



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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SCHWEITZER WALTERS (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am indeed gratified to have the opportunity to offer my very cordial greetings to the President of this thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the Vice President of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca, long identified with this Organization, and through him to the people of his country, linked to mine by a warm and enduring friendship.

2. At this session of the Assembly we are witnessing two developments which are of special satisfaction to my delegation: first, the fact that the presidency is held by the worthy representative of a Latin American nation, and secondly, the admission of Saint Christopher and Nevis as a new Member of the Organization, after having solemnly declared its independence on 18 September, the date on which my country also commemorates its birth as a sovereign nation. With the addition of Saint Christopher and Nevis, to whose delegation we offer our best wishes, the number of countries of our region that are determined to contribute to strengthening the principles and purposes of the Charter of San Francisco is thus increased.

3. As a Latin American and as a Chilean, I am particularly happy to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the brilliant and efficient manner in which he has been carrying out his functions, including the negotiating efforts to promote peace and the achievement of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

4. In my capacity as Minister for External Relations of Chile, the most constructive contribution I can make to this world forum, at a time when difficult circumstances confront the international community, is a brief review of the objectives we pursue, the paths we should take and the resources we have for attaining our goals.

5. Almost 40 years have passed since the solemn signing of the Charter at San Francisco, where the decision to preserve future generations from the scourge of war was sealed. Bodies have been created to achieve that aim and efforts have been made to secure true international co-operation to solve the major political, economic, social and cultural problems affecting mankind.

6. At the same time, scientific and technological development has reached such a point that, together with producing hitherto unknown possibilities, it has placed in the hands of man weapons capable of destroying the species. It is paradoxical that the very human being who has succeeded in reaching the stars has forged the means which could lead to his annihilation.

7. I believe I am not exaggerating if I point out that the risk to our peoples lies in the inability to live in

keeping with the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter. While such great advances have been made in the field of science, we have fallen terribly far behind in the unavoidable task of preserving harmony and avoiding aggression.

8. The existing and potential conflicts number in the dozens, and in many cases the smallest countries are mere actors in the disagreements behind which obscure interests of ideological and economic influence are hidden. The threat of major conflagrations hangs over us as the consequence of decisions in which, in many cases, we were not involved. Power protects the powerful, but the blood that stains the earth with its iniquity is not always that of those who created the disputes.

9. For that reason it is necessary to reiterate that the peaceful settlement of disputes, pledged a thousand and one times in texts, speeches and international agreements, must become the rule. This aim has been thwarted because a real will to accept solutions dictated by law or advocated by fairness does not exist.

10. If the use or threat of the use of force is banished from international practice and a decision to respect the law is taken, we shall have gained a world of peace and harmony which will enable man to fulfil the aspirations of progress enshrined in the Charter.

11. We are duty-bound to note with sorrow that, unfortunately, the Security Council has been used many times just for effect, which has led to the distancing of its deliberations from the spirit that led to its creation and to making its resolutions simply repetitive, diverting it from its fundamental responsibility of maintaining international peace and security in the name of the United Nations, that is to say, the international community.

12. For that reason, it is urgent to examine the question of what formula would allow the Organization to follow closely the evolution of certain problems in order to guide them towards peaceful means of preventing and settling disputes in accordance with international law and human rights. Perhaps some form of joint action could be worked out for those unresolved differences which carry the risk of potential confrontation. In this manner there could be timely co-operation in the initial stages with the parties directly concerned, thereby possibly averting confrontation. I cannot help recalling what the representative of Chile said last year in this regard: "Experience should have taught us only too well that there is a limit, at the transgression of which a thousand diabolical elements will band together to blur understanding and lead to the precipice."¹

13. It is true that in some cases such preventive action could lead to frustration, but then experience, lessons and sometimes great endeavours flow from failures. On the other hand, inaction and inactivity have always proved sterile.

14. We state with conviction that we must not remain unmoved in the face of the clear proliferation of potential or real conflicts. We must never permit a situation such as that in 1945, in which the initiative for and the achievement of international agreement has to emerge from

rubble and death. We must prevent a situation in which peace must be created by war; peace must be the child of peace.

15. Because we hold this conviction, my Government today reaffirms, as it has in the past, its unqualified support for the fundamental principles of the Charter, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for treaties. The best guarantee of peace must be effective juridical instruments which will obviate the temptation to succumb to the misleading attraction and dangerous expedient of force.

16. Coming generations could look towards the future with tranquillity if the United Nations had an efficient mechanism for preventing sterile confrontations.

17. My country has the moral authority to deal with these subjects because of its consistent devotion to peace and its identification with the ideals which led to the creation of the United Nations. In a world which has not been able to silence the guns of war, we, together with our neighbours, have enjoyed a century-long peace, moving forward successfully along the common paths of understanding and co-operation. For that reason we feel qualified to express our concern about situations which might disturb the peace. If the international community does not face with imagination, creativity and resolution circumstances which constitute risks to peace—such as the events in Central America, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea—the Organization will see the frustration of the dreams and hopes which the nations of the world have held for it since the very moment of its creation.

18. The Chilean Government has pursued tirelessly and patiently, in the peaceful spirit I have recalled, its efforts to ensure harmony in the southern region of the continent.

19. We have always complied with the decisions of international justice, and we welcomed the paternal appeals of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. After accepting the 1977 arbitration finding, compliance with which was obligatory in accordance with a commitment previously agreed to by the parties, we promptly accepted the settlement proposal later worked out by the Holy Father. We have also been prepared to sign a peace treaty, as recommended by the same mediator, to guarantee juridically the harmony fortunately existing between my country and the Argentine Republic.

20. We have not succeeded in securing the culmination of the Holy Father's mediating efforts. In view of the passage of time, we reiterate today our faith in the result of his patient action and express our hope that, thanks to it, our objectives of peace, unity and integration will be achieved.

21. Similarly, we count on the success of the negotiating action entrusted to the Secretary-General in the South Atlantic conflict between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom.

22. The direct threats to peace to which I referred earlier are associated with another danger: the world economic depression. The nations with the most fragile structures are today suffering the consequences of a crisis which is perhaps the worst since the end of the Second World War. We do not wish to shirk our share of responsibility, but we must emphasize that any solution requires the resolute collaboration of the economically strongest countries.

23. What is lacking today is a major consensus for development. From the ministerial meeting of the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, through the

failure of the attempt to renew global negotiations and the difficulties in establishing a viable financing system for science and technology for development, as well as the reduction of all flows of official development assistance, we have gone from disappointment to disappointment, and a crisis of international economic co-operation has been precipitated.

24. We should not turn a deaf ear to these warnings, because history teaches that economic crises constitute the atmosphere in which political tensions and international conflicts thrive.

25. The present situation forces us to recognize the magnitude of the new dimension of interdependence which today defines relations between North and South.

26. But beyond the inevitable tensions and antagonisms a true mutuality of interests exists between the industrialized and developing States. The less developed countries know well that the cause of peace and progress cannot be served by slowing or destroying the growth of the more advanced ones. And the latter cannot but fully recognize their responsibility as partners in the process of world recovery. Both must join forces to make the most of the exploitation of resources in a more equitable and more rational international division of labour, based on the comparative advantages of the various regions. It is appropriate, therefore, to formulate a juridical and political plan for our world, with the participation of all in the determination of new areas of freedom and innovation, based on the cardinal principles of sovereignty, development and peace.

27. An honest and clear distinction must be made between what is desirable and what is possible within today's limited resources. In this context, the programme of action proposed by the Secretary-General during the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development could serve as a good guide for our debates.

28. Now that I have referred to subjects of priority interest, I should like to mention briefly my Government's position on matters of special interest to the General Assembly.

29. The community of nations must not remain indifferent to the occupation by foreign forces of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where the rights of the peoples are being systematically violated and international juridical norms are being mocked.

30. It is imperative for the Soviet as well as the Vietnamese aggressor, which infringe the most elementary standards of coexistence, to withdraw from those illegally occupied territories so that their peoples can exercise their inalienable right of self-determination.

31. While we unreservedly support the humanitarian work being done on behalf of the refugees, we are concerned at the failure to comply with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, which constitutes an open violation of the Charter and of international law.

32. Furthermore, it is with serious concern that we witness the crisis affecting our sister nations in Central America. We share with them their desire to preserve their identity and freedom in the face of the disturbing ideologies which an extra-continental Power seeks to introduce into our hemisphere.

33. We have given our firm support to the negotiations of the Contadora Group, and we hope that this initiative will result in a formula which will preserve the values of freedom and human dignity for that part of our continent, which is undergoing a difficult stage in its history.

34. With regard to the situation in the Middle East, Chile has constantly insisted on the need to find a just and lasting solution in keeping with Security Council

resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In our view this objective can be attained only through realistic approaches based on recognition of the right of all States of the region, including Israel, to live within secure and internationally recognized boundaries and on the full exercise by the Palestinian people of the right to self-determination and to establish its own sovereign State.

35. We also feel that the international community would be failing in its duty were it not to succeed in establishing lasting peace in Lebanon. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country and respect for its territorial integrity and political independence are indispensable if that once prosperous nation is to recover its unity and the tranquillity necessary for it to begin its speedy and definitive political and material reconstruction. In this regard, the truce recently achieved in Lebanon has aroused our hopes.

36. Inspired by its pacifist calling and its commitment to the idea of good-neighbourliness, Chile will always support initiatives which seek a fair and lasting solution of the complex and delicate situation in the Middle East.

37. I cannot complete these brief references to international matters without placing special emphasis on a situation which Chile, as an active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, views with great concern. I am referring to the persistence in Namibia of a situation which the entire international community has condemned. In this regard, we wish again to express our complete support for the negotiations which the Secretary-General is conducting in order to find a peaceful solution for this problem which will permit the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

38. I also reiterate our repudiation of the practice of *apartheid*, an historic anachronism which is an outrage to the conscience of mankind.

