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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear a statement by Mr. Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, President of the Republic of Ecuador. 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. HURTADO LARREA (*interpretation from Spanish*): All the countries of the world are suffering the effects of the crisis in the international economy, some more than others, but the 4 billion human beings who inhabit the Earth are affected by its tragic and pernicious consequences.

3. The industrialized nations were the first to feel these effects, towards the end of the '70s, through the difficulties that arose in the monetary system in 1974 and 1975 because of the adjustment of oil prices, and especially since 1979, when their economies became stagnant, with consequences that were immediately felt by all nations. Furthermore, in 1978 the centrally planned countries, which had attained a high rate of growth up to the first part of the 1970s, also began to suffer from an economic crisis. The countries of the third world have been enduring a similar fate since 1981, with the stagnation and deterioration of the relative degree of development they had attained in recent years, a phenomenon which has not spared even the oil-exporting nations or recently industrialized nations.

4. How has it been possible for a phenomenon of such unprecedented scope to have affected all nations. whatever their resources, the efficiency of their rulers and administrators, the economic model they follow or their existing political system? What is the explanation for the sudden paralysis in a development process which was considered to be limitless? Was it not thought that multinational corporations, free from "negative political controls" and possessing the highest degree of technology, were the best means for distributing development throughout the world? Was it not thought that the degree of modernization attained through public policies of industrialized nations, capitalist as well as socialist, ensured that they would rapidly bring about such a result? How could the experts of the financial transnationals make such glaring mistakes? How is it that the international co-operation systems and agencies, largely set up in order to avoid crises, are incapable of achieving the aims for which they were established?

5. But I have not come here in order to absolve the nations of the third world from any responsibility, not even my own nation. We are aware of the mistakes we have made, as well as of our weaknesses, which have also helped to cause the problems we face today. But our

contributions to world development should not be forgotten. In the last 15 years, developing economies have attained higher rates of growth than the industrialized nations and the economic crisis reached our countries later, which proves the impact of outside factors. Some nations began to export manufactures. Latin American nations made progress, as did oil-exporting countries. To this must be added our contribution in food, raw materials, energy sources, financial resources due to the flight of capital and workers, who today remain unemployed in the countries of the North. But the crisis which began in the industrialized nations has offset the modest progress achieved through so much effort, with the result that today the third world is beset by serious economic imbalances which in some cases are becoming chaotic.

6. Much has been said about the origins of the crisis, but often only the most immediate causes are mentioned: higher oil prices and interest rates, discrepancies between economic and social policies, stagnation in productivity, irrational decisions by the business sectors and the fall in world trade. No doubt that analysis is correct and has been useful; nevertheless I believe the present phenomenon is more complex and more significant than that, and consequently it cannot be dealt with properly by an analysis of merely circumstantial factors. In other words, it is my view that we are faced with an unprecedented structural phenomenon, which calls into question the bases on which the post-war world economy was organized. Since today's crisis is not of a traditional type, it may well be asked if it can be resolved within the framework of the traditional structures now in place.

7. I should like to make some comments here. Military expenditures have resulted in the diversion of vast sums from genuinely productive activities and from pressing social problems. Furthermore, in the present state of military technology and exploitation of the material resources of the planet, wars do not add to the wealth of the world economy, but rather destroy what there is. Major investments devoted to the use of atomic energy, to space exploration and to scientific research have done little to invigorate productive activities in the short term. Transnational corporations bypass national sovereignty, and they lack vision and interest in economic and social development. Oligopolistic control of technology has prevented this sector from being included among the needs and problems of the third world and might even be a new element acting against it. International organizations, controlled or bypassed by the major Powers, have less and less influence on international relations and the direction of economic activity. The remarkable economic expansion of recent years seems to have lacked the basis necessary to ensure its continuity and a system to control and guide it.

8. Getting ahead of history and foreseeing the economic events we now witness today, in the mid-1970s the General Assembly adopted a programme of action for restructuring international economic relations through the establishment of a new international economic order [see *resolution 3202 (S-VI)*]. Later on, the General Assembly decided to undertake what was termed global negotiations

in the areas of commodities, energy, monetary and financial problems, trade and development. At present both initiatives are at a standstill, and it is not an exaggeration to say that so far at least they have failed. The same could be said about the Cancún meeting,¹ which was guided by the lucid report of the Brandt Commission,² and the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. In view of these frustrating facts, pessimism is rampant and many wonder whether these initiatives have any meaning in practice, whether any positive results are to be expected of them and whether the industrialized countries, over and above their always generous statements of good intent, are truly interested in shouldering the essential responsibility which they bear for the development of the third world.

9. But if the principles of international policy defined in the Charter of the United Nations, its initiatives and proposals regarding the search for agreement and the enlightened analysis and thorough study of social and economic development in the world have not been sufficient to lead us to think deeply, the serious events which beset all nations today should do this. In this context, the economic crisis in Latin America today is a good example.

10. After three decades of continuous growth, Latin America and the Caribbean are probably immersed in the deepest depression of the century. Although the United Nations Development Decade has only recently come to an end, our peoples are not only still far from attaining its purpose, but are going through a process of social involution caused by a decline in their economies. Inflation, which in 1983 may well reach three figures, and the rising level of unemployment and underemployment are seriously affecting standards of living at the lower and intermediate levels. There are nations in which the scourge of hunger has appeared—something which was not believed possible in the region. Social conflicts are worsening and political stability is becoming increasingly vulnerable, with obvious consequences for the frequently proclaimed need for hemispheric security, which today is economic and social in nature, above all, and not military, as some believe.

11. In facing the crisis Latin American countries have shouldered their responsibilities. Almost all of them have developed adjustment policies aimed at cutting the deficits of their external and fiscal sectors. But the results have been harmful in terms of income distribution and economic growth, which in almost all countries of the region today is negative. It must be remembered that austerity programmes are bearable only if they are temporary, if they are kept within certain limits and if they offer real possibilities for overcoming the problems. But, despite the major sacrifices made by our peoples, we do not see any evidence that the recovery of the continent may have begun. The reason for this is that the international factors which gave rise to the crisis still exist, to which we should add the floods and the drought which exacerbated the economic problems of some countries of the region.

12. In the final declaration of the Williamsburg Summit³ the industrialized nations recognized that the "weight of the recession has fallen very heavily on developing countries" and said that they were "deeply concerned about their recovery". They thus recommended that certain measures be adopted—*inter alia*, the opening of their markets and the re-establishment of the flow of resources and official aid.

13. In this case, as in many others, there is a gap between words and actions. The deterioration in international trade continues. The fall in the value of commodities has been so great that some of them are at levels

below those of 1930. The protectionism of the industrialized nations takes a wide variety of forms and is reaching inadmissible limits. In 1982 Latin America received less than half the net inflow of capital that it had received the previous year, and it is expected that the amount will be still lower in 1983. In the last 12 months some countries have not had a single loan from international banking, and those that have had loans have got barely enough to make their overdue payments and service their debts, much less finance their development. In some cases the scarcity of foreign exchange is so great that some nations cannot even acquire essential raw materials and foodstuffs. The high interest rates charged by the creditor banks make it extremely difficult to renegotiate the debt.

14. The so-called Group of Seven⁴ believes that the recovery of their economies is the best incentive for the reactivation of the economies of the less developed countries. It is no doubt essential for Latin America that the recovery in North America be consolidated and extended to other industrialized nations. But even if these optimistic forecasts prove to be right, it will probably take more than a year for the effects to be felt, and the delay will aggravate the difficulties of the region. Furthermore, if the problem of the debt remains unsolved and the present stagnation continues, the recovery of the industrialized nations might not occur to the extent desired. If that happens, we may well be faced with a collapse of the world economy.

15. It has been stated that in order to revitalize growth there must be no increase in oil prices or interest rates. The former condition has been achieved at a cost to the oil-exporting countries, which are suffering today from serious economic problems. With regard to the latter condition, the situation is uncertain and one wonders whether high interest rates have not been more to blame for today's crisis. It is true that nominal interest rates have fallen, but real interest rates remain high because of the high margins charged by creditor banks and because of a drop in inflation in the industrialized countries.

16. We are faced with a serious economic problem which has exceeded the ability of any State to solve on its own and before which the traditional standards for action of the international co-operation agencies have proved inadequate and have become markedly political in character. The United Nations is the highest world political body and the Organization was established precisely to deal with this kind of problem. As this is the first time a President of Ecuador has had the great honour of addressing the General Assembly, I have chosen to refer to a problem which is of vital importance to all nations.

17. Interdependence is one of the factors characterizing the second half of the twentieth century. If national political conflicts or localized wars place world peace at risk, how will it not be threatened when all nations and their peoples suffer from a social upheaval hitherto unknown to those who inhabit the planet today and to which we cannot see a possible solution? Awareness of these risks and the conviction that international co-operation and multilateralism—which are so underestimated—are today more than ever essential has led me to request of two regional agencies, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Latin American Economic System, that they develop a programme of action for Latin America and the Caribbean in order to deal with the crisis. In order to study this, the personal representatives of the heads of State of the region met in the capital of my country and at Santo Domingo. In January an economic conference will be held at Quito to adopt it. Latin America wishes thus to contribute to the quest for a

shared response by all of us who must deal with a solution to the crisis: the countries of the South and of the North, agencies of international co-operation and international banking.

18. To this end, the costs of the adjustment must be fairly distributed among all the parties concerned and not only among third world nations, which has been the case up to now. It must be borne in mind that the indebtedness was due to the permissiveness of international banking, which resorted to every possible means to place its surpluses and through pressure converted them to short-term debts. These operations have yielded excellent profits. Thus, for example, it is estimated that almost half of the 1982 profits of the ten largest North American banks derived from their international operations. With regard to the industrialized nations, the recovery of the third world is in their interest since the contraction of its imports is having a negative impact on the economic recovery of the North. They must therefore honour their commitment to increase their quotas in IMF and use their influence in this body, as well as in the World Bank and in others, to ensure that their decisions and programmes are adequate to meet the challenges of the crisis. Renegotiation agreements must take into account each country's actual ability to pay, which depends on the volume and value of its exports. Public financing must cover part of the credit which used to come from private banks. Above all, interest rates must return to their levels of the previous decade. We must not forget that mankind is sailing in a fragile ship which may well founder if we do not all join together to keep it afloat. If it does go down, it could take everyone with it. That others may ignore this risk is explicable, but it would be unpardonable for us, who are in government, to disregard it.

19. Greater still is the tragedy of peoples who are not only suffering from the economic crisis but also from the scourge of war often visited upon them by extraneous forces. My country has witnessed with much distress the Central American conflict generated by the authoritarian and exploitative régimes which held sway in the region, a conflict which today is promoted by foreign intervention intent on ending the East-West conflict. Ecuador once again reiterates its support for the Contadora Group and makes a fervent appeal to all parties concerned to co-operate with the Group. There can be no further talk of peace in Central America with weapons in hand. For so long the only language heard has been that of weapons, and the time has come for the voice of the people to be heard.

20. Ecuador has maintained, and will continue to advocate, the imperative need for an end to colonial intervention in the Malvinas Islands; for the withdrawal of foreign troops operating in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Cyprus, Kampuchea, Namibia, Chad and other areas; for an end to the cruel military conflict between Iran and Iraq; and for a negotiated solution for the problems of the Middle East, in particular of the Palestinian people.

21. For the good of mankind the arms race must cease, especially that of the major Powers, and the threat of a nuclear holocaust must end. After having lived through a promising state of détente in recent years, we now find ourselves in the midst of a political and military confrontation whose consequences might be more serious than those of the cold war. People everywhere are duty-bound to defend peace, whether they come from the East, the West or the third world. A return to dialogue and sanity is, above all, a responsibility of the major Powers.

22. The United Nations must continue to preserve international peace and security and promote the peaceful settlement of existing disputes in accordance with its

principles, which do not recognize the use of force, territorial conquest or the occupation of territory, and on the basis of reason and justice.

23. In the American continent there are problems which are harmful to peace, security, co-operation and development, such as the territorial claim by Ecuador in the area of the Amazon, which must be resolved for the common good of two peoples that wish to live in peace within a framework of fruitful co-operation.

24. After one of the longest periods of dictatorship in its history, on 10 August 1979, thanks to the will of the Ecuadorian people and the co-operation of its armed forces, a democratic system was re-established in my country. A month ago I began my last year in government, during which democratic institutions have been consolidated with full observance of public freedoms and human rights and with attention to social needs, especially those of farmers and the poorest, despite the economic crisis which has also affected my country. Our citizens are now preparing for the election next year of new rulers and parliamentary leaders. With this background information and in the name of Ecuadorian democracy, I wish to express my sincere desire that all peoples of the world may live in freedom.

