the development of a durable peace order in Europe.

52. Chancellor Kohl has reaffirmed that we recognize the Soviet Union's need for security in the light of history. We want for ourselves no more, but also no less, than equal recognition of our own security interests.

53. The process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe offers one of the most promising opportunities for resolving or reducing East-West problems through mutual understanding and compromise and for carrying out common tasks through co-operation. That Conference has linked human rights and human contacts with the process of détente and economic co-operation. It has become a matter which concerns not only governments but peoples as well. We made every effort to ensure that the follow-up meeting at Madrid took place in spite of critical international developments and that it was assiduously continued and eventually concluded at the ministerial level.

54. The result of that meeting shows our endeavours to have been worth while. The net woven by the Final Act of Helsinki<sup>2</sup> has held up under many heavy strains. Now the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting has brought important progress. It makes allowance for the interests of the people and for questions of co-operation, security and confidence-building. Now the aim must be to translate these results into practice and to let the positive impulses generated at Madrid give impetus to the disarmament negotiations also.

55. The Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe due to begin at Stockholm on 17 January 1984 will for the first time open the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, to arms control. Military stability in the field of conventional forces in Europe can become a reality only if confidence-building measures and arms control encompass all European territory. Thus that Conference is a necessary complement to the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions, which cover only central Europe.

56. In the first phase of negotiations the Conference will seek agreement on verifiable confidence-building measures to reduce the danger of a conventional surprise attack in Europe. A further phase of the Conference could lead on to disarmament negotiations proper. The sooner stability in the conventional sphere is established at the lowest possible level of forces, the sooner it will become possible also to reduce nuclear capabilities in Europe step by step on the basis of agreements. We must remain constantly aware of this broad perspective. Disarmament directed towards the establishment of equilibrium is the aim of German peace policy. We want to achieve peace with ever fewer weapons.

57. Speaking on behalf of the new German Government formed after the March elections, Chancellor Kohl said that we would consistently pursue the policy of understanding, détente and co-operation with our Eastern neighbours on the basis of the treaties concluded in the seventies. That policy is designed for the long term. We shall continue our efforts to infuse those treaties with life.

58. We are convinced that positive developments in the political and economic relations between West and East can facilitate the settlement of the difficult security issues. Economic co-operation brings stability to East-West relations. We want neither a trade war nor any misuse of economic relations as a disciplinary instrument. That applies in relation to all countries.

59. We want to expand consistently our relations with the Soviet Union in the long term and improve their quality. We are conscious of the importance of German-Soviet relations for East-West relations. But this policy

cannot be a one-way street. Chancellor Kohl said in his policy statement on 5 May 1983 that we judge the will for co-operation of the Soviet Union's leaders by the extent to which they actually help to reduce and eliminate all impediments.

60. We wish to keep on developing our relations with our other Eastern neighbours also. Europe does not stop at the Elbe. Europe has a common history and a common future. All of us in Europe can gain from progress in détente and in co-operation, but we can all only lose through confrontation.

61. Constructive development in East-West relations is greatly influenced by the relationship between the two German States. The Germans in West and East have a common responsibility towards peace in Europe, and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic must constantly be aware of that responsibility. We share the conviction that Germany must never again be a source of war but that it should rather generate impulses for peace.

62. The treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic laid the foundation for the development of comprehensive co-operation. We Germans in West and East must have the ambition not to be outdone by anyone else when it comes to putting into practice the Final Act of Helsinki and the declaration of Madrid. A peaceful and stable situation in and around Berlin is crucial both for German-German relations and for East-West relations as a whole.

63. Co-operation between the two German States strengthens the cohesion of the nation. Our aim is to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination. Our aim is to work for a peace order in the whole of Europe that is characterized by trust and comprehensive co-operation.

64. All countries concerned must make their contribution to détente and co-operation between West and East. This means the following. The political dialogue between West and East must not stop; indeed it must be intensified precisely when the going is rough, and this applies in particular to the dialogue between the two super-Powers. My Government regrets that Foreign Minister Gromyko is not attending this session of the General Assembly. We strongly advocate a summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Andropov and welcome the readiness of the United States to attend such a meeting.

65. Co-operation in all spheres consolidates peace. Disarmament negotiations cannot bear fruit in a climate of confrontation, nor can they be conducted in a vacuum. They need to have a place in the framework of constructive East-West relations. This calls for a willingness to see and appreciate the other side's interests, needs, fears and problems. Presenting each other as demons poisons the international atmosphere. Reason, clear-headedness and cool calculation are indispensable.

66. All nations, in the West and in the East, must adhere strictly to the principle of the renunciation of force, as they have promised in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to the extent that they are signatories. This includes the exercise of moderation in the pursuit of one's own interests. Referring to the further development of the concept of the renunciation of force, Chancellor Kohl, during his visit to Moscow on 4 July 1983, said that a further binding renewal of the prohibition of the use of force "can help improve the

international situation if it actually prevents the threat of force and stops it where it is still being used”.

67. We do not want war, either a nuclear or a conventional one. President Reagan is right; a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

68. All countries must contribute to arms control and disarmament directed towards the establishment of an equilibrium, and all countries must be willing to help establish tangible confidence-building measures. Transparency and verifiability must be translated into concrete measures.

69. All nations, in the West and in the East, must discharge the obligation to keep the East-West confrontation out of the third world. There is no longer any future in hegemony or in spheres of influence, either in Europe or elsewhere in the world. We must all contribute to a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Economic development and the elimination of hunger and want in the third world brook no further delay. It is not the export of weapons but development co-operation that is urgently needed. Only if disarmament produces a stable equilibrium between East and West at the lowest possible level of armaments will East and West be able to make the necessary contribution to the global tasks of the future: the development of the third world and the preservation of the natural basis of life on our planet. My country is conscious of its responsibility concerning peace, development and environmental protection. We are playing our part in the efforts to accomplish these tasks.

70. The principles guiding our co-operation with third world countries are clear: we respect the right of all nations to independence and self-determination; we support genuine non-alignment, which we see as a stabilizing element of international relations; we plead the cause of the renunciation of force world-wide and support the peaceful settlement of conflicts; we are helping to eliminate hunger and want everywhere in the world; and we are striving for progress in the global exercise of human rights, since without this nations will find no lasting peace, internally or in their external relations.

71. At its thirty-eighth session the General Assembly will be debating a number of crises. The most urgent problem to be solved in safeguarding world peace is unchanged: that of a comprehensive and equitable peace settlement in the Middle East. In Lebanon the bloodshed and the suffering of the civilian population must be ended without delay and the way to national reconciliation reopened. Reconciliation is essential for the independence, sovereignty and unity of Lebanon. The peace process in the wider Israeli-Arab Middle East conflict must be resumed. The right of self-determination of the Palestinian people must be recognized, as must the right of all nations in the region, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized boundaries.

