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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear an address by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus. 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. KYPRIANOU: It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the great international appreciation of, and the prestige enjoyed by, your country and its people as well as of your eminent qualities as an experienced diplomat and an outstanding international lawyer, demonstrated through years of dedicated and fruitful service to your own country, to Latin America and to the United Nations. It is pertinent to state on this occasion how much we value the strong bonds of friendship existing between Panama and Cyprus, two small States but strong advocates of the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

3. At the same time, I wish to place on record our praise of and our profound esteem for Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, who during his presidency guided successfully and with singular distinction the thirty-seventh session, including its resumption. His diplomatic skill and wisdom won for him the respect of all. We in Cyprus shall always remember his official visit to our country, which gave us a most welcome opportunity to express to him once again our deep appreciation for his dedicated service to the United Nations and for his true feelings of friendship towards Cyprus and its people.

4. It is with particular pleasure that I refer to the Secretary-General and to his untiring efforts to strengthen the United Nations and ensure its effectiveness—something which is of absolute necessity for peace and security in the world. We sincerely hope that his endeavours to resolve international problems, including the Cyprus problem—pursued with the diplomatic skill, wisdom, patience and determination which characterize the Secretary-General—will bear fruit for the sake of humanity. For our part, we must all do what we can to assist the Secretary-General in his high task. Peace and prosperity in the world can be achieved only if a genuine collective effort is undertaken by all the members of the international community. Such a collective effort is now more urgent than ever.

5. The threat or use of force in international relations, military intervention and interference, the revival of the cold war, great-Power rivalry and the intensified arms race, especially in nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, constitute a gloomy picture of today's world.

The implications of our failure to provide the United Nations with the necessary means to carry out its paramount responsibility—that of maintaining international peace and security, as provided in the Charter—are extremely grave.

6. If we are to meet effectively and on a lasting basis the dangers to peace and to the very survival of mankind, we must proceed resolutely and urgently to give the Security Council the means for creating an effective collective international security system in order to deter international lawlessness, to put an end to the ever-escalating nuclear arms race and to revive the prestige of the Organization, tarnished by years of contemptuous disregard for its decisions. It is high time to end the crisis of confidence about the United Nations by demonstrating courage and wisdom and adhering to its principles.

7. The technological advances of today have evolved to an admirable extent. Despite the diversities and the multiplicity of our particular interests and objectives, the human race has converged on a number of topics and has made great strides. We now have the means to greatly reduce the incidence of disease, to combat ignorance, to conquer our immediate universe and to eliminate distance, bringing together peoples and ideas from all continents through advanced means of transportation and telecommunications. However, these ingenious achievements in science and technology are characterized by such grave contradictions that their beneficial effects are countered by potentially dangerous aspects. Thus, nuclear energy could either benefit mankind, if used for peaceful purposes, or destroy our whole civilization and eliminate the human race from the face of the Earth, if used as a weapon of war.

8. The arms race not only increases this threat of human extinction but also diverts the attention and depletes the strength of those who have the material resources and the required technological know-how and who could contribute to the improvement of the quality of life in every corner of the world. It is perhaps pertinent in this context to mention that the estimate of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London is that a record of \$800 billion was spent on weapons during the past year. In this century of space exploration it is inadmissible that famine, poverty, illiteracy and disease should still be plaguing significant sections of the population of our planet. With what conscience can we claim to have conquered our immediate universe when human beings are dying from hunger and disease and when thousands born daily will grow up in unacceptable conditions? These contradictions are fed and strengthened by the antagonisms that characterize big-Power relations; antagonisms that are translated into global crises, which in turn are translated into confrontational attitudes resulting in an intensified arms race.

9. The fruits of total and complete disarmament may be for the future generations to enjoy—and we sincerely hope that good sense will prevail in international relations so that there will be future generations. For the present, there must be some steps, even if only modest, in the right direction.

10. The lack of significant results at the twelfth special session, the second devoted to disarmament, should not discourage us. It should rather make us even more determined than before to spare no effort to realize the dream of mankind for development in an international environment of peace and security, without the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

11. It has all along been our firm belief that complete and effective disarmament cannot be achieved without simultaneously setting into motion the system of international security through the United Nations. This thesis was adopted in the Declaration in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session [*resolution S-10/2*] and constitutes its basic directive. It was similarly expressed in a relevant resolution of the General Assembly adopted by consensus, and its early implementation was urged in a subsequent Assembly resolution. Only after a collective security system convinces States that they will not be the victims of aggression can disarmament be effectively achieved on a lasting basis.

12. The responsibilities of the big Powers for the establishment of such a system are immense. But at the same time each and every one of us should carry his own share of the burden. Our responsibility to the human race is now greater than ever before. Cyprus, as a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and one of its founding members, has joined with those like-minded countries working tirelessly for the realization of this goal. At the same time, we shall continue our efforts in co-operation with others for the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act,¹ as we are convinced that these provisions are essential both for détente and for the strengthening of peace, security and co-operation, not only in Europe but also by analogy and by extent in the whole world. Our dedication to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, as well as to the principles of non-alignment, is unwavering. The prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, non-interference in others' internal affairs and respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States are for us sacred principles for which we shall continue to strive hard.

13. Committed as we are to the fundamental principles of non-alignment, we shall continue to pursue a positive and constructive role in international relations, as we have been doing since our independence 23 years ago, in dealing with questions of peace and security and of economic, political and social justice. We shall spare no effort in defending human dignity and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms.

14. With regard to the world economic situation, the structural imbalance between North and South is increasing and the distress of impoverished populations in a number of developing countries is growing. This inadmissible state of affairs is not simply the result of cyclical fluctuations in the international economic system, but also a symptom of inherent structural maladjustments. In our contemporary world of interdependence, a system which fully serves the long-term interests of both the developed and the developing countries is a compelling necessity.

15. We regret that negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order have, for almost a decade now, failed to produce any results. The deadlock over the procedure and agenda for global negotiations has not been resolved, and the efforts to achieve progress in fields such as international economic co-operation, energy, money and finance and trade have not met with success. As a result, instead of development and improvement, we are witnessing an economic stagnation and even

retrogression. Thus, the countries designated as least developed have recorded no real growth in recent years.

16. Under these conditions and in view of the reality of international economic interdependence, it is in the interest of mankind as a whole that we all work with sincerity, dedication and persistence for the establishment of the new international economic order. The right of survival, development and prosperity is the right of all mankind. Depriving a considerable portion of mankind of this right is not only unacceptable but also counter-productive. Unless we intensify our efforts to promote this goal, we shall be failing in our obligations towards our own people and towards future generations. No doubt the realization of this goal greatly depends on substantial progress, at least in efforts to ensure international peace and security.

17. The close link between the whole development process and a free, balanced flow of information is also widely recognized. We reiterate our support for the establishment of a new, more just and more effective world information and communication order, which would ultimately change the dependent status of the developing countries.

18. One of the greatest problems of the United Nations to which I have already referred is the lack of respect for its decisions by those to whom they are addressed, as emphasized by the Secretary-General in his reports on the work of the Organization to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth sessions. This problem undermines the purposes and principles of the United Nations, having especially negative consequences for the Organization's efforts to maintain international peace and security.

19. The problem of non-implementation of United Nations resolutions not only impairs the effectiveness and tarnishes the image of the United Nations as an instrument for peace and justice, but it also justifiably raises serious questions as to its credibility. As I have indicated in the past, this vitally important item, which Cyprus has already inscribed on the agenda, is worthy of serious and urgent consideration by the General Assembly, where the concerted efforts of the international community could be best exerted to strengthen the authority and effectiveness of the United Nations. Recent developments within and outside the Organization render the examination of this question by the Assembly even more timely. It should be recalled that in the conclusions and recommendations in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2*], the Conference "welcomed the consideration of the question of the implementation of United Nations resolutions at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly", as proposed by Cyprus. Appropriate consultations and constructive ideas which could emanate from the debate in plenary would greatly contribute towards setting the guidelines and finding the modalities of how best we may deal with this most serious problem facing the Organization.

20. We firmly believe that only through implementation of United Nations resolutions can the peace and security sought by the international community be achieved and maintained.

21. My country's commitment to the full protection of human rights, civil and political as well as social, economic and cultural, is well known. This firm commitment is based on our conviction that the ultimate purpose of State policies and action should be the enhancement of human dignity and the full enjoyment of human rights globally.

22. At the same time, it is our strong belief that the standard-setting work, the promulgation of human rights instruments and their application, should be backed by an adequate international implementation machinery if it is to be truly effective.

23. The existence of situations in many parts of the world which involve massive, flagrant and continuous violations of human rights serves to demonstrate that the failure to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, as expressly provided for in the Charter of the United Nations as well as in other international instruments, is at the very heart of many problems. By providing effective machinery that would guarantee the cessation of such violations, we could contribute towards solving these problems, thus promoting the cause of peace and security in the world.

24. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983 under the wise and dynamic leadership of the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, indicated clearly that despite differences in their social and economic systems, the members of the Movement have resolved to play, through their collective effort, a positive and constructive role for the solution of problems confronting the world today.

25. The Political and Economic Declarations of the Conference, as well as the New Delhi Message [*ibid.*], constitute important instruments which we must strive to apply. For our part, we shall continue to do all we can, within our limited potential, at the bilateral, multilateral and international levels to implement the principles and measures for the promotion of peace and justice contained in the Message. We shall continue to oppose imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, *apartheid*, racism and all forms of aggression, occupation, foreign domination and interference.

26. The critical situation still prevailing in the Middle East is of special concern to us. Because of our historical and friendly ties with the peoples and countries of the Middle East and our proximity to the area of conflagration, we are deeply concerned and grieved about the bloodshed, turmoil and ensuing loss of life. The continuing deterioration in the Middle East poses a clear threat to international peace and security.

27. The Middle East problem, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, will not be solved until a just peace is achieved, based on Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories and on the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent and sovereign State on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestine people, must participate in any negotiations if the solution to be found is to be comprehensive, just, acceptable and lasting.

28. As to the situation in Lebanon, we once again reiterate our support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon. While we hope that the cease-fire will be maintained, we believe that the implementation of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) will speed up the search for lasting peace in Lebanon. The Israeli occupation forces must withdraw from all Lebanese territory. We fervently hope that efforts for national reconciliation will be successful, enabling the Lebanese Government to exercise its sovereignty throughout its territory within its internationally recognized boundaries.

29. For three years now, Iran and Iraq have been ravaged by a destructive war with grave loss of life and resources. Over 100,000 people have perished in this grim conflict. The fighting must stop. We appeal to both countries and to all those who can help, to seek a peaceful settlement and to bring this conflict in that sensitive part of the world to an end.

30. The impressive record of remarkable progress in the field of decolonization, especially since the historic adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) almost 23 years ago, should not conceal the fact that there are still, in the era of the United Nations, many countries and peoples which continue to suffer under alien subjugation, domination, exploitation and other forms of colonization. Cyprus, for its part, will continue to support actively and unreservedly all efforts which aim to end the anachronistic colonial era and to bring the membership of the Organization to universality. It is with particular pleasure that we welcome an independent St. Kitts and Nevis to membership in the United Nations.

31. Marring the remarkable record of decolonization is the denial of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other offshore islands.