25. My country, which was one of the founders of the United Nations and has always remained loyal to its principles, will continue to support it. We consider the Organization to be an essential instrument for the preservation of peace and the promotion of development. It is my hope that this tragic year in which peace has been violated on all continents, not only by violence and war but also by serious economic and social problems, will see the opening of a path along which the peoples of the third world and the countries of the North will find the necessary common response to the critical situations which weigh so heavily on the future of mankind.

26. As a representative of the people of my country and in compliance with the resolution adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, it has been a high honour for the President of Ecuador to come to this forum of peace and address the representatives of all the nations of the Earth.

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

28. The General Assembly will now hear an address by Mr. Pál Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

29. Mr. LOSONCZI (Hungary):* Let me first offer you, Sir, a warm welcome and hearty congratulations on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. In you I greet a prominent personality of the Latin American continent, whose peoples, cultures and achievements are highly respected and appreciated in the Hungarian People's Republic. I assure you of my delegation's full support in your carrying out of your important duties.

30. It was the horrible experience of two world conflagrations that led to the great determination of nations to establish the Organization, which is destined, in the words of its Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Man's centuries-old desire that

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

“nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more” was also engraved on the wall of this palace of deliberations. But I wonder if we can claim to have come any closer to this lofty goal.

31. I consider this question to be illusory at the present moment of history, which is regrettably characterized by a sharpening of international tension. Confrontation is on the increase and attempts are made to upset the balance of power which is the guarantee of world peace, to obtain military superiority and to reverse the process of peoples' national and social liberation. All this constitutes a source of concern to the people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

32. We see the stepping up of the arms race as the root cause of this dangerous situation. Not only does the unprecedented level of armament threaten our civilization directly, by raising the spectre of a nuclear catastrophe, but it also threatens it indirectly, by squandering mankind's material and intellectual resources, depriving peoples of a considerable part of the results of their labour, and perpetuating economic backwardness in a great number of developing countries. Is this not an absurd contradiction in the century of science and technology, in the era when we seem to be on the verge of solving global problems through such achievements as the exploration of new sources of energy, the exploitation of the wealth of the oceans, the peaceful conquest of outer space, the eradication of hunger and of widespread devastating diseases, and the protection of the rapidly deteriorating natural environment? Can taking advantage of such really tremendous possibilities be imagined without global co-operation? One cannot help wondering, for by the very act of adopting the Charter of the United Nations we solemnly pledged to live in peace as good neighbours and to promote social progress and better standards of life.

33. The Hungarian People's Republic has declared its faith in the peaceful coexistence of States with differing social systems. By that we mean not only the absence of war, although that would be no small achievement either. For us, coexistence means active co-operation and a constant strengthening of mutually advantageous political, economic and cultural relations among peoples and governments. During the past 10 or 15 years, we have gained considerable experience in this regard, and it is my understanding that our partners have no reason to feel disappointed either.

34. Let us look at this in a broader perspective. When, in the 1960s and early 1970s, détente continued its upward trend, important agreements were reached between the great Powers and other States on the prevention and limitation of the proliferation and quantitative and qualitative development of weapons of mass destruction on earth, in outer space and on the sea-bed. The Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was attended by 35 heads of State or Government, laid a lasting foundation of principle for further co-operation in Europe. Political, economic and other contacts gained momentum. The consolidation of new States liberated from colonial bondage in Asia, Africa and Latin America continued at a rapid pace. Has any people seen its interests damaged by that process? Does any people feel itself the loser because of détente? The answer is no. There is no such people.

35. The Hungarian People's Republic, acting on the mandate of the Hungarian people, still considers preservation of the results of détente and the maintenance and extension of international dialogue and co-operation to be the prime concerns of its foreign policy, both in its bilateral relations and in international forums. For us as

for other countries there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence.

36. That is why we feel concern about any sign of an increase in the mood of confrontation, about any act jeopardizing normal relations among States and about any development adding to the strains of the already tense international situation.

37. The Hungarian Government is convinced that the course of resorting to a war of rhetoric, to smear and innuendo, to discrimination and to the policy of force is wrong and that, in any event, it has been shown by experience to be ineffective. It is an old truth that anger is a bad counsellor. Only reason and regard for one another's interests can be good counsellors, even in relations between countries having differing social systems.

38. I can note with satisfaction that our policy of peaceful coexistence has been reciprocated by the governments of all countries which have a sense of responsibility regarding the development of the international situation. We shall continue to seek wider contacts and more successful talks and political consultations with other countries with a view to increasing mutual trust and improving the international climate.

39. We are glad to see that the General Assembly intends to devote much of its attention to the increasingly urgent question of disarmament talks. During the past years the Hungarian People's Republic has itself taken an active part in the elaboration of several important disarmament proposals, which still stand. Those proposals seek to ensure that strategic parity, guaranteeing world peace, is maintained at the lowest possible level of armaments. Regrettably, however, our proposals have not yet received any substantive response from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO].

40. Pending disarmament problems are numerous, and each of them is important. If I single out some of them, it is because I think that they are of particular significance in the present tense international situation.

41. I refer, *inter alia*, to the limitation and reduction of conventional armaments and the prohibition of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

42. But nuclear disarmament is the most pressing task of the day. It must be tackled in order to bring about a radical improvement in the international climate and to avert the danger of war. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic therefore attaches paramount importance to the Soviet Union's commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances. I am sure that a similar commitment by the other nuclear Powers would be received with great relief by international public opinion.

43. Implementation of the proposal that the nuclear-weapon States should mutually freeze their nuclear arsenals would, in our view, be a significant first step forward on the road to nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, we believe that an agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests should be reached as soon as possible and that the development of new types of weapons and the upgrading of existing ones should be halted. The emergence of new and more sophisticated systems of weapons raises the danger that those weapons will go beyond the scope of existing agreements and will become ever more difficult to limit and control.

44. Also, we hold that strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], which is intended to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, and, in conjunction with it, the creation of security safeguards for non-nuclear-weapon States are tasks closely related to nuclear disarmament.

45. The Hungarian People's Republic is directly interested in an agreement that would provide that nuclear weapons should not be stationed in countries where there are no such weapons at present and should not be increased in number where they are already deployed. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in Europe and in other parts of the world would greatly enhance trust and international security.

46. I should like to underline in particular the great importance of the proposal made last January by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty at their Prague meeting to the countries of NATO to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations [see *A/38/67 and Corr.1*]. Since the overwhelming majority of weapons and the most destructive types are possessed by those two alliances, I think that the conclusion of such a treaty would be an effective measure to prevent acts threatening peace.

47. The Hungarian People's Republic attaches the utmost importance to the Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons and is earnestly hopeful about their successful outcome.

48. The peaceful future of mankind would be gravely threatened by extending the arms race to outer space, the prevention of which is sought by the highly important Soviet proposal now submitted to that effect [*A/38/194*], which enjoys the full support of the Hungarian Government.

49. In common with many other European countries, Hungary is concerned at the planned deployment of new types of American nuclear weapons in Western Europe. Upsetting the existing strategic parity is bound to entail far-reaching consequences for peace and security not only in Europe but also in the whole world. We believe that the best solution would be the complete denuclearization of Europe, an objective which we will not stop pursuing. Until the international situation permits attainment of that goal, we believe that reducing, and by no means increasing, the number of medium-range nuclear missiles is the most acceptable solution.

50. After three years of negotiations, the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has finished its work with the adoption of a substantive and balanced Concluding Document. That document is the first essential and broad East-West accord in many years, and I hardly need to emphasize its special significance in the prevailing international situation. We think that the decision of the Madrid meeting to convene a Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is of exceptional importance.

51. The successful conclusion of the work of the Madrid meeting at the level of foreign ministers holds out the hope of continuing the multifaceted process started at Helsinki and confirms our conviction that the more favourable atmosphere of the 1970s will not have been a passing episode in the history of Europe and that the future will again belong to the policy of détente.

52. For its part, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to work in pursuit of that goal and will strive, as it has striven in the past, for the full implementation of the principles and recommendations embodied in the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document. We feel privileged that Budapest has been chosen to be the venue for the cultural forum to be held in 1985, as decided by the Madrid meeting, and we shall make every effort to ensure the success of that important event.

53. It is the earnest desire of the Hungarian Government to see that the success achieved at Madrid will make its favourable effect felt in other regions of the world as well. Unfortunately, however, the policy of extremist circles has an adverse effect on positive endeavours throughout the world, thus hampering the efforts to eliminate the hotbeds of crisis.

54. In the present tense international situation a great role is being played by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose members represent the large majority of the world's countries and population. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March, is added proof that the non-aligned countries are actively engaged in promoting the quest for solutions to the pressing problems of our age. The further deepening of co-operation with them stands high in the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic.

55. The United Nations has from the outset contributed to the formulation of principles conducive to a settlement of the Middle East crisis. Nevertheless, we have for years witnessed efforts to bypass the United Nations, to make separate deals, to keep some parties out of the search for a settlement. That explains why, more than one year after the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 516 (1982), the Israeli occupation troops are still in Lebanon and the Palestinian Arab people continues to suffer and to be held in thrall.

56. The lack of a solution to the question of Palestine as the key element of the Middle East crisis and the rejection of proposals for a just and lasting settlement are obviously liable to lead to further aggravation of the crisis. The Hungarian Government is convinced that the situation in the region can be settled only by an international conference held with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*].

57. Recently, the anxiety felt by the forces of peace has been greatly increased by actions against the progressive countries of Central America and the Caribbean. We believe that those crises are equally impossible to solve if one thinks in terms of force and places the interests of certain Powers before everything else. A solution can only result from respect for the right of the peoples concerned to self-determination and from non-resort to interference in internal affairs, military threats, intimidation and economic and political pressure.

58. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic are in solidarity with the peoples of Latin America in their struggle for national independence, self-determination and social progress as well as against oppression and neo-colonialist designs. We lend support to the common actions by the countries of that continent to achieve a negotiated settlement and to find just and peaceful solutions for the conflicts that generate tension in the region.

59. Similarly, the Hungarian People's Republic greatly appreciates the efforts by the countries of Indo-China to reduce tension in South-East Asia, and it supports the proposals formulated at the April and July conferences of their foreign ministers [see *A/38/157 and 316*].

60. The Hungarian Government attaches great importance to a peaceful solution of the question of Cyprus that will accord with the interests of both communities in the island country, guarantee sovereignty and the non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus and rule out any intervention from without.

61. Hungary shares the indignation of international public opinion that the racist régime of South Africa

continues its policy of *apartheid* in defiance of broad international condemnation.

62. The intensification of the activities of the neo-colonialist forces amid mounting international tension is a particularly noteworthy feature of the situation with regard to Namibia. Despite the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions setting forth the principles of a settlement, Namibia is still prevented by the strategic and economic interests of the South African régime and its external supporters from acceding to independence. Some Powers impose arbitrary conditions not sanctioned by any United Nations resolution and try to have the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, pushed into the background. The Hungarian Government condemns such attempts and calls for the implementation of the United Nations plan for a settlement in accordance with the Declaration of the Paris conference on Namibia.⁵

63. The worsening of international relations, the long-drawn-out crisis of the world economy and certain politically motivated measures exercise a steady adverse effect on nearly all areas of international economic, trading, financial and scientific-technical co-operation. This raises serious difficulties for countries which, like Hungary, have a particular interest in the international division of labour.

64. Everyone knows that the Hungarian People's Republic is a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, an open economic community, and enjoys the security and advantages offered by the co-operation of socialist countries. At the same time, however, Hungary is also seriously interested in strengthening economic relations with all countries, whatever their social and political systems.

65. We are convinced that the disorders of international economic co-operation can be cured only by joint efforts, by expanding co-operation based on mutual benefit and free from discrimination. We, for our part, intend to do our utmost to this effect. This pursuit is dictated by our national interests, and we think it provides the only basis for the establishment of the new and more equitable international economic order and the system of relations that are rightfully demanded by the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

66. The Hungarian People's Republic maintains that mutual acquaintance with one another is the best means of combatting the prejudices, national hatred and isolationism that do so much damage to international relations. The Hungarian Government starts from this premise also in respect of human contacts and human rights. Socialist Hungary has nothing to be ashamed of and nothing to conceal in this field either. We do not fail to include the fundamental rights to life and work in the sphere of human rights, and we disagree with those who limit the scope of human rights. Their propagandistic considerations in this area are common knowledge. But are not the quality of life and the exercise of human rights most directly affected when masses of people are deprived of the possibility of becoming useful members of their society and supporters of their families?