39. Similarly, we continue to deplore the unstable situation in the Korean peninsula. The profound significance of the division of that nation, as far as Chile is concerned, persuades us to support the inter-Korean negotiations more than ever as the only peaceful formula, free of foreign interference, that can lead to a solution of the problem.

40. Furthermore, we energetically denounce the criminal attack upon a Korean civilian plane by Soviet warplanes with the consequent unfortunate loss of life, which is mourned not only by the Korean people but also by Members of the Organization. The contempt for and indifference to the international community and international law shown by the Soviet Union cannot but be condemned.

41. I must also reiterate the concern which my country has indicated on other occasions in this forum with regard to the continued nuclear testing which France is carrying out in the South Pacific. Our firm position is based on the inherent dangers to human life and the flora and fauna of the region. For that reason, we strongly support the signing of a general treaty prohibiting all nuclear tests.

42. Turning to other matters, the issues of outer space, the law of the sea, the Pacific Basin and the Antarctic region are of priority concern to our country.

43. Chile has actively participated in the work being done by the United Nations in the field of outer space, particularly in the search for means of co-operation and in the drafting of juridical instruments regulating the various activities now taking place in this field.

44. We wish to stress at this time the reception given to the Chilean initiative on the creation of a Latin American space agency. Such a body would permit joint exploitation of the benefits of space science by the member

countries, thus making a decisive contribution to their economic, social and cultural development.

45. The signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea² represents the culmination of long years of effort and negotiation. It is the definitive sanctioning of the concept of an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles, an idea which was originally introduced by my country in 1947.

46. The Chilean Government welcomes the fact that more than 120 Member States have already signed this Convention, and it calls upon those which have not yet done so to give their support to this important instrument of modern international law, the result of the good will displayed by the international community in the process of negotiations.

47. The Chilean Government takes note of the work done by the recent second session of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, and, as Vice-President of that body, we affirm that we will continue actively to co-operate in the implementation of the provisions of the Convention.

48. Chile attaches special importance to the Pacific Ocean, its natural maritime field, which daily demands from the coastal States increasing attention to its inestimable potential, and to the lively dialogue of co-operation which has taken place among the countries of the Basin in recent years.

49. Chile is a Consultative Party to the Antarctic Treaty,³ and its research activity on that continent and the co-operation offered to other Members of the United Nations have been constant.

50. Chile is an Antarctic country by virtue of legal title, history and geographic continuity. The fact that it is a developing country with limited resources has not prevented it from carrying out activities which for more than a century have contributed to linking that continent with the rest of the world, and to the preservation of its unique ecosystem.

51. As a founder of the Antarctic Treaty, a Consultative Party and a country that exercises sovereign rights in the Antarctic, Chile cannot be in favour of having this subject discussed in the United Nations.

52. We view with concern the consequences that might occur if this Organization were to undertake the consideration of matters which are the subject of international treaties, open to participation by all States, as is the specific case of the Antarctic Treaty. The twelfth meeting of the Consultative Parties was recently held at Canberra with the active participation of all the adherents.

53. That Treaty, which upholds the principles and purposes of the Charter, has proved to be a unique instrument and an example of international co-operation integrated into the United Nations system and open to all its Members. Those countries with Antarctic activities, including the super-Powers, have found themselves obliged to set aside those matters which separate them and to co-operate peacefully in all areas linked to the Antarctic.

54. For countries such as Chile, which, in addition to century-old activity, exercises its sovereignty in that territory and has its rights protected under article IV of the Treaty, an inadequate consideration of this subject would constitute a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

55. Thanks to the existence of the Antarctic Treaty, that region has been preserved as a zone of peace, free from nuclear weapons, far from the traditional confrontations between the great Powers and open to the participation

of all States Members of this Organization. The system which has been structured around the Treaty guarantees faithful compliance in the Antarctic with all the aims and objectives of the Charter, in addition to duly safeguarding the interests of humanity.

56. In this session we have heard certain foreign ministers, seeming to follow orders, refer to the internal situation in my country, thus demonstrating a selectivity which we denounce and certainly reject. In some cases their remarks reveal deliberate ignorance and in others a lack of information and even an unacceptable interference in our internal affairs. For this reason only I am compelled briefly to emphasize what is occurring in the process of institutional consolidation in Chile.

57. Early in 1974, in the face of the institutional, material and moral collapse of the country, the Chilean Government solemnly proclaimed that its objective would be centred on full recovery of a lasting democracy. As early as 1977 the necessary stages for gaining normality were structured. At that time there was no lack of prophets arguing that those announcements were merely rhetorical and devoid of real content. The same thing happened at the announcement of the drafting of a political constitution, which, when presented to the nation, received the ratification of two thirds of the Chilean people.

58. In accordance with that same political constitution, Chile today enjoys full freedom of the press, information, assembly and opinion, and the Government has proceeded to implement the political laws which will lead the country to the exercise of the rights of citizens in a full democracy. To bring that about, the Council of State is now working on those laws and its work will be completed in the near future.

59. In order for those basic provisions to have the support of the democratic sectors, the Government has begun a dialogue which is being carried out within a framework of the broadest national representation.

60. The decision to permit the return of Chileans living abroad who had been prevented from returning earlier had a similar integrating direction. During August and September alone, that measure benefited more than 3,000 persons, among them prominent leaders of the political opposition.

61. This responsible pattern of institutional consolidation has not been changed, not even by cowardly assassinations, terrorist acts or acts of vandalism which have been shamelessly claimed by groups of anonymous persons and craven delinquents who, acting under assumed names, are nothing but the concealed armed tools of Soviet imperialism, which contributed to the breakdown of Chilean democratic institutions in the period between 1970 and 1973.

62. In this brief statement I have attempted to bring to the international community represented here the message of friendship which Chile offers to those who respect its identity as a free and sovereign people.

63. Returning always to the idea of peace, I believe that we can find the most precious aspiration of my country at this time in that sentence left us by Milton: "Peace hath her victories/No less renowned than war".

64. Mr. SAVETSIKA (Thailand): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand I am pleased to extend our warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The many pressing issues vitally affecting the interests and well-being of peoples in many parts of the world are reflected in the agenda of this session. These troubled times will doubtless require the application of those qualities of wisdom, dedication and prudence for

which you have been duly recognized by the international community.

65. My delegation wishes also to express its sincere congratulations to the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly, who have been elected from the various regions of the world, as befits the universal character of the Organization.

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

66. The delegation of Thailand pledges its full co-operation to the President and all the Vice-Presidents who may be entrusted with the responsibility of guiding the Assembly's deliberations.

67. At the same time, I should like also to express my delegation's sincere appreciation to Mr. Imre Hollai for his distinguished leadership of the thirty-seventh session.

68. The delegation of Thailand is highly gratified by the accession of Saint Christopher and Nevis to independence and its admission to membership in the United Nations. I should like to take this opportunity to offer our sincere congratulations to the delegation of that new Member State, and we look forward to working closely with it in the promotion of closer international co-operation and understanding.

69. The year ahead does not promise to be any less dangerous or challenging than the one that has preceded it. New areas of conflict and tension in the heart of the African continent and in Central America place additional issues of concern on the long list of unresolved international crises. In southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, we continue to witness the use of force by more powerful States against their neighbours and the denial to them of the fundamental right to self-determination. Numerous wars and conflicts continue to take their heavy toll of human lives, and new outbreaks of violence occur all too frequently. All around the world helpless refugees huddle in makeshift encampments, victims of events beyond their control and for which they bear no responsibility. While little progress is being made towards a more just and equitable international economic order, the resources of nations are continually and increasingly strained by the arms race. The danger of nuclear confrontation is looming larger than ever, as new technology threatens to upset the balance of terror. The international peace and security which the Organization was founded to preserve are undermined by some of its own Members whose actions negate the very principles and purposes of its Charter, while its resolutions have had little effect in restraining the transgressors. Perhaps it reflects the desperation of our times that the Organization still holds out the hope and the challenge that mankind can ultimately rise above petty self-interests and vile ambitions. The present precarious state of the world does not diminish but rather underlines the value of the Organization and its Charter, which articulates the desired norms of international behaviour. It is therefore incumbent upon the Member States to help realize its noble aims and objectives and save mankind from self-destruction.

70. Last year the Secretary-General submitted a perceptive report on the work of the Organization in which he stressed that the central issue facing the United Nations was its capacity to keep peace and to serve as a forum for negotiations. The Secretary-General's report this year [A/38/1] touches on similar themes. We wish also to commend highly his able stewardship of the Organization and the many initiatives he has taken on its behalf.

71. The Secretary-General recently undertook a mission to southern Africa in a renewed effort to bring independence to Namibia on the basis of Security Council

resolution 435 (1978). From the outset, the United Nations has steadfastly advocated the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in a free and united Namibia. The Government of Thailand has consistently supported the unremitting efforts of the United Nations towards that end and will continue to do so. This worthy goal remains unaccomplished because of the intransigence of the Pretoria régime, which continues to act in defiance of the rest of humanity. Further delay in implementing resolution 435 (1978) can only aggravate the already tense situation and leave the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the representative of the Namibian people, with no alternative but to utilize all possible means to achieve freedom and national independence for Namibia. Meanwhile, any attempt by the occupying Power to impose any condition or unilateral settlement in Namibia in contravention of the relevant United Nations resolutions must be considered null and void. My delegation urges the Western contact group to exert all possible effort, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and in conjunction with the efforts of the Secretary-General, to hasten Namibia's independence at the earliest possible date through the free exercise by all its people of their right to self-determination.