72. We appeal to Iraq and Iran to stop the war in the Gulf that has claimed so many lives on both sides.

73. The Cyprus question exemplifies attempts by the United Nations to help resolve conflicts by peaceful means. My Government supports the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. It supports all efforts by the Secretary-General to ensure the regular pursuit of intercommunal talks.

74. The continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia place a particularly heavy strain on international relations. The Soviet Union and Viet Nam must cease their resistance to the demand of the entire world that they withdraw their forces. Concerning the Cambodian question, we support

the recent appeal by the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] [A/38/441] in all respects. Afghanistan is a touchstone of Soviet willingness to recognize the independence of third world nations, to respect their desire for non-alignment and not to seek a position of dominance.

75. The peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa, Western Sahara and southern Africa is urgently needed. International efforts to secure Namibia's independence must at long last be brought to a successful conclusion on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). As a member of the Western contact group, the Federal Republic of Germany has been playing an active part in these efforts for a number of years and will not relax its efforts. We welcome the Secretary-General's initiative in this respect and promise him our full support. In the Republic of South Africa, the policy of *apartheid*, which is inimical to the very notion of human rights, must at long last be ended.

76. It is only by peaceful means that the political, economic and social conflicts currently convulsing Central America can be resolved. Here too we are ready to help in so far as we can to bring stability to that region. We see a possibility for regional co-operation between the European Community and the nations of that region. We strongly support the peace initiative of the Contadora Group.

77. The worsening conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America are accompanied by an increasing arms buildup in those parts of the world. Military spending in the third world has quadrupled over the past 20 years and today accounts for one quarter of the global military expenditure. Thus arms control and disarmament are becoming increasingly urgent tasks for many regions of the third world also. Confidence-building measures are indispensable for the third world too. An international symposium held in the Federal Republic of Germany in the spring called for such measures in order to defuse tensions in the third world. Within the Disarmament Commission our work on the list of guidelines for confidence-building measures continues.

78. Regional co-operation is an effective and promising concept for the promotion of peace and stability in the world. My Government sees it as the best way of safeguarding and strengthening the political and economic independence of the developing countries. The European Community is a model for a regional grouping in which all members have equal rights. It has long been a factor of stability in Europe and in the world. Through co-operation agreements with regional groupings in the third world it has created a model for future co-operation between industrial and developing countries. The Lomé Convention which links the European Community with African, Caribbean and Pacific States, and the successful co-operation between the European Community and ASEAN testify to this.

79. According to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international co-operation should also serve to ensure the protection of human rights. Innocent people are still being held, tortured and murdered in prisons. Individuals are still the object of discrimination merely on account of their colour or their religion. Many millions of people, principally in the third world, are still having to live in conditions of poverty that are unworthy of the human race. These pictures of violence, injustice and misery illustrate the challenge. They show how much still has to be done to make human rights a reality.

80. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic,

Social and Cultural Rights must not remain mere declarations. They must become a reality. We support the proposal for the appointment of a high commissioner for human rights. We call upon the family of nations, conscious of the good done by the European Court of Human Rights, to agree on the institution of a court of human rights of the United Nations. We hope that the next session of the General Assembly, acting on the basis of the report submitted by the Commission on Human Rights,<sup>3</sup> will approve our proposed optional protocol for the abolition of capital punishment. A convention affording protection against torture is urgently needed.

81. Among the important creative tasks of the United Nations in the field of law is that of formulating the right to development. We support the current work of the Commission on Human Rights in this field.

82. The refugee situation is one of the most pressing problems of our time. It demonstrates how closely human rights are tied up with peace. Millions of refugees mean not only human misery a million times over. This trend endangers the political and economic stability of the overburdened receiving countries and is a threat to peace.

83. As the Secretary-General explained in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], the refugee problem can only be resolved if the underlying political causes are removed. It was a mark of progress when, at the initiative of my country, the General Assembly included in the agenda of its thirty-fifth session an item concerning international preventive measures to avoid new flows of refugees. We must now develop a system of concrete measures so that the United Nations can take timely action to prevent new flows.

84. The economic and social development of the third world is only possible if world peace is safeguarded. Development needs peace, but, conversely, peace needs development. For the sake of world peace all energy must be devoted to the task of economic development in the third world. That is also a vital self-interest of the industrialized countries. The world economy is gradually overcoming the worst recession since the thirties. Nowhere has that recession had such devastating consequences as in the third world. In the African countries with low incomes, the situation of many people has become desperate. And even in Latin America, per capita incomes have dropped sharply in the past two years.

85. The development process now needs to be started up again and accelerated everywhere in the third world. The international community as a whole must help. The industrialized countries of the East, too, must finally meet their responsibilities. Belief in the success of the development process needs to be revitalized.

86. How great the difficulties are is reflected in the discussions at the annual meeting of the World Bank and IMF in Washington. But neither can we afford to resign ourselves to the situation, nor would such resignation be justified. The incipient upswing in the industrialized countries must be harnessed to the needs of the third world. Energy prices have become more stable. Interest rates, though still high, are distinctly below the 1981/82 peak. Every per cent less in Eurodollar interest rates saves the developing countries over two billion dollars in interest payments a year. World trade is showing signs of picking up again. Rising commodity prices mean bigger export earnings for many developing countries. The industrial democracies must maintain their economic growth without rekindling inflation. This still cannot be done without reducing budget deficits. One per cent or less growth in the industrialized countries can be instrumental in determining the success or failure of the developing countries' own efforts.

87. This places an additional responsibility on the industrialized countries to ensure lasting, non-inflationary growth. Widespread North-South co-operation must afford direct support to the development process. The international flow of capital to the developing countries must now scrupulously be maintained and extended. Development requires—and this applies at any time—an inflow of capital and foreign exchange. To the least developed countries, official development aid is crucial. In recent years this aid has accounted for 84 per cent of capital inflows.

88. In the case of the advanced developing countries, on the other hand, the problem of easing the external debt is the prime concern. With a volume of some 700 billion dollars and an annual interest burden amounting to 50 billion dollars, the debt of the developing countries has assumed dramatic proportions. Co-operation between IMF and development and commercial banks, as well as between the governments of debtor and creditor countries, must be intensified. The commercial banks must be ready to provide even more loans. The World Bank, IMF and the regional development banks must make their contribution, and to do so they must receive the necessary funds from their member countries. The ability of these proven institutions to function must be preserved if the basic conditions for the economic recovery of the third world and of the world as a whole are not to be placed in jeopardy.

89. Rescheduling must allow for special individual circumstances and take place within the scope of sensible stabilization programmes. More effective measures are needed to counter protectionism. Commodity markets and the earnings from commodity exports must be stabilized. By means of such measures, coupled with resolute adjustment policies on the part of the developing countries, the present crisis can be overcome and the development process consolidated and energetically continued.

90. To ensure the success of development efforts, the industrial countries must not only keep their markets open to exports from developing countries, but widen them. Protectionist policies in relation to the developing countries are tantamount to refusing development. East-South trade must also be intensified. The industrialized state-trading nations of Eastern Europe account for only four per cent of exports from developing countries, whereas the market economy industrial countries absorb 67 per cent. Thus, the Western industrialized countries import more than sixteen times as much from the developing countries as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CMEA] countries, although they have only about twice their population. CMEA's economic planning is therefore, obviously, of a protectionist character.