32. For the past 17 years, year after year, the international community has unfailingly expressed in this forum its full support for the independence of Namibia. Year after year we have had the opportunity to express our indignation at the intransigent attitude of the racist Pretoria régime.

33. More recently, the Security Council, in resolution 532 (1983), indicated a time-frame for the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978). At the same time, the Council decided to enhance the role of the Secretary-General. Resolution 532 (1983) clearly articulates the deep dissatisfaction and impatience of the international community over the present impasse in the negotiations on Namibia's independence.

34. The position of Cyprus on the question of Namibia has all along been an unambiguous position of principles. Cyprus, a non-aligned country, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and a country which itself had to wage a liberation struggle to gain its independence, is fully committed to and strongly supports the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as it provides the only peaceful procedure for a peaceful settlement of this major international problem.

35. The question of Namibia is a clear case of decolonization, and as such it should not in any way be linked to other extraneous issues in the region. The attempt of South Africa to link the presence of Cuban troops in Angola with the efforts to find a settlement in Namibia is untenable and only serves to prolong the conditions of injustice being inflicted on the Namibian people. We reiterate our solidarity with the people of Namibia as well as with the front-line States.

36. It is not only the attitude of the Pretoria régime towards Namibia which is inadmissible. Also inadmissible is its continued abhorrent policy of *apartheid*, which has been repeatedly condemned by the international community. It is obvious that more determined efforts and pressures are necessary to put an end to that intolerable situation.

37. The problem of Western Sahara, which has been of constant concern to the international community since 1975, drags on unresolved. The decolonization of the region is still to be achieved, and the parties to the conflict should strive hard to this end. The Saharan people must

be left free to exercise their right to determine their own future. Only through a political settlement arrived at by the parties on the basis of the principles adopted on this matter by the General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the Non-Aligned Movement will peace be established.

38. Central America also is confronted with a serious political, social and economic crisis, which should be resolved in a peaceful manner so as to avoid wider conflicts which might threaten peace and security in the region. We follow with grave concern the events in Nicaragua and other countries in Central America and sincerely hope that efforts within and outside the United Nations, including those of the Contadora Group, will succeed. What is of paramount importance is that the right of all States in the region to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity be fully respected, as well as the sovereign right of the peoples of the region to choose freely their own political, economic and social systems without any foreign interference.

39. We attach the highest importance to strengthening global peace, security and co-operation, as I have already stated. It is incumbent on us to seize every opportunity to encourage collective efforts to that end, indeed, in any area of the world. Being a Mediterranean country, Cyprus attaches particular importance to that sensitive area and calls upon all Mediterranean and other countries to test new means of bringing the countries and their peoples ever closer together, for the attainment and maintenance of peace, security and co-operation in the region.

40. The adoption and the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1982 by an overwhelming number of States was a notable achievement of the Organization and a source of gratification. This achievement marks a historic contribution of the United Nations in the progressive development and codification of international law for the legal and orderly regulation of world affairs. It is our earnest hope that the Convention will be signed by all States and will receive a maximum number of ratifications at the earliest possible date.

41. At its resumed thirty-seventh session in May this year, the General Assembly dealt once again with the problem of Cyprus and adopted by an overwhelming majority the very important resolution 37/253. This resolution and all the other relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly together contain all the necessary elements for a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.

42. The Cyprus problem has been discussed in the Assembly many times and its various aspects are well known to all members. In 1974 Turkey invaded the Republic of Cyprus and occupied almost 37 per cent of its territory. Today, over nine years after that invasion, the Turkish occupation troops are still on our soil, in violation of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. Turkey has shown complete disregard of those resolutions, including resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly and later unanimously endorsed by the Security Council. Nine years after the invasion not one of the 200,000 refugees has been allowed to return, and the fate of missing persons remains unascertained. Over that same period Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership have pursued their plans to consolidate the division and the results of the invasion. They have tried to change the demographic structure of Cyprus by importing tens of thousands of colonizers from Turkey; they have illegally distributed the houses and lands of the forcibly expelled Greek Cypriots; they have issued so-called titles of ownership to those properties; they have replaced the legal currency of Cyprus in the

occupied area with the Turkish lira, the currency of Turkey; and they have threatened secession and an illegal unilateral declaration of independence. In these circumstances our quest for a settlement of the problem cannot be successful unless there is a radical change in the attitude of the Turkish side. Only then can there be hope for progress.

43. We were gratified by the Secretary-General's willingness to undertake a personal effort pursuant to the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council. His effort was explicitly endorsed by the latest resolution of the General Assembly, last May. We have throughout encouraged and welcomed the personal involvement and initiatives of the Secretary-General. It is well known that he has already submitted, as part of his effort, certain soundings for the consideration of the two sides. We have already officially informed the Secretary-General that his personal involvement is welcomed and accepted and that the methodology he proposed is also accepted. We have furthermore submitted our response to his soundings in a most constructive manner and we are very pleased that the Secretary-General himself has described our response as "a positive and constructive step". I should like to reiterate once again our readiness to co-operate in absolute good faith with the Secretary-General in our sincere desire to promote a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problem in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations and the high-level agreement.

44. We are aiming at a just solution to the Cyprus problem which will ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. Such a solution would certainly be in the interest of the people of Cyprus as a whole, but in the final analysis it would be in the interest of all countries in our sensitive region and of the cause of international peace and security.

45. We have already made a significant contribution to the achievement of this kind of solution by agreeing to a solution based on a system of federation—something which was totally unthinkable in the past. We have already made other far-reaching constructive proposals, such as the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, the effective guarantees of human rights and the security of all Cypriots under international supervision. But in no circumstances can we accept any kind of division or partition in any guise. We cannot accept the results of the invasion as a basis for a solution. The basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem is laid down in resolutions of the United Nations and the high-level agreements. The Cyprus problem cannot be solved without the withdrawal from Cyprus of the Turkish occupation troops and without the colonizers' return to Turkey. There can be no solution without the restoration of the unity, human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots, including the right of the refugees to return to their homes.

46. I would like to express the hope that all Members of the United Nations will do their best to assist the Secretary-General in his endeavours and act in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations. Those countries which are in a better position to exercise influence in Ankara have a special responsibility to do so and must act without hesitation in an effective manner.

47. Our sole aspiration is to turn Cyprus from a place of conflict and strife into a place of happiness and prosperity for all its citizens, in conditions of freedom, democracy and justice, and also into a bridge of co-operation and understanding between the peoples of three continents.

48. The attainment of our goal not only is an imperative necessity for the survival of our own country as an

independent State in conditions of freedom and dignity, but would also be an important contribution to the cause of international peace and security, in furtherance of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to which we must all rededicate ourselves and which we must serve faithfully if we genuinely believe in a peaceful and happier future for mankind.

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

50. Mr. BARRY (Ireland): Mr. President, I wish to join in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Your wide experience of international affairs and of the United Nations in particular makes you especially qualified to guide the Assembly in its deliberations.

51. I should also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the efficient manner in which he presided over the last session.

52. I should also like to extend a warm welcome to our newest Member State, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

53. The United Nations was founded almost 40 years ago to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to foster economic and social progress and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Born out of the most destructive war in human history, it represented a second attempt in this century to impose order and stability on the essential anarchy of inter-State relations. For the peoples of our fragile planet who had suffered greatly in two world wars and numerous other conflicts during the previous 50 years, the United Nations offered a hope that at last mankind had found a method of collective security which would replace conflict with co-operation, which would substitute negotiations for the use of force, which would defend the weak and deter aggression.

54. How has the Organization fared? Has it met the high hopes of its founders and the high expectations of our peoples?

55. The record gives little cause for satisfaction. Look at the facts.

56. Over 65 major wars have been fought in the past 20 years, with a total loss of life in excess of ten million people.

57. At present, over 40 major and minor armed conflicts are in progress. The loss of life, the injuries and the destruction in the past weeks in Lebanon are the most recent and dramatic reminder of man's barbarism and his innate capacity for violence.

58. World military expenditure, already at record levels, is increasing at a rate of four per cent each year. Put more concretely, over \$1 million are expended world-wide every minute for military purposes.

59. One quarter of all spending on research and development is in the military sector. Thus by a strange perversion of values is man's distinctive genius—his capacity for scientific thought and technological progress—directed towards destructive rather than constructive ends.

60. The world stockpile of nuclear weapons exceeds 50,000, and unless present trends can be reversed through serious negotiation and agreement on arms control and disarmament, it seems set to increase even further.

61. Basic human rights continue to be disregarded and fundamental freedoms continue to be denied in many countries throughout the world.

62. Over one billion people, a quarter of the population of our planet, live in conditions of extreme poverty and must suffer hunger, malnutrition and ill health.

63. Even this brief extract from the catalogue of human folly discloses a frightening weakness in the international political system and reveals a trend which, if left unchecked, could vitiate the concept of collective security which lies at the heart of the Charter of the United Nations. States seem to be less willing to accept the rule of international law and to seek a resolution of their disputes by peaceful means. Instead, they are turning once more to ideas of military superiority, rearmament, the threat of force or the actual use of force to promote their national interests, to vindicate their rights or to seek unilateral advantage.

64. We know where such ideas can lead. Surely that knowledge, gained at the expense of so much suffering over the past 80 years, should strengthen our resolve not to repeat the tragic errors of the early and middle years of this century. Moreover, we know that the death and destruction which would result from similar errors now would be far in excess of anything mankind has ever experienced, for we know that there exist sufficient nuclear weapons to bring about the end of life on our planet. There can be no winner in a nuclear war.

65. This knowledge, which is the fruit of historical experience and scientific enquiry, imposes a singular responsibility on the present generation of international leaders. It also imposes an awesome task on this Organization. In a world in which some States possess the power to destroy life completely and in which local or regional disputes threaten to escalate into confrontation between the super-Powers there is an evident need for a universal organization with a code for the conduct of inter-State relations and a forum for the resolution of conflict.

66. The United Nations possesses these characteristics. Why then has it apparently failed to halt the deterioration of the fabric of international life? The answer to this question is complex. Nevertheless, one point is clear: the failure lies neither in the conceptual basis nor the institutional framework of the Organization. The principles and purposes of the Charter remain as valid now as they were 40 years ago, and the mechanisms provided by the Charter and developed by the United Nations in the intervening years remain capable, if used, of achieving their primary objective of preventing aggression and stopping wars. Moreover, the Organization has produced an abundance of ideas, analyses and detailed plans to help resolve the major political and economic problems of our time. Indeed, the Secretary-General in his reports has set out a series of measures designed to reconstruct the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security and thus render the United Nations more capable of discharging its primary function. From the outset Ireland welcomed and supported these proposals, but frankly we must admit disappointment at the lack of real progress in implementing them over the past year.

67. However imaginative, clear-sighted and courageous the Secretary-General's prescriptions are, something more is needed if the United Nations is to help heal the ills of contemporary international life. A necessary condition for the success of the Organization is a will and a capacity on the part of the major Powers, in particular those Powers that are assigned special rights and primary responsibilities under the Charter, to co-operate. By the same token, the inability of these same Powers to work together is all too often sufficient to prevent the United Nations from fulfilling its primary functions.