72. Over a span of four decades the issues of the Middle East have dominated the Assembly's agenda. The situation in the Middle East as a whole continues to be volatile and potentially dangerous for international peace and security. My Government reaffirms its basic position regarding the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and thus calls on Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories which it has occupied since 1967 and to refrain from all measures designed to perpetuate its presence in those territories. My delegation's position on the question of Palestine is to support the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, particularly the right to self-determination, free from outside interference or coercion, including the right to national independence and sovereignty and the right to return to their homes and properties.

73. My delegation believes that the plight of the Palestinians remains central to the Middle East problem and that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East must be based on application of the two agreed elements incorporated in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), namely, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and recognition of the legitimate right of every State in the area, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. The Thai delegation strongly urges all parties to exert every effort to revitalize the peace process in the region so as to bring about a settlement which would meet justly the legitimate interests and aspirations of all concerned.

74. The invasion of Lebanon in June last year by Israeli forces was condemned by the international community. The Government of Thailand has joined other countries in calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, in accordance with the wish of the Government and people of Lebanon as well as the relevant United Nations resolutions. My delegation welcomes the news of a cease-fire agreement, which indicates the willingness of all the parties concerned to resort to negotiations rather than the use of force in order to resolve their differences. This new development leads us to hope that the withdrawal of all foreign forces will be expeditiously undertaken so that full sovereignty over all its territory may be restored to the Government of Lebanon and its people.

75. The continuing foreign occupation of Afghanistan has exacted a heavy toll of Afghan patriots and

threatened the security of neighbouring States. The delegation of Thailand reaffirms its full support for the calls by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the General Assembly for the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan so that the Afghan people may be able to choose its form of government free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind. United Nations agencies continue their vital role in providing humanitarian assistance to the growing number of Afghan refugees in neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan, which has had to bear an enormous burden. It is imperative that the humanitarian assistance for Afghan refugees who have been forced to flee their homeland be given full international support. My delegation calls on all the parties concerned to proceed in good faith with the negotiations being conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his special representative so that meaningful agreements can be reached on the four essential elements of withdrawal of foreign troops, non-interference by outside Powers in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, international guarantees of non-intervention, and the safe and voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homeland.

76. In South-East Asia the continuing tragedy of Kampuchea poses similarly grave security and humanitarian concern for the international community. For the fifth successive year the Kampuchean people find themselves under the yoke of alien domination and foreign occupation and are being denied their right to self-determination. The Kampuchean people have been uprooted from their homes and large numbers have been forced to seek food, shelter and safety in neighbouring Thailand and along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Approximately 60,000 Kampuchean displaced persons are in camps supervised by the UNHCR in Thailand, waiting for resettlement opportunities in third countries or a chance to return safely to their homes, and over 200,000 more are encamped along the border, where they are totally dependent on humanitarian assistance co-ordinated by the United Nations border relief operation. The massive influx of Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons to Thailand has in turn displaced over 100,000 Thai villagers in the border areas. The Kampuchean refugee encampments, as well as the local population in the border areas, are under constant threat of armed attack, shelling and bombardment by Vietnamese occupation forces in Kampuchea. Systematic attacks were conducted by those forces against Kampuchean civilian refugee camps between January and April of this year in violation of humanitarian principles, resulting in numerous casualties. The attacking forces also razed to the ground a Red Cross hospital, schools, and lowly shelters which have housed tens of thousands of refugees. Bombardment of those camps by Vietnamese guns has continued sporadically since June of this year, hampering international relief operations and exacerbating the already tense situation along the border.

77. The plight of the Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons, as well as that of the affected Thai villagers in the border areas, rightly continues to be a matter of serious concern to the international community. It may be recalled in particular that the General Assembly, in resolution 35/6, called for stationing a United Nations observer team on the Thai side of the border, in conjunction with the establishment of safe areas under United Nations supervision in western Kampuchea for the displaced Kampuchean civilians who wished to return to their homeland. Once again the Commission on Human

Rights and the Economic and Social Council expressed grave concern over the activities of the foreign forces in Kampuchea, in particular their military attacks on refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border. My delegation therefore believes that appropriate measures such as establishing safe areas for Kampuchean civilians and stationing United Nations observers should again be considered in order to help deter future Vietnamese actions and thus save innocent lives.

78. The Government of Thailand reaffirms its continued commitment to humanitarian principles in doing whatever it can to alleviate the sufferings of the Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons, but our efforts require a reciprocal commitment on the part of the international community. As we are a developing country, our resources are limited, and the accompanying political, social and security considerations related to the refugee problem impose an additional strain on Thai society. We shall continue to do our fair share, but we cannot be expected to shoulder the burden alone. The United Nations has been in the forefront of the international effort to assist Kampuchean civilians affected by the ongoing conflict in Kampuchea. This undertaking is in line with the Organization's highest purposes and principles. The continuing humanitarian needs along the Thai-Kampuchean border are both real and manifest. It is an international problem that calls for international action. It is the proper function of the United Nations to respond to these pressing humanitarian needs. The Government of Thailand therefore urges the United Nations and the Secretary-General to continue to provide the framework and leadership for the humanitarian relief and assistance programme along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

79. In this regard my delegation would like to express its profound appreciation to the donor countries as well as to the Secretary-General, the United Nations agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the many international voluntary agencies which have helped to avert a major tragedy by coming to the relief and assistance of Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons. We urge donor countries to continue to give their full support to the humanitarian relief operation of the United Nations and also to consider sympathetically the urgent need for increased resettlement of Kampuchean as well as other Indo-Chinese refugees. At the same time, the inalienable right of Kampuchean refugees and other displaced Indo-Chinese people to return safely to their homes must be reaffirmed. Voluntary repatriation continues to be the most natural solution to the refugee problem in South-East Asia. However, it is apparent that the humanitarian situation in South-East Asia can be permanently resolved only through a comprehensive settlement on the underlying political problems. As the Secretary-General states in his annual report [*ibid.*], "The problem of refugees can be resolved only with a settlement of the root political causes".

80. There are disturbing reports of demographic changes being imposed by the occupying Power in several provinces of Kampuchea through the settlement of Vietnamese nationals and the further displacement of the Kampuchean population. Such action is in contravention of international law and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and should be strongly condemned by the world community.

81. Viet Nam's present intransigence and intentions constitute destabilizing factors in South-East Asia and continue to hinder constructive dialogue and co-operation among the countries of the region. The situation in Kampuchea continues to be a direct threat to the peace and

stability of the region as well as to international peace and security.

82. In recognition of this fact, the General Assembly at the past four successive sessions adopted, by overwhelming and increasing majorities, resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the free exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people.

83. The Assembly and the International Conference on Kampuchea held under United Nations auspices in 1981 have outlined a reasonable and practical framework for peaceful settlement of the conflict which takes into account the legitimate interests of all concerned. My delegation earnestly calls upon Viet Nam as a Member of the Organization to forgo the recourse to arms and to begin the process of negotiations that will lead to a peaceful and comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem in the interests of regional as well as international peace and security.

84. In an effort to create the necessary atmosphere for negotiations, I proposed in April of this year that Viet Nam withdraw its forces 30 kilometres from the Thai-Kampuchean border. That proposal was endorsed by the other foreign ministers of the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] [see A/38/302] as a necessary confidence-building measure. It was also intended as a measure to relieve tension and, in particular, the danger to Kampuchean civilian refugees along the border. Regrettably, the Vietnamese response has been negative and renewed bombardment of refugee encampments along the border has since occurred.

85. Since Viet Nam has announced partial withdrawals of its troops, it should agree to withdraw those troops from the Thai border, an action that would be more verifiable as it will take place in a clearly defined geographical area. It is further proposed that a cease-fire be observed in the areas where withdrawals have taken place, which should then be constituted as safe areas for uprooted Kampuchean civilians under the auspices of UNHCR. In addition, a United Nations peace-keeping force or observer group could be introduced to supervise the withdrawals and to keep the peace along the border. International economic assistance would then be envisaged as a means to help rebuild the livelihood of the uprooted Kampucheans in those areas.

86. The people of Kampuchea have suffered inexorably from the ravages of war and the military occupation of their country. The ASEAN foreign ministers have therefore envisaged the eventual convening of an international conference for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Kampuchea after the withdrawal of all foreign forces, as part of a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

87. Despite a five-year campaign of suppression and intimidation, the Kampuchean nationalist resistance against the Vietnamese occupation forces is growing in strength. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has rallied the Kampuchean people to the struggle for national liberation and independence and has gained wide international support and recognition. The broad-based Coalition Government under Prince Sihanouk is a positive step towards a comprehensive political settlement and national reconciliation in Kampuchea.

88. My delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, as well as to the other members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, for their continuing efforts to find

a just and durable solution to the Kampuchean problem, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to them by the International Conference on Kampuchea. At the same time, my delegation expresses its sincere appreciation for the continued efforts of Mr. Willibald Pahr of Austria, the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

89. My delegation would also like to express its deep appreciation for the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representatives and staff which have been undertaken on the Assembly's behalf and in the interest of international peace and security. My delegation urges the United Nations to continue its legitimate role in order to foster a peaceful process, within the framework of the Charter, for the resolution of this pressing international issue.

90. My delegation is deeply concerned at the prolonged and serious crisis afflicting the global economy. We believe that, while the underlying problems are structural in nature and can be alleviated by certain domestic adjustments, determined international efforts to revitalize the development process, and in particular to accelerate economic growth in the developing countries, are necessary for a sustained global recovery. Given the reality of economic interdependence, we believe that such recovery must go hand in hand with development; the two are inseparable.