67. We maintain the position of principle that the international community should call attention primarily to massive and gross violations of human rights, particularly *apartheid* and other manifestations of unlawful discrimination on grounds of race, colour, nationality or religion. Such practices are unfortunately an everyday occurrence in a number of countries, and they are resolutely condemned by the Hungarian People's Republic.

68. The Hungarian Government believes that our efforts should be concentrated on eliminating such phenomena rather than on mounting propaganda campaigns that reduce the lofty ideals of human rights to a device for political designs alien to them.

69. The more tense the international situation, the greater the responsibility for peace borne by each and every State. The Hungarian Government, wherever its possibilities permit, assumes its share of responsibility and selects the alternative of dialogue and negotiations rather than confrontation. We hold the view that the United Nations should play an important role in this endeavour, as in the search for negotiated solutions to controversial issues. Consequently my Government takes a resolute stand in favour of strengthening the role and increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations in accordance with its Charter.

70. The Hungarian People's Republic has worked and wishes to continue working in partnership with all Governments in international co-operative efforts to strengthen peace. We are convinced that there is no disputed issue that could not be solved peacefully, by way of negotiations. We most categorically reject the option of allowing weapons to have the final word, which would be a suicidal course in our time.

71. The Hungarian People's Republic, whose foreign policy is consistent with the noble purposes and principles of the Charter, is ready to contribute its share to the efforts of the United Nations in pursuit of peace. Our delegation will be guided by this spirit in the work of the present session.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I thank the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic for the important statement he has just made.

73. Mr. GOMA (Zambia): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that with your vast knowledge and experience in international relations you will ably steer this session towards a successful conclusion. I assure you of my delegation's full co-operation.

74. I wish also to commend your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, for having ably presided over the thirty-seventh session.

75. Let me also convey my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the search for world peace and security. We commend him for his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], in which he has defined with candour some of the major problems that confront the world today.

Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

76. My delegation is pleased to welcome into this great family of nations the newly independent State of Saint Christopher and Nevis, and we look forward to working and co-operating with this new State.

77. We meet once again against the backdrop of a serious deterioration in the international situation. The tension born of mutual suspicion and mistrust between the super-Powers has of late led to particularly virulent, bellicose and confrontational posturing and has thus gravely polluted the international atmosphere, thereby increasing the danger to international peace and security. There is an element of super-Power rivalry in practically every serious trouble-spot in the third world. We see this in regional conflicts such as those in Central America, Chad, southern Africa, the Gulf and the Middle East. Even Namibia, a question that is concerned only with

decolonization, has not escaped the injection of East-West rivalries.

78. The grave international situation is, moreover, reflected in the deadlock in the initiatives to find solutions in the areas of disarmament, international economic relations and general questions of peace and security in various parts of the world.

79. This disturbing global atmosphere prompted the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries to issue the New Delhi Message at their conference last March [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2]. That was an earnest appeal on the part of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for a genuine global dialogue to seek urgently practical, just and lasting solutions in the interest of our common humanity. It was an appeal for a spirit of give and take, indeed an appeal for political will on the part of world statesmen. The concern of the Non-Aligned Movement for world peace and security is indeed reflected in the presence of many heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries at this session of the General Assembly.

80. More than ever before, the arms race has become the greatest peril facing mankind. It has manifested itself in the qualitative and quantitative development of nuclear and conventional weapons. To these have been added new generations of lethal chemical weapons. There is also the danger of extending the arms race into outer space. All these developments have greatly increased the danger to the survival of the human race. There is an urgent need to halt the nuclear-arms race, to reverse it and to begin a process of genuine nuclear disarmament.

81. No less urgent is the need to put a stop to the production and spread of conventional weapons. Conventional weapons are in everyday use in all the hotbeds of conflict which span the globe. Since the Second World War, conventional weapons have been used to cause millions of human deaths and incalculable destruction of property and infrastructures. They are, therefore, a more serious problem than we may be inclined to think.

82. The squandering of a large proportion of the world's finite resources on the arms race, thereby depriving the world of much-needed means for development and human progress, is scandalous. The developed world spends more on the means of destruction than the over two billion of the world's poorest people have to spend on the means of survival. Thus at present nearly \$800 billion is being spent on armaments, while social and economic development is lagging far behind acceptable levels in many parts of the third world.

83. The world is thus confronted with increasing turbulence, uncertainty and tension. The major Powers are unable to provide the one important thing that mankind badly needs, which is hope. We need some hope that the international environment can improve quickly so as to permit desirable co-operation and resolution of conflicts by peaceful means.

84. Zambia regrets lack of progress in disarmament negotiations. We reaffirm our support for the view that world peace and security can be guaranteed only through general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

85. In global affairs, politics and economics certainly do not divide easily into separate compartments; East-West discord is bound to affect North-South progress. It is therefore in the economic interest of the third world that there be a lessening of tension between the two power blocs of the world.

86. Let me now turn to the economic problems which our world is facing today. The latest issue of the World

Economic Survey, compiled by the Secretariat's Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, is yet another sad commentary on our inability to control and develop our economic and social environment in an orderly and harmonious manner. It conveys further a message which is more serious: we are slowly drifting from a crisis into a calamity, simply because we have allowed the perpetuation of systems that can no longer bear the stresses and strains imposed on them by our modern economic and social demands.

87. The structural imbalances and the inequalities of the present world economic system were recognized nearly two decades ago, not only by the developing countries but by the industrialized world as well. It is therefore distressing to note that at this time, despite the worsening international economic situation, the hoped-for North-South dialogue in all essential areas has now moved from stalemate to retrogression.

88. In the meantime, the plight of the millions of people in many parts of the world, particularly in the developing countries, who are now enveloped in a miasma of poverty, disease, hunger and ultimately starvation, continues unabated. The question which the developing countries ask is what is their prospect for development and what is their chance of becoming less poor? There can be no doubt that poverty, in its acuteness and its inequity, is an affront to human dignity. Therefore, we must all be concerned about it.

89. We should all recognize the current shortcomings of our present economic management. We can go further by acknowledging that each and every country is intricately integrated into the world-wide economy and, therefore, that measures adopted at the national level cannot by themselves suffice to rectify or remedy the situation even within national borders. That being the case, we should like to take note of measures being pursued by some industrialized countries in their bid to curb inflation within their borders. The strategy of reducing inflation, while much appreciated by all, should be accompanied by reduced interest rates if benefits are to accrue from such an approach, lest the well-orchestrated signs of recovery turn out to be a mirage.

90. The heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries called for global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development, at their sixth conference, at Havana in 1979, and reiterated that call at the seventh conference at New Delhi this year. They expressed their firm conviction that global negotiations remained the most important and comprehensive endeavour of the international community for restructuring the international economic system, accelerating development of the economies of developing countries and strengthening multilateral economic co-operation on the basis of mutual benefit.

91. The impasse in working out measures to enhance international co-operation cannot be attributed to any lack of effort on our part. During the first six months of this year various important meetings devoted to economic issues were held at the highest political level. The heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries, at their seventh conference, adopted the Declaration on Collective Action for Global Prosperity [ibid]. That conference was closely followed by the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held from 28 March to 9 April at Buenos Aires, at which a message for dialogue and consensus was adopted and later submitted to the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Belgrade.⁶ The proposals agreed on at those meetings have been conveyed to our partners in the North, and the industrialized countries had ample

opportunity to discuss and agree on these proposals at the Ministerial Meeting of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and the Summit of Industrialized Nations, at Williamsburg.

92. Despite those prior informal exchanges, no measure of consensus on essential areas was reached at that fateful session at Belgrade.

93. In today's world, where the interdependence of nations and the interrelatedness of issues have become facts of life, we need more than ever to discover those points of convergence where the interests of a wider humanity become those of its separate parts. Regrettably, in the words of Mr. Shridath Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General:

"The expectation that North and South would jointly find a way to make the world economy both more fair and more secure has been belied. It has been easier to agree upon the growing interdependence of the world economy than to face up to its implications; easier to acknowledge that the recession is world-wide than to accept world-wide solutions; easier to recognize a global crisis than to accommodate the need for global approaches to its solution."

94. It must be realized that economic recovery is not likely to be forthcoming if done piecemeal. However, international co-operation will be a reality only if we are able to formulate effective international policy measures which can be translated into concrete actions and co-ordinated national policies. Since the international policy measures have to be all-embracing, covering development, trade, industry, money and finance, transfer of technology and so on, it is fitting and proper that a consensus on all these issues be reached in a global forum; hence the urgent need to launch the global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

95. Disparities in the conditions of human existence cannot be redressed without international action. However, as President Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania has said:

"The problems of the third world will not wait until we have eventually managed to introduce big changes in the international economic institutions. In the meantime, we could help ourselves, and each other, if we worked more actively to promote South-South trade—that is trade among third world countries."

96. The questions of peace and security, disarmament and international economic relations which I have addressed call urgently for solution.

97. I now wish to reiterate Zambia's position on a number of specific political issues which continue to trouble international relations and threaten world peace and security.

98. Zambia views with grave concern the prevailing tense situation in Central America, which is being aggravated by external interference in the internal affairs of the States in the region. This tension can be arrested only if all the States in the region can apply the maximum effort to resolve peacefully the issues involved. To this end, we applaud the initiative of the Contadora Group to bring about a negotiated settlement in the region.

99. The situation in Chad has taken a turn for the worse. We in Zambia are concerned about the internationalization of the conflict in that country. We call for an immediate end to all foreign intervention and interference in the internal affairs of Chad and for all concerned to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in its efforts to find a just and lasting solution.

100. There is an urgent need to find a lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara. The Saharan people should be enabled to determine their own destiny through a genuine referendum under the auspices of the OAU. Until such a referendum is held, Zambia will continue to support the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front.⁷

101. The question of Cyprus continues to concern us in Zambia. For this reason we urge the continuation of intercommunal talks and the good offices of the Secretary-General aimed at resolving the problem. We reaffirm our support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus and demand the withdrawal of foreign occupation forces from the island.

102. The conflict between Iran and Iraq continues on its ruthless and bloody path, with no end in sight. Its cost in terms of human and material resources is immense and its threat to international peace and security is a matter of great international concern. We urge the two parties to put an immediate end to this fratricidal conflict.

103. The situations of conflict and tension in Afghanistan and Kampuchea continue to be of grave concern to my country. We believe that the problems of the two countries have arisen because of failure to respect the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the affairs of States. We call for comprehensive political solutions to these problems which provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and ensure full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the two countries.

104. With regard to Korea, I wish to reiterate Zambia's position of support for the Korean people's desire to reunify their country peacefully in conformity with the principles set forth in the joint South-North Communiqué of 4 July 1972.⁸ We believe that the achievement of reunification would be greatly facilitated by the withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Korea.

105. Zambia deplores the increase in great-Power presence and rivalry in and around the Indian Ocean, which is contrary to the aims and objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVII)]. We firmly believe that meaningful progress should be made in giving effect to that Declaration. To this end we urge all States to co-operate fully to ensure the convening of the long-delayed Conference on the Indian Ocean, now scheduled to take place in June 1984 at Colombo.

106. The Middle East remains one of the most volatile areas in the world. In spite of the efforts of the United Nations, no solution appears to be in sight. On the contrary, the situation in the area has worsened and assumed more and more alarming proportions, all because of the policies and practices of Israel. Last year, for instance, the international community witnessed the savage and revolting Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which wreaked havoc on innocent human life, as well as property. That invasion was aimed at the liquidation of the Palestinians.

107. Peace and security in the Middle East will remain elusive as long as Israel persists in its denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. As the General Assembly has repeatedly stated, and as was reaffirmed at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September, the question of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people is at the core of the Middle East conflict. The solution to this problem lies in Israel's recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and not in their

liquidation. The international community should therefore guard against diversionary manoeuvres by Israel and its collaborators on this central issue.

108. Zambia will continue to fully support the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, in their just struggle for the exercise of their inalienable rights and the establishment of a State of their own in Palestine. We shall also continue to demand immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967.

109. I now wish to deal with the situation in southern Africa, where we continue to confront three major problems whose impact on the region is of gigantic proportions and which pose a threat to international peace and security: namely, the liberation and genuine independence of Namibia; *apartheid* and minority rule in South Africa; and the destabilization of independent neighbouring States by South Africa. All these problems have been brought about and are kept alive by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Thus, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa is the rogue in southern Africa.

110. The question of Namibia's independence continues to arouse grave anxiety and frustration. As we meet today, the independence of Namibia is as remote as ever. There does not seem to be any end to the blocks that are constantly being set up on the road to Namibia's independence.

111. We are meeting in the aftermath of the Secretary-General's recent visit to southern Africa and the submission of his report on the visit, dated 29 August 1983.⁹ It is clear from his report that South Africa continues to predicate Namibia's independence on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. This position of South Africa, engineered by the United States of America, is responsible for the failure to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978), despite the fact that virtually all relevant issues have been resolved.