91. It is time the East European industrial countries created wider possibilities for imports from developing countries. Only thus will they meet their responsibility towards the third world. Helping those countries in their development is a dictate of peace and, especially in relation to the poorest nations, an expression of global solidarity.

92. Yet it can never be more than an aid towards self-help. The key to successful development lies ultimately in the economic and social policies of the third world nations themselves. Here it will be important to draw on the experience of three development decades.

93. The economic co-operation of the Federal Republic of Germany is concentrated on four main areas: rural development; the development of conventional and renewable sources of energy; education, particularly vocational and primary education; and environmental protection.

94. We attach special importance to support for UNFPA. It is now widely recognized that too rapid a population growth can be too great a burden on the development process; it can drag it down and stifle it. Official development aid must be complemented by private direct investment in the third world and by co-operation between companies in the developed and industrialized countries. In the third world, too, private investment must become one of the hubs of growth.

95. The mutual desire of North and South to re-establish stable growth and development calls for a continuous dialogue between North and South at all levels. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at Belgrade, proved disappointing in some ways, yet the many resolutions adopted indicate that North and South place their faith in co-operation. That consensus must be the basis for further co-operation. The launching of global negotiations must not be put off any longer. The participants in the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, at Cancún, came out in favour of them. Now words must be followed by deeds. Global negotiations must be complemented by smaller but, at the same time, representative bodies. The Cancún meeting clearly brought more objectivity into the North-South dialogue. It will continue to require impulsion at the highest political level.

96. Preserving the natural basis of life on an Earth that has become smaller is a task that will be crucial for the future of mankind.

97. In Europe the forests are dying. In other regions of the world the deserts and steppes are spreading; the land is becoming barren. The air is becoming more and more polluted; the ecological balance of lakes and rivers, even of the oceans, is in jeopardy. The ecosystems of tropical regions, too, are particularly sensitive, and many developing countries have suffered environmental damage, which at the same time does great harm to the economy. Therefore, environmental protection must already be an integral part of any development strategy.

98. Long-term damage resulting from the indifferent—worse, irresponsible—use of natural resources spells danger for the existence of the whole of mankind.

99. Global environmental problems can be solved only through close international co-operation. Protection of the environment is a major objective of the Federal Republic of Germany, both at home and in other parts of the world. We are co-operating for the protection of the environment with other industrial countries in the European Community, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and the Economic Commission for Europe. In 1984 a conference is to be held at Munich at which all nations of Western and Eastern Europe, as well as the United States and Canada—that is, all members of the Commission—will tackle the problems connected with dying forests and the ecosystems of national and international waters.

100. Part of our bilateral development co-operation is to help the third world countries solve their environmental problems. Our aim is to bring all development projects into harmony with their respective environments.

101. In regard to the environmental protection programme of the United Nations it is important to note the following.

102. There must be no lasting North-South gap in terms of environmental protection.

103. Environmental pollution must not be transferred to the third world.

104. Environmental protection and economic co-operation must be linked in such a way that ecological aspects are always taken into account when implementing development projects.

105. A pool of experts must be available to third world countries, which can request their assistance through UNEP in the planning, implementation and evaluation of environmental projects.

106. The training and advisory services available to nations of the third world must be expanded to cover environmental aspects. This applies in particular to food and water supply problems.

107. The community of nations must use the world's natural resources rationally and in a manner compatible with the environment.

108. We want all men to be able to live in a world without fear, without force, without want. We realize that in order to build such a world we require a strong world organization. Hence we must all, together, give the United Nations that strength.

109. We say to the Secretary-General: "We stand by your side. We support your efforts to make the United Nations the focal point of global co-operation through which conflicts can be resolved by peaceful means and the great common tasks accomplished."

110. The world is at the crossroads. It must decide between international anarchy, confrontation and the use of force, and co-operation between equals for the sake of peace, freedom and progress.

111. Only if we all act in accordance with the principles of the Charter, only if the right to the self-determination of nations and human rights are realized everywhere, only if the renunciation of force, disarmament, development and protection of the natural environment are seen as our common task, will mankind survive.

112. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): It gives me particular pleasure, Sir, to extend to you heartfelt congratulations on your election to the office of President of the General Assembly and to greet you as the representative of a country with which Romania maintains close relations of friendship and co-operation.

113. I should also like to take this opportunity to reaffirm to the Secretary-General the appreciation and support of the Romanian Government for his work in the interests of international peace, co-operation and understanding.

114. The present session of the General Assembly is taking place against a background of complex and contradictory problems of international life, which have aggravated the world situation. The peoples of the world are deeply concerned about the rapid escalation of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, the perpetuation of conflicts and hotbeds of tension and the emergence of new ones, and the widening of the gap between the rich and poor countries.

115. Life—indeed, reality—demonstrates that logic, political realism and the spirit of co-operation are being increasingly replaced by growing mistrust, tension and confrontation. Artificial factors have been exacerbated. Differences that are ideological in nature, deriving from differing social and political systems, have been transferred to the area of inter-State relations, and some local conflict situations have been placed in the context of disputes between the opposing blocs. The struggle for spheres of influence and zones of domination is intensifying.

116. It can be said that we are today witnessing in the international arena a grave undermining of the policy of peaceful co-existence, which has been unanimously accepted by all the peoples of the world as the only alternative to the outbreak of a conflagration.

117. Given this reality, which creates a menacing atmosphere in international life, being a serious threat to the sovereignty and freedom of many nations, it is more than ever necessary to act with increasing determination against the policy of force and diktat; for halting the growing confrontation and resuming the policy of co-operation, détente and peace; and for the establishment between States of new relations based on full equality of rights, strict observance by all States in all circumstances of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, mutual benefit and the right of each people to decide its own destiny.

118. We are convinced that in the world-wide confrontation between these diametrically opposed tendencies—on the one hand, that of domination, aggression and diktat, and on the other that of the determination and justified aspirations of the overwhelming majority of States to enjoy independence, freedom and peace—we can and must see the triumph of the policy of reason, of right over might, and of international understanding and security.

119. Because of their responsibility for the fate of mankind and the sacred right of peoples to existence, life, freedom and peace, all States are duty-bound to act in a constructive and co-operative spirit, which should be reflected in the debates, the results and the resolutions of this session of the General Assembly. States must contribute effectively to halting the trend towards confrontation, to substantially improving the international atmosphere and to solving, in the interests of the peoples, the serious and complex problems today confronting mankind.

120. Starting from the basic and irreversible premise of the Romanian people, its vocation for peace and co-operation, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, has stated:

“We deem it necessary to act now, through concrete measures, to lessen international tension and to resume the policy of détente, and not to take any action which could aggravate the international situation, so that all States act with the highest responsibility towards their own peoples, the general cause of peace and international security”.