91. For this reason, my delegation is disappointed that the recent sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at Belgrade, failed to adopt the type of resolutions which would have addressed themselves to the urgent imperatives of our time. In particular, they failed to respond to the immediate need for concerted international action to assist the developing countries, many of which are experiencing serious balance-of-payments deficits, shrinkage of resource flows and access to markets, increasing import costs and hence declining capacity to import capital goods needed for economic development.

92. As a developing country heavily dependent for the financing of its development programmes on export earnings from food products, agricultural produce and industrial raw materials, Thailand is particularly concerned that commodity prices in the past few years have plunged to their lowest level in over 30 years. Increasing resort by the industrialized countries to protectionist measures, including export subsidies, quantitative restrictions and a host of other non-tariff barriers, continues to accentuate the economic crisis of the developing countries, including Thailand, as well as to hamper trade growth and global economic recovery. My delegation therefore believes that commitments to maintain an open trading system, such as were agreed to at the ministerial meeting of the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in November 1982, must be backed promptly by specific actions to reduce barriers to trade. Thus, while my Government welcomes the commitments to halt protectionism made in May 1983 at the Williamsburg Summit of Industrialized Nations, we are disheartened to learn that the dismantling of the debilitating trade barriers is made conditional upon progress in the recovery of the developed economies.

93. My delegation endorses the urgent need for sustained mobilization of international financial resources to assist the national efforts of the developing countries to harness domestic energy sources. We renew our call for an early establishment of the proposed energy affiliate of the World Bank and urge efficient implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action for the

Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy⁴ as expeditiously as possible.

94. My delegation attaches high priority to the goals of collective self-reliance and greater economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries, not only within the ASEAN subregion, but also at the global level within the framework of the Caracas Programme of Action.⁵ Thailand played host to a meeting in implementation of that Programme and took an active part in the recent meeting at Tunis of the Intergovernmental Follow-up and Co-ordination Committee set up by the Caracas Programme of Action. We shall continue these efforts in the belief that their success will enhance the prospect of achieving a restructured and equitable world economic order.

95. Furthermore, since South-South co-operation has become increasingly important and relevant to future development strategies, and even though the primary responsibility for such co-operation lies with the developing countries themselves, we believe that the continued support of the United Nations system is indispensable.

96. While we are striving to establish a more equitable international economic order, the world's resources are being disproportionately spent on armaments both nuclear and conventional. Furthermore, the arms race is moving into the deep sea and outer space. Efforts both within and outside the framework of the United Nations to halt and reverse the arms race have had limited success in the face of technological advances which will soon make earlier achievements in strategic arms control less meaningful. Concurrently, the deterioration in the international situation, marked by hotbeds of tension, has heightened the sense of insecurity among nations and provided an added impetus to the momentum of the arms race, thereby bringing the world nearer to self-annihilation.

97. Although the predominant goal of nuclear disarmament remains undisputed, the danger that conventional armaments have posed to peace, security and mankind must not be ignored. Measures to arrest this alarming trend are therefore urgently needed. As a further step to advance the cause of disarmament, an initiative such as the establishment of zones of peace in various regions of the world should be further promoted. Such zones of peace will help to create conditions which are conducive to regional peace and stability, thereby strengthening the security of States and contributing to the goal of disarmament.

98. In the light of this fact, Thailand and other ASEAN nations have since 1971 called for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. This would also serve as a basis for co-operation and good will among all the countries of the region. Today Thailand and the other ASEAN countries are still actively pursuing this goal and remain committed to the early realization of the concept. Similarly, the establishment of a zone of peace in South Asia could enhance the prospects of peace, stability and security in that important region of the world. My delegation supports all constructive and meaningful efforts to bring about the early realization of the proposal. We regret that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean has thus far failed to reach a consensus on the date for the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, at Colombo. My delegation hopes that the divergence of views in the *Ad Hoc* Committee can be narrowed so that the Conference may be duly convened.

99. While according priority to nuclear and conventional disarmament, the urgent need to curb other types of armaments cannot be overlooked. The Thai delegation

remains concerned at reports on the alleged uses of chemical and biological weapons in certain areas of the world, including South-West and South-East Asia. In view of their inhumane and indiscriminate effects, my delegation is firmly opposed to the development, manufacture, stockpiling and use of these weapons. In 1981 and 1982 my Government provided every assistance and co-operation to the United Nations groups of experts which were sent to Thailand to collect evidence on the use of those weapons in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/144. Unfortunately, the United Nations experts were not permitted to enter the affected areas in the neighbouring countries to conduct on-site investigations. We hope that co-operation will be forthcoming from the countries concerned and that doubts with regard to the scope of application of the Geneva Protocol of 1925⁶ and the 1972 Convention⁷ will soon be resolved and a procedure acceptable to all sides will be established for verification of compliance.

100. While the arms race proceeds at an uncontrolled pace it is not surprising that over-reliance on weapons at times leads to tragic results. The circumstances surrounding the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines passenger aircraft have cast a long dark shadow over international affairs. The Government and people of Thailand were deeply shocked and saddened by the tragic event and the loss of 269 innocent lives, including those of eight Thai nationals. We participated in the Security Council debate and deeply deplored the Soviet action, to no avail. The Thai Government demands that the resolution recently adopted by the extraordinary session of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization be fully implemented so that the provisions relating to safety of international civil aviation can be strengthened. All parties concerned should give their full co-operation to the ICAO investigation, so as to prevent the recurrence of such a tragic event. We once again urge the Soviet Government to assume responsibility for its actions and duly compensate the families of those who lost their lives. An appropriate humanitarian response by the Soviet Government could help to restore confidence in the safety of international civil aviation as well as in the viability of civilized norms of conduct between States.

101. It is therefore pertinent to remind the Assembly that the situation in the region of Asia where the tragic event occurred remains unsettled and could pose a threat to international peace and security. Territorial disputes dating from the conclusion of the Second World War remain outstanding and are a source of tension. On the Korean peninsula there is an understandable aspiration towards peaceful reunification of the Korean nation. My delegation believes that reunification should be decided upon by the Korean people themselves without external interference, in accordance with the principle of self-determination. My delegation therefore urges that a dialogue be initially agreed upon between the North and South of Korea to resolve the Korean question by peaceful means.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.

102. The intractability of the many issues and problems in international affairs which have been laid at the doorstep of the United Nations has diminished confidence in the Organization's capacity to maintain and manage a peaceful world order. This may be said to reflect the diversity and complexity of a world of nation-States and the reality that there is little that can be done if the strong and powerful choose to ignore or circumvent the Organization. And yet the United Nations stands as a symbol of hope for the major part of humanity. The overwhelming majority of States, many of which have been assisted

by the Organization in the attainment of their independence, adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter. Their faith in the Organization can be a force for stability in world affairs. Witness, for example, the role of many less-powerful nations in peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Moreover, the United Nations is involved in vital developmental, social and technical assistance for peoples in all parts of the world. The Organization is engaged in attempts to ameliorate conflict situations or to prevent their escalation in many critical areas, including southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Thus the efforts of the Secretary-General and the various organs of the United Nations deserve the full support of all Member States, for much more needs to be done before we can hope to bequeath to succeeding generations a peaceful, secure and prosperous world. We must not fail to leave this legacy. If we did, there would not be many generations to succeed ours.

103. Prince Saud AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to begin my statement by congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your election to that responsible office is an expression of the esteem of the international community both for you personally and for the prominent position of your country among the nations of the world.

104. I also wish to join those of my colleagues who have preceded me in expressing admiration and gratitude to Mr. Imre Hollai, President of the thirty-seventh session, for the skill with which he conducted its proceedings.

105. Our appreciation goes also to the Secretary-General, who has to carry out his heavy responsibilities in the difficult circumstances now confronting the countries and peoples of the world. The wisdom, foresight and objectivity with which he conducts United Nations affairs deserve our respect and support. We wish him all success.

106. I also wish to join the heads of other delegations in welcoming Saint Christopher and Nevis as a new Member of the United Nations, now to participate with the other Member States in achieving the noble objectives of the Organization.

107. The General Assembly is reconvening this year in the shadow of an international community still burdened with conflicts, turmoil and intrigues, of an international situation still characterized by tension and anxiety, of political problems still awaiting solutions and of economic crises which are choking the countries of the world.

108. We come here every year to the General Assembly to face this long list of issues, problems and tensions, like someone searching for the light at the end of the tunnel. We seek ways and means of finding common ground in confronting these problems. We make pledges and promises to protect the independence of our countries, to refrain from interfering in each others' affairs and to respect the sovereignty of each State and its right to choose freely the form of government it desires. We fervently endeavour to adhere to the lofty purposes and principles which form the basis of the Organization.

109. Fortunately the keen interest we sensed on the part of world leaders this year in participating in the deliberations of the General Assembly and their statements about the need to deal seriously with the problems under consideration and to adhere to the Charter of the Organization are all an indication of the value attached by States and peoples to the important role of the United Nations.

110. As Members of the Organization, we are all pledged to adhere to the Charter and to be in earnest in implementing its provisions. The super-Powers bear a special responsibility in this regard. The fact that they are super-Powers possessing considerable resources of power and means of defence and influence gives them no special rights. Power does not confer rights; rather, it imposes duties and responsibilities.

111. It is the duty of those Powers to establish the basis for just and efficient international co-operation and to protect the interests and independence of small States, rather than dividing them into spheres of influence. History provides ample proof that a division of the world into spheres of influence among conflicting forces leads, in the final analysis, to the outbreak of world wars, with the resulting catastrophes and destruction.

112. All this confirms that world peace cannot prevail and international relations cannot be established unless the contemporary international political order is based on the principles of right, equality, justice and the rule of law—all of which constitutes a complete and indivisible framework.