112. I should like to reiterate Zambia's position that the claimed linkage being insisted upon is unquestionably illegal, irrational, irrelevant, diversionary and, therefore, totally unacceptable. The question of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola is a bilateral matter between the Governments of the two sovereign States, that is, Angola and Cuba. It has nothing to do with South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. Zambia rejects any attempt to shift responsibility for the delay in resolving the Namibian issue on to Angola. The introduction of the extraneous issue of linkage is also designed to turn the independence of Namibia into an East-West problem. Zambia insists that the question of Namibia should be seen in its proper perspective and must remain a purely decolonization matter.

113. It is the hope of my delegation that the Security Council will soon meet to take appropriate measures for the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978). The Council has a responsibility, indeed a duty, to take practical measures to ensure implementation of its own resolution without further delay.

114. It is evident that unless the implementation process begins immediately, the conflict in Namibia will escalate. The Namibian people will justifiably intensify their struggle for freedom and independence. Human life will continue to be lost, property to be destroyed. In these circumstances, it is incumbent upon all freedom-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples to increase their material and other forms of support to SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, so that a quick end to the conflict can be secured through all means.

115. With regard to South Africa, let me state what we all know: there is in that country an open and continued gross violation of the basic human and democratic principles of justice, freedom, equality, respect for the human person, and majority rule. This is not a matter of failure in the implementation of accepted human and democratic principles. Those in power in South Africa are not struggling to attain these principles; they are deliberately and actively organizing South African society so as to destroy the hold of these principles on the minds of men. The abhorrent policy and practice of *apartheid*, the dismemberment and bantustanization of South Africa, the current so-called constitutional reforms, South Africa's continued stranglehold on Namibia and the destabilization of neighbouring independent States are all geared towards this goal.

116. Justice, freedom, equality, human dignity, majority rule and national independence are values of life to be cherished; they are not mere political or philosophical concepts. When oppressed or colonized people struggle for justice, for their dignity, for their liberty and for their independence, they do so to uphold these values and to preserve them for mankind as a whole. This is precisely what the oppressed and colonized peoples of South Africa and Namibia are struggling for. It is against this background that we in Africa and in our region support the liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia.

117. Under the prevailing circumstances, the oppressed people of South Africa have been left with no other alternative but to fight for their birthright, to regain their freedom, justice and human dignity. The recent spate of bombings in the land of *apartheid* is a living testimony to the determination of the oppressed people there to carry out the struggle to its logical conclusion.

118. In response to that challenge, the racist régime has intensified its suppression in the vain hope that it will subdue the oppressed masses. However, there can be no turning the clock back in South Africa. *Apartheid* will certainly be dismantled; freedom and majority rule will certainly be secured in South Africa, however long it may take to achieve that. The question is thus really one of the method of achieving these goals, through violence and armed struggle, or through peaceful change.

119. In recent times there have been a number of contacts and meetings between representatives of some front-line States and those of the South African régime. At the same time we have witnessed continuing and increasing aggressive activities being perpetrated by the South African régime and by bandits and dissident groups recruited, trained, financed and armed by it against other States in southern Africa, resulting in the destruction of human life and transport and economic infrastructures in these States. To this day, South African troops are illegally occupying part of Angola, while Mozambique and Lesotho, in particular, continue to be subjected to severe economic and military pressures by the South African régime. These are not the actions of a régime that wants to see peace and stability brought about quickly in our region or to see peaceful resolution of the problems we confront in it. Maybe the South African régime regards such contacts and meetings as nothing more than tactical opportunities to hoodwink the world into believing that it is prepared to participate in the quest for peaceful and constructive change in southern Africa in general and in South Africa in particular, whereas what it seeks is to consolidate the present unacceptable situation.

120. South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization of neighbouring States in defence of *apartheid* will not cow those States into submission. For its part, Zambia remains committed to the total eradication of

apartheid and minority rule and to this end will continue to render support to the oppressed people of South Africa and the national liberation movement, the African National Congress of South Africa.

121. We in Zambia are distressed by the somewhat ambivalent posture of some Members of this Organization who are friends and allies of South Africa. On the one hand they profess abhorrence of *apartheid*, while on the other they pursue policies that are supportive of a régime whose policies are deeply rooted in that same diabolical system. Furthermore, when called upon to apply comprehensive sanctions against South Africa or to use other forms of the enormous leverage they undoubtedly have with that country to bring about desirable change by peaceful means, these countries continue to plead their preference for persuasion, but at the same time they disclaim effective power to persuade. The régime has in fact interpreted such a posture of its allies and friends as an endorsement and approval of its internal as well as its external policies and practices.

122. It is against this background that we call upon all those countries that have leverage with South Africa, whether through economic, military or other ties, to come out boldly and unambiguously and use their influence to persuade South Africa to cease all acts of aggression and destabilization against its neighbours and, above all, to abandon the system of *apartheid*.

123. We appeal to the international community to give all possible material and humanitarian assistance to the oppressed peoples of Africa who are victims of the *apartheid* régime. In addition, we call upon the international community to come to the aid of such countries as Lesotho, Mozambique and Angola, which are constantly subjected to economic and political blackmail and sabotage as well as military incursions by the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

124. Finally, I wish to reaffirm Zambia's faith in the United Nations. Although its conception was rooted in the past and its edifice erected subsequent to times of war, it remains the only appropriate international forum for finding solutions to major world problems today. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us as States Members of the Organization to reaffirm our continued commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and to summon the necessary political will to make this institution work.

125. Mr. AZIZ (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish first to congratulate the President on his election to that office. My delegation is confident that he will conduct this session with complete success. For our part, we are fully prepared to co-operate with him to bring the work of this session to a successful conclusion, strengthen the role of the United Nations in solving international problems, and lay firm foundations for peace in the world.

126. It gives me pleasure to welcome the accession of Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership in the United Nations. I wish it progress and am sure it will make an effective contribution to the work of the Organization.

127. It is not often that the delegation of my country has begun its statement to the Assembly by addressing itself to issues that are of particular concern to Iraq. Iraq has always shown and continues to show serious and sincere interest in the major issues of its own area and in international issues of a wider scope. Our delegation has also focused on those issues which have had the effect of promoting the attainment of mankind's goals of liberation, progress and peace. But the aggression that has continued against my country for more than three years

now cannot but assume the highest degree of importance among the issues with which our delegation is concerned and which it wishes to submit for discussion in this session.

128. For the fourth time since 1980 we meet here in this Hall while war continues to rage, with the régime in power in Teheran insisting on maintaining and widening the conflict and persistently pursuing its aggressive and expansionist designs and ambitions.

129. It is not for the first time that the Assembly is hearing about the controversies relating to this conflict, whether within the framework of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries or the Organization of the Islamic Conference, or on the bilateral level.

130. There has been some confusion with regard to the circumstances which led to the outbreak of the war. On several occasions in the past, representatives have heard various arguments and statements from both our delegation and the delegation of the other side. Iraq, however, firmly believing in the justice of its cause and having full confidence in the validity of its position, has now settled the argument. Iraq has invited the international community to arbitrate in this issue. We have submitted a proposal to this effect to the Islamic Good Offices Committee and to the Non-Aligned Movement, and our proposal was reiterated at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met at New Delhi. We are reaffirming it now in the forum of the United Nations.

131. The Iraqi proposal calls for the formation of a neutral arbitration committee to determine which side started the aggression and the war and which side bears the responsibility for continuing the war all this time, with all the human and material losses that it has entailed. Iraq is prepared to accept the results of such arbitration.

132. If the other side dares see the truth uncovered in an objective manner, we urge it to accept this just, balanced and practical proposal. We hope the General Assembly will also support our proposal and entrust its implementation to the Secretary-General, who has been asked by the Security Council to undertake peace efforts.

133. While this constitutes the logical and sound solution to this problem, I do not think that anyone in the Hall is unaware of the well-known fact that it is the régime in power in Teheran which refuses to end the war and insists on its continuation. Iraq has agreed to all initiatives calling for an end to the war since 28 September 1980, when it unhesitatingly accepted Security Council resolution 479 (1980). Iraq has also accepted all the initiatives of the Islamic Good Offices Committee and responded positively to the initiatives of the Non-Aligned Movement. It has undertaken many initiatives of its own, calling for a cease-fire on religious occasions in order to provide the proper climate for ending the war. It has proposed the conclusion of a special agreement with Iran forbidding attacks against villages and cities and all civilian installations with a view to protecting human lives and material property.

134. In all these initiatives and deliberations Iraq did not set any pre-conditions. It has always expressed its readiness for a cease-fire and declared its wish to establish permanent peace with its neighbour based on the principles of the Charter, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

135. You are all well aware of the attitudes of the Iranian government. This régime has earned for itself the discreditable distinction of being the only one in the world to reject Security Council cease-fire resolutions. It has

also earned for itself the bad reputation of officially and ceaselessly expressing the wish to continue the war, to occupy Iraqi territory and to change the system of government in Iraq as well as in other countries of the area. Here I would like to draw the attention of representatives to the glaring discrepancy between the statements and declarations of the representatives of the Iranian régime in international forums and those emanating from the true authorities inside Iran. Words spoken in this Hall can have no serious meaning and cannot be regarded as honest if they are not in line with the official and existing positions taken by Governments. We can present hundreds of proofs attesting to the ambitious designs of the Teheran régime on our country. There are official Iranian declarations indicating that Iranian forces have occupied parts of Iraqi territory and expressing the determination of the Teheran rulers to occupy more territory, including villages and towns. These declarations also point to the insistence of those rulers on interfering in our internal affairs, and some of these declarations have been circulated as official records of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Such are the official and existing attitudes that ought to count, rather than the embellished words, full of hypocrisy, offered from the forums of international conferences and meetings for the purpose of deceiving and misleading international public opinion and avoiding pressure.

136. The history of the ruling clique in Iran abounds with attempts at blackmail. During the last few weeks, they came up with a fresh attempt of this kind when they launched their threats to close the Strait of Hormuz and prevent the Arab Gulf countries from exporting their oil. In fact, by its continued armed aggression against my country, the Iranian régime has deprived Iraq of the possibility of exporting its oil and engaging in free trade in the Gulf area. This constitutes an explicit threat to the vital interests of Iraq. Iraq, however, will not stand with arms folded before such a situation, nor can it be expected to submit to Iranian blackmail. I am sure that the States of the region, which cherish their dignity and independence, will not, for their part, submit to this sort of cheap blackmail. They have adequate means to deal with it. But it seems strange indeed that certain international quarters should see nothing wrong in this cheap blackmail and try to adopt attitudes that, if implemented, would only encourage the aggressor to persist in aggression and blackmail. We wish to make our position unequivocally clear: we are not prepared to tolerate blackmail by the régime in power in Teheran on the one side, and blackmail by the régime in power in Tel Aviv on the other. Our peoples have the will, the dignity and the strength that will enable them to withstand such blackmail and to make the aggressors see that their acts of aggression will inevitably cost them dear.

137. Iraq has always been concerned to see that peace and stability prevail in its area and that foreign influence be kept away from that area. This position of ours is quite clear and free from ambiguity. However, it should be equally clear that security, stability and prosperity should extend to all and be the responsibility of all. To shift the entire responsibility to one party with no regard to its security, its stability and its interests would be a most abnormal state of affairs. If anyone were to take such a position, Iraq would certainly not accept it. Iraq is prepared to undertake a joint, responsible search for ways to guarantee the security, stability and prosperity of the States of the area and the world at large, but only on condition that it will itself be assured of its rightful share of security, stability and prosperity rather than being asked to pay the whole price alone.

138. Within the framework of the search for guarantees of security and stability in the Arab Gulf area—a sensitive region involving the interests of many countries of the world—Iraq, speaking through its President, Mr. Saddam Hussein, on 7 June 1983 called for the conclusion of a bilateral agreement between Iran and Iraq under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to ending all military operations in the Gulf area as a whole. This responsible proposal would bring many benefits to the conflicting parties, banish a large part of the anxieties and tensions prevailing in the countries of the region and ensure the flow of oil and free trade in the Arab Gulf area. It would also help tackle the problems of pollution in the Gulf. If efforts or pressures should prove necessary to achieve these goals, they should be directed towards the régime in power in Teheran to ensure its acceptance of this practical, responsible and balanced proposal. I earnestly hope that the proposal will meet with acceptance and that the Secretary-General will take the necessary steps to have it implemented in the way he deems appropriate for supporting his necessary initiatives. My Government is perfectly willing to co-operate with him in all sincerity and with all seriousness, but we emphasize in this regard that these questions should not be dealt with in a manner that would diminish the effort required to end the war. The international community, and the United Nations in particular, has the direct responsibility to end this war. A special responsibility devolves upon the permanent members of the Security Council, which, in view of their special position in the Council and the realities of international relations, assume additional obligations with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

139. It is the duty of all these parties to persuade, if not force, Iran to end the war, which has lasted for such a long time and is now threatening the entire region with grave dangers.