121. The time elapsed since the previous session has shown without a doubt that the worsening of the international situation, the growth of the danger of war, the increase in tension among States and the deepening world economic crisis are generated primarily by the intensification of the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race.

122. A lucid analysis of the present situation, as well as United Nations documents, reveal an alarming fact, namely, that the world has reached such a level of armaments, has accumulated such a quantity of all types of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, that the very existence of civilization and even of life on our planet is in danger.

123. In these circumstances, the fundamental problem of our time is to prevent war, safeguard peace, halt the arms race, move towards disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, and establish a military balance, not by accumulating new armaments but by reducing existing armaments to the lowest level possible.

124. It is in Europe that there is the greatest concentration of armaments, including nuclear armaments. It is

in Europe that the two opposing military blocs face one another, blocs created, as is well known, during the period of the “cold war”, blocs that foment mistrust and confrontation. The situation demands strong and consistent measures to eliminate the bloc policy, to reduce the military activities of the two blocs, to narrow the geographic area of military competition, to eliminate the nuclear danger from the widest possible areas and to ensure the widest possible military disengagement.

125. At present the crucial problem for Europe is the danger of the deployment this very year of new medium-range missiles, which would open the way to the escalation of the arms race and increase the danger of war, above all nuclear war, thus threatening the life of all the European peoples—indeed, life itself—and human civilization.

126. Romania considers that there is no justification for accepting as a *fait accompli* the deployment of new nuclear missiles. On the contrary, everything should be done to avoid this very serious step while there is still time and while it is still possible. States and Governments that decide to deploy new missiles on their territories will assume a great responsibility towards their own peoples and, indeed, towards humanity as a whole.

127. Romania believes that through new efforts, through negotiations carried out in a spirit of co-operation and of great responsibility on both sides, it is possible to reach an appropriate agreement which would put an end to the deployment of new missiles and ensure the withdrawal and destruction of existing missiles.

128. Proceeding from this basic premise, the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, recently sent messages to the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yuri Andropov, and to the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, [see A/38/375] urging them to do everything possible to ensure that no new nuclear weapons be deployed. Romania has proposed that, in the event that by the end of this year negotiations have not reached positive results, there be agreement to postpone the deployment of new medium-range missiles at least until the end of 1984 or the beginning of 1985, and that negotiations be continued. In the meantime, the Soviet Union should, in the spirit of its earlier statements, guarantee that it would stop the deployment of new medium-range missiles, stop modernizing them and unilaterally reduce the number of those deployed in the European part of Soviet territory. In addition, the President of Romania has proposed, in the event that no agreement is reached on these proposals, at least the non-deployment of medium-range missiles in the territories of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other States, as an intermediate measure pending the conclusion of a final agreement in the framework of the Geneva negotiations.

129. Bearing in mind that the subject of the Soviet-American negotiations concerns the security and life of all European peoples, we consider it necessary that the other European States also participate in an appropriate form in these talks, or that direct negotiations be initiated between the countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the member States of NATO on the question of medium-range nuclear arms.

130. In general we are of the view that, since what is involved is the safeguarding of the vital interests of peace and security of all peoples—indeed, their very life—all States have the right and duty to express themselves and make their contributions to the efforts to stop the arms race and achieve concrete disarmament measures, primarily for nuclear disarmament. In this regard, we believe

that all States are duty-bound, because of the obligations entered into under the Charter, to co-operate in a responsible manner to ensure the effective use of the framework provided by the United Nations and the Committee on Disarmament to bring about the cessation of the arms race and disarmament.

131. It is now more than ever necessary to do everything possible to put an end to the policy of armaments, to defend the vital right of human beings and peoples to existence, independence and peace. This requires determined efforts to achieve without further delay concrete and meaningful new steps towards nuclear disarmament, in particular cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles until they are completely eliminated, freezing the development and deployment of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and the definitive prohibition of all nuclear armaments and other weapons of mass destruction.

132. The acceleration of the arms race is a major factor in the deepening world economic crisis. It feeds war propaganda, generates among the popular masses a psychosis of uncertainty and insecurity and creates distrust and suspicion in international life. The peoples must be told the plain truth that nuclear weapons are weapons of death and destruction, not weapons of peace and security, and that we cannot wait until nuclear weapons are used, because then it will be too late. We must not disregard the fact that there can always be irresponsible individuals ready to pull the trigger, or that by an unfortunate accident the nuclear destruction of the human race could be unleashed.

133. Proceeding from the premise that the annual growth in arms expenditures, the increase in geometric proportions of all types of armaments and the deployment of new nuclear missiles is detrimental to all countries and cuts deep into the budget allocations for social needs, the development of science, education, art and culture and the protection of the environment, Romania stands firmly for a reduction in military expenditures.

134. It is a truism that the pace of the arms race very seriously pollutes the international atmosphere and makes people's lives a real nightmare. Confronted with the option of life or the nuclear holocaust, the European peoples and the peoples of all continents commit themselves with increasing determination to the struggle for disarmament and peace. Now, before it is too late, millions of people of all ages, of various philosophical and religious convictions, are taking part in impressive peace movements and demonstrations, saying a resolute "No" to nuclear weapons and calling for an end to the arms race. To ignore the will of the peoples, not to listen to the forceful voice of world public opinion, is to go against the course of history and of reason and means poisoning the international atmosphere.

135. The strengthening of international peace and security requires that effective measures be agreed upon and implemented to achieve nuclear and conventional disarmament and to substantially reduce armaments and military forces, in order to increase confidence among States. While stressing the particular role and responsibility that attaches primarily to the powerfully armed States which possess nuclear arsenals, we also consider it necessary that all interested States participate directly in disarmament negotiations and have an opportunity to express themselves, so that no one is unaware of their wishes and their aspirations.

136. In the opinion of the Romanian Government, measures to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament

should be taken in circumstances of mutual confidence and equal security, ensuring a military balance at ever lower levels and under strict international control, in order to guarantee full compliance by all States concerned with all the obligations assumed by them. Proceeding from this concept, Romania has strongly supported the establishment, within the United Nations framework, of an international body invested with the right to control and monitor the full implementation of measures agreed on to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament.

*Mrs. Jones (Liberia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

137. As a European country that has consistently worked for security and co-operation in our continent, Romania welcomed the results of the Madrid meeting which make it evident that even in complex and difficult international conditions there is no problem, however complicated, that cannot be resolved through negotiation when all concerned show political wisdom, a constructive spirit and a wish to co-operate, and when the primary interest of the people and of the peace and security of the whole world are borne in mind.

138. We regard as particularly positive the fact that at the Madrid meeting a consensus was reached on convening the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and that it was agreed to organize a number of meetings ensuring a continuation of the process initiated in the capital of Finland.