68. The President of the United States of America, speaking from this rostrum a week ago, stated the truth

about the present condition of the Organization simply and eloquently when he suggested that the reason why the United Nations had fallen short of the aspirations of its founders was because, as President Reagan put it, "Governments got in the way of the dreams of the people. Dreams became issues of East versus West". [5th meeting, para. 8.] If this is the case, and I believe it is so, then certain conclusions can be drawn about the future of the United Nations and its capacity to discharge its most basic responsibility to the peoples, in the words of the Preamble to the Charter, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

69. First, a fundamental prerequisite for the effective functioning of the Organization is co-operation between the major Powers. This was true in 1945 when the United Nations was born out of the wartime alliance of the great Powers; it is equally true today. From this it follows that a major requirement for an improvement in the effectiveness of the United Nations is an improvement in relations between the super-Powers. It must be plainly said that there is an overriding and an urgent need for the United States and the Soviet Union to halt the deterioration in their political relationship and to replace the current mood of challenge and confrontation by a process of dialogue leading to agreement. In this connection, a well-prepared summit meeting between the leaders of the two most powerful nations on Earth could set in motion such a process. The détente process of the 1960s and early 1970s, despite its shortcomings, showed what could be achieved when East and West acknowledged their mutual interdependence and their common interest in preserving world peace.

70. A second requirement, linked to the first, is early progress in the strategic arms reduction talks and intermediate-range nuclear force negotiations. Reductions in strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons are clearly indispensable. But the success of these negotiations would, I believe, also have a positive impact on other arms control and disarmament negotiations in which there has been scant progress in recent years, in particular those under way in the United Nations framework on such issues as a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty and a treaty on chemical weapons. Comprehensive negotiations should also begin urgently to prevent the extension of military competition into yet another arena through the militarization of outer space.

71. Thirdly, we need active super-Power co-operation in resolving regional disputes which, although indigenous in origin, have acquired an East-West dimension. It would be wrong to suggest that contemporary tensions between East and West are responsible for disputes many of which have roots deep in local and regional history, in conflicts of rights, in territorial claims, in historic animosities, in religious and racial hatreds, in economic and social injustice. None the less, it is evident that the political and military support which the super-Powers and their allies may lend to one side or another can exacerbate local and regional rivalries, sustain them and complicate the process of their peaceful resolution. Moreover, the involvement of outside Powers, particularly the major Powers, in such disputes not only has a destabilizing effect on international relations generally but also holds the danger that a regional dispute may escalate into a wider international conflict. In such conditions there is a clear necessity for the major Powers to work towards the peaceful resolution of regional disputes, to resist the temptation to exploit them for strategic gain and to co-operate in using the peace-making and peace-keeping machinery available to the Security Council.

72. I believe these steps could help repair some of the recent damage to the fabric of international life and restore some confidence in the international system of which the United Nations is a central part. But the responsibility in this regard does not lie solely with the major Powers. There is a concomitant need for the other Members of the United Nations to use the framework, structures and procedures offered by the Organization to resolve the conflicts and disputes which form a large part of the Assembly's agenda.

73. One of the practical instruments which the United Nations has successfully evolved is the deployment of peace-keeping forces and observers. Ireland attaches great importance to these functions, and we have contributed to many such operations over the years. We see these operations as a practical way in which Member States, even the smallest, can contribute effectively to the collective task of peace-keeping and peace-making.

74. Over the coming months the General Assembly will debate a comprehensive agenda of issues of concern to the international community. The views of the 10 members of the European Community, to which Ireland belongs, have already been stated in this debate by the Foreign Minister of Greece [7th meeting]. I should like in this national statement to set out more fully the position of the Irish Government on some of the more important issues before us.

75. Confidence in relations between States was badly shaken recently when the air force of the Soviet Union shot down an unarmed civilian airliner with great loss of life. This callous act and the attitude subsequently adopted by the Soviet authorities in seeking to justify it called forth widespread anger and condemnation. The fate of the Korean airliner and its passengers has highlighted the need to devise means which will guarantee the safety of international civil aviation and help avert a repetition of this shameful episode. I welcome the endorsement this weekend by the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization of the decision taken earlier by that agency's Council in this regard.

76. One consequence of the Korean airliner disaster—which underlines the political significance of this incident and its aftermath—is the absence from the General Assembly of Foreign Minister Gromyko. This absence is regrettable; but it may serve to emphasize something which I stressed at the outset of my address—the indispensable function of dialogue between the super-Powers. Political dialogue at the highest levels can play a vital part in facilitating progress and breaking stalemates in diplomatic relations.

77. I have already mentioned the crucial arms control and disarmament negotiations taking place at Geneva. The vast majority of the States present here, including my own, are not involved directly or indirectly in these negotiations, but no Member State can be indifferent to their outcome. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], has said that the prevention of nuclear war is the unique challenge of our time. He has pointed out that the key to the solution of this vital problem is in the hands of the two major nuclear Powers. We share the Secretary-General's concern at the failure so far to achieve substantial progress in the bilateral negotiations at Geneva. We would also emphasize the need for renewed determination on the part of both sides to move these talks forward.

78. The facts about the relentless growth of military expenditure and of nuclear stockpiles are well known. I have listed some of the statistics already. But the knowledge of these facts and concern about their implications

are not confined just to Governments and military experts. Increasingly, all around the world, ordinary people, and especially young people, are aware of the extent to which Governments get in the way of their dreams. But more than that, they are demanding that Governments should work and be seen to work to translate the most basic dream of all into reality. Peace and the hope for a secure future for this and succeeding generations are at once the most legitimate aspiration of all peoples and the most important duty of those of us who exercise the responsibilities of Government.

79. How can Governments work to realize these dreams? I have already mentioned the importance of agreement in regard to nuclear and conventional weapons. But even if negotiations should lead to significant reductions in weaponry, the doubts and insecurity felt by public opinion around the world will not be removed unless the major Powers demonstrate in their defence programmes and in their strategic planning that they regard the quest for nuclear superiority as a dangerous illusion—the most foolish dream of all.

80. Even as we speak today conflicts in the Middle East continue. The conflict between Israel, the Arab States and the Palestinian people affects the lives of millions of people in Israel, in the occupied territories, in Lebanon and elsewhere, and the war between Iran and Iraq is now entering its fourth year with no solution in sight.

81. My Government is deeply concerned at the deterioration over the last year of the situation in Lebanon and especially at the great loss of life among the civilian population there. We must therefore voice the hope that the cease-fire will be consolidated so as to allow the Lebanese people to work towards national reconciliation. We also appeal to all foreign Powers in Lebanon, except those who are there with the consent of the Lebanese Government, to leave and to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon.

82. The international community, through the United Nations, has been contributing since 1978 to the effort to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli forces from that country and to help to restore the lawful authority of the Lebanese Government throughout its territory. The future role of the United Nations in Lebanon, following recent developments, is not yet clear. At present some 6,000 troops are stationed in southern Lebanon, among them 750 Irish troops. From the outset the conditions under which UNIFIL has been obliged to operate have been far from satisfactory, a situation exacerbated by Israel's second invasion of Lebanon last year. None the less, I believe that for the time being UNIFIL, however circumscribed its role, continues to carry out useful functions. It is fitting that I should pay a tribute to the commitment, dedication to duty and courage of all the troops serving under the United Nations flag in Lebanon in difficult and often dangerous circumstances.

83. The conflict in Lebanon is the latest in the long series of conflicts that have taken place in the Middle East. It is a reflection on the international community that after nearly 40 years the fundamental problems of the Middle East remain unresolved.

84. The basic principles upon which Ireland and our partners in the European Community believe solutions could be based have been set out by the Foreign Minister of Greece in his address on behalf of the member States of the Community. I must, however, emphasize the urgency of dealing with one particular aspect. In the territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war a process is in train which may very soon create a situation which cannot be reversed. The purported annexation of East

Jerusalem and the Golan Heights has already been rejected as invalid by Ireland. The West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip have not been annexed by Israel—at least not yet. But the infrastructural and demographic alterations being planned and rapidly put into effect there by the Israeli authorities cannot but lead to *de facto* absorption by Israel of the territories. What is going on is no secret, but the process is gradual and insidious. It may lack the dramatic impact of an invasion by a modern army and thus may not have attracted the attention of the international community, but it is no less real for all that. If all our words about seeking a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through a formula guaranteeing the rights of both peoples are to have any force in practice there will have to be a place, a physical location, in which Palestinian self-determination can be exercised. It follows that the acquisition by Israel of the West Bank would make a mockery of the international commitment to the rights of the Palestinian people and prolong this bitter conflict.

85. In Africa there are several disputes and conflicts which cause concern because of the direct suffering and loss of life involved and because of the serious danger of such disputes becoming caught up in super-Power rivalries. In our view, Africa's problems should be resolved through existing regional institutions, in particular the OAU. We hope that the negotiations under way under the auspices of the OAU with a view to ending the present conflict in Chad will lead to an early settlement.

86. In southern Africa what stands out is the fact that yet another year has passed and the prospect of independence for Namibia is no closer. The people of Namibia, who have suffered so much, and the international community, which has devoted so much effort to implement the United Nations plan, are asked to show still more forbearance and still more patience. One wonders how long it will be possible to carry on in this way, from year to year, while South Africa devises still more stratagems to prevent the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and flouts the will of the international community. In January 1981 South Africa regarded implementation as premature and said that it did not regard the United Nations as sufficiently impartial; most recently South Africa has made it clear that it will not agree to implementation of resolution 435 (1978) until there has been a withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. We reject such efforts to link or subordinate Namibia's right to independence to extraneous issues. We call on South Africa to reconsider its attitudes so that the people of Namibia may achieve the peace, justice and freedom which they deserve and which is their right.

87. In South Africa itself the *apartheid* system, despite some superficial modifications, remains fundamentally unchanged. The oppressive enforcement of the *apartheid* laws, including the banning or imprisonment of those whose only crime is to oppose the system, still continues. We urge the South African Government to release those who have been imprisoned for their beliefs, especially Nelson Mandela.

88. Moreover, South Africa has been making efforts evidently aimed at destabilizing neighbouring States. We condemn such actions. They will not divert international attention from South Africa's internal problems, but by exporting violence from South Africa into the region as a whole they carry with them the danger of escalating conflict, which may prove disastrous for all involved, including South Africa itself.

89. The need for concerted international pressure on South Africa to change its policies remains. There can be no compromise on the principle of the equality of every

human being or on the need to have that principle observed in practice. That is why the Security Council must continue its consideration of measures to increase the pressure on South Africa for change. For our own part, Ireland will continue to work for a strengthening of the existing arms embargo as well as for the adoption of further mandatory sanctions, such as an oil embargo, and a ban on new direct investment in South Africa.

90. The export of violence is not confined to South Africa. The situation created in Afghanistan by the Soviet intervention continues to be a source of both regional tension and international concern. It has brought great suffering to millions of Afghans and caused immense problems for those countries to which large numbers of Afghan refugees have fled. Conditions must be created in which the people of Afghanistan can determine their own form of government free from outside interference. United Nations resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly set out the principles on which a political settlement should be based.

91. United Nations resolutions also set the framework for a comprehensive political solution in Kampuchea. The suffering of the people of that country at the hands of a cruel domestic régime has been followed by the hardships imposed by foreign occupation.