140. We say this although we know well the details of the efforts and attempts which have been made to end the war. But we must state frankly here that those efforts have been far from adequate. Some of them have lacked the requisite measure of seriousness, continuity and perseverance; they could be described as efforts undertaken in a spirit of feigning action just to avoid blame rather than in the spirit of commitment, to say nothing of sacrifice, which is needed in order to put an end to this destructive and dangerous conflict. I would point out here the fact that all these initiatives have long been suspended. We also wish to point out, in all frankness, that there are plans aimed at prolonging the war to achieve certain selfish benefits or implement questionable scenarios in our region. We know all these things and we know who is behind them. We advise those who concoct them to abandon their games and stop playing with fire. We also tell them, in all frankness, that we cannot remain indifferent to their activities and that we shall not fall prey to treachery and deception. Our will is our own, and we have sufficient means to defend our security and our sovereignty. Our people have a will of steel; they have the capability and they have inexhaustible resources with which to defend their lives, their dignity, and their sovereignty and make the aggressor understand by tangible means that the cost of continuing his aggression will be very high indeed.

141. Besides the aggression against my country by the Iranian régime, there is the continued Zionist aggression from which the Arab nation and the Palestinian people have suffered for decades. The régime in power in Tel Aviv is based on racism, expansionism and aggression. It is a régime which scorns international law and all

human considerations. It refuses most impudently to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. It imposes on the region policies of terrorism, expansionism and destruction.

142. This fascist régime has a strange theory of security, a theory which is contrary to all the norms observed by the international community and to all the laws and customs of mankind. It allows itself to occupy the territories of others and to launch raids on neighbouring countries on the pretext that it is protecting its security, whereas all the world knows that it is that régime alone which has threatened and continues to threaten security and stability in the region.

143. My country was subjected to a flagrant aggression by that fascist régime when, on 7 June 1981, taking advantage of the circumstances created by the war of aggression waged by its fellow in thinking and in action, the Teheran régime, it attacked our installations for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

144. If a number of States in this or any other region were to adopt the Israeli theory of security and the theories of the rulers in Teheran, who give themselves the right to expand and to change régimes, one could imagine how much anarchy, insecurity and instability would prevail in the whole world.

145. Such theories and practices must be resisted with all our might and by all the means at hand. We call upon all the countries of the world to resist these irresponsible actions. In particular, we call upon the United States of America to desist from supplying the Zionist aggressors with military and financial support and stop providing them with a political cover. All the world knows that without the support by all possible means given to this régime by the United States, it would not have been able to persist in its aggression. It is not our wish that the United States should be an accomplice in the Zionist aggression against the Arab nation, but its continued support for the aggressors and the political cover it provides them with makes it, in fact, an accomplice—and an active one at that.

146. The fact that the United States boycotted the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held recently at Geneva confirms United States complicity with the Zionists in their denial of the rights of the Palestinian people. Be that as it may, the Geneva Declaration on Palestine¹⁰ has made it quite clear that the international community affirms these rights, and the Programme of Action which the Conference adopted¹⁰ lays the sound foundations for dealing with the issue. We call upon all Members of the Organization to do their utmost to support the Geneva Declaration and to implement the recommendations of the Conference in order to establish peace and stability in the area.

147. We also urge States, and particularly those Western States which co-operate with the Tel Aviv régime on both the bilateral and the multilateral levels, to re-examine the ethical validity of such co-operation, especially in the military and economic fields, as well as the legal basis on which it rests. While declaring that they do not give political or legal recognition to annexation by the Zionist entity of occupied Arab territory, these States deal with it in the economic, commercial and financial fields as if it were a normal entity which does not annex the territories of others by force or illegally exploit their natural resources. This kind of normal dealings with Tel Aviv will only encourage the aggressor to persist in the policy of seizing lands and annexing territories by force and constitutes an acceptance of the *de facto* situation imposed by that policy.

148. Such attitudes cannot be explained in terms of even-handedness or neutrality. When there is an aggressor who persists in aggression and who refuses to listen to the voice of the international community with regard to the restoration of justice and peace, then it is not being neutral, objective or even-handed to provide that aggressor with assistance or to deal with him by such means as allow him in fact to continue his aggression and his irresponsible behaviour.

149. We must recall here the resolutions adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council on the annexation by the Zionist entity of Arab Jerusalem and its declaration of that city as its capital. Any State which decides to transfer its embassy to the Holy City of Jerusalem not only encourages the Zionist entity to continue its policy of aggression, but also participates in that aggression, flagrantly challenging the rights of the Palestinian people as well as this Organization and its Charter and contributing to the weakening and diminution of the status of the United Nations.

150. Iraq supports with all its power the just struggle being waged by the Palestinian Arab people to regain its inalienable rights in its own land and its own home, Palestine. We also reaffirm our support and backing for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people. The attitude of certain States, including the United States, which deny recognition to that organization and refuse to deal with it as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, reflects their total partiality to the Zionist aggressors and bears no relation to the true situation in our area and in the world as a whole. Such an attitude has no legal justification. Those who are really concerned with peace and justice in our region and in the world at large should abandon that anomalous attitude, recognize the facts and deal with legitimacy.

151. There have been attempts at the political and physical liquidation of the PLO. More than a year ago, the Zionist invasion of Lebanon was undertaken with a view to liquidating the PLO and murdering the Palestinian Arab people. Sordid massacres were committed against that people, supervised and carried out by the leaders of the Tel Aviv régime and their armed forces.

152. In the West Bank there has been an acceleration of organized acts of terrorism against the Palestinian people and of attempts to have Palestinians deported from the land of their forefathers. The plans of the rulers of Tel Aviv to establish settlements in usurped Arab lands continue to be implemented. This colonial project should stop immediately. We are truly amazed at the attitude of the United States, which offers excuses for this colonial project, which is contrary to all international law, to human rights and to United Nations resolutions.

153. The time has come for the international community to go beyond condemnation of this policy and its results and to proceed to make use of the measures set forth in the Charter to thwart this colonial project and to take a stand against the policies of terror and repression carried out by the rulers of Tel Aviv against the Palestinian Arab people.

154. Needless to say, Iraq's firm position is to support the PLO and its legitimate leadership. Iraq rejects and condemns all attempts to weaken or fragment the PLO or to rob it of its political will. Whatever their pretext, such policies can only serve the purposes of the Zionist plan to liquidate the PLO and to deprive the Palestinian Arab people of its ability to express itself both by active struggle and by political means.

155. The rulers of Tel Aviv continue today to implement their blueprint for the establishment of a Greater Israel. They are bearing down heavily on Lebanon, that small and weak Arab country, in an attempt to appropriate for themselves part of its territory. The redeployment of the Israeli forces in Lebanon is an overt attempt to maintain the Zionist occupation of substantial parts of Lebanese territory with a view to annexing them eventually to their fascist expansionist régime.

156. Since the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, the United Nations has adopted many resolutions calling for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory. The rulers of Tel Aviv, however, with their well-known contempt for the Organization and for international public opinion, have refused to comply with those resolutions, and they continue to occupy substantial parts of Lebanese territory.

157. We emphasize here the need to adhere to principles and to apply the international decisions relating to the preservation of the unity and sovereignty of Lebanon and preventing any party from partitioning that country through the imposition of a *de facto* situation, of a capitulation or of an exchange of benefits in order to expand at the expense of this small and peaceful country.

158. Iraq hereby reaffirms its total solidarity with the Lebanese people in its efforts to preserve its sovereignty, independence and territorial unity and to impose its own independent will in the decisions it takes. Iraq will do all it can, especially within the Arab framework, to assist Lebanon and its people to achieve those aims.

159. When we call for and work towards the establishment of a just peace in our area and for our Arab people, we in Iraq are not unaware of the climate of tension that prevails in many parts of the world and of the wars raging in more than one area. The majority of such crises are caused by policies of force and hegemony, by attempts to acquire spheres of influence, by interference in the internal affairs of States and by non-respect for the will of their peoples to live in freedom and peace. Worthy of attention also is the grave acceleration of the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, and the acquisition of a nuclear capability by racist entities such as South Africa and the Zionist entity. Such a capability will enable them to engage in nuclear blackmail so that they may persist in their racist and aggressive policies in Palestine, South Africa and Namibia, which continues to suffer under the illegal occupation of Pretoria. We support the struggle of liberation movements in southern Africa, which aim to secure freedom, dignity and equality for the peoples there.

160. It is necessary to call attention also to the tense situation in Central America and the Caribbean region. Based on our firm principles, we reject all forms of interference in the internal affairs of peoples and urge that solutions to the problems of this area be sought through negotiations, without the use or threat of use of force.

161. Finally, it is necessary to point to the deterioration in the international economic situation, especially that of the developing countries, which suffer from grave problems which are discussed in detail by the General Assembly every year. It is regrettable that no progress has been made so far towards solving these problems or towards easing the difficulties of the developing countries.

162. The present crisis in international economic relations, with the widening gap between the developing and the developed countries, constitutes one of the gravest of problems and is a source of instability threatening world peace and security. For the first time since the

Second World War the per capita gross domestic product has declined in many developing countries, and the prices of basic commodities have fallen in real terms to their lowest level in 50 years. The access of the exports of developing countries to the markets of the developed countries is being greatly reduced. Consequently, the revenue of developing countries from those exports has decreased, while the interest on loans to them has soared, a matter which has led to considerable deficits in their balances of payments and to substantial increases in their debt obligations.

163. The developing countries, which have borne the greater part of the burden resulting from the financial crisis in international economic relations, have tried sincerely to enter into dialogue with the industrial countries. They have submitted practical and realistic proposals to find a way out of the present crisis. The best example of those initiatives is the Economic Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2], which contained new ideas and constructive proposals, both short-term and long-term, to deal with the international economic situation. The final document of the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April,⁶ also contained realistic proposals and draft resolutions which were subsequently submitted to the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Belgrade in June. But all those initiatives, as well as the desire to institute a permanent constructive dialogue, were met with rejection and inflexibility on the part of some industrial countries, and the opportunity offered by the sixth session to introduce new approaches that might serve the international community as a whole was missed as a result.

164. The present session of the General Assembly follows a number of extremely important conferences held this year which issued documents that merit serious study. This session offers another excellent opportunity for deliberations and consultations on the follow-up steps that should be taken with regard to the important proposals put forward by the developing countries. It is our hope that the industrial States will respond in a constructive spirit so that solutions may be found that will benefit all the peoples of the world.

165. As a developing country, Iraq has worked in all international forums in support of proposals to introduce structural changes in the world economy to make it more equitable. It is also the view of Iraq that international economic co-operation is a matter of the utmost importance, and no group of States, no matter how great their economic power, can alone avert the effects of the present crisis.

166. Economic co-operation among the developing countries has become an important factor in international economic relations. Iraq has made such co-operation one of the main goals of its foreign policy. This approach has been translated into practical action, as represented by the loans and concessionary assistance which Iraq has offered to other developing countries; but the circumstances created by the Iranian aggression against our country that has continued for more than three years have led Iraq to discontinue its assistance for the time being.

167. It is our hope that during this session tangible progress will be made towards finding solutions to all the political and economic problems I have spoken about, which are of interest to all mankind.

168. Sheikh AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is my pleasure at the outset to congratulate

the President on his election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I trust that his long experience and high qualifications will be a great help to the session in reaching the results we all seek.

169. At the same time, I should like to thank the President of the preceding session, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the wisdom he displayed while conducting the affairs of that session.

170. I should like also to express our appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretary-General to consolidate the role of the United Nations and increase its efficiency.

171. Kuwait, which believes the world Organization is but a reflection of international society, would like to congratulate the State of Saint Christopher and Nevis on joining the United Nations and takes this opportunity to express its conviction that that new Member will respect its international commitments and fulfil its responsibilities in a capable and competent manner.

172. I should like us all to look back and recall together the gist of the statements made during the general debate at the thirty-seventh session. Those statements concentrated on the spirit of hope and optimism expressed in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, which courageously and realistically diagnosed the weaknesses in the international situation that were threatening to lead to the brink of disaster and the effective role that the United Nations should play regarding the world order, and offered valuable suggestions for the course of treatment.

173. Now that a full year has passed since the presentation of that report, on which the Security Council continues its consultations, we must ask ourselves responsibly and honestly what has been done to translate the letter and spirit of the report into reality. What contribution have we made to improve the bleak image of our world today, to eliminate or defuse the hotbeds of international conflict and to enhance the role and effectiveness of the world Organization?