113. The Islamic world, through the Organization of the Islamic Conference; the Arab world, through the League of Arab States; and, from within those two groups, the group comprising the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, have played and continue to play constructive roles in strengthening and developing co-operation among the States members of those organizations, in accordance with the basic rules which brought them together and unified them, and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, international laws and practice and the principles of right and justice. These organizations strive for prosperity and progress among their member States, thereby fulfilling the purposes of the United Nations and reaffirming the principles of its Charter.

114. We hope that the Secretary-General of the United Nations will intensify his efforts to ensure co-operation with the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Secretary-General of the Arab League, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions that have recommended increased co-operation among them, in the interest of international co-operation and world stability.

115. His Majesty King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz has confirmed the Kingdom's keen desire to lend its full co-operation at the international level, within the United Nations and its organizations and agencies, and to abide by the Charter of the United Nations, supporting its endeavours and combating any attempts to weaken it and reduce the rule of law, as happens when attempts are made to replace it by the force of arms and by terrorism.

116. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has anchored its dealings with other States on solid grounds. These grounds are: the principle of national sovereignty, absolute rejection of any attempts to tamper with that sovereignty, and dealing with others on the basis of equality and refraining from any intervention in their internal affairs.

117. While my country supports all the efforts of the United Nations to reduce tension and conflict in various areas of the world, it condemns all attempts at external covert or overt intervention that can threaten the security and stability of other States. In this connection, we should learn from past experience and realize that these external adventures will backfire and in the end have adverse effects for those engaging in them.

118. It is regrettable that there should be a deep gulf, a wide gap, between the commitment to the principles

and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the actual conduct of States in international relations. This has rendered more frequent the resort to force, violence and military superiority in settling disputes, instead of adhering to the principle of legitimacy and searching for concepts of right and justice. This regrettable development has led to a loss of prestige for the international Organization, which is a reflection of the hopes of mankind for a society where security, peace, justice and the rule of law prevail.

119. This dangerous situation makes it necessary, indeed urgent, for all the members of the international community to consider serious and responsible measures to reaffirm the commitment to the original principles of the Organization and to strengthen its lofty aims and objectives.

120. The United Nations has adopted dozens of resolutions relating to Israel's naked aggression against the people of Palestine, including resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly since 11 December 1948 providing that the Palestine refugees should be permitted to return to their homes if they choose to do so and that compensation should be paid to those choosing not to return. Resolution 194 (III) has been followed by dozens of resolutions on the same line, but Israel has refused to implement any of them. Israel has also refused to implement the resolutions confirming the rights and legitimate interests of the Palestinians living in the territories occupied by Israel. In this regard, a cause for concern is the extent of Israel's defiance of these resolutions, which has led the United Nations to reaffirm its past resolutions by adopting new ones every time the Palestine question comes up for discussion.

121. This dangerous defiance has a negative effect on the credibility of the United Nations itself; the prestige of the international Organization, which embodies the hopes and aspirations of peoples and nations for peace, will be severely shaken if it contents itself with adopting resolutions and recommendations. The viability of the United Nations as a reliable and effective safety-valve for maintaining peace and security in the world and establishing the basis of justice in international co-operation depends to a great extent on its ability to assume its role, not merely by adopting resolutions but also by ensuring their implementation.

122. The United Nations has repeatedly stressed the necessity of safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and has in its resolutions condemned Israel for its role as an aggressor and its occupation of Arab lands. But the result has been that the Zionist entity has not moved one inch away from its policy of aggression. There can be no better example of that than the naked Israeli military occupation of Lebanon and the resulting deterioration of the conditions in the area.

123. In that way Israel has given conclusive proof that it does not wish to listen to the unanimous calls of the international community. After all this, we must ask: Does the United Nations have any alternative to proceeding from the level of condemnation to the level of tangible measures that would put an end to this aggression, which violates all international obligations, principles and laws?

124. That question is put to the United Nations. If it wishes to regain its credibility, its resolutions must be taken seriously. That cannot be done if the resolutions are not implemented.

125. The continued denial by Israel and those who support it of the right of the Palestinian people to live in freedom, security and peace in its own country will result in catastrophe for those who created the problem.

It is also necessary to warn against the dangerous measures that the Zionist entity has taken and continues to take in Al-Quds, which is recognized as a Holy City by more than 1 billion Moslems all over the world. Foremost among these measures are those taken to judaize the Holy City and to change its features, as well as the excavations under the Masjid Al-Aqsa and the adjacent demolitions, which are likely to undermine its structure. If the work wakes up one morning to the news that the Masjid Al-Aqsa has been damaged or completely destroyed, the violent reactions by the Islamic world will have dangerous effects, effects that will not be confined to the security and stability of the area but that will extend far and wide.

126. The dangerous developments and repercussions arising from the events in the Middle East crises, added to the inhuman practices of the Zionist entity in Al-Quds and the rest of the occupied territories—in particular, the persistence in establishing settlements—provide most impressive proof of the futility of the hope of establishing a just and lasting peace in the area as long as Israel plans aggression and expansion and as long as the international community does not respond to those plans with more than resolutions of rejection, condemnation and denouncement. On our part, we, as Arabs, have established that we advocate peace, and we continue to reiterate our desire for peace—peace based on justice and not peace imposed by force and subjugation.

127. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, confirmed the firm Arab approach to peace based on justice, peace that guarantees the security and safety of all the States in the region, including the Palestinian State, and secures the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Those rights include the right of return and self-determination and the establishment of its own State on its own land. Such a peace cannot be established without the participation of the Palestinian people through its sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

128. This approach has recently been endorsed in the texts adopted at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held at Geneva,⁸ which affirmed the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the establishment of security and peace. These texts appeal to the international community to end military, economic and political aid to Israel in order to prevent its continued aggression.

129. As in past years, the General Assembly has before it this year for consideration and for the adoption of positions and resolutions a long list of problems involving Zionist aggression and crime.

130. We hope the international community will demonstrate its objectivity and its determination to require each Member State to enforce its resolutions or suffer the sanctions stipulated in the Charter.

131. We demand of the great Powers, to which the Zionist entity owes its creation and continued existence—and we demand of the United States of America in particular, which bestows upon Israel considerable means of power and a great portion of its means of livelihood—that they take action to deter Israel, since the danger has now grown to an extent that poses a threat to the security and stability not only of the region, but of the world at large.

132. The problem of Lebanon today is the result of continued and recurring Zionist aggression. Israel's aggression and invasion of Lebanon under the eyes of the international community has stirred up internal conflicts nourished by Israel, thus creating further complications. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in co-operation with

Lebanon and with sister States and friends, is doing its utmost to prevent a further complication of the problem and to protect Lebanon's integrity, freedom and independence and to secure the resumption of normal life.

133. At a time when the Arabs prove to the whole world their good intentions, their movement towards peace and their keen interest in establishing the principles of legitimacy and respect for the international will, Israel gives one proof after another of its aggressive intentions, its expansionist objectives and its designs to pervade the region with chaos, instability, disturbance and dissension.

134. While the Arabs have offered to the world irrefutable proof of their desire for a just and comprehensive peace—namely, the Arab peace plan—Israel has added to its chain of aggressive actions a new link which involves horror, violence and threats to security and stability on a scale not less than its previous actions. I refer to its brazen military invasion of Lebanon and horrible massacres that resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent children, women and elderly persons, a deterioration of conditions in Lebanon and a threat to security and peace in the region. Israel's aim was to abort all peace efforts and initiatives. Action in furtherance of that aim included its categorical and immediate rejection even of President Reagan's initiative, while the Arab States endeavoured, particularly through the Committee of Seven emanating from the Fez Summit Conference, to benefit from positive aspects of that initiative.

135. This happened at the very time when the intensive efforts of the Arabs to stop the fighting in Lebanon and to begin a national dialogue between the various Lebanese factions, as a prelude to the return of stability, national unity and full sovereignty, proved the Arabs' capability and determination to engage seriously in the issues of peace, while the continued Israeli military presence in Lebanon, the continued naked Israeli attempts to stir up dissension and problems between the various Lebanese communities, and Israel's interference in Lebanon's internal affairs provide further proof of its evil intent and its aggressive objectives and purposes.

136. By its repeated attacks on Lebanon and its flagrant military invasion of that country, Israel intended to make Lebanon a feather in the wind, to make it unable to stand on its own feet or to make its voice heard, with no cause to occupy it except fighting, internal strife and the loss of life and property. But the courageous Lebanese people has proved its resilience and ability to rise to the challenge, even under the harshest and gloomiest conditions. An agreement has been reached on a cease-fire and on the initiation of a national dialogue in order to reach agreement and find a fundamental solution to the problem, based on respect for Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, Arab character, the unity of the people and Government, and the protection of the rights of everyone in the country on the basis of equality, respect, coexistence and co-operation.

137. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which made intensive efforts to achieve a cease-fire agreement and to begin a national dialogue between the Lebanese parties, hopes that the positive spirit which led to that agreement will grow deeper and firmer. At the same time, the Kingdom believes that the Israeli presence in Lebanon—an aggressive military presence resulting from an invasion by force—will remain the major cause of setbacks and deterioration in the situation. The Israeli perspective of the situation in Lebanon—or, rather, in the whole Middle East region—emanates from dangerous racist and expansionist attitudes and relies on arrogance of power and a desire to dominate. Therefore, the ending of Israeli intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon and the full

and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Lebanese territories are prerequisites for the return of normal conditions to Lebanon and for dedicating all efforts once more towards establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

138. The war between the two neighbouring Muslim States, Iraq and Iran, has entered its fourth year, and it still inflicts on the two countries the highest price in lives and potential. There is no justification for its continuance, and there will be no victor, regardless of the outcome.