92. Ireland welcomes the continuing efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations to find a political solution. We believe that Viet Nam and other nations whose co-operation is essential for arriving at a peaceful solution should now join in a process of negotiations leading to a comprehensive political solution.

93. The Irish Government and people continue to be deeply concerned over the tragic situation in Central America. We believe that the essential causes of conflict there are the long-standing inequities in social and economic conditions and the denial of the people's justified demands for fundamental reform. This region has witnessed flagrant denial of human rights and callous disregard by certain Governments of what is the very basis of morality and civilized social order—the fundamental dignity and worth of the human person. We are convinced that just and lasting solutions to the grave problems in Central America can be achieved only by political means, through dialogue, conciliation and negotiation. It is for this reason that my Government particularly welcomes the efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a lasting peace, based on the principles of self-determination and the right of each country in the region to determine its own destiny free from outside interference.

94. Central America is only one of many regions where human rights are abused. Such abuses have become so widespread and so common that there is a danger that they may be accepted as an inevitable feature of modern life. Resignation and complacency can also become the enemies of justice. For this reason we must continue to use the United Nations both to defend human rights and to expose atrocities. It is important that the Commission on Human Rights continue to develop its investigative powers and that States co-operate with it in this regard.

95. In the view of my Government, the United Nations has played and must continue to play a leading role in the progressive development and codification of principles aimed at effective and universal implementation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Ireland therefore was gratified that last year the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/200. In our view, the balanced approach in this resolution should guide the further work of the United Nations in this area.

96. Human rights and fundamental freedoms also have economic and social dimensions. Freedom from want and the right to economic security are indispensable elements of a just and civilized international order. Economic recession and the failure to cope with the problems of uneven development and unequal distribution of wealth in an interdependent world affect every country, even the richest, and touch all our lives. But in such conditions it is the weakest economies which suffer most and which are slowest to reap the benefits of any recovery. The statistics of debt and deprivation throughout the developing world, especially among the least developed, make depressing reading.

97. Economic recovery cannot come too soon, but recovery alone will not be enough. We agree with the Secretary-General's view, expressed after the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, that decisions and action on liquidity and finance are urgently required if the desperate plight of the low-income and least-developed countries is to be alleviated. It is not easy to be generous in times of global economic hardship, but the depth of the crisis in which some countries find themselves cannot and must not be ignored.

98. However, the year has not been without some positive developments. There are indications, even if uncertain, of an improvement in the economic climate. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, while it did not live up to expectations, did produce some agreed positions which point the way to future progress. Developed and developing countries have come somewhat closer to recognizing their economic interdependence. The challenge to the General Assembly is to ensure that the search for global solutions to the most pressing economic problems of our time continues.

99. I should like, in conclusion, to speak about the continuing crisis in Northern Ireland. Ten years ago my predecessor, now Prime Minister of Ireland, came to the Assembly² with a message of hope. The Governments of Ireland and of the United Kingdom, together with democratically elected representatives of the majority and minority sections of the community in Northern Ireland, had devised a means of giving fair and just government to Northern Ireland. This provided for a Northern Ireland executive representative of both sections of the community and a council of Ireland with which the minority section of the community could identify. This unprecedented collective effort fell victim to the intransigence which has bedeviled Northern Ireland since the partition of Ireland and to a lack of resolution at that time on the part of Government.

100. It is sobering to compare the hopes of a decade ago with the political landscape which confronts Irish men and Irish women today. In the absence of a just and workable political process the people of Northern Ireland are deeply divided, and division is nurtured and fed upon by the gunmen. Distrust and hostility are rife. The Northern Ireland Assembly, an institution in which minority representatives will not participate because of the failure to accommodate in any substantive way their identity and their role in decision-making, is evidence of the political tragedy which afflicts Northern Ireland.

101. Faced with this situation, with all its inherent dangers of further communal strife and frustration, my Government decided to establish a New Ireland Forum for consultations on the manner in which lasting peace and stability could be achieved in a new Ireland. The first meeting of the New Ireland Forum took place on 30 May of this year and was attended by representatives of the two parties in my Government, the main opposition party in the South and representatives of the nationalist section

of the community in Northern Ireland. The elected representatives of the Unionist majority in Northern Ireland were invited to participate fully in the deliberations of the Forum but declined to do so. Naturally we greatly regret this. We are encouraged, however, by the volume of impressive written contributions from individual Unionists, several of whom will give oral evidence to the Forum itself. The Forum is a unique venture in the history of Ireland. It represents a genuine attempt by those who believe in a new Ireland and who unequivocally reject the men of violence and their spokesmen to address the problems which divide the people of our island.

102. Since that first meeting of the New Ireland Forum, the participants have been examining in a practical and pragmatic manner the various economic, social, cultural and political problems which divide us. I would hope that when this work is finished we shall be able to present to all the people of Ireland, and indeed the people of Britain, a clear and realistic analysis of the current situation as well as imaginative, generous and workable ideas to construct arrangements for a new Ireland with which all sides could identify and which all the protagonists in this crisis could support.

103. Any such arrangements would require the full and active support of both the British and the Irish Governments. I am glad to say that, following a period of difficulty, the relations between Dublin and London have been normalized and the Anglo-Irish dialogue has been fully resumed and even developed. This, together with the work of the New Ireland Forum, gives us hope and gives hope to those who continue to suffer—the people of Northern Ireland. The efforts of men and women of goodwill in our two countries to solve this tragic crisis deserve the support not alone of our two peoples but of the entire international community in general and of this institution in particular.

104. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):* Mr. President, first I should like to offer you cordial congratulations on your election to your responsible office and to wish you and the Secretary-General success in your work.

105. Our sincere thanks go to the President of the thirty-seventh session, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the work he accomplished.

106. The German Democratic Republic congratulates Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission to the United Nations.

107. The period since the start of the last session of the General Assembly has seen a dangerous exacerbation of the international situation. Today, as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, put it, "the world situation is such that the danger of nuclear war overshadows the life of all nations, threatening an inferno which would amount to self-annihilation of the human race".

108. The course of confrontation results in a systematic poisoning of the international climate. How unscrupulously the Soviet Union has recently been provoked yet again is shown by the refusal of the United States authorities to make proper arrangements for the safe participation of the head of the Soviet delegation, Andrei Gromyko, in the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Those who stage-managed that unprecedented act are overtly aiming to generate anti-Soviet hysteria and hence to disrupt the political dialogue which has been

maintained with so much difficulty and which is so vital, particularly at the present time. That is a course of abandoning reason and good will and of turning towards political and military provocation and aggression.

109. The people of the German Democratic Republic lives at the dividing line between the world's two largest military alliances, those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Treaty. It knows from its own painful historical experience what war means and is therefore committed to making maximum efforts to prevent the outbreak of another war. In this effort our people shares what are no doubt the hopes and aspirations of all peoples no matter in which geographical region they live.

110. The planned stationing of new United States medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe runs directly counter to the common desire for lasting security. Most of those weapons are to be deployed in our immediate neighbourhood, on territory where a host of nuclear weapons is already deployed, more densely than anywhere else in the world. Those new American missiles will not afford more security; on the contrary, they will add considerably to the danger of nuclear war. Obviously their only purpose is to provide those who possess them with a first-strike capability enabling them to "decapitate" the Soviet Union in a surprise attack.

111. These are elements of a strategy aimed at military superiority, as a result of which the world is already cursed with multiple overkill capacity. Let me be quite clear: superarmament and confrontation, poisoning the international climate and fomenting regional conflicts in all parts of the world constitute a blueprint for direct and all-out preparation for war, a war which in our time would be a nuclear one from the very outset and would engulf the entire world.

Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.

112. The socialist States do not want to join in that course and they certainly will not do so. They are making every effort to make reason and good will prevail again in relations among nations. They are and remain prepared to seek a peaceful synthesis of the legitimate interests of all sides through patient negotiations. This holds true for all problems, but most specifically for the overriding concern of preventing a nuclear world war.

113. In the Prague Declaration [A/38/67 and Corr.1] and the Moscow joint statement of the leaders of socialist countries [see A/38/292], the Warsaw Treaty States have set out a realistic solution based on the principle of equality and equal security. That principle also underlies the Soviet Union's proposals to negotiate with the United States at Geneva an agreed parity of nuclear potentials in Europe, with regard both to delivery vehicles and to warheads. Provided that the United States forgoes the deployment of new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union would be ready to reduce the number of its missiles stationed in the European part of its territory to the level of the British and French missiles and to scrap its missiles covered by the reduction.

114. Success at the Geneva talks, which are now in their decisive phase, would be important for global peace and security. This requires, however, that both sides contribute their share. Thus far, only the Soviet Union has shown, by its unilateral moves, that it seeks results at Geneva which would strengthen peace. Looking at the other side, one cannot but gain the impression that it needs those negotiations only as an alibi for its resolve to deploy its missiles in Western Europe in any event and as quickly as possible.

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

115. In this situation, the recent statement by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, is an urgent appeal to all those who bear political responsibility to let realism, reason and restraint prevail for the sake of humanity's survival.

116. It is the mandate of the United Nations to make every effort to save humankind from the scourge of war. That obligation, formulated in 1945, has never been more relevant than today. Meeting it requires vigorous action now.

117. The results of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries are evidence of the will of those countries to devote their energies to the attainment of these fundamental objectives. We highly value the responsible efforts of India, and notably those of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, to ensure the continuation and encouragement of political dialogue, also and especially in the face of the present-day tense international situation.

118. It is encouraging as well that more and more people, regardless of political and ideological differences, are insisting on their right to peace as the elementary human right. We are confident that the forces of peace and reason will prevail over the forces of war, and those who are playing with fire and resorting to dangerous provocations against the Soviet Union and other socialist States, thereby seeking to plunge the world into another serious crisis, cannot change this certainty.

119. Whatever the purpose of the aircraft provocation in the Far East, it is a fact that it was with reference to and reportedly "under the impression" of this event that the United States Senate approved the requested record military budget. There has even been a demand by Senators to break off the disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union. People ask themselves with concern: how can it be that disarmament, in which all peoples are interested for the sake of their survival, should be made an element of a policy of sanctions and blackmail? The pattern and the circumstances of that provocation are certainly not new. World public opinion remembers only too well the pretexts fabricated to launch the First World War and the Second World War, as well as numerous conflicts in the post-war era.

120. What is really diabolical is the laying of the blame for the aggravation of the international situation on the Soviet Union and the intention to furnish "fresh proof" that it embodies the "focus of evil" in the world. Acting in that way gambles recklessly with the destiny of mankind.

121. The State that I represent here lives up to its people's profound commitment to make every effort to ensure that never again will a war emanate from German soil. Guided by this bequest of the 50 million dead of the last world war and of the fighters against Nazi barbarism, the Communist parties on German soil have urged all European working class parties, trade unions and youth organizations—indeed all people on the continent desiring a peaceful life—to engage in joint action to safeguard peace.

122. Like the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic emerged from the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the peoples. That moulded and continues to mould its consistent and reliable policy at home and abroad. Hence, it has been submitting proposals to ban neo-fascist developments and to outlaw fascist régimes in the world. Thus, the German Democratic Republic has stood and stands for the elimination of the danger of nuclear war,

in particular of the non-first-use of nuclear weapons, and for the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon and of chemical weapons.