139. It is now extremely important to continue and consolidate the results obtained in promoting security and the development of co-operation in Europe. To this end, Romania has proposed that direct negotiations begin between the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of NATO on the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, on disarmament and on the elimination of the danger of war. Bearing in mind the share of these States in world military expenditures and armaments, the conclusion of an agreement among States participating in the two military alliances would be an important contribution to the process of general disarmament. As far as Romania is concerned, it has decided to freeze its military budget at the 1982 level until 1985.

140. An important contribution to military disengagement and the strengthening of security and confidence among States would be the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. The Romanian proposal on making the Balkans a zone of peace and good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation, free from nuclear weapons, foreign troops and military bases, is part of this effort.

141. Events show that the anachronistic and profoundly dangerous policy of the use or threat of use of force in inter-State relations and of recourse to pressure and interference in the internal affairs of other States are a source of conflict and tension and unrest in international life. Such factors fuel the arms race and generate attacks on the peace, security and progress of peoples and their vital rights and aspirations.

142. The supreme interests of peoples, peace and international security demand the resolute elimination of the policy of force and the threat of force in every form and manifestation, the cessation of military actions and armed conflicts and the settlement of all disputes between States exclusively by peaceful means, by negotiation.

143. It is in the spirit of this position of principle that Romania believes that international bodies, above all the United Nations, must play a more active role and make a more effective contribution to bringing about and

speeding up settlement of situations of tension and conflict solely through negotiations.

144. The inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item on the peaceful settlement of disputes between States, and the adoption by consensus at the last session of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes [*resolution 37/10, annex*] are, of course, important positive steps which confirm the timeliness of efforts in this field and demand a clear commitment by all States Members of the United Nations to continue to work together to achieve this basic goal.

145. Romania, along with other States, has presented a detailed proposal to this session of the General Assembly to set up within the framework of the United Nations a special body for good offices, mediation and conciliation the purpose of which would be to assist in preventing new military confrontations and in settling peacefully, through negotiation, conflicts and any other problems between States [*see A/38/343*].

146. The same preoccupation—the desire to contribute to strengthening peace and security at regional and international levels by developing relations of co-operation, mutual respect and understanding—is reflected in Romania's initiative on enhancing good-neighbourliness among States. The debates at recent sessions of the General Assembly have created appropriate conditions for beginning to develop this concept of good-neighbourliness and reaching agreement on the principles, ways and means for putting into practice such relations among all States.

147. Romania is deeply concerned over the persistence of serious hotbeds of tension and conflict in various parts of the planet. Of particular concern is the situation in that so heavily affected region, the Middle East.

148. The conflict in this area, including the disturbing situation in Lebanon, must be settled starting from the central priority problem, namely, ensuring the rights of the Palestinian people. In this respect it is necessary to begin negotiations as soon as possible. Romania, as is known, has come out in favour of organizing an international conference under United Nations auspices, with all interested parties participating, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the Soviet Union and the United States of America, in order to arrive at a comprehensive, lasting and just solution of the Middle East conflict. Such a settlement presupposes the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war; the solution of the Palestine problem on the basis of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its right to establish its own independent State, and the guarantee of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region.

149. At the same time, we advocate maintenance of the cease-fire in Lebanon, national reconciliation, the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and respect for the independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

150. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm from this rostrum Romania's solidarity with and active support for the position and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its efforts to ensure the peaceful and independent unification of that country.

151. In the spirit of Romania's traditional policy of supporting the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence, I should like to express once again the militant solidarity of the Romanian State and people with the Namibian people in its struggle to achieve independence

without delay on the basis of United Nations resolutions. We also support the abolition of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa and the adoption of measures to force the Pretoria authorities to end once and for all their aggressive actions against neighbouring States.

152. The international economic situation, marked by increased signs of crisis, has brought about a profound upheaval in trade relations and economic co-operation among States which has had a negative effect on all States, but particularly on the developing ones by helping to perpetuate and broaden the gap between the rich and the poor countries.

153. Of particular concern are certain trends such as the extension of protectionist measures and discriminatory practices, the growing disproportion between the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods, the increase in the external debt burden of developing countries and high interest rates for development loans, the reduction in aid programmes and hampering access to modern technology.

154. Given the growing interdependence between rich and poor countries, overcoming the economic crisis requires not only an upswing in the economic activities of the developed countries, but also a revitalization of the economic development process in the developing countries and the creation of the proper conditions for enabling those countries to regain their dynamic role in the world economy and in the growth of international trade.

155. It is the view of Romania and of its President, Nicolae Ceaușescu, that the present negative situation in the world economy and particularly the seriousness of the economic situation of the developing countries urgently require establishment of genuine co-operation between developed and developing countries, based on the principles of equality and equity. This would ensure a speedy and lasting general recovery in the world economy, a resumption of the development process in the developing countries and the taking of concrete steps towards the establishment of a new, more just international economic order which would take account of the interests of all nations. In our view, that is a fundamental prerequisite for ensuring general economic stability and for improving the international political climate.

156. I wish to stress in particular the gravity of the developing countries' external debt to the developed countries, which has become a fundamental world-wide problem. A solution of that problem depends on halting the deterioration of the situation in the developing countries and in achieving world economic stability. We consider it necessary to cancel the debts of the poorest countries and to reduce the debts of other countries proportionately with their per capita national income and reschedule them over a longer period of time, interest-free or at a low rate of interest. As an interim measure, one could consider postponing the external debts of developing countries for two or three years, interest-free or at a low rate of interest, and then to hold negotiations between borrower and lender countries in the framework of a conference to find adequate solutions.

157. Regenerating economic growth in the developing countries—without which a lasting and general recovery is not possible—requires, among other things, a substantial flow of financial resources from the developed countries to the developing countries. This could be achieved, first and foremost, through an annual reduction in military expenditures of from 10 to 15 per cent.

158. The North-South negotiations carried out thus far, including those at the sixth session of the United Nations

Conference on Trade and Development this year, have not produced significant results. Overcoming the economic crisis and relaunching the growth process in the developing countries urgently require genuine economic dialogue between developed and developing countries.

159. To facilitate this dialogue it would be useful to establish within the United Nations a mechanism open to all Member States for the examination of the major economic problems facing the international community in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade, the external debt of developing countries, and money and finance.

160. In any event, it is necessary to agree on an appropriate negotiating format drawing upon the experience of other complex international negotiations, such as those which took place at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and to start urgently negotiations on major economic problems to find generally acceptable solutions which could contribute to the lasting recovery of the world economy, to the elimination of underdevelopment and to the establishment of a new international economic order.

161. Among the items to be considered at this session is that concerning the flow of qualified personnel out of the developing countries. The group of experts convened by UNCTAD, at the initiative of the Group of 77, has begun work and will hold at least two more meetings. We consider that UNCTAD should continue these efforts with the participation of all countries with a view to agreeing upon a set of principles, guidelines and norms concerning the drain of personnel, and upon an integrated programme of action in this field, which could eliminate the harmful consequences of this phenomenon for the developing countries.

162. With the observance of 1985 as International Youth Year, with its motto "Participation, Development, Peace", the problems of the younger generation will, with good reason, attract ever increasing attention from States and international public opinion. This should be reflected in the concerns, the debates and the decisions of the present session of the General Assembly.