139. Iraq has demonstrated its complete readiness to forget the past, to stop the fighting and to preserve the lives of the Iraqi and Iranian peoples. It accepted the mediation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations and the various international and bilateral endeavours, the latest of which was the endeavour by the States of the Gulf Co-operation Council, which we hope will be successful.

140. The application of the principles of our Islamic religion, accepted by the international community, requires that both Iraq and Iran stop the fighting and resort to reason to settle their dispute. The great Powers and the Security Council also bear a special responsibility in this regard.

141. We hope that Iran will respond to the call for peace and proceed in that direction.

142. The fierce war in Afghanistan, where for three years and nine months the Afghan *mujahidin* have engaged in a war of liberation against the Soviet military invasion, sets the greatest example of sacrifice and struggle.

143. This war also represents another face of aggression, that perpetrated by a super-Power against a State which to that very moment had had friendly relations with it and had maintained good-neighbourly relations with it for many years. That State was rewarded by invasion. We salute the Afghan *mujahidin*, and we fully support the demand of the Afghan people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from its territory and the establishment of a system of government acceptable to it that would maintain its neutrality and preserve its beliefs and faith. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has fulfilled its responsibilities within the framework of the intensive efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eliminate the means of the oppression and occupation suffered by the Afghan people in order to enable it to act freely and to assure its right to freedom, independence and the exercise of sovereignty in its own land, and to draw attention to the gravity of the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan and the need to stand firm against that aggression. That aggression constitutes a serious precedent that is not limited to violating the sovereignty of the Afghan people and depriving it of its right to self-determination and to choose the system of government acceptable to it, but extends to breeding instability in the region and threatening international peace and security.

144. We reiterate our appeal to the Soviet Union, as a super-Power sharing the responsibility for international peace, to set an example by withdrawing from Afghanistan and leaving the country to its people, so that it may recover the status of neutrality and live at peace with all its neighbours.

145. We also hope that the Soviet Union will appreciate the high moral and political price it must pay for its continued occupation of Afghanistan and its war against the Afghan people. The entire Moslem world and all nations that cherish freedom and peace support the rights

of the Afghan people and demand that the Soviet Union withdraw from its land.

146. I wish to reiterate my country's thanks to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for the generous assistance it extends to the Afghan refugees and emigrants, at the expense of Pakistan's economy and potential. The number of refugees in Pakistan exceeds 3.5 million.

147. The policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Government of South Africa is an ugly feature of the civilization of the twentieth century. South Africa stands with its Zionist ally in Palestine and partner in the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the exchange of terrorist expertise before the eyes of the world, with the aim of threatening the security of small States and terrorizing them. Each of them ties its fate to the other. Each of them is doomed to failure unless it recognizes reality and follows the path of justice.

148. We reiterate our condemnation of the racial policies of South Africa and its evil alliance with the Zionist entity in Palestine. We demand of the countries of the world that they take the position that corresponds with their international responsibilities and the principles which form the basis of the Charter of the United Nations. We also support the right of the Namibian people to independence.

149. The General Assembly, at its second special session devoted to disarmament, convened last year, emphasized the dangers faced by mankind because of the problem of armaments. The non-nuclear States expressed the desire to protect themselves against the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons, to prevent the testing of nuclear weapons, to ensure the cessation of the manufacture of chemical weapons and the destruction of arsenals of such weapons, and to establish zones of peace and nuclear-free zones in the Middle East, Africa, South-East Asia and other regions of the world.

150. We see how, nevertheless, the Zionist entity in Israel persists in the use of internationally banned weapons. The world has recently seen tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese, most of them children, women and the elderly, falling victim to cluster and concussion bombs used by Israel during its aggressive invasion of Lebanon.

151. The United Nations could solve the problem of ending the arming of Israel, South Africa and other countries with weapons of mass destruction, particularly as this falls outside the realm of the extremely complex issues of international disarmament.

152. In the last few years the world has faced an economic situation characterized by continued economic recession, a deterioration in the terms of international trade, increased rates of unemployment even in the industrialized countries, a sharp fluctuation in the balance of foreign trade and payments, the increased recurrence of protectionism in the industrialized countries, and the adoption by these countries of a bilateral approach to solve their international economic problems. Naturally, the impact of these conditions on developing countries has been extremely serious and this has impeded their developmental efforts.

153. These developments proved the nature and importance of interdependence and illustrated the fact that no country can live in isolation from the rest of the world or shield itself from the economic problems confronting the world. They also showed the impossibility of any country or group of countries undertaking alone responsibility for resolving world economic problems. They have consequently confirmed the necessity and priority of

broad international co-operation in dealing with international economic problems.

154. The increased tendency towards protectionism among the industrial countries represents a regrettable approach which world experience has proved to be futile and destructive to international trade. Consequently, a continuance of this tendency threatens the entire world with a return to the tragic and painful experiences of the 1930s.

155. We therefore call upon the industrial countries to repeal the protectionist measures adopted by them and to reaffirm their commitment to the system of free international trade. We call upon them to deal with economic and trade problems through existing international channels and in accordance with recognized international agreements and treaties.

156. It was natural that the international monetary system should face considerable difficulties as a result of the serious world economic developments in the past few years. We are convinced that although this system had demonstrated its ability to face difficult international conditions, it had also demonstrated the necessity and urgency of reforms which would enable it to respond more flexibly to the international economic and political changes that had taken place since its inception and to take better into account the development needs of developing countries.

157. It is evident that there is an organic interrelationship between the issues of trade, commodities, finance and development that calls for an integrated and comprehensive approach to these issues. It is truly regrettable that the repeated attempts to activate international economic co-operation and to launch a new round of comprehensive economic negotiations have not as yet borne fruit. However, we still sincerely believe in the importance of these negotiations and in the necessity of overcoming all procedural barriers to their initiation.

158. The developing countries have reiterated time and again their true desire for sincere co-operation in the interest of the welfare of the international community and have shown a considerable degree of flexibility and a definite tendency to pragmatism and objectivity in their approach to international economic co-operation for development. That tendency was particularly demonstrated in the resolutions adopted by the Seventh Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2] and in the Buenos Aires Platform adopted by the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77.⁹ It is regrettable that this positive spirit among the developing countries has not yet received a proper response from the industrial countries. Thus a golden opportunity for co-operation was missed at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

159. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has demonstrated its strong support for the efforts to develop and strengthen economic co-operation among the developing countries and for the strategy of collective self-reliance. I should like to reiterate from this rostrum our continued support for such efforts, which we consider an essential complement to the efforts to strengthen broad international economic co-operation.

160. I am convinced that the difficulties which hinder our efforts to activate international economic co-operation and to establish an international economic system based on justice must under no circumstances be a cause for despair. On the contrary, they should prompt us to continue our efforts tirelessly and relentlessly.

161. The tools of death and destruction possessed by the super-Powers have reached such a degree of perfection and precision that they could easily and instantly annihilate our civilization. Consequently, it rests with all of us to exert earnest and continuous efforts to prevent the resort to those weapons of mass destruction and to support world peace by every possible means. If that imminent danger and the tremendous balance of terror between the nuclear Powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, is a deterrent to the transformation of crises into full-scale destructive wars, then such a preventive deterrent provides no certain guarantee for peace. There can be no guarantee except by initiating a process of disarmament, by destroying those lethal weapons and abandoning their production. That alone will not suffice. Nothing will be achieved unless there is a fundamental change in present attitudes, a relinquishment by the Powers monopolizing weaponry of their greed, an endeavour by every nation on Earth to choose co-operation and harmony in preference to feuds and conflicts, and the creation of a suitable environment wherein mutual trust can prevail.

162. Force may sometimes succeed in solving certain problems, but such success remains vulnerable. It will never reach the roots of problems. In the last analysis, those who seek fundamental solutions to their problems must acquire the necessary moral capability.

163. Peaceful coexistence between peoples is not just a political slogan or an economic necessity. It is a pressing need for humanity to achieve its goals of progress, prosperity and abundance.

164. As is rightly written in the Koran, "As for the foam, it disappears like scum upon the banks, while that which is for the good of mankind remains on the Earth". The All-Powerful God spoke the truth.

165. Mr. TALEB IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, your accession to the important post of President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly offers the Algerian delegation and me personally the opportunity to express to you with great pleasure our sincere and warm congratulations. Your experience as a statesman and your highly valued qualities guarantee that this session will proceed, I am sure, in a calm and orderly atmosphere and that it will live up to expectations.

166. Your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, deserved well of the United Nations. He worked lucidly and resolutely in a very difficult international period to affirm still further the role of the Organization and to defend its values and make its voice heard.

167. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General. He is a man of conviction and courage, and the international community offers him its appreciation, gratitude and support for his efforts and initiative.

168. Lastly, I should like to welcome among us the delegation of St. Christopher and Nevis.

169. International relations are going through one of the most critical periods in history. Neither constant repetition of this fact nor the appeal to the community of nations that regularly follows can alter the essential point, namely, that the state of international relations is serious. It is, in fact, extremely disturbing. A crisis with deep and lasting manifestations is darkening the world horizon. Increasing dangers are threatening the future of the human race with insecurity and even making that future uncertain. That situation threatens universal peace and development. Is it intelligence that is missing? Do we have a feeling of resignation? Have we lost our power

of imagination? Are those the obstacles that are preventing mankind from fulfilling its destiny?

170. But mankind is not doomed to wasted effort, to a crumbling of solidarity, to a paralysis of action, in brief, to a division within itself.

171. Indeed the reality of the problems and the scope of the challenges bring us down to the shape of contemporary geopolitical space and to the logic of the relationships of force and unbridled power.