123. The German Democratic Republic has always stood at the side of the peoples struggling for independence and self-determination and against aggression, oppression, racism and *apartheid*. It is an active supporter of the world Organization's efforts to settle international conflicts peacefully and in the peoples' interests and to develop international economic relations that are beneficial to all States.

124. At its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly has the important task of contributing towards saving humanity from the danger of nuclear war, towards the speediest possible cessation of the arms race and towards the transition to disarmament. This presupposes that all have the political will and are prepared to scale down political and military confrontation, that no attempts are made to obtain security for oneself at the expense of the legitimate security interests of others, that there is an awareness of what is realistically feasible and that mutual agreements are strictly observed. That is what we understand by negotiating "in good faith", also in the difficult area of arms limitation and disarmament.

125. The German Democratic Republic is for pledges by all nuclear-weapon States to forgo the first use of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union's unilateral undertaking to that effect must now be matched by moves of the other nuclear-weapon Powers. The German Democratic Republic advocates an immediate freeze on all nuclear-weapon stockpiles and the non-deployment of new nuclear weapons either in Europe or elsewhere. It favours a moratorium on all nuclear-weapon tests, binding on all countries or—if that cannot be achieved at once—only on the Soviet Union and the United States. It also supports an agreement on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, an end to the qualitative arms race and, in particular, a ban on the production of neutron weapons.

126. Together with its allies, the German Democratic Republic advocates a ban on stationing weapons of any kind in outer space and on the use of force in outer space and from outer space against the earth. The German Democratic Republic supports the pertinent proposal submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/38/194].

127. The work undertaken with a view to concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and to preparing an international convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons should be pursued at a quicker pace.

128. The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones is a matter of great importance. The German Democratic Republic at once endorsed the Swedish proposal for the establishment of a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons on both sides of the dividing line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO areas and has offered to make its entire territory available for inclusion in such a zone, provided that this zone is constituted in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. Although that offer has met with a negative response from the Western countries so far, the proposal remains topical.

129. We also welcome all efforts aimed at establishing the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. If peace and security in that region are to be strengthened, the conference intended to be held for this purpose must not be postponed still further.

130. We should like to stress the significance of the Antarctic Treaty of 1959, which has proved to be a

reliable basis for maintaining the demilitarized and denuclearized status of the South Pole region.

131. A few weeks ago the Madrid follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe came to an end. Its results open up prospects of a fresh impetus for détente and peaceful coexistence. This can happen, however, only if all the areas of the Conference's process equally guide States in their dealings with one another. The experience of Helsinki, Belgrade and Madrid tells us that results can be achieved only in a spirit of harmony. This also remains the prerequisite for implementing the Madrid agreements.

132. With its policy of seeking dialogue and promoting co-operation, the German Democratic Republic has played no small part in preventing the spirit of cold war from entirely arresting the momentum of détente. By engaging in normal, mutually beneficial co-operation at the bilateral level in the political, economic and cultural fields, the German Democratic Republic endeavours to help reduce international tensions.

133. Conscious of its particular responsibility for international peace and security that arises from both its history and its geopolitical situation, the German Democratic Republic conducts relations with the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the generally recognized norms of international law and the mutual obligations agreed with that country. We think it will be necessary in the future also that agreements such as the system of European East-West treaties and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, which have proved useful and beneficial and have generated confidence in international relations, be carefully guarded.

134. Any careless handling, let alone any non-observance, of these obligations, any insistence on unrealistic conceptions, would not only affect bilateral relations but also aggravate international tensions and, in the end, even erode peace on our continent.

135. The States Members of the United Nations note with concern how, in the wake of the arms buildup policy, international conflicts are expanding, sparing no region of our globe.

136. In Europe, almost 40 years after the defeat of Hitlerite fascism, those agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition, which have guaranteed the peaceful development of this continent and are also a basic element of the Helsinki Final Act,¹ were recently negated once again at Vienna in a statement by a Washington politician.

137. I want to put it as clearly as possible: it is not by accident that such attacks on the European post-war order are made by those forces which seek to begin the deployment of their missiles on European soil in the near future.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.

138. In Central America a crusade has been launched against social progress. Nicaragua has to defend itself against massive attacks on her sovereignty and independence; the people of El Salvador has to resort to the use of arms to fight for its rights. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of that region. It supports such approaches to a political settlement of the crisis in the area as are embodied, for example, in the activities and initiatives of the States of the Contadora Group.

139. As for the conflict in the South Atlantic, the German Democratic Republic understands the growing concern of the Latin American States and peoples and advocates a settlement on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of

Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2].

140. The German Democratic Republic emphatically demands that the Namibian people, led by the South West Africa People's Organization, be granted independence without further delay. It is imperatively necessary to implement the decisions adopted at the Paris Conference on Namibia³ and to enhance the responsibility of the United Nations for the settlement of the question of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

141. It is urgently necessary to settle the Middle East conflict, the most lengthy and dangerous conflict of all. This requires that the Palestinian people be enabled to exercise its inalienable rights, including its right to establish an independent State of its own. The decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly point the way.

142. The German Democratic Republic supports the proposal, reaffirmed by the recent International Conference on the Question of Palestine, that the Middle East question be settled within the framework of an international conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO. It demands Israel's immediate withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967. The German Democratic Republic strongly condemns the imperialist policy of force against Lebanon as well as the preparations for aggression against Syria, accompanied by a campaign against the PLO and other patriotic Arab forces.

143. We follow with sympathy the efforts being made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to ensure their sovereignty and security. This goes both for the current endeavours to find a political solution concerning the situation around Afghanistan and for the constructive decisions taken at the Summit Conference of the States of Indo-China last February [A/38/98].

144. The German Democratic Republic supports the foreign policy activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea designed to preserve peace on the Korean peninsula and the struggle to ensure the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea and for the peaceful, democratic unification of Korea without outside interference.

145. We note with great concern that more and more financial and material resources are being channelled into war preparations and are thus withheld from economic and social development. The current international economic and financial crisis is essentially due to the policy of an all-out arms drive. How can a State be proud of having spent some \$222 billion on its armament in 1982? How can a State propose to spend over \$367 billion on arms programmes in 1986 when, at the same time, tens of millions are jobless in the capitalist industrial States and when according to an FAO report 120 million people in the world are threatened with death from starvation? According to UNICEF data, every day more than 40,000 children die of hunger and disease. Is it not preposterous that, as the Secretary-General noted, at present as much money is spent on military purposes in 18 days as is spent in a whole year on all government assistance to developing countries?

146. A mere tenth of the amount currently going into armament world-wide would suffice to eradicate illiteracy and wage a successful war against illness, hunger and food shortages. The situation could be remedied by the sum representing the 10 per cent reduction in the annual

arms budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council recommended by the Soviet Union.

147. At the current session measures should be agreed upon against the imposition of trade restrictions, blockades and other internationally illegal sanctions. This could help to re-establish confidence in international economic relations and to normalize international trade. Moreover, such a step would create the atmosphere needed for the earliest possible convocation of global negotiations on key economic problems, in accordance with the relevant decisions which the General Assembly has adopted by consensus.

148. Equal rights, respect for sovereignty, non-discrimination, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs are the principles that guide the German Democratic Republic, in accordance with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], in its relations with the developing countries. Last year my country provided extensive assistance to developing countries and national liberation movements. Indeed, it has continuously carried on its support and even increased it despite the fact that the world economic situation has become much more complicated.

149. For the future of mankind it is essential for the peoples to cope with the many challenges now facing them. These include the mastery of the scientific and technological revolution, the elimination of want and misery, the eradication of hunger and disease, the protection and sensible management of the environment, multiplication of the world's riches for the peoples' benefit and the realization of the right to work and to a life worthy of a human being. All these problems can be solved. Mankind has the experience, the knowledge, and the strength to do so. What it needs is peace.

150. Mr. ORTIZ MERCADO (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is for me a privilege to come to this important podium as the spokesman for the constitutional Government presided over by Mr. Siles Zuazo, a figure of renown in the revolutionary and democratic struggle of Bolivia and Latin America.

151. This year, when we celebrate the bicentenary of Simón Bolívar, it is cause for satisfaction for Bolivia, the favoured daughter of the Liberator, that the General Assembly has elected as its President for this session a worthy representative of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca. His election is a well-deserved tribute to him personally and to his experience in the Organization, and it guarantees the success of his important task.

152. I wish to pay my respects and tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai, who was so skilful in leading the proceedings of the previous session.

Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.

153. I also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts for peace and for the defence of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

154. It is a pleasure for me to welcome the new republic of Saint Christopher and Nevis on the occasion of its entry into the Organization.

155. Bolivia reiterates that its foreign policy is based on observance of the permanent principles that constitute the bases of international law and those contained in the Charter of the United Nations. We confirm our adherence to the principles of the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in internal affairs of other States, the right of peoples to self-determination, respect for human rights, rejection of all forms of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and of all forms of colonialism, and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Bolivia

reaffirms its wish to continue seeking improvement in the machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes among States. We support ideological pluralism, a principle which for us implies an independent non-aligned universalist foreign policy, one devoid of any rigid ideological dogma.

156. Bolivia, because of its position as the central country in South America, has been called "a land of contacts" and "a country of many influences". Because of this character resulting from its geographic location, Bolivia plays a role of linkage and cohesion in the continent, which makes it important to the processes of regional and sub-regional integration, particularly since it belongs to three water systems: those of the Amazon, the Plata and the Pacific. We can state with conviction, and without fear of being presumptuous or in error, that without the economic development of Bolivia, it will be difficult to make any progress in effective integration between the countries of the Atlantic and those of the Andean group.

157. Regional or bilateral agreements to establish physical links with Pacific ports, covering the aspects of energy, industrial and agricultural development and land transportation, represent for the medium term probably the most crucial set of projects for the whole process of Latin American regional integration. Those projects, especially those relating to the physical infrastructure, will considerably reduce the distances between the Atlantic and the Pacific, thus opening up a new era for Bolivia, since without internal integration the intercontinental links would be precarious.

158. In carrying out those actions, we consider it necessary to restructure or change the scope of the various subregional agreements and to activate relations with our neighbours in order to make up for lost time, after the extreme isolation into which we were forced by our authoritarian régimes and erratic economic models.

159. We must refer to one of the basic objectives of our foreign policy, which is the return to the sea. Bolivia has not renounced, nor will it ever renounce, its right to have free and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean. With the same firmness with which we defend the principle that the conquest of territory by force grants no rights, we maintain the inalienable right of Bolivia to have a direct and useful outlet to the sea. That is a Bolivian cause, an American cause and a world cause recognized and consistently supported by the international community.

160. On 10 October this year, we in Bolivia will celebrate the first anniversary of our return to a democratic constitutional system. To us that is a signal date because of the deep meaning it has in a world of constant struggle among internal interests and international conflicts. The peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy united the political and social organizations and military sectors committed to the aspirations of the people. That fact is indeed a lesson in political maturity. It is the result of a lengthy and painful struggle and has come about after setbacks which ended with the recognition of the popular will, without turmoil or reprisals, without persecution or banishment. We must also mention the understanding and support that we received from the international community. The definitive consolidation of our democratic process largely depends on that continued support and understanding.