163. The holding in 1983 of five regional meetings on International Youth Year—among them the European meeting, of which Romania had the pleasure of hosting, at Costinesti—marks a new stage in the effective preparation of the Year.

164. The Specific Programme of Measures and Activities to be undertaken prior to and during the International Youth Year, the additional recommendations on its implementation and the reports of the five regional meetings, submitted to the Assembly at this session [see A/38/460 and Add.1], set out measures at the national level, as well as action to increase international co-operation in settling specific problems confronting the younger generation today. Moreover, there are a number of other valuable suggestions and proposals put forward by Member States in the General Assembly, in the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year, in the regional meetings and in other forums which deserve further consideration, with all due attention and in a receptive spirit.

165. It is now for the General Assembly to adopt the decisions necessary to intensify preparations for International Youth Year and to ensure adequate observance of this important event at the world-wide level, under the auspices of the United Nations, as well as to ensure that youth-related issues have a place within the general framework of United Nations concerns which is commensurate with the important role of the younger generation in the

world of today and of tomorrow and that those issues are adequately followed up.

166. Life and the realities of today demonstrate that the issue of strengthening the role of the United Nations and of effectively using the potential and the framework of the world body for the settlement of the major problems of humanity has never been so pressing as it is now.

167. At this crucial moment for the whole of mankind, the solution of complex issues of international life increasingly requires the active participation, with full rights, of all States irrespective of social system or size, first and foremost of small and medium-sized countries, the developing and non-aligned countries which represent the huge majority of the peoples of the world.

168. We believe that the time has come to give profound consideration to specific means for ensuring, through the United Nations, the implementation of the fundamental purposes proclaimed by the Charter. We are thinking primarily of proposals to improve United Nations activities substantially, further to democratize its bodies, structures and functions, to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations and to adapt it to the requirements and realities of today's world.

169. We consider it necessary that the terms of reference of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization should be simplified and made more precise, so that that Committee might concentrate on major proposals and submit to the General Assembly specific proposals, adopted by consensus, for improving the effectiveness of the United Nations and its contribution to the maintenance and consolidation of world peace and security.

170. The peoples of the world, deeply concerned over the complex developments in the international situation, look with confidence and hope towards the United Nations and look forward to the results of this session of the General Assembly. It is essential to act even more resolutely to change the course of international events and to adopt a new policy which could ensure for all peoples the fulfilment of their aspirations for a better and more just life and for a policy of peace and international co-operation.

171. In this spirit, Romania is carrying out a broad range of international activities, focusing on developing its relations with all socialist countries—first of all with its neighbours—and on expanding its relations with developing countries, non-aligned countries and other States, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

172. I should like to reaffirm the determination of the Romanian delegation to contribute, together with other delegations, to finding practical solutions, solutions which are as effective as possible, to the numerous important issues on the agenda of this session, so that through common effort and in a constructive spirit of co-operation we shall be able to ensure the triumph of reason, of the policy of understanding, détente, security and peace, and of respect for the national independence of all peoples.

173. Mr. ANDREOTTI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): We are approaching the end of another year that has not been favourable either for international society or for the Organization which is its highest universal embodiment.

174. Wars and areas of crisis and zones of tension and instability still form the dramatic and alarming setting of our planet. The efforts of the United Nations—and in particular those of the Secretary-General, which deserve our appreciation and support—to overcome crises

by means of negotiation have unfortunately not borne the fruits looked for by the international community.

175. Yet in the past few decades we have witnessed an extraordinary evolution in the international community. This Hall bears eloquent witness to the fact that all peoples in the world, not merely those from certain privileged regions, have become aware of the respect they owe to themselves and of their right and duty to contribute to international dialogue.

176. The family of nations is seeking to adjust to this state of affairs amid difficulties, tensions and wars, in a continual and impassioned striving to achieve peace within a system of equality, order and security guaranteed by universally respected treaties.

177. The most meaningful and telling changes concern three areas which are today of fundamental importance: disarmament, economic relations between industrialized and developing countries, and human rights.

178. Progress that should not be underestimated has been made in the major negotiations on disarmament, even though for the time being it has been mainly confined to the conceptual field. Only a few years ago it would have been illusory to talk of reduction rather than only limitation of nuclear armaments. Today the two most important and difficult sets of negotiations in progress at Geneva, the negotiations on strategic arms reductions and the talks on intermediate-range nuclear missiles, are being conducted with a view to achieving drastic cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States.

179. Italy is directly concerned in these negotiations and is actively contributing to the formulation of Western positions. The Italian Government is convinced that an equilibrium in intermediate nuclear forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries is essential to security and stability in Europe and hence in the world as a whole. This applies in particular to long-range weapons, whose deployment, initiated by the Soviet Union as far back as 1977, has destabilizing implications which seriously concern my country.

180. We consider that the negotiations should continue without any time limits or arbitrarily imposed deadlines. In contributing actively to the joint elaboration within the Atlantic alliance of the Western negotiating positions at Geneva, Italy has always thought it necessary to take account of the Soviet security concerns that seem reasonable.

181. I should like to recall that at the twelfth special session last year, devoted to disarmament, I had the honour to make a statement here on behalf of the Inter-Parliamentary Union,<sup>4</sup> an organization broadly representative of the world's parliaments.

182. We listened with great interest to the address by the President of the United States [*5th meeting*], which we appreciated for its open-minded approach and for the constructive attitude to the validity of this Organization, which served to stop the controversy that recently arose on the subject.

183. We noted in particular the confirmed readiness of the United States to undertake negotiations and the new United States proposals on Euromissiles, which indicate great flexibility. To us these proposals seem likely to encourage a favourable negotiating climate.

184. In spite of expectations, however, the first reply given by the Soviet Union unfortunately does not seem to be a positive one. Nevertheless we hope that Moscow will reconsider this latest proof of the West's desire for an understanding and will abandon certain unacceptable

preconditions that still constitute the main obstacle to an agreement.

185. Although the United Nations is not directly involved in these discussions on a general level, it has none the less consistently promoted disarmament debates, which have ultimately had a great influence.

186. The true test of the Organization has been its will to promote equitable and verifiable agreements in the important areas covered by the Committee on Disarmament. Given the careful attention that Italy has always paid to these issues, I refer in particular to the preparation of a convention for a total and verifiable ban on chemical weapons and to the exploration of the problems involved in the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

187. We attach equal importance to progress towards a treaty for a complete ban on nuclear tests, while fully appreciating the complexity of the paramount issue of verification.

188. The proliferation of regional crises and conflicts raises again, as a matter of growing urgency, the problem of conventional disarmament and the need to halt the massive drain on resources essential to development. We therefore hope that it will be possible to activate the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions, which have important, though indirect, implications for the security of my country.