174. Regrettably, the response to all those questions must be negative, for the international situation has not improved, the role of the United Nations has not become more prominent or assertive and the Organization has not become more effective. On the contrary, grave events persist on the international scene, with all their dangerous implications with regard to war and peace, backwardness and development. Last year the world witnessed, as it continues to witness, the occupation of Lebanon, the destruction of Beirut, the refusal of Israel to comply with Security Council resolutions regarding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its forces, the escalation of oppressive actions in the occupied Arab lands, the continuance and escalation of the war between Iraq and Iran, the grave tension in Central America with all its dangerous potential, the escalation of racist oppression in southern Africa and the continued deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. But that is not all. There are also problems relating to the economic and social fields as well as human rights.

175. The big Powers bear the primary responsibility for the deterioration of the current world situation. The international community has seen how the narrow special interests of those Powers have been given precedence at the expense in the long term of the common interests of the majority of the nations of the world. It has also seen how they use situations not for the purpose of solving problems, but rather for the purpose of including them in their strategic plans. The inability of the United Nations to solve various problems is but a reflection of the general international situation. The big

Powers increasingly push the Organization towards the periphery of events instead of using it as the prime mover in the settlement of the serious crisis.

176. Kuwait's responsible attitude is that this situation is not in keeping with the hopes and aspirations of mankind for peace, progress and justice, the very hopes and aspirations which are embodied in the ideals and concepts of the Charter, for whose preservation mankind has carried out a bitter struggle.

177. The question of Palestine has been the focal point of attention since the creation of the United Nations. It has been discussed at all General Assembly sessions. The first international conference sponsored by the United Nations on the question of Palestine was held recently, which in itself is an indication of the importance of this question and its relationship to world peace and security.

178. It is clear to the world that the question of Palestine is the basic problem in the Middle East and the nucleus of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and until the international community imposes a just, permanent and comprehensive solution which is acceptable to the Palestinian people and satisfies its national ambitions, there will be no peace in the region, the state of conflict will persist and world peace and security will remain jeopardized.

179. Through the ages it has been proved by experience, particularly in the Middle East area, that force, no matter how heavy and how varied its methods, will never succeed in uprooting national feelings or forcing rightful owners to relinquish their rights. On the contrary, people cling to their rights and defend their principles. Therefore, we reiterate the principles on which peace in the region must be based and which are accepted by the international community and were asserted recently in the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action set forth by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.¹⁰ These are: unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all Arab lands occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem; the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and recover their properties and their right to self-determination and to establish their own independent State; recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and the cessation of the establishment of Israeli settlements and the dismantling of those already established in the occupied Arab lands.

180. The real catastrophe of the Palestinian people regrettably reflects, in one of its aspects, the weakness of the international will and its submission to the logic of force instead of defence of truth and justice. In spite of the international attention to and awareness of the Palestinian question, and in spite of the various conferences and resolutions, this question remains unsolved. In fact it is becoming more and more complicated and tense because of Israel's policy of *fait accompli* in continuing its aggression to keep the world preoccupied with what is new and to forget what is old. Israel has ignored all the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular those of the Security Council, aided and abetted by the United States, whose unlimited support includes all the financial, military and moral support that Israel needs. This has made Israel an instrument of United States strategy in the region at the expense of the legitimate interests and the historic rights of the rest of the region's nations.

181. It has become quite obvious that as long as the United States is conferring this kind of immunity on Israel and protecting it from the implementation of the international will, the settlement of the Palestinian question

will remain unattainable. Therefore Kuwait invites the United States to take a balanced look at that principal question. An unbalanced view could threaten the security and interests of a great number of the nations of the world.

182. Driven by its aggressive tendencies and expansionist and racist philosophies, Israel has committed another crime in Lebanon, one which started a year ago and is still going on, by occupying its land, dispersing its people and perpetrating massacres unprecedented in the history of mankind. Israel, with its military brute force, still refuses to withdraw from Lebanon and makes uncompromising conditions which only reveal its real intention to continue the occupation.

183. The international community, embodied in this Organization, bears a primary responsibility for restoring security and stability to that blighted land. First and foremost is the responsibility to deter the Zionist entity and force it to withdraw from Lebanese territory, instead of supporting it with more supplies of the machines of war and destruction and providing a political cover for its practices, which are contrary to the principles of justice and international law.

184. The Israeli invasion of Lebanese territory has created internal complications which have almost disrupted the Lebanese entity. It has also created devastation and destruction. The brothers and friends of Lebanon were duty-bound to stand by it in its plight. Efforts were made and many initiatives were taken to preserve its people, its sovereignty, its national integrity and even its national cohesion. The world has seen the positive results of the initiatives of the sister Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: its good offices and its extensive efforts to get the parties together and entice them away from the battlefield to the negotiating table. While we pay a tribute to that initiative, we look forward to the support and help of the international community in restoring life, stability and security to our sister Lebanon.

185. Kuwait demands the implementation of the Security Council resolutions which call for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon and the cessation of all intervention in the internal affairs of that sister country and of all efforts to provoke trouble and feuds among its people. Kuwait has always supported the unity, integrity and independence of Lebanon and the restoration of its stability and prosperity.

186. The other bitter conflict which afflicts our region is the continued Iraq-Iran war, which has now, regrettably, entered its fourth year.

187. The developments in and continuance of that war in that strategically important location of the world threaten not only the two parties to the dispute but all the States of the region.

188. We fully appreciate all the sincere international efforts, both collective and individual, made so far to stop the war, the latest being the initiatives taken by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council. We regret that none has been successful.

189. While welcoming from this rostrum Iraq's acceptance of and concurrence with all peace initiatives, Kuwait hopes that neighbouring Muslim Iran will follow suit and invoke the letter and spirit of Islam, which call for peace, goodwill, brotherhood, justice and coexistence and reject hostility, hatred and grudges, so that the human and economic capabilities of the peoples of Iraq and Iran may become springs of goodwill, well-being and peace which will overflow and spread throughout the region and the world.

190. The cause of peace and security in any part of the world is indivisible, and nations cannot allow that danger, which threatens the peace and security of the world, to continue, grow and bear along with it human and economic forces, diverting them from their natural course in the service of man and of peace, without taking common action to stop the war. Kuwait feels that the big Powers and the Security Council have a certain responsibility to take quick and serious action to stop this war.

191. The strategically located Arabian Gulf area has always been a focal point of attention for the big Powers, which were always looking for footholds there, and to such an extent that with their political awareness, the peoples of the region soon realized the far-reaching importance of co-operation among themselves in various spheres as an exemplary deterrent to surrounding dangers. The Gulf Co-operation Council has asserted that it represents the consensus and unity of purpose of the member States. The Council expressed the natural truth that the preservation of the peace, security and stability of the Gulf area is the collective responsibility of its States, without foreign intervention of any kind. The Council has proved in the short period of its existence that it is an important and effective political and economic instrument, and the results of its efforts are beginning to show clearly in the region.

192. Kuwait, which supports all international efforts to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], views that concept from its deep conviction that the whole Asian continent is in need of peace so as to allow its valuable economic resources and natural wealth to be developed under programmes beneficial to its peoples. We hope that the countries participating in the preparatory work of the conference on this subject will display serious political will in order to promote the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

193. International problems do not persist or escalate unless there are extraneous forces which aggravate them and utilize them for special objectives or purposes. Kuwait therefore would like to see the Muslim people of Afghanistan exercise its right to independence free from foreign intervention. We look forward with hope to the success of the United Nations efforts to restore normal life to Afghanistan and to settle the Kampuchean problem by peaceful means, without resorting to any acts that may justify foreign intervention.

194. The reality which we are experiencing today in the Middle East is similar to another reality in the African continent. In the same way as our region has been affected by a Zionist racist régime and a usurping system, Africa is being assailed by a hateful racist régime which dominates the black majority, by right the lawful owners in South Africa, which continues to occupy the province of Namibia. The racist régime is not even satisfied with this; it also seeks to follow a policy of hegemony and intervention in the affairs of neighbouring African countries.

195. Kuwait considers the situation in southern Africa a fundamental challenge to the international community and to this Organization in particular. The repeated recommendations and resolutions adopted lately by the Security Council, the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence⁵ and the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination¹¹ indicate how concerned the international community is about this crucial situation. These bodies also call on all parties concerned to assume their international responsibilities, particularly

those which the five Western Powers took upon themselves in order to solve the question of Namibia and oversee the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which offers the primary basis for the settlement of the problem of Namibia.

196. Kuwait confirms its support for the rights of the black majority in South Africa and its solidarity with it in its bitter struggle against policies of discrimination and *apartheid* and affirms its support for and solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO, for independence and self-determination. It also affirms its support for and solidarity with the African front-line States in their struggle against repeated aggression from South Africa.

197. While watching with concern the increasing challenges confronting the international community, Kuwait is very sorry that the area of Central America is now witnessing an aggravated conflict between the two great Powers, the very thing which raises tension in the area. We feel that the problems which confront the States of that area cannot be solved by flexing one's muscles, but rather by supporting honest peaceful initiatives which aim at solving them and by providing economic and social justice to its peoples. We therefore attach special attention to initiatives by the States of the area, particularly the States of the Contadora Group, to put an end to the deteriorating situation and to restore peace and stability to this important part of the world.

198. The currently deteriorating conditions in the world economy are the result of the economic policy practised by the industrialized nations, which tend to solve their problems in a spirit of individualism, in isolation from the interests of the international community and without taking into consideration the interaction of integrated international economic relations, a prerequisite for a prosperous world economy as a whole. The continuation of such economic policies by the industrialized nations is threatening to lead to a collapse of international economic relations, as well as to confrontation among the industrialized nations themselves on the one hand, and between them and the developing nations on the other. We therefore believe that the advanced nations should revise their negative attitude towards the launching of the global negotiations, which will constitute the proper framework for the creation of the new international economic order.

199. The currently adverse situation of the world economy has left its negative impact even on the petroleum-marketing situation, which in turn affected the countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries by leaving them in a situation where they cannot accept new financial commitments. The increasing cost of development, coupled with the reduction in revenues, has led to the emergence of deficits in the balances of payment of some of those countries and to a lessening of the ability of some of them to secure financial aid. Kuwait therefore feels that no new financial apparatus should be introduced, efforts being concentrated instead on the present apparatus with a view to amending it in such a way as to enable it to adapt to changes in the world economy.

200. In spite of this, Kuwait is doing its best, either alone or in conjunction with the other members of the Gulf Co-operation Council, to help developing nations and increase its co-operation with them.

201. We all have a duty to ease the burden of the developing nations, particularly the least developed among them, since those countries are suffering from the burdens of accumulated debts, inflation and the escalating prices of imported products.

202. I should like to make clear that Kuwait is fully aware of its responsibility to strengthen economic co-operation among developing nations.

203. It is Kuwait's conviction that concern over the increased hotbeds of tension in the world and the continuation and intensification of international conflicts should not prevent us from considering the greatest danger which threatens world peace and security, namely, the unchecked arms race which threatens the whole world and pushes it towards the edge of the precipice.

204. Kuwait feels that the dawning of a new era of peace, progress and justice for all peoples is still being hindered by the continued escalation and stunning developments in means of mass destruction. Kuwait therefore calls for the full scientific and technological potential, as well as the financial means and human resources, which have so far been directed to armament programmes and military development to be used for peaceful purposes in the service of mankind, which seeks to protect present and future generations and to narrow the gap between the rich countries and those still in the developing stage.

205. Kuwait calls upon the international community to face up to the great challenge presented by the close relationship between disarmament and development—a challenge which calls for joint action to meet it.

206. A great number of world leaders having come here to address the General Assembly at its present session, in response to an initiative taken by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, current chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and President of the Movement's latest summit conference at New Delhi, Kuwait feels that this gathering is in itself an expression of the deep sense of a collective international desire to contribute to the solution of current problems and to support and reassert the principles of truth, justice, peace and coexistence among nations which have become an acceptable framework for joint action. Kuwait hopes therefore that the general debate and bilateral and multilateral meetings among those leaders will offer a good opportunity for a meeting of minds and a determination to start joint action for the good of mankind and peace for humanity.

207. I also pledge to the President of the General Assembly the positive contribution of the delegation of Kuwait in seeking to reach common goals.

208. Mr. MORÁN (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to express our sincerest congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca on his election and my delegation's great satisfaction at seeing a distinguished representative of the beloved sister nation of Panama occupying the presidency of this session of the Assembly. His well-known gifts as a statesman and his profound experience and knowledge of the United Nations lead us to entertain great hopes for a fruitful outcome of our work. In extending the full co-operation of the Spanish delegation to him, I can assure him that this year our co-operation will be extended with particular pleasure.