161. The Government of Bolivia is aware of the fact that it cannot ask of its people any more courage or spirit of sacrifice, faced as they are with the most serious economic and social crisis of this century.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.

162. When the democratic Government came to power a year ago, we found a country in ruins, a chaotic economic situation and a society that was morally undermined by traffic in drugs and corruption. It is enough to say that when the constitutional Government came to power, domestic production had fallen by 10 per cent, inflation amounted to 300 per cent annually, salaries had lost 50 per cent of their purchasing power and businesses were quickly going bankrupt.

163. As far as its external position was concerned, the country was mortgaged and in default, unable to renegotiate its heavy external debt; three fourths of the value of its exports were committed to debt servicing, which drastically reduced its capacity to import even basic materials. That dramatic picture was worsened by the unfortunate fact that the country served as an active centre in the production and traffic of cocaine, activities which damaged the image of the country abroad.

164. At the same time, the international recession hurt the weakened economy of Bolivia and further limited its possibilities for recovery.

165. The most backward sectors, those which had suffered the most from the senseless and mistaken policies of the authoritarian governments, vehemently called for a solution of their pressing problems. Our emerging democracy was faced with a challenge that was almost impossible to meet: a disastrous internal economic situation, a severe international recession and understandable demands from huge social groups.

166. The economic model of authoritarianism had come to an end. One of the basic requirements for its existence was missing—a continuous flow of external financing. The exclusive nature of that model benefited only a minority sector of the population.

167. The economic structure had been distorted, with priority going to activities related to legal and illegal imports and those of commercial and financial intermediary services. The basic sectors, those which produce essential and exportable goods, had lost a significant share of the economy, thus further weakening it. With the abrupt reduction of external financing, the structure of the authoritarian political model came crashing down, thus bringing about the chaotic situation that I have just described.

168. Given that serious situation, the democratic Government decided that drastic changes in our patterns of growth and style of development would have to be made. The economy would have to be directed towards more realism and austerity. A national revolutionary and liberating model of development was advocated not to create a populist system of distribution nor to unleash a vast statism that would sap economic energies to feed a gigantic bureaucracy. It is essentially a mixed economic system, the basic instrument of which is planning for the rigorous establishment of priorities and for the definition of functions to be fulfilled by the public, private and co-operative sectors, by ensuring compatibility of investments needed for development and income distribution.

169. The first acts of the democratic Government reflect the intention of this development policy. Indeed, it prohibited all imports which were not strictly essential; it established a realistic exchange rate and set up exchange controls that allowed for foreign exchange to be made available only for essential purposes.

170. The Government's annual programme began to bear fruit. There was a gradual resumption of economic activity, the rates of dismissal from government employment were stabilized, businesses ceased falling into bankruptcy and inflation decreased. The external debt was

renegotiated with some brother countries in a satisfactory manner. Supplies became normalized and it was obvious that the real salaries of the majority of the population were rising.

171. The indicators during the first semester of 1983 were encouraging: the rate of inflation had declined to less than half the level of 1982. Industrial production showed clear signs of expansion. The external sector was beginning to function smoothly to such an extent that we could see that by the end of the year there would be an increase in international reserves.

172. That encouraging beginning of our recovery was cut off by major natural disasters which hit the country. Indeed, floods in the east and a terrible drought in the west ruined the plans and the programme of the Government. To illustrate the seriousness of the damage, I shall just mention that agricultural production will fall by 25 per cent in 1983. A decline of that magnitude means not only that there will be a serious disturbance in our socio-economic operations, but also that there will be widespread famine and great sacrifices for a people who have risked everything for its freedom.

173. Natural disasters have affected more than 1.6 million people, that is, 25 per cent of our population. The losses we have suffered amount to approximately \$900 million, an amount which equals our annual exports.

174. In a dismal turn of fate, Bolivian democracy is undergoing a very difficult test. The assistance of the international community, together with the strength of a people that has long known how to overcome adversity, a people that well understands the meaning of determining its own future, will allow the democratic Government to face the crisis with solid backing.

175. In this context, we wish to emphasize the initiatives of the Secretary-General to co-operate with us in overcoming those disasters, as well as the co-operation of several Members of the Organization which did not hesitate to lend us a hand in adversity. Our gratitude goes to all of them.

176. Bolivia has always been generous and has not hesitated to co-operate in many causes when our co-operation has been sought. Suffice it to recall our contributions to the success of the cause of world democracy when we sold our tin and other strategic raw materials at low prices during the Second World War.

177. For our States the United Nations provides a valid forum in the continuous search for shared solutions. The developing countries firmly hope that the issues dealt with here will be given practical effect by the measures which are adopted.

178. We hope that problems so vital for mankind as the arms race and world peace will be discussed with the responsibility they require, since the future of the planet is at stake.

179. Our presence in this forum is a commitment to our peoples, a serious commitment to offer new hope to mankind, which is discouraged when it sees that peaceful understanding among nations is still far from being achieved and that the arms buildup process continues to be completely irrational, since existing arsenals have the military potential to ensure the destruction of mankind several times over, while in our streets the misery of outstretched hands and sick and ill-clad citizens increases.

180. We come from peoples which urgently need to see honest concern for their destiny, apart from any collaboration by special interests in dealings which compromise our future. We believe that there is still time to achieve a dialogue that will show mature understanding of and

respect for our national dignity, our national characteristics and our forms of government, arrived at with freedom and legitimacy. Anywhere in the world where there is the will on the part of the people, expressed through mechanisms of participation, citizen turn-out and the need to consolidate and strengthen political systems which respect the fundamental rights of man, there States must undertake joint efforts to support with respect the daily struggle of our peoples to make our societies expressions of dignity, freedom and democracy.

181. It is with deep concern that we see the world today facing an arms race which is alarming not only because of its destructive power but also because of the waste of resources it represents. These resources of approximately \$800 billion could be used to alleviate the social and economic problems of mankind.

182. The military expenditures of underdeveloped countries total 16 per cent of world military expenditures, while 5.9 per cent of the gross domestic product of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America goes to military expenditures, whereas only 1 per cent is devoted to public health and 2.8 per cent to education. The fact that countries spend on their arms race the equivalent of the annual budget of UNICEF in a mere five hours is reason for deep concern and reflection.

183. We therefore believe that the only way for mankind to ensure its survival is to abide by the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and those supported by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

184. That is why we support all United Nations activities to curb the arms race, thus freeing resources for effective international financial co-operation leading to a substantial transfer of funds to the peoples of the third world.

185. Bolivia follows with deep concern the crisis in Central America. The escalation of violence and its devastating effects on the population are a serious problem for the entire region. We maintain that the countries of the area, like all States of the world, have the right to act with sovereignty, without interference from other States, within the framework of non-interference in internal affairs and the principles of self-determination of peoples.

186. Bolivia expresses its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua. It calls for the cessation of all foreign acts of harassment and hopes that its national liberating and non-aligned revolution will be consolidated and strengthened in a democracy reflecting the legitimate aspirations of the Nicaraguan people—in other words, with ideological and political pluralism.

187. We support the actions of the Contadora Group, and we are certain that those efforts will open up prospects of a political solution through peaceful means acceptable to all the parties concerned.

188. We reaffirm our support for the process of decolonization, which must continue until the final elimination of this practice. In this context, Bolivia has repeatedly expressed its support for the Argentine Republic's demand that the Malvinas Islands be returned to its sovereignty. We call on the countries concerned to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations and resume negotiations on a settlement of the dispute. We also express our concern over the growing militarization of that area.

189. We categorically reject *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination, which offend human dignity. Bolivia reaffirms its support for the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject.

190. Bolivia defends the sovereignty of States and the right of peoples to self-determination. Consequently, we support the Secretary-General's efforts to bring about a

just and permanent settlement of the crises in Kampuchea, Cyprus and Afghanistan.

191. With reference to the problem of Palestine, we support all actions by the United Nations to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East. We reaffirm that territorial conquest is inadmissible from any standpoint, and therefore we appeal to Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories.

192. In the certainty that peace is possible only through observance of the principles embodied in the Charter, Bolivia urges the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, as a way of guaranteeing the independence and sovereignty of that country.

193. We wish to emphasize our concern over the war between Iran and Iraq and join in the requests to both parties to put an end to the conflict.

194. Bolivia supports the process leading to the independence of Namibia within the framework of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and considers that Walvis Bay is an integral part of that territory.

195. With regard to the serious problem of drug trafficking, we must honestly state that bilateral efforts are very limited in scope. The levels of production, the distribution networks and the economic power this traffic entails demand agreements of greater scope and effectiveness. Thus, we advocate multilateral agreements among countries which produce coca and/or cocaine and countries affected by the consumption of their products. Only by a joint effort based on true political will shall we be able to attack a problem which could become uncontrollable even for the most powerful countries.

196. The people of Bolivia, which has lived through the tragedy of dictatorship, repression and the trampling of the most basic human rights, has in this last year experienced a total change in this area, a change which reflects full respect for human dignity and absolute freedom for the Bolivian citizen today, who is protected not only by an internal legal structure, but also by international legal instruments.

197. Since 10 October 1982, Bolivia has acceded to all human rights instruments deposited at the United Nations.

198. We support all actions of the Organization and all efforts of the Governments represented here aimed at alleviating grievous situations such as violations of human rights which unfortunately still exist in many places in the world.

199. The crisis in Latin America is of such dramatic proportions that the President of the World Bank himself has just said that the debt of the third world is a time bomb.

200. This situation implies serious risks to the stability and social peace of our nations. We have not made sufficient progress to change the causes of this imbalance threatening to destroy the productive sector of Latin America.

201. Actually, one might even say that in some circles the Latin American crisis is not perceived as a risk in relations between industrialized countries and poor nations, but rather as an opportunity to assert the dependent and marginal nature of its inclusion in the international economy.

202. In fact the scope of the economic problems in Latin America has severely weakened its international presence, a situation which is taken undue advantage of by transnational banks and corporations, whose motives are in no way guided by a long-term view of the situation required in North-South relations at this crucial juncture.

203. Some time ago, economists coined a new word to describe a phenomenon which escaped traditional definition, and that was the beginning of the term "stagflation", which brought together the elements of stagnation and inflation which were, up to then, considered opposed to each other. Today, to describe the Latin American reality, one would have to coin a new term, "recession", to define economic recession which together with inflation undermines the economic and social structure of Latin America.

204. What is more, the actors and the parameters in international economic relations have changed. The transnational private banks are now at the centre of everything and have become the protagonists, following the curious process which came after the oil crisis and the recycling of the financial resources which became known as petrodollars.

205. This change has brought about such a gap that transnational banking has become a "bankocracy" which views the world only through impersonal numbers and which has devalued the very presence of the nation State in countries of the North and even more so in countries of the South.

206. In order to resolve this problem, Governments and international agencies must reassess the role which this "bankocracy" tries to monopolize.

207. A political dialogue is necessary at government level between industrialized nations and developing countries, in order to examine and resolve with an eye to the future and with authority, the problems of commercial treatment, protectionism and the renegotiation of the external debt of the third world. We cannot continue on this unbalanced, if not erratic, course of recent times. The struggle between Governments and transnational banking should not only be limited to analysis of amounts, terms and rates; there must be political agreement among nation-States of the North and South to fix parameters for specific negotiations.