189. The Geneva talks could well have been adversely affected by the inadmissible destruction by Soviet fighters of a South Korean civilian aircraft, with serious loss of life. This event caused profound shock throughout the world and was deeply deplored by Italy, which also spoke in the debate in the Security Council.<sup>5</sup> We pay our tribute to the innocent victims, and we consider that their families are entitled to adequate compensation from those responsible. We also believe that, at the forthcoming special session of ICAO, every effort should be made to improve the international rules governing air transport.

190. The importance of air links between the different countries of the world for international coexistence and for understanding between peoples is obvious. Every effort must be made to prevent the emotion caused by this incident from setting back the international dialogue.

191. New peoples, new independent and sovereign States have brought about a new reality, rich in its variety of components, which is certainly very much alive and progressive but also complex and not without contradictions.

192. In this context my country regards very favourably the different regional and non-regional groups that have come into being and looks forward to seeing them strengthened. I have especially in mind the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which was given significant new momentum by Mrs. Gandhi and other important leaders at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently at New Delhi. I am thinking also of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], of the Organization of American States and of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, with which the European Community has established close and fruitful relations. Those groups are trying to channel and represent internationally, outside the established blocs, the aspirations and needs of peoples with common historical, social and cultural roots.

193. The crisis resulting from the growth of the international community has direct economic effects, which are particularly severe in the case of the developing countries. Italy confirms its responsible and confident participation in the development and success of the North-South dialogue, which as been delayed for too long.

194. Solving the problem of underdevelopment is fundamental to the achievement of peace. In keeping with the guidelines laid down by the United Nations, Italy is actively stepping up its own policy of co-operation for development.

195. First of all, decisive action is needed in the international field to reduce progressively the debt burden of countries with difficulties. Secondly, more balanced trade rules are needed to encourage exports from developing countries. At the same time, the flow of resources for development aid, which certainly plays a very important role, especially for the poorer countries, must be maintained and increased.

196. Italy's co-operation effort is motivated by its belief that man should have the central role in development, going beyond the purely commercial or charitable approach. We aim to implement the principle of solidarity, realizing that, in a world of increasing interdependence, individual progress is achieved through collective progress.

197. The fight against hunger and malnutrition is thus a prime purpose of Italy's action to help the most needy countries meet their most immediate food shortages.

198. The Italian commitment to the children of the developing countries remains a matter of the highest priority. The ever closer co-operation between Italy and UNICEF is the prominent feature of this commitment. That co-operation is especially encouraged by the substantial progress in the "health revolution" to benefit children, initiated last December by UNICEF with the support of the Secretary-General and many other well-known individuals.

199. Along those lines, and despite its difficult economic situation, Italy has been steadily increasing its appropriations for co-operation with developing countries, from \$750 million in 1981 to the \$1.6 billion already allocated for 1984. For the current year, two thirds of that amount are for bilateral assistance—approximately half in the form of grants—and the remaining third for multilateral assistance.

200. That effort provides the clearest evidence of the Italian Government's firm commitment to co-operating with the relevant agencies and United Nations programmes.

201. A positive change that has had a growing impact on international life in recent years has been the internationalization of human rights problems, originally considered an internal matter of each State. This change is undoubtedly due to the fact that human rights are solemnly proclaimed in international instruments of great importance and universal scope, starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

202. However, that internationalization of human rights has not led to an equally significant progress as regards their application and observance in everyday life by all the members of the international community.

203. Yet I believe that most of the conflicts and tensions in the world of today, besides their various political motivations, nearly always stem from the behaviour of States which break the fundamental rules of human rights and the rights of peoples.

204. This year we are again regrettably obliged to mention the continuing events in Afghanistan. The Italian Government reaffirms its full solidarity with the position of the great majority of the international community in firmly condemning the Soviet occupation.

205. Nor has Italy forgotten the restrictions on trade unions options and associations still in force in Poland, even after the abolition of martial law, restrictions that

in Europe rightly arouse the solidarity of peoples who share the same culture.

206. Foremost among the political crises having humanitarian aspects is the Arab-Israeli crisis, whose focal point is the Palestinian problem and the problem of Israel's security.

207. In that controversy it seems increasingly difficult to revive the favourable prospects offered by the proposals made on 1 September 1982 by the President of the United States<sup>6</sup> and by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez<sup>7</sup>—prospects which the 10 members of the European Community have sought to enhance, in harmony with the positions stated by them at the meeting of the European Council at Venice in 1980.<sup>8</sup>

208. Although they differ on important points, the Reagan plan and the Fez Declaration do not appear irreconcilable. For those two approaches to a solution to converge, efforts must be made to start a political dialogue and a negotiating process leading to mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO, which Italy has repeatedly advocated.

209. The dialogue initiated between Jordan and the PLO was linked to that requirement. It is thus a matter of regret that it has been stopped, and we hope that the groundwork will be laid for its reactivation, arduous as that task may appear today.

210. The Italian Government considered the developments in the Lebanese situation, before the cease-fire just announced, particularly serious. We hope that the sufferings of the Lebanese people, already so sorely tried, have come to an end. We also hope that a phase of national reconciliation may begin, through a dialogue between President Gemayel's Government and all representative Lebanese forces. To the achievement of that truce, for which the United States and Saudi Arabia worked so intensely and which was supported by Damascus, Italy made a contribution through diplomatic efforts exerted jointly with the two European Community countries, France and the United Kingdom, which are part of the peace force.

211. We stand firm in supporting Lebanon's requests for the withdrawal of all foreign forces still occupying that country. The Israeli-Lebanese agreement of 17 May, reached after over-long and arduous negotiations, could have constituted, and perhaps still can constitute, a first step towards pacification. It must, however, be promptly put into effect in the field and must be followed by agreements which, while respecting the various legitimate interests, including those of Syria, will result in the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

212. The cease-fire will probably need outside support, through the deployment of observers. It is our wish that this measure may be undertaken within the framework of the United Nations. Italy is prepared to consider making a contribution.

213. The Italian contingent serving with the multinational force—established a year ago, *inter alia* for urgent humanitarian reasons, when it proved impossible to reach a decision on the deployment of a United Nations force—and the Italian helicopter contingent attached to UNIFIL are there in the interest of restoring Lebanon's sovereignty and independence with full respect for its democratic traditions and the diverse interests of the communities of that country, as well as to help protect the civilian population.

214. We view with deep concern the continuing conflict between Iraq and Iran, two countries with which Italy has long-standing ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation. Three years of strife and bloodshed have resulted

in thousands of victims and dire destruction and have diverted for military purposes enormous resources and energy, which are indispensable for the progress of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples.

215. The war has also brought insecurity to the Gulf region, which is vitally important to oil routes and of enormous significance to world stability. Renewed efforts must be made to end the hostilities and to pursue a course of peace and negotiation, with full respect for the political and cultural identity of both parties.

216. Italy is bound by strong ties to the countries of Latin America. We are, therefore, sensitive to all events on the continent, and at this time we are particularly concerned about developments in Central America, where disturbances and conflicts, although deriving from local problems of development and social justice, could become a permanent element of the East-West problem. I should like to reaffirm Italy's readiness to contribute to the success of any initiative designed to lead to political solutions and thus avoid military options.