209. I should also like to extend our congratulations and thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Hollai, for the great dedication and skill with which he led the work of the last session of the Assembly.

210. To the Secretary-General, an outstanding son of a sister State, Peru, I am pleased to repeat our sentiments of affection for him and of confidence in and satisfaction for the outstanding task he has been performing through some particularly difficult times as head of the Secretariat.

211. To the youngest Member of the United Nations, Saint Christopher and Nevis—to which we are linked by an intimate historic event, an expedition of the Spanish

Crown under Admiral Christopher Columbus, who, coming from the old continent, set foot there for the first time in 1493—we extend our warm welcome and wish it a prosperous life as an independent State.

212. The Spanish Socialist Government, constituted after the elections in October 1982, has set as one of its fundamental objectives the development of a foreign policy in keeping with the new structure of Spanish society and the renewed faith in Spanish democracy. So far as foreign policy is concerned, the new Government's programme is in keeping with the objectives of the United Nations. By defending the purposes and principles of the United Nations we wish to contribute to the consolidation of the democratic values in our country and, at the same time, to the task of promoting faith in the ideals which inspired the Charter—a faith which has not been lost but which must be translated into concrete actions in a world plagued by tensions.

213. Spain wishes to take part in the task of attaining a more secure and just international order—two objectives that deserve our full support but which are not always easily compatible. The first compels us to give continuous support to the cause of détente and disarmament. The second allies us with efforts for a new international economic order and a better world which respects human rights and duly appreciates the quality of our lives and environment. Only thus can we make an effective contribution to peace.

214. In recent years, in this very forum, many voices have been raised to condemn the grave climate of tension on the international scene. This year it cannot be denied that the situation is even worse. The utterly despicable shooting down of a South Korean civil aircraft by the Soviet Union has made clear the fragility of the armed peace on which today's international relations are based and has shown clearly how close we are to the point of no return. However, we cannot allow ourselves to lose hope; rather, we must do everything we can to revive the process of détente.

215. In recent years the East-West conflict has been reduced to its strictly military aspects, with risks of undue simplification and overdependence on technological imperatives.

216. My country considers it urgent to restore priority to political factors, which are the factors that can restore common sense in international relations. Hence we have been making stalwart efforts in recent months, within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to keep open the channels for dialogue and to keep alive the possibility of compromise.

217. A few days ago the countries which signed the Final Act of Helsinki in 1975¹² took an important step in this direction at Madrid. Despite the very serious problems, the 35 States which signed the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting after three years of hope and hard effort have shown our determination to keep alight the ideals of peace, security and co-operation which we all share and all need, whatever differences may separate us.

218. Spain has always taken a sincere interest in any proposal to control and reduce the present level of armaments, which is dangerously high and outrageously expensive. We are therefore determined to redouble our efforts and to work imaginatively in all forums dealing with the question of the reduction of conventional and nuclear arsenals. We are convinced that it is possible to reach a balance at a lower level of armaments without thereby endangering the legitimate security interests of each State.

219. We wish also to reiterate the need for a total nuclear test-ban treaty, which would undoubtedly be an effective obstacle to the quantitative and qualitative development of nuclear weapons.

220. On the other hand, Spain has been following with particular attention the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and the strategic arms reduction talks. Our interest is inevitable, since our country is situated in the continent with the greatest stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Similarly, we have been following with renewed hope the preparatory work for the European disarmament conference. We trust that at that conference it will be possible to make decisive progress towards the reduction of tension in Europe.

221. These concerns, doubtless shared by nearly all of us, are the reflection of the growing and legitimate anxiety of our citizens, who are opposed to living on the brink of the abyss. As I had occasion to say at the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the least we can offer in the short term to the young people who are yearning for peace and developing a new, world-wide patriotism is the prospect of non-confrontation, in which visible and practical steps can be taken to avoid the causes of conflicts and reduce the means of destruction.

222. Spain considers that détente is not enough to attain lasting peace, nor are the efforts to limit and control weapons. We must realize that we have to seek out the deep roots of the conflicts which have been bedeviling international society, because only if we have a fairer and freer world can we have a safer world.

223. Hence the capital importance which the Spanish Government attaches to the defence of human rights and the establishment of effective machinery to guarantee their protection. My country has made the defence of that principle a cardinal point in our own society, and we are continuing to refine the high standards set in this respect in our Constitution.

224. Furthermore, Spain, which is already a party to the main international conventions on human rights, hopes shortly to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [see resolution 34/180], and we have gone a long way with the procedures for accepting article 41 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [see resolution 2200A (XXI)], and also for acceding to the Optional Protocol to that Covenant.

225. Our domestic policy is accompanied by a determined and punctilious foreign policy, since we believe that it is clearly established in the United Nations that the systematic violations of human rights are not covered by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter and that, accordingly, intervention in this field cannot be regarded as interference in the internal affairs of another State.

226. Spain does not share the selective criteria which this Organization often uses to condemn violations of human rights. However, we cannot hide the fact that the people and Government of Spain are particularly disturbed by those situations which have produced enormous numbers of deaths and disappearances and of people sent into exile or imprisoned for their political ideals in countries to which we are closely bound by ties of history, culture and blood.

227. I would like to emphasize that as far as we are concerned civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights form an inseparable whole and that it is necessary to protect both individuals and peoples against violation of any of these rights. We cannot accept the argument that a given level of economic and social

development must be attained before torture or arbitrary arrest can be dispensed with. Conversely, there is little point in having theoretical enjoyment of public freedoms when poverty and ignorance prevent not merely the full exercise of such rights but even the satisfaction of the most fundamental human needs.

228. Spain, which next year will become a member of the Commission on Human Rights, intends to co-operate in the hope that the Commission may become an increasingly effective body, performing a task to which we attach special importance at a time when we need to reduce international tension.

229. In this connection, I should like to reiterate my country's constant concern at the persistence of the *apartheid* régime. This is undoubtedly one of the most hateful systems of massive violation of human rights and a threat to peace and stability in southern Africa.

230. We are aware that only a fairer and more balanced economic and social order can guarantee peace.

231. After the two severe recessions of the past 10 years the world economy remains at a low level of activity and unemployment has become an economic scourge and the source of personal frustration for millions and millions of people. The contraction of the world market, neo-protectionist measures and high rates of interest in certain countries have hampered the recovery of the economies of both developed and developing nations.

232. For more than two thirds of mankind, stagnation, unemployment and poverty are not passing phenomena; rather they stem from the very structure of international economic relations. Furthermore, the least developed countries have suffered dramatic effects from the world economic crisis.

233. Recently the Brandt Commission, in its second report,¹³ has added its voice to the many publicizing the need for structural changes in North-South relations.

234. It is true that there are many powerful reasons for pessimism, since up to now—and the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was the latest example of this—discussions of the question have not borne any substantial fruit, while the imbalance between rich and poor countries continues to worsen and the urgent need for change becomes daily more obvious.

235. However, if the signs of economic recovery are confirmed and if political determination, which today is conspicuous by its absence, does emerge, the next few months may provide favourable opportunities for countries of the North and South to find flexible and pragmatic ways of establishing a true dialogue and, more specifically, of setting in motion the process of global negotiations in a United Nations framework.

236. Spain supports the creation of a more just international order. Just as we wish to become a factor for détente in East-West relations, we intend our foreign policy to favour the restructuring of North-South relations. In this respect we think that our country is particularly well qualified, given both its intermediate level of economic development and its special political and cultural ties with broad regions of the developing world. The Government to which I belong intends to increase progressively its bilateral and multilateral development assistance and is preparing new legislation on international co-operation.

237. Within this framework of peace, freedom and progress, we wish to set forth the specific aims of Spain's foreign policy.

238. My Government has unequivocally reaffirmed Spain's membership in the Western world, but this does not rule out our seeking a broad margin of autonomy

which would prevent our automatic alignment with interests which may not coincide with our own. This is logical, since Spain, for reasons of geography and history, has special interests and aspirations which are a source of both distinction and enrichment.

239. The Spanish Government wishes to co-operate fully in reducing tension and international conflicts, while not upsetting the delicate balance on which relations between blocs are often based. Therefore, it maintains a stand of firm co-operation within the alliance to which Spain belongs. At the same time, in accordance with an electoral programme supported by the broad majority of our people, it has started a thorough study of the possible forms its contribution to the West's defence could take. That contribution could take various forms, and that question will be decided in due course by the Spanish people.

240. We also reaffirm the European basis of our foreign policy. With the continuation and, we hope, the final conclusion of negotiations on membership of the communities, we wish to contribute to the task of building a Europe, an entity which will have meaning only if the political ideas which gave it birth prevail over immediate economic problems.

241. Our policy is also intended to strengthen relations with the countries closest to us historically and geographically. To begin with our African neighbours, I wish to state that we view with great satisfaction the process of *rapprochement* in the Maghreb, which in essence was resumed with the meeting in February between King Hassan of Morocco and President Bendjedid of Algeria. If this movement progresses in a climate of sincerity and fraternity, there will be highly favourable prospects for strengthening peace and development in northern Africa. For our part, I can state firmly that we shall spare no effort to strengthen co-operation not merely with our nearest neighbours in the Maghreb, Morocco and Algeria, but also with the other countries of the region.

242. In our desire to see a prosperous and stable greater Maghreb, Spain is very mindful of the people of the Western Sahara whose future will be fully attained in this broader and united political and economic context to which the countries of the area are aspiring.

243. As is well known, Spain informed the United Nations on 26 February 1976 that it was ending its presence in the territory of the Sahara as administering authority, but, under relevant resolutions, the process of decolonization is not yet over. This cannot be completed until the Saharan people expresses its wishes as to its political future, through the exercise of its right to self-determination, which has been acknowledged repeatedly both by the United Nations and by the OAU, most recently in the resolution adopted at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity last June [see A/38/312]. The Spanish Government trusts that this people will be able to exercise that right to self-determination through a referendum within the period and under the terms laid down by the OAU.

244. As to our European neighbours, we welcome the closer contacts with Portugal, and France, which portend a new climate in our relations. It is a path we shall be pursuing, convinced of the multiple benefits to be obtained by all of us from closer relations.

245. Though proximity led me to refer first of all to the Maghreb, Portugal and France, historical and emotional reasons prompt me to refer immediately to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, a country with which we wish to maintain the special relations which derive

not from any neo-colonialist paternalism, which we reject, but rather from historic links and the use of a common language which the people of Equatorial Guinea honour and respect. I must not conceal the fact that our relations with the Malabo have been difficult at times over recent months. However, these difficulties in no way rule out Spain's continuing desire to support and co-operate with the Republic of Equatorial Guinea in its programme for political democratization and economic reconstruction, always provided that the existing agreements are honoured.

246. In setting forth the highest priorities of our foreign policy I am bound to refer to our firm intention of recovering Gibraltar. We are linked with Great Britain by good relationships in almost all fields, but these relationships are absurdly affected by the persistence of a colonial situation on our soil. On behalf of my Government, I wish once again to state our determined and unshakeable resolve to restore the territorial integrity of Spain. At the same time the Spanish Government is determined to settle the problem by peaceful means and through dialogue, in the form of negotiations with the United Kingdom on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and with full respect for the legitimate interests of the population of Gibraltar.

247. As evidence of this constructive spirit, and for humanitarian reasons, the Spanish Government took the unilateral decision to open the pedestrian crossing point between La Linea and the City of Gibraltar in December 1982.

248. We trust this process can lead to better understanding between communities which are so closely bound by family and social ties, and to an understanding between Spain and the United Kingdom which will enable us to find the best formula for full implementation of the 1980 Lisbon Declaration.

249. As part of this policy which, although with a European and Western basis, I have defined as the search for a greater degree of autonomy, my Government wishes to strengthen other natural aspects of Spain's foreign policy relating to Latin America and the Mediterranean.

250. There is no need to emphasize here the special relationship which Spain enjoys with Latin American countries. These are not the prerogative of any given Government, but part of a continuous historical State policy.

251. But I would like to repeat explicitly the determination of the new Spanish Government to support to its utmost the various processes of change and self-affirmation now occurring in Latin America, which is increasingly raising its voice, aware of the responsibility for the future which rests with its peoples. That is a voice which Spain feels is its own, and a future in which we wish to be participants.

252. Accordingly, Spain has been following with deep concern the conflict convulsing the countries of Central America. This conflict is deeply rooted in local and domestic events but now has regional consequences which include serious border tensions and covert acts of aggression which are being internationalized; these dangerous elements are being introduced into the process of East-West confrontation.