208. Bolivia attaches priority to the North-South global negotiations and considers that the United Nations is the most appropriate forum for that dialogue.

209. The constitutional President of my country, Mr. Siles Zuazo, when he was Vice-President of the Republic, came to the General Assembly in 1952 as head of the Bolivian delegation at the seventh session, and he stated in this same Hall:

"it is disquieting to consider the tremendous power and correspondingly great responsibility of the great Powers which, constrained as they are to proceed in accordance with a rigid pattern in keeping with their domestic policies, have been unable to lay the foundation for a stable peace which would enable their peoples and the peoples everywhere to live in the hope of a better world." [384th meeting, para. 64.]

He continued:

"Our emotion becomes anxiety when, as the representatives of small nations, we realize that we can contribute very little, indeed almost nothing, to the elimination of the conflicts among the great Powers. Yet, at the same time, we understand that it is our duty to co-operate constructively in the work of the United Nations, which seeks to build good-neighbourly relations". [Ibid., para. 65.]

210. Despite the 31 years that have elapsed, that message is still valid, and today our peoples feel the same anxiety and the same hope of achieving a more just world. Today as then, Bolivia reiterates its trust that the efforts of the United Nations will secure peaceful co-existence for the human race.

211. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, at the outset, permit me to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session. Since this year marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of Simón Bolívar, the election of the representative of a Bolivarian country to the presidency is also an expression of esteem by the international community of the ideals of Bolívar, beyond being a tribute to your nation, Panama, and indeed to the Americas as a whole. We know that your vast experience and skill will stand us in good stead in our deliberations.

212. I should also like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Hungary, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the able manner in which he carried out his tasks as President of the thirty-seventh session.

213. Israel wishes to congratulate also from this rostrum Saint Christopher and Nevis on its accession to independence and to welcome it on its admission to the United Nations. We wish its people peace and prosperity.

214. The official closing of the thirty-seventh session on 19 September marked the passage of yet another year of turbulence and incertitude. But as we begin this new thirty-eighth session, we see amply demonstrated once again the aspirations of Member States for peace and tranquillity, for equality and justice in our world. This, after all, should be the common denominator for all of us who have been meeting in this Hall. And yet it is a sad comment on the ingenuity of the human race that so little has been done in these last 38 autumns to go beyond the hopes invested in the United Nations in 1945.

215. New wars have been erupting perennially, some more bloody than the greatest battles fought in the Second World War, and old conflicts have continued to smoulder without let-up. Significantly, the greatest problems which have faced mankind since the end of the Second World War have been dealt with outside this Organization, although it was founded on the belief that the concert of nations can and must stand up to its trials and travails together and out of common accord.

216. It is indeed gratifying to observe the family of nations grow from year to year. We welcome new partners in our common endeavours, for the United Nations will either stand or fall on the principle of universality based on equal sharing of opportunities and burdens in a pluralistic world. But reality must not be cast aside; the United Nations is patently incapable of meeting its challenges, as it is, regrettably, an organization which has been hijacked to serve the narrow interests of those who would do anything to advance their particular and selfish causes, and theirs alone. The United Nations has become a forum of mercantile transactions of favours, of a complacent trampling of the principles and purposes of the Charter. These are the sad realities within which we live—realities which, however, we are not compelled to accept or adopt.

217. There is today no evident correlation between the hopes of nations and the United Nations role in the realization of those hopes; no rational connection between the aspirations and expectations expressed at the beginning of each General Assembly session and the many acrimonious debates in committees and the flood of paper resolutions that emerge at the tail end of the sessions. This is not only the point of view of Israel; it has been dwelt upon by several Assembly Presidents in the past.

218. Israel, of course, has had its own share of disillusionment with the United Nations. The persistence of Israel's adversaries' hatred and rejectionism has been largely tolerated here without prohibition or hindrance,

primarily because of a great transfer of wealth, gratuitous and unprecedented, from the highly industrialized nations of the West to some Arab countries and the resultant concentration over the last decade of economic influence in the hands of the oil-producing Arab nations.

219. Yet, however frustrating Israel's experience with the United Nations has seemed to be, my country has not relinquished the first flush of hope that the founding of the United Nations produced in the wake of the Second World War. Beyond its own political preoccupations at the United Nations, Israel has been observing with great concern those economic and social problems which consistently mar relations among nations.

220. Economic issues, as well as those of war and peace and arms control, have given more cause for fear than for hope in the past year. Insecurity and distress continue to afflict the greater part of humanity.

221. The deliberations on economic issues conducted between developed and developing nations, as well as those among the developing nations themselves, progress far more slowly than the rate at which these problems continue to grow. The gravity of these issues requires unrelenting endeavour.

222. Israel, for its part, is willing, within the means at its disposal, to make its contribution to the advancement of international economic co-operation. In this spirit, we have recently presented our "transitional economy plan", already circulated at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.⁴ The aim of the plan, which is based on Israel's own experience, is the application of low-cost improvements to the rural sectors of various societies. Dozens of developing countries and international economic organizations have already expressed their interest in advancing this programme and in implementing the ideas relevant to their needs and special circumstances. We are happy to note that some developed countries have shown eagerness to incorporate parts of this project into their own development strategy for the developing and least developed countries.

223. Israel believes in both collective and individual efforts to fight hunger on this planet and has participated actively, through its international co-operation programme, in alleviating this scourge. The United Nations system should be the central vehicle for the required international co-operation. Its ability to carry out this role efficiently must depend to a large degree on its observance of the principles of universality in participation and adherence to genuine objectives of economic development.

224. Unfortunately, we have been witnessing an ever-growing attempt to politicize international economic efforts by the injection of elements of global and regional conflicts. The developing countries are ultimately the main victims of this attitude, as precious resources for development are channelled into futile and senseless exercises totally unrelated to the pressing economic needs of the greater part of mankind.

225. No less disturbing is the insufficient progress in the international handling of the arms race and security-building measures. Israel has long been concerned about the danger posed by nuclear armaments. It has, therefore, consistently supported the objective of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

226. Israel naturally examines these problems from the perspective of the Middle East. We have concluded that the most credible barrier to the proliferation of nuclear weapons in our region would be to make the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone. To that end, Israel has made

proposals based on the precepts of the Latin American model which had led to the conclusion of the Treaty of Tlatelolco.⁵

227. It is only logical that the initiative for the establishment of such a zone should originate with the States in the region, and the preliminary consultations necessary for achieving this aim must be carried out directly among them; they should be conducted in good faith and be addressed to issues pertinent to the establishment of such a zone.

228. It is clear that only free and direct negotiations among all Middle Eastern States can ensure real progress towards the conclusion of a convention which would establish a system of mutually binding obligations on all States of the region. My delegation has been advocating this approach in the annual General Assembly debates; it introduced a draft resolution, contained in the annex to a letter dated 9 June 1981,⁶ and formed part of the consensus on the subject. Our initiative gained wide-ranging support, and recognized leaders and experts in the field of disarmament paid tribute to Israel's position. Israel's proposal, however, was unfortunately turned down by hostile States in the region.

229. Israel is fully aware of the many political differences between the States of the Middle East. None of those differences should be permitted to stand in the way of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Israel, for its part, stands ready to commence negotiations on this matter among the interested States of our region at any time and without any preconditions.

230. In recent years, the suppression of human rights by many Governments around the world has reached alarming proportions. It persists in all but a few countries and is in clear violation of the principles enshrined in various international treaties and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the Middle East itself, many of the Arab régimes flagrantly violate these rights by persecuting political, ethnic and religious groups and minorities; by imprisoning political opponents without trial on a widespread scale; by humiliating, torturing and, indeed, executing many political prisoners; by staging at times large-scale massacres of their own citizens, as was the case in Hama, Syria, in February of last year; and by suppressing such fundamental liberties as freedom of expression and assembly.

231. The Jewish people have known for centuries what it is like to suffer at the hands of cruel authoritarian régimes. Israel abhors such manifestations of repression. My country supports all sincere efforts to foster respect for and safeguarding of human rights. At the same time, it deplores attempts in this Organization and elsewhere hypocritically to divert legitimate concern for human rights in directions which serve objectionable and narrow political interests.

232. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union's continuing harassment of Soviet Jewry remains one of the most persistent and glaring human rights problems faced by the world today. In spite of the many international agreements to which the Soviet Union is a signatory, such as the Helsinki accord,¹ hundreds of thousands of Jews in that country are being systematically denied the basic human right to emigrate and to be reunited with their families in Israel. At the same time, those who have been formally denied exit permits have been forced to live as outcasts in Soviet society, often for lengthy periods, having been deprived of their means of livelihood, exposed to the whims of the authorities and subjected to all manner of harassment. In some cases, Jews who apply to leave for Israel or who seek to preserve their Jewish

heritage and identity are arrested and imprisoned and languish in Soviet jails and labour camps under the most inhuman conditions.

233. Indeed, as the gates of emigration have been nearly sealed, officially inspired anti-Semitism, with the inevitable strong racist overtones, is being increasingly manifested in the Soviet media and in various forms of discrimination. Regrettably, the United Nations has yet to take appropriate action on this matter which must distress decent people everywhere and which is certainly worthy of the Organization's attention.

234. Unfortunately, the United Nations, and the General Assembly in particular, have also done very little of a constructive nature to alleviate international tension and defuse the many conflicts which have continued to plague much of the world for several years now. The cause of neither peace nor world security has been advanced in this past year. This past year has seen the escalation of the confrontation between the super-Powers, which in turn has had grave repercussions throughout the world, particularly for the smaller nations. International tension was greatly increased when the Soviet Air Force recently deliberately shot down a South Korean airliner—an act that was overwhelmingly condemned by the international community. Most of the armed conflicts and local wars raging around the globe year ago continue to exact a heavy toll in casualties, widespread destruction and suffering. In Afghanistan and Kampuchea foreign intervention continues, with hundreds of thousands having been killed or injured thus far and millions rendered homeless. The Middle East is torn apart by violent inter-Arab rivalries and by a number of conflicts, of which the Arab-Israel conflict is but one. Iraq and Iran are locked in a bitter, prolonged war which has now entered its fourth year and has already claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands. Internecine strife, encouraged by Syria, has rent Lebanon. Libya has pushed ahead with its imperialistic ambitions in Chad, while seeking to subvert also other régimes in Africa and elsewhere. Various disputes have also been plaguing the western hemisphere.

235. Although usually stemming from local factors, much of the unrest throughout the world, including the Middle East, has been sharply exacerbated by Soviet policies which have exploited tensions to generate instability and thereby broaden the scope of Soviet influence. Whether directly, as in Afghanistan, or indirectly, through such proxies as Viet Nam, Syria and Libya, the Soviet Union has, instead of contributing to world peace, aggravated crisis situations and even sparked the outbreak of hostilities. Unfortunately, this holds true also for Soviet involvement in the Arab-Israel conflict.