217. With reference also to the views expressed in the recent Cancún Declaration [A/38/303], I wish to point out that the increased levels of offensive weapons in the area, foreign intervention, traffic in weapons and hostile propaganda campaigns are not conducive to peace, nor will they restore the right of the peoples of Central America to live and work constructively and to exercise independent political choices. There is a pressing need to allow people throughout the region to pursue freedom in a climate of respect for human rights. Democratic development must also entail and guarantee, among other things, genuine pluralism and the removal of the economic and social inequalities that have plagued those peoples for so long.

218. For some months now an important peace initiative has been going on among the four countries of the Contadora Group, an effort that is receiving growing approval from the members of the European Community. The Italian Government has expressed, and intends to confirm, its support for that action.

219. South America is no longer torn, as it was last year, by the Anglo-Argentine conflict, which can never be sufficiently deplored. The great Argentine nation, with which Italy has strong fraternal bonds, is about to regain its place among the democratic nations, in keeping with its great cultural traditions. Concerning the problem of the Falklands/Malvinas, Italy's position continues to favour a resumption of the dialogue between London and Buenos Aires, without any preconditions regarding the subject of the dispute. This dialogue should take place within the framework of the United Nations and with the valuable assistance of the Secretary-General.

220. Italy views with great favour and encourages the democratic developments and movements to bring about economic and social emancipation in many countries of South America. Unfortunately, this positive evolution is often accompanied by serious and intolerable violations of human rights, which must be stopped. We are thinking of Chile and its people, who have our whole-hearted solidarity.

221. In Africa too we are, unfortunately, witnessing proliferation of sources of tension and trouble spots.

222. Although the crisis in Chad stems from internal tensions, the decisive intervention of an external destabilizing factor has had a dangerous multiplier effect. The Italian Government fully supports the negotiating initiatives of the OAU.

*Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.*

223. Italy also believes that adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and those of the OAU could help to settle the conflict in the Horn of Africa, a region with which we have special ties. Ethiopia and Somalia must find a way to engage in dialogue and co-operation. Italy is firmly committed to these objectives, among other things through co-operation programmes which it intends to develop further.

224. Efforts to open the doors of independence to Namibia, in accordance with United Nations decisions, have made further, but slow, progress. We hope that the necessary trust between the parties will be strengthened in this final phase so that southern Africa may be protected from the reverberations of world tensions.

225. In this connection it also seems to us to be necessary to take a more resolute stand against the intolerable phenomenon of *apartheid* and to support the United Nations firmly in the role it can play.

226. Concerning the Asian continent, the Italian Government views as unacceptable the continued occupation of Cambodia by Viet Nam, in flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination. In this case too Italy can only reiterate its hope for a speedy political settlement, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions and the growing expectations of the great majority of Member States.

227. As regards the position in northeastern Asia, and particularly in the Korean peninsula, we are in favour of maintaining the existing balance, considering the fundamental importance of that area for world peace. Italy, therefore, hopes that the Korean question may be solved by peaceful means, through direct negotiations between the two parties, without outside interference.

228. Italy believes that the community of nations must respond to the present international difficulties with closer, more productive co-operation, both within regional associations and within the universal framework of the United Nations.

229. The process of European integration is a fundamental point of reference for Italy, convinced as we are of its irreplaceable function in the development of the civilization of our continent. Europe must consolidate and strengthen the recognized role it plays on the international scene in favour of peace, development, social progress and respect for human rights. Therefore we feel that an important step was taken with the adoption by the European Council, meeting at Stuttgart in June, of the Solemn Declaration on European Union—of which the United Nations has been notified [A/38/297]—on the initiative of Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany. This declaration is a valuable contribution to the achievement of the objective of increasing unity of action among the 10 European countries concerning, among other things, their responsibilities to the outside world. We look forward to another political event of fundamental importance which Italy favours, the entry into the European Community of two countries with great traditions—Spain and Portugal. This will undoubtedly contribute to expanding the Community's ties with peoples of other continents.

230. After three years of slow and painstaking negotiations, beset by crises, the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe ended on 9 September with the unanimous adoption of a final document prepared by the neutral and non-aligned countries. The document, even if it cannot be considered entirely satisfactory, contains the elements necessary to foster the development of security and co-operation in

Europe, taking into account also responsibilities to countries outside our continent.

231. In a region very close to us there is a continuing crisis situation, a particularly anachronistic one in our opinion, which worries us especially as Mediterraneans: that is, the question of Cyprus. The two communities on the island are unable to find a form of coexistence that would consolidate the unity of that State. We support the action of the United Nations Secretary-General, including his most recent initiative, designed to achieve, by means of intercommunal talks, an institutional settlement equitable and acceptable to both sides.

232. Although close regional co-operation between States is the first step towards reconciling diverging positions in the political, economic and social field, the international community is still identified with its highest universal embodiment, the United Nations.

233. The warning concerning the shortcomings of the Organization, put forward in the report on the Work of the Organization submitted by the Secretary-General at the last session, has given us all cause for profound concern. We have understood the message and agree that it is necessary to make adjustments that can revitalize the principles of the Charter, principles which we still find valid today and which, in our opinion, should not be changed.

234. Strengthening the United Nations system and a more dynamic role for the Organization to which we are proud to belong will be possible only through closer collaboration between Member States. I am not referring only to co-operation in the economic field, vital though it is. We look to a broader concept of co-operation in political, economic, social and cultural fields.

235. In this context, a Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union will be meeting at Seoul in a few days' time to discuss the possible strengthening of the United Nations through the action of national parliaments. Italy will do its utmost to ensure that the Conference leads to concrete results.

236. In the quest for peace and international co-operation, this great assembly of peoples remains more than ever the natural and irreplaceable forum. It was in this forum that 38 years ago nations great and small resolved to join in a solemn undertaking: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person".

## AGENDA ITEM 8

### Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee (*continued*)\*

237. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite members of the Assembly to turn their attention to document A/38/414/Add.2, which contains a letter dated 23 September 1983 addressed to the President of the General Assembly by the Chairman of the Committee on Conferences. As members are aware, the Assembly, in paragraph 34 of its decision 34/401, decided that no subsidiary organ of the General Assembly should be permitted to meet at United Nations Headquarters during a regular session of the General Assembly unless explicitly authorized by the Assembly.

238. As indicated in the letter I have just mentioned, the Committee on Conferences has recommended that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples be authorized to meet during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

*It was so decided (decision 38/403).*

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2119th meeting, paras. 163 and 164.

<sup>2</sup>Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

<sup>3</sup>*Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1983, Supplement No. 3, chap. XVII.*

<sup>4</sup>See A/S-12/AC.1/PV.4.

<sup>5</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, 2472nd meeting.*

<sup>6</sup>See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1982, vol. 18, no. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>7</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982, document S/15510.*

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980, document S/14009.*

\*Resumed from the 4th meeting.