253. The origin of the conflict, it cannot be emphasized enough, lies in obsolete political, economic and social structures which have led to an unbalanced and unjust distribution of wealth and to a failure to satisfy the expectations of the poorest sectors of the population.

254. In order to attain peace, which is so sought by the peoples of Central America, we feel there are certain

essential preconditions: the establishment of genuine pluralistic democracies, the fruit of the popular will; scrupulous respect for human rights; an end to persecution of people because of their ideas; free exercise of political activity; the urgent need to guarantee sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and the inviolability of their frontiers; rejection of the threat or use of force in international relations; the elimination of any form of outside interference; the control of the level of armaments; and the gradual suppression of foreign military bases and advisers.

255. The increase in tension in Central America demands a formula which, based on negotiations between the countries concerned and in co-operation with friendly nations in the area, can prevent the situation from deteriorating into an open international conflict. That offered by the countries of the Contadora Group is the most informed and serious proposal in the sequence of peace initiatives presented so far. It has opened the door to hope. It has lessened tension and it offers the best way of attaining a peaceful solution. The commendable joint effort of the Presidents of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, which has generated evident international support, deserves public recognition as well as the consideration already given it.

256. The Spanish Government, which has been following with natural concern the development of the crisis in Central America, expressed its full support for the steps taken by the Contadora Group in a Declaration of the Council of Ministers on 20 April this year. Similarly, it gave immediate support to the Cancún Declaration of 17 July 1983 [A/38/303], the general guidelines of which are in keeping with our approach to the matter. Indeed, it responded to the appeal in the Declaration "to all members of the international community, especially those which have expressed sympathy with the efforts of the Contadora Group . . . to contribute, with their experience and diplomatic capability, to the search for peaceful solutions to the problems of Central America".

257. This effort to bring about peace in Central America is part of a more general struggle by the peoples of Latin America, who are seeking to achieve, recover or consolidate a political life based on institutions and values guaranteeing the effective exercise of human rights under the rule of law. In this connection, Spain follows with particular interest the significant progress made in recent months towards the restoration of democracy in various countries of South America, and particularly in Argentina. The aspiration of the people of Argentina to a democratic life that will heal the wounds caused by the accumulated suffering of the past is shared by us and, undoubtedly, by the other countries in the southern part of the continent, whose peoples are demanding peacefully but with increasing firmness the exercise of their own sovereignty.

258. In the south Atlantic, in the Malvinas, a source of tension continues to fester, impeding relations of all kinds, not merely between the countries directly involved but also between Western Europe and Latin America.

259. Spain, which has always opposed and continues to oppose the use of force as a means of resolving international disputes, believes that it is urgently necessary for the Governments of Britain and Argentina to set in motion the final solution of this problem through the decolonization of the territory, while guaranteeing the interests of the inhabitants, in keeping with the resolutions of the United Nations.

260. In this connection, the development of the political situation in Argentina should facilitate the diplomatic

negotiations which should culminate in the restoration of Argentinian territorial integrity.

261. The Mediterranean constitutes another traditional and special dimension of Spain's foreign policy.

262. My Government trusts that the coastal States of the Mediterranean will be able to create a stable framework which will ensure that any possible conflicts in the area will not lead to intervention by outside Powers tempted to resolve problems in the light of their global interests at the expense of the interests of the countries directly involved. We shall spare no effort to attain this goal and we shall not be discouraged by any difficulties which may arise.

263. In the meantime, we note with grave concern the dramatic situation in the eastern Mediterranean, the Near East.

264. The invasion of Lebanon by the Israeli army contributed to plunging the area once again into a bloody civil war. This was encouraged by outside Powers and factors. We trust that the cease-fire agreement secured recently will prove a first step towards peace and national reconciliation in Lebanon.

265. In 1982 Spain, from its seat in the Security Council, co-operated actively in the efforts to alleviate as far as possible the tragic situation of the Lebanese people. Today in the Assembly we reaffirm that the sovereignty, independence and unity of Lebanon must be preserved at all costs, as must its character as a multiracial and multireligious society. The pluralism of Lebanon once provided a model of peaceful coexistence which must be restored so that its example may benefit the whole region.

266. One of the primary factors in the development of the Lebanese crisis since 1975 has undoubtedly been the Palestinian problem, which, furthermore, also constitutes the core of the endless, painful conflict in the Near East.

267. Spain's position in this connection has been reiterated on many occasions and is well known: a solution to the problem must be based on withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, respect for the legitimate rights of all peoples, including Palestine, and the security of all States in the region, including Israel.

268. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) were milestones in the search for a solution to the conflict in the Near East. But they are not sufficient to bring about comprehensive and lasting peace unless an effort is made to deal with the substance of the question, which is not being done because of the need to take short-term steps. The Security Council should, therefore, supplement its resolutions by a statement clearly and unequivocally reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination.

269. In this effort to attain comprehensive peace in the Near East positive steps have been taken which deserve serious attention. I am referring to the plan adopted at the Arab Summit Conference at Fez last September,¹⁴ which presupposes a new Arab and Palestinian attitude which could offer possibilities of a dialogue on the attainment of such a peace.

270. Spain took an active part in the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which met at Geneva only a few weeks ago. My country attended the Conference in a constructive spirit, believing that we should not reject *a priori* any non-violent path which might lead to peace, especially if such a path were being sponsored by the United Nations.

271. The moderate character of the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference¹⁰ demonstrated, we believe, how well-founded that approach was.

272. The prolongation of the bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq, with both of which countries we enjoy excellent relations, similarly fills us with deep concern. We call on their leaders to do their utmost to reach a compromise which will enable them to live in peace and good-neighbourliness, with respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

273. Anxious to see the Mediterranean become a true sea of peace, Spain calls for a speedy, just solution to the problem of Cyprus through a compromise which on the one hand would respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island and on the other ensure the peaceful coexistence and balanced economic development of both communities. We reiterate our support for the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the United Nations and for the efforts of the Secretary-General.

274. As the Secretary-General made clear in his recent admirable report on the work of the Organization [A/38/I], "There have been, at any given time in past years, several regional situations with grave potential implications for international peace".

275. We share the Secretary-General's concern, all the more so because these conflicts are worsening and being compounded by the East-West tension. I have referred to some of these at some length, but I should like briefly to refer to some others.

276. The lengthy struggle which has been convulsing the Republic of Chad for some 20 years now has become worse over recent months. The Spanish Government supports the efforts of the OAU to find a peaceful, stable and lasting solution which would enable the people of Chad to undertake national reconstruction and the economic development of the country in conditions of freedom, independence and full sovereignty.

277. In connection with the problem of Namibia, Spain has repeatedly and unequivocally called for the speedy independence of the Territory. The illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, as well as the delaying tactics of Pretoria, have been condemned by our country on many occasions and in many international gatherings. We believe that the only just solution lies through implementation of the plan contained in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 532 (1983), which my country fully supports.

278. We also support the efforts by the Secretary-General, one of the most recent manifestations of which was his journey to South Africa, Namibia and Angola in order to try to find a solution to the grave problems besetting southern Africa.

279. We similarly repeat our determined support for the United Nations resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea. Spain joins with those who call for withdrawal of foreign troops from those two countries so that their peoples can have a genuine possibility of choosing their own future in peace and freedom without any form of pressure or outside interference.

280. Although, as the Secretary-General says in his valuable report on the work of the Organization, "1983 has, so far, been a frustrating year for the search for peace, stability and justice", nevertheless we share his belief that, for all its defects, the United Nations is "the best available international instrumentality to achieve these ends".

281. This will be the spirit in which the Spanish delegation will be acting during this session of the General Assembly.

282. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

283. Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express our regret at what was mentioned in the statement of the head of the Luxembourg delegation at the 10th meeting and her references to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, when she was speaking about the situation in Chad. What she said in her speech is untrue and does not correspond to the facts of the situation. This shows that she does not know what is going on in Africa; she is far removed from African problems. The head of the Luxembourg delegation has forgotten that legitimacy rests with the nationalist coalition Government headed by Goukouni Oueddei, which is fully recognized by the OAU. Hisssein Habré himself was Minister of Defence in Goukouni Oueddei's Government. She has deliberately ignored—perhaps under instructions from others who have asked her to say this—that what is going on in Chad is an internal dispute that has nothing to do with Libya at all.

284. We have confirmed that there are no Libyan forces in Chad. We have suggested that the OAU should verify this.

285. We would have wished that the head of the Luxembourg delegation, who has suddenly shown such great interest in African problems, had said the same thing when Hisssein Habré, supported by African and non-African foreign forces, mutinied against the legitimate Government.

286. While we excuse the head of the Luxembourg delegation because of her ignorance of African problems, because she is geographically located far away from Africa and because Luxembourg has no representation in the whole continent of Africa, we express our willingness to help to provide her with information to correct her mistaken concepts. We also advise her to peruse the documents of the OAU, which are available in New York.

287. I would have preferred the delegation of Luxembourg to be here now but, regrettably, it is not present for most of the time, and it is its absence and its inability to keep in touch which had led to this mistake and to the fact that it does not fully understand all the facts of the situation.

288. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In his statement at the 10th meeting the British Secretary of State referred to the question of the Malvinas Islands. It is not my intention to respond to him in detail, since the Assembly will consider this problem during the debate on item 25 of its agenda. However, I should like to emphasize the following.

289. Secretary of State Howe reiterated his Government's intransigent position which is hampering a definitive solution of the conflict between our countries. This does not surprise us, since we know that the British Government is perpetuating the climate of confrontation with Argentina in order to justify its refusal to negotiate and its policy of military expansion in the South Atlantic. We know, furthermore, that the attitude of the Argentine Government, which has time and again supported a peaceful negotiated solution, has, both at home and internationally, unsettled the British authorities, which are anachronistically determined to halt the march of history.

290. It is therefore not surprising that Secretary of State Howe omitted any reference to what has happened since June 1982—in other words, the facts mentioned by the Argentine Minister for External Affairs in his statement of 26 September [6th meeting], facts that constitute fundamental elements in the dispute between the two countries.

291. In November 1982 the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/9, in which it requested the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations, with the participation and good offices of the Secretary-General. This resolution is not merely a logical corollary of the obligation incumbent upon all the Members of the United Nations to solve their international disputes peacefully, preferably through negotiations; non-implementation of the resolution accordingly implies disregard for one of the basic principles of the Charter. The obligation to negotiate is even more concrete in the case of the United Kingdom, which as a permanent member of the Security Council has a special responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security. As I have said, no reference was made in the British statement to resolution 37/9.

292. The British Secretary of State forgot also resolutions of the Organization of American States, the Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and the resolution recently adopted by the Special Committee on decolonization; indeed, in what constitutes a new challenge to this Organization, his Government disregarded the Special Committee's resolution from the very day it was adopted. The Special Committee's decision, I would remind the Assembly, explicitly refers to the interest of the international community in the resumption of negotiations by the Governments of Argentina and United Kingdom.

293. Another notable omission in the British statement relates to the strategic airbase which the United Kingdom is building in the Malvinas Islands. I suppose that where London is concerned this issue also is part of what is rudely described as Argentine "rhetoric". The British Government should be better informed. It is not just my country but Latin America as a whole that is profoundly disturbed by the serious military buildup engaged in by the United Kingdom in the South Atlantic, since this expansionist policy directly and gravely affects the region's interests in regard to peace and security.

294. The rhetoric in this debate was in fact brought here by the British delegation itself, particularly when it attempted to portray the United Kingdom as the champion of self-determination and of the process of decolonization. We all know the United Kingdom's attitude in its relations with the peoples on which it imposed its colonization. Furthermore, as was acknowledged by the British Government itself during the voting on resolutions 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII), 31/49 and 37/9, in the specific case of the Malvinas Islands the General Assembly has clearly ruled out implementation of the right to self-determination.

295. Another part of the British rhetoric was the references to the supposed contributions by the United Kingdom to the improvement of my country's financial situation. It is clear that, above all, the refinancing of Argentina's external debt benefits the creditors and contributes to the stability of the international financial system. In this, as in so many other fields, the supposed British generosity simply does not exist.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún on 22 and 23 October 1981.

²*North-South: a program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

³Summit of Industrialized Nations, held at Williamsburg from 28 to 30 May 1983.

⁴The group of 7 countries participating in the Williamsburg Summit.

⁵*Report of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, Paris, 25-29 April 1983* (A/CONF.120/13), part three.

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

⁷Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁸*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

⁹*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943.

¹⁰*Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. 1.

¹¹See *Report of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Geneva, 1-12 August 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.XIV.4 and corrigendum).

¹²Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

¹³*Common Crisis North South: Cooperation for world recovery*, The Brandt Commission 1983 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press).

¹⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.