236. The last decade has demonstrated that the solution of the Arab-Israel conflict is indeed possible, provided that the parties to the conflict are sincere in their efforts to resolve it. Once again it must be stressed that progress in this regard was made entirely outside the United Nations. Indeed, instead of contributing to the promotion of peace in the Middle East, the Assembly and other United Nations organs have often added to the violent rhetoric which has fanned the flames of the Arab-Israel conflict. Were we to judge matters as they are reflected in these chambers, one might easily conclude that the conflict is insoluble. However, in the real world of the Middle East itself—as distinct from the world of the United Nations—progress has been achieved, as we have seen in the cases of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty and in the recent Israel-Lebanon agreement. Once States engage in serious and direct negotiations which acknowledge their mutual legitimate needs and interests, agreement has been shown to be possible.

237. The United Nations, manipulated by powerful blocs and automatic majorities, has generated a basic misconception concerning the essence of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

238. The essence of the conflict has always been and remains the persistent enmity of Arab States towards Jewish national renaissance. For decades now Arab leaders have obstinately maintained that the whole region from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf must be exclusively Arab. This intolerant and exclusivist attitude has been reflected in their repressive policies directed against various non-Arab national groups in the Middle East. This, and no other, has been the primary cause also of the ongoing Arab-Israel conflict.

239. Unfortunately, after several costly wars started by Arab States in their bid to destroy Israel, many of the Arab countries have apparently not yet realized that their designs concerning Israel are both wrong and futile. Thus, what they have been unable to achieve on the battlefield, they are now trying to achieve in the diplomatic arena. This has been demonstrated again at this podium during the last few days by the extreme language and content of the speeches made by, among others, the Foreign Ministers of Syria and Iraq.

240. Significantly and most regrettably, representatives of Arab countries habitually referred to as “moderates” have not objected but acquiesced. Such indeed is their “moderation”, which should be duly taken note of by all those nations here at the United Nations which have either deliberately or, at the very least, unwittingly aided and abetted a campaign which strives to delegitimize my country in order to dismantle it by stages.

241. In the context just described, Arab enmity towards the State of Israel has been demonstrated very clearly in the case of the terrorist organization known as the PLO, an artificial framework which was created by the Arab Governments in the early sixties. That grouping of rival terrorist factions has always depended on the continued support of the Arab States and their allies for its very existence, as has been evidenced most vividly during and since the destruction of the PLO infrastructure in and around Beirut last year.

242. Too many people have resorted to wishful thinking when referring to the PLO. Smooth phrases and eloquent double-talk cannot hide the PLO's true intentions and nature. Its criminal goal remains the destruction of Israel, whether in one fell swoop or in stages. In pursuing this objective, the PLO terrorists have perpetrated bloody atrocities which have struck at all, Jews and non-Jews, young and old, men, women and children. The PLO's true character and objectives must have become evident recently even to those who in the past were taken in by PLO phraseology.

243. The continuing tragedy of Lebanon is a consequence of the havoc wreaked by the PLO and its allies over the past decade. Knowing full well the potential for subversion inherent in the PLO, Arab Governments were unwilling to tolerate the presence of this terrorist organization on their own countries' soil and, as a result, dumped that group upon Beirut and on the people of Lebanon. As a consequence, Lebanon's sovereignty was eroded and the country was torn apart by violent strife.

244. It is well known that Israel stands for the full restoration of Lebanese sovereignty, of Lebanese independence, of Lebanese territorial integrity, of the unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries, as well as for the restoration of the authority of the lawful government of Lebanon within that country. Israel believes that in order to permit the attainment of

that goal, all foreign forces must be withdrawn from that country. Alongside these objectives, and bearing in mind the experience of recent years, Israel's legitimate security needs must also be guaranteed and Lebanese territory must never be used again for attacks upon our citizens.

245. The agreement concluded by Israel and Lebanon on 17 May 1983 is linked to these requirements. Israel was and remains determined to proceed towards full and speedy implementation of this agreement aimed at the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty. However, it must have become clear to everyone by now that Syria and the PLO have no more intention of respecting Lebanese sovereignty today than they did in the past.

246. We have all heard Lebanon's emphatic and repeated demands for the withdrawal of the Syrian forces and the PLO from its territory. At the last session, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel used this rostrum to call for "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanon" [35th meeting, para. 10]. In a letter to the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez, a year ago, Lebanon explicitly demanded the termination of the Syrian and PLO presence in that country. Lebanon reiterated its demands as recently as last month. On 2 September, the Lebanese Foreign Minister wrote to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States insisting again on Syrian and PLO withdrawal⁷ and he repeated this demand in his statement from this rostrum during the last meeting. Yet all this has been to no avail. Not only has Syria paid no heed to these demands, but it has increased its involvement in Lebanon and is engaged in direct warfare against the legitimate Government of that country. President Assad, backed diplomatically and militarily by the Soviet Union and assisted by Palestinian terrorists, continues his ruthless operations to keep Lebanon in disarray in an attempt to force Lebanon to submit to Syrian domination. Resorting to its well-known tactics of threats and extortion, Syria continues to undermine Lebanon's path to regaining its sovereignty. This is pursued by Syria directly or by proxy, and its uninhibited brutality stops at nothing.

247. Israel's withdrawal from the Shouf Mountains, a first step in the direction of total withdrawal, was announced well in advance in order to provide the Lebanese Government and army with a chance to extend its control over that area. They were prevented from doing so by Syria and its proxies, which turned Lebanon once again into a battleground, exploiting existing enmity between groups there and encouraging all-out war against its legitimate Government.

248. Israel welcomes the fact that a cease-fire has now been declared in Lebanon and hopes that the cessation of hostilities will endure, leading to true reconciliation, free of outside interventions and dictates. We are following the situation closely and are looking forward to the establishment of conditions which will ensure security and tranquillity along the Israel-Lebanon border. Under no circumstances will Israel agree to return to the state of affairs which prevailed until 16 months ago, when Lebanese territory was used as a base for terrorist operations against our citizens. Israel sincerely hopes and wishes to see an independent Lebanon in which a strong and stable régime exercises control throughout the country.

249. Earlier, I had occasion to note that the United Nations has been systematically exploited in recent years as an instrument of Arab warfare against Israel. The most recent effort in this regard was the ill-conceived international conference at Geneva several weeks ago. As part of the manipulation of United Nations organs during the past decade by countries arrayed against Israel, that conference predictably served as an arena for anti-Israel

slogans and made no attempt whatsoever to examine honestly and objectively the real causes of the Arab-Israel conflict.

250. Arab-Israel reconciliation can and must emanate from direct negotiations without outside interference. There is place neither for dictated nor for imposed solutions. Any overt or covert attempts to circumvent free and direct negotiations between the States of the region can only delay the peace process. A blatant example of such attempts is the so-called Fez "peace plan" with its calculated ambiguity and double-talk. It is intended to serve those who wish to evade direct negotiations and seek to impose long-standing and extreme Arab demands, thereby undermining the cause of peace. Any equitable and realistic solution will have to take into account the basic fact that on the territory of the former Palestine Mandate two national States have now been in existence for over three decades, one Arab and one Jewish. I refer, of course, to the Kingdom of Jordan and the State of Israel.

251. The contribution of the United Nations and the world community at large should be to encourage discourse and dialogue rather than attitudes and trends which perpetuate the *status quo* and continued hostility to my country. Regrettably, the United Nations has allowed itself to be drawn into a biased position, has become entangled in a mushrooming web of unbalanced resolutions, has put itself into a straitjacket of partisan committees and has squandered vast resources and funds for dubious purposes. The time has surely come for all to realize that a solution to the Arab-Israel conflict will be possible only if it takes full account also of the rights, interests and needs of Israel. First and foremost among these is the inalienable right of the Jewish people to self-determination and sovereignty in its homeland, the land of Israel.

252. The Camp David accords reached after intensive direct negotiations with Egypt, with the participation of the United States of America, show what can be achieved if the parties involved approach the problem in a spirit of conciliation. These accords which fully take into account the legitimate rights and interests of the parties involved, have also set the stage for a future treaty with Jordan and have offered the Palestinian Arabs living in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district an active role in shaping their own future, initially within the framework of autonomy and afterwards during the negotiations to determine the final status of the areas in question. Anyone sincerely interested in the well-being of the Palestinian Arabs, as well as in a true peace which would take into account both the interests of Israel and those of its Arab neighbours, should welcome the progress exemplified by Camp David. By contrast, those who wish to perpetuate the Arab-Israel dispute for selfish political reasons will no doubt continue to support one-sided resolutions in this body and will seek to undermine those initiatives which have brought us closer to a genuine Arab-Israel peace.

253. Israel welcomes the voices of reason that have come out of African capitals declaring that their contribution towards the promotion of dialogue in the Middle East will be more credible and effective when their relations with both Israel and its neighbours are normalized. In the past, the potential inherent in the relations between Israel and the developing countries in Africa and elsewhere was realized in achievements which have proved useful and of significant mutual benefit.

254. Israel would welcome the resumption of ties and expansion of co-operation and friendship with all those who believe, as we do, that all nations, whether or not they agree on every issue, should engage in mutual

relations and dialogue. In our opinion these are elementary requirements if we are to advance the prospects of peace and co-operation in our world. The purposes of the United Nations, as defined in Article 1 of the Charter, are to maintain peace, to develop friendly relations between nations, to achieve international co-operation in the solution of international problems and to act as a centre for harmonizing the actions of countries. These noble purposes, to which the founders of the United Nations dedicated themselves in 1945, are ill served by the Organization's present unchecked drifting into their abandonment through impotence. Above all, the principle of the sovereign equality of nations has often been set aside in deference to the dictates of bloc politics and military and economic blackmail.

255. Despite this regrettable trend, Israel remains prepared actively to support a new, positive approach. An initial step in this direction could be the jettisoning of the heavy burden of politicization in the specialized agencies, thus rendering them as useful and efficient as they were meant to be.

256. Israel still believes that the dim record of the past must not cloud our belief in the future. The Government of Israel is prepared today as it has always been to negotiate with the neighbouring Arab States an equitable solution to the Arab-Israel conflict.

257. From this rostrum I wish to address myself to the Arab peoples of our region and to inquire whether 36 years of war and bloodshed have solved any problems. Are we better off as a result of so many years of conflict than we would have been had our nations lived side by side in peace? Could not the billions squandered on arms procurements have been put to better use in solving urgent domestic problems, such as poverty, hunger, illiteracy and a widening social gap between rich and poor? For how long will your governments be able to divert your

legitimate concern with social injustice by pursuing hostile policies against my country, policies which can only perpetuate the violence which has cost our societies so much? Indeed, for how long will your Governments be prepared to sacrifice the flower of youth on the bloody altar of war?

258. Continued hostility and war have brought our region much grief and suffering. Would it not behove us to begin a new chapter in the history of our troubled region? Would it not be better for us to turn the Middle East into an area marked by co-operation and progress? Thousands of years ago from our region went forth a vision of universal peace. Together we could fulfil that vision in our region and be a source of inspiration to the rest of the world. Therefore let us meet in a spirit of reconciliation. Let us replace tension with tranquility, misery with prosperity, hatred with friendship. Above all, instead of war, let us have peace.

The meeting rose at 2 p.m.

NOTES

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

²See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2125th meeting.

³*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.

⁴A/36/497.

⁵Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

⁶A/36/315.

⁷See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15953.