172. The conflicting structure of international relations is at the root of this all-out crisis. Is it a hardened vision of the world or is it a worse scenario?

173. In any case, as events unfold so swiftly we are brought to a split between intention and action, allowing events to determine what ideas prevail. The temptation to gain power thus triumphs over accommodation and confrontation wins out over dialogue.

174. The acute nature of international tension and the revival of antagonistic visions of the world order accompanied by renewed questioning of the all too few achievements of détente all exacerbate the arms race and increase the hotbeds of tension. That makes even more real the desire to split up the third world for geo-strategic purposes through the search for spheres of influence, strong-points and strategic staging posts, among other things.

175. Third-world struggles—especially the national liberation movements and efforts for economic development—are now seen through the distorting prism of East-West confrontation. Progress in decolonization is being halted or deviated from its natural course. Negotiations on the reduction or limitation of arms falter when they come up against claims for supremacy.

176. The world economic crisis, inseparable from this environment, on which it in turn has an aggravating effect, and with which it constantly interacts, is shedding new light on the deterioration in the present system of international relations. This crisis is preventing growth and jeopardizing development.

177. Thus, just what is at stake becomes clear: it is the very ability of the community of nations to ensure an orderly transition towards a new system of international relations. The stakes are enormous.

178. It is hardly necessary to say that the stability of our world and its prosperity can result only from the far-sighted implementation of strategies that break with those policies that led to the collapse of the old order.

179. We must finally admit and fully recognize that meeting these demands is at the very heart of the problem of how to establish an order based on collective security and on co-operation, harmony and progress among nations.

180. Adversity is the test of strict principles, great works and great designs. It is in time of difficulty that we must affirm our determination and strengthen the ideals of right, justice and peace with which the United Nations is identified. In the conflicts and tensions of today's world the United Nations has a truth to tell, laws to uphold and values to impose. What are they? They mean ensuring that all peoples can exercise their own free judgement, guaranteeing conditions of universal stability and security and, lastly—and this is inseparable from the preceding—establishing the new international economic order, which remains the keystone of peace. What are the means to this end? They are orderly political dialogue in good faith.

181. While everything in the current crisis urges us to carry on this dialogue and to join our efforts, demanding of us innovative and courageous vision, the international community seems to be abandoning itself to doubt,

mistrust and the most damaging inward-looking tendencies. The inability to communicate prevails. The failure in dialogue intensifies and exacerbates the crisis in relations between States. The acuteness of this crisis and its potential uncontrollable developments shed more light on the interrelationship of problems and the interdependence of nations which today, more than ever before, do indeed have a common fate.

182. In this era of upheavals and perils, the United Nations represents the last refuge for those principles and lofty values that have contributed to the establishment of improved relations between nations. And yet the United Nations is weakened in that very aspect which is the whole essence and force of its reason for existing, namely the prevalence of dialogue over confrontation and the desire to establish a new system of international relations bringing the human race together in an undertaking that is greater than itself. Its primary functions of preserving peace and security and guiding international co-operation for development are, unfortunately, repeatedly set aside.

183. The United Nations system, with its universality and its ideal of democracy in handling common problems and in decision-making, must remain the major framework for our thinking and action. It must remain the holy, inviolate sanctuary for the fundamental principles on which international society is built and for the aims of peace and progress that it has set itself. Paramount among these is to ensure that all peoples have full control of their own destinies. That is indeed the primary role and the first duty of the United Nations.

184. In the Middle East there is a crystallization of the most serious challenge to the fundamental principles of the United Nations: denial of the rights of the Palestinian people, systematic recourse to a policy of force, and attacks on the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Arab States.

185. It is absolutely essential for the United Nations to defuse this challenge and to impose the obligation to abide by the law. This means promoting a just and lasting settlement, including as its central element implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the fulfilment of its historic aspiration to an independent State. The recent International Conference on the Question of Palestine invited the United Nations to do exactly that. The United Nations must respond and thus live up to the expectations which the international community thus expressed.

186. The only possible solution of the Middle East crisis is a comprehensive settlement. The recognized failure of piecemeal approaches requires that the only path to peace must finally be taken, namely, a solution divorced from the facile temptation merely to give legal colour to the existing balance of relations of force, a solution which holds aloof from the play of circumstance. The participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is essential in developing this solution.

187. There is little need for me to say once again that the United Nations has an obligation to the Palestinian people and has a duty to promote an overall settlement with proper regard for the security of the Arab States which have suffered aggression, particularly Syria, and ensuring for Lebanon respect for its national unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty. In this connection, it is to be hoped that the recent cease-fire in Lebanon will finally open up the path towards the national consensus which is the only path that can lead to reconciliation in that country and to its reconstruction in concord and harmony.

188. The United Nations, which has the historic task of ensuring complete decolonization, has a special responsibility regarding the national aspirations of the Namibian people. The Namibian people are continuing a heroic struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative, and they must see their right to independence triumph. To that end, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the framework for an ideal settlement on which there is today a genuine international consensus. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to ensure full implementation of that resolution. It must also avert any attempts to distort the process of decolonization in Namibia.

189. Condemnation of the *apartheid* régime must continue unabated, and collective action to eliminate it and to outlaw it from international society must continue unceasingly. Similarly, there must be outright denunciation of all manifestations of racial oppression, which infringe the most basic human right: the right to live.

190. Lastly, with regard to the front-line States, it is the duty of the international community to show solidarity. The independent existence of those countries is imperilled and their development efforts are being seriously hampered. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to translate expressions of support for them into effective measures and specific actions.

191. A bloody fratricidal conflict is engulfing Chad. Outside interventions have given it dimensions that it would not otherwise have attained. Only if there is an end to such intervention in all its forms and manifestations will the people of Chad be able to decide, without constraint or hindrance, on a settlement of their problem.

192. This Organization must also help in the search for the African solution which the Organization of African Unity [OAU] is striving to promote in order to hasten national reconciliation in that country.

193. With regard to Western Sahara, Africa, in its wisdom and perspicacity, has made the voice of justice heard loud and clear by proclaiming the right of a people to a freely chosen national existence. It is the duty of the United Nations to echo that voice, just as it is its duty to foster the process leading to a solution, the bases for which now exist. In this work for peace the United Nations must give assistance and support to the OAU.

194. In this matter the now clearly identified parties to the conflict and the carefully established means of solution determine the framework for a just and lasting settlement, offering the brother peoples of Morocco and Western Sahara the path to reconciliation and agreement.

195. Africa hopes that the obstacles which have arisen to the implementation of the resolution on Western Sahara adopted at the nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [see A/38/312]—notably, at the last meeting of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara—will finally be overcome.

196. Algeria, for its part, true to its principles, is still sincerely and fully ready to work towards that end. We are persuaded that the Greater Arab Maghreb is the perfect setting for such a reconciliation and, in terms of the Western Sahara conflict, provides all the conditions necessary to go beyond this.

197. We believe in the policy of positive good-neighbourliness. We work towards this end with conviction, responsibility and perseverance. Through this—and this alone—can the essential imperatives of stability, security and co-operation be ensured at the regional level, in the interest of all peoples, with respect for the identity and

options of each, and for the greater well-being of the community.

198. In Central America the people are experiencing disquieting developments. We place great hope in the commendable initiative of the Contadora Group which is striving responsibly, within the framework of the essential policy of good-neighbourliness, for a negotiated settlement which respects the fundamental wishes of the people of the region. Any settlement of the other crises and conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America must conform to these same principles.

199. In the context of a serious international crisis, the United Nations is being put to the test in the consolidation of the structure of peace. This presupposes a system of collective security which recognizes the freedom of peoples and nations, puts an end to spiralling over-armament and, more essentially, rids the international society of power relations that lead to conflicts.

200. It is to the credit of the United Nations that it has helped to bring about a greater awareness of the common terms in which the problems of peace, security and development are couched. The establishment of the new international economic order can thus be analyzed as part of a new system of just and democratic international relations, bringing together the independent data of true collective security and international economic co-operation which is new in concept, bases and methods of use. The problems of peace and development come together in a single dynamic leading to the restructuring of the existing order.

201. The crisis of international relations has a forceful impact on the world economic atmosphere. A worldwide, deep-rooted and lasting deterioration is seriously affecting and upsetting the prospects of growth and development in economic terms. While its nature may be challenged or its scale under-estimated, this crisis obliges the international community, and through it the United Nations, to take up the challenge of the organization and management of the welfare of all. The real answer clearly called for by this advanced deterioration in the world economy is still elusive.

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

202. The recovery alluded to is uncertain, fragile and precarious. How can we believe in these early indications and too hastily decoded signals at a time when there is still contraction in international trade, monetary disorder, protectionist outbursts and a stagnant raw materials and capital market? How can we believe in the viability of this recovery when there is no lasting base or stable foundations sustained by a powerful dynamic which the third world, given the means to develop, could generate and maintain?

203. Furthermore, how can we believe in the lasting power of a recovery when everything suggests that only a structural reshaping of the world's economic framework can ensure for growth and development, in their natural interrelationships, the conditions of their viability?

204. It is time to let go of visions that reduce the present crisis to symptomatic passing disturbances of a mere exhaustion of growth or cyclical indicators of difficulties of a development model. It is high time to get down to the necessary job of revitalizing international co-operation.

205. If we are convinced that to a global challenge we should give a global response, then a new and daring approach must be used. Any delay in defining and implementing it makes ever more distant the prospect of a new

upsurge in the world economy and jeopardizes the development effort. This answer must, without any discrimination or arbitrariness, bring together all the conditions for establishing new international relations freed from the burdens and mistakes of the past. This calls for a responsible and action-oriented political dialogue; a political dialogue that, in establishing without complacency a diagnosis of the crisis and judging its proper size, recognizes that everything goes back to the qualitative transformation of international relations; a responsible dialogue that, no longer an end in itself, brings together the spheres of the States' decision-making in putting the world economy in order again; an action-oriented dialogue that would be reconciled with the natural mission of being a condition and means of promoting and organizing change.

206. It is to such a dialogue that an appeal for common prosperity was made at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. This appeal expresses the conviction that it is imperative to change international relations in an orderly way and in concert. At the same time, it shows the urgent need to act. This appeal suggests methods and sets out a framework for action. Beginning with a lucid evaluation and imbued with a sense of responsibility, the initiative for restructuring the global negotiations shows a sincere consideration for the concerns of our partners. Because it goes beyond the peripheral problems of organization and procedure, this restructuring allows for discussion and pragmatic decision-making as the negotiating process progresses. It is our hope that the same openmindedness that prompts us will find an echo in the reply we expect from our partners.

207. Need we say also that the scope of the crisis and its fearful effects on the economies of the ever-growing number of developing countries call for the adoption of urgent measures in areas of critical interest for those countries?

208. Need we also mention in such a vital area as finance and currency that action is called for? An international conference that would respect the principle of universality must, through dialogue, endeavour to undertake reform that will be a valid response to the needs of growth and development.

209. A clear and far-sighted stock-taking that acknowledges that the sixth session of the United Nations conference on Trade and Development did not live up to its promise leads us to the problem of restructuring the world economy. The problem is still there. This means that the General Assembly has an even greater responsibility at this session for organizing a discussion that will be faithful to the dimensions of the proposals of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

210. In this pessimistic climate, there is a glimmer of hope, however. Co-operation among developing countries is being organized and intensified. Since a promising start has been made, it is important not to let it wither. South-South co-operation must become ever more complete and close, resolutely making use of every possibility offered our countries.

211. In a world facing an uncertain future and prey to doubt when faced with the immensity and overwhelming weight of problems, a new outlook had to emerge. By defining the true causes of that inability to shape the future of mankind and setting forth the conditions for overcoming them, the Non-Aligned Movement will have made its contribution to reviving the ideal of the United Nations.

212. The message of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries demonstrates our deep belief in the ability of the United Nations to unite mankind in its call for a universal order of peace and progress.

213. The Chairman of our Movement, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, came here and issued, with dignity, a call for collective action commensurate with the seriousness of the times [9th meeting].

214. With international society in upheaval and its very foundations shaken by a crisis of confidence, a crisis of identity, indeed, a crisis of values, non-alignment, identifying itself with the work of the United Nations, is the bearer of a plan for a new era.

215. The plan is far-reaching and will not be easy to achieve. We are aware of this. Difficult, persistent problems and resistance exist, but to the extent that we are imbued with the necessary faith and resolution, our undertaking remains possible and healthy. The United Nations is an act of hope; by adopting this undertaking it will respond to the common aspiration of the well-being of all and will remain faithful to what it stands for.

216. Mr. TULL (Barbados): Sir, I wish to congratulate Mr. T. Iruca on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His long-standing association with the United Nations and his sterling contributions to its deliberations make him a fit person to guide our discussions. I hope that his tenure of office will see solutions to some of the problems that face the Organization.

217. I also want to pay a tribute to the outgoing President for the able way in which he conducted the affairs of the last session.

218. Barbados welcomes Saint Christopher and Nevis as the 158th Member of the Organization. Our long historical and cultural association makes Barbados confident that Saint Christopher and Nevis will contribute significantly to the work of the Organization.

219. This year, the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1] returned to the theme of the apparent ineffectiveness of the United Nations in controlling conflict and working out solutions. He quite rightly alluded to the weakening of the commitment of Member States to co-operate within the framework of the United Nations in dealing with threats to international peace and security. There are too many local wars around the globe and too many are manifestations of East-West conflict. The Charter envisaged the abandonment of war as a solution to problems, yet since 1945 millions have died as a result of war. Despite the Charter's reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person, much human suffering has resulted from failure to observe those rights. Nor has the world, in the years since 1945, succeeded in promoting the social progress and better standards of life to the extent contemplated in the Charter.

220. The Assembly, the Security Council and the other United Nations institutions have the power to influence international behaviour. We have the power collectively to legitimize those actions we favour and to frown upon those deeds of which we disapprove. But we have, in the words of the Secretary-General, "to develop an effective common approach to potential threats to international peace and security".

221. This would provide at least the moral sanction that would persuade contending States to accept the Organization's judgement.

222. Experience suggests that if consensus is not achieved than any proposed sanctions immediately become ineffective. Too often nations, particularly in the Security Council, oppose draft resolutions because they support the interests of another country or bloc of countries rather than because of their essential merits. This makes it all the more difficult for the Council to function effectively. To enhance respect for the United Nations, therefore, we must dedicate ourselves to honesty and truth. We must align our national interests with the interests of the international community. Our resolutions should condemn and deplore when they must. They must endorse and authorize when necessary. In situations that warrant it, it will be necessary for the United Nations to investigate and recommend. The Organization will succeed in this only if the motives of Member States are sincere rather than tendentious, for its effectiveness depends on co-operation rather than conflict among the Member States.

223. Barbados believes that the Security Council has to regain its rightful pre-eminence in dealing with threats to international peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. But we also believe that Member States have an obligation to acknowledge that pre-eminence. As long as co-operation is lacking, the commitment to peace will be elusive.

224. For decades the Security Council has been grappling with at least two intractable problems—the Middle East and southern Africa, including Namibia. We believe that given the political will on all sides solutions to those problems can be found.

225. The Government of Barbados attaches great importance to the realization of a negotiated comprehensive peace in the Middle East consonant with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In this attitude we are motivated by respect for the immutable principles of self-determination of peoples, fundamental human rights and the rule of law. We believe that the *sine qua non* of peace in the Middle East is the resolution of the question of Palestine.

226. We are convinced that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with other recent initiatives, provide many basic elements which could be used for the negotiation of a permanent settlement of the Middle East problems. Those resolutions, which have the full support of Barbados, call for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories, termination of all claims and states of belligerency, acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State and of their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries and, finally, the start of negotiations between the parties concerned.

227. Barbados recognizes the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people with the full right to participate in all deliberations on the question of Palestine.

228. Barbados recognizes and supports the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign and independent State within agreed and secure boundaries, but equally Barbados recognizes and supports the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their own sovereign and independent State within agreed and secure boundaries. We are opposed to the use of force as a means of settling international disputes and believe that acts of aggression in the Middle East, far from enhancing the chances of a lasting peace, will only make that peace more difficult to attain.

229. The question of the territories occupied since 1967 is one of the central issues in a negotiated solution. The human settlements policy is in violation of international

law and runs counter to any lasting, peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. United Nations resolutions have repeatedly called for the withdrawal of Israel from these territories. The United Nations has also rejected unilateral moves to change the status of Jerusalem. The annexation of territory by force is inadmissible in international law and is therefore unacceptable to Barbados.

230. We cannot close our eyes to the human suffering to which the Palestinian people are subjected as a result of measures in the occupied territories. Justice cannot be served by the suppression of basic human rights.

231. Barbados has followed with growing concern the recent developments in Lebanon. The people of Lebanon must be given the opportunity to solve their problems themselves. We are hopeful that the recently agreed cease-fire will hold and allow the opportunity for negotiation.

232. The southern Africa issues—Namibia and *apartheid*—continue to disturb the security of that continent and to bedevil international relations. Barbados continues to believe that the moral authority of a council that is seen to be impartial, that examines dispassionately and searches diligently for solutions to the questions brought before it would greatly enhance the legal obligation of States to implement its resolutions and decisions. We believe that the large majority of States supports the Security Council's proposals for the resolution of the problems associated with the actions of the Government of South Africa.

233. Yet South Africa has maintained its position of arrogant defiance and intransigence. It continues to challenge the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for an end to the evil system of *apartheid* as well as for the independence of Namibia. Barbados is deeply concerned that the contact group has not yet been able to find a viable solution to the Namibian problem. The contact group has not successfully defended the indictment that it has helped to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

234. In this connection Barbados very strongly supports the reservations, doubts and anxieties expressed by SWAPO, which has time and again called the attention of the world to the economic plundering of the resources of Namibia. It has cried out against the indignities inflicted on its people and indeed the daily physical danger in which its brothers and sisters are forced to live in their own country. All these horrifying conditions stem directly from the fact that South Africa is allowed to defy the decisions of the United Nations. The question of Namibia is nothing more or less than a question of decolonization. As such it is the direct legal, moral and particularly political responsibility of this Organization.

235. Barbados reiterates its endorsement of the Paris Declaration on Namibia and the Programme of Action adopted at the Conference at Paris in April.¹⁰ We support the call for the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan approved in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The Security Council must take appropriate action to ensure compliance with its resolutions, and the ending of the destabilization of the front-line States.

236. Another manifestation of the phenomenon of forcible intervention in the affairs and territory of weaker States is the repeated attacks by South Africa on the front-line States. Since I last had the honour of addressing the Assembly, Mozambique, Angola and Lesotho have been flagrantly attacked by South Africa. This sort of intimidation must not be allowed to continue.

237. Barbados reaffirms its total condemnation and abhorrence of the system of *apartheid* and deeply deplores the policies of systematic oppression of the black population. My Government pledges itself to continue to fight, in whatever forum it is represented, to find solutions within the terms and spirit of the Charter to bring to an end a system which is a scandalous affront to accepted principles of human dignity and self-respect.

238. The situation in Central America continues to cause serious concern. We believe that its origins are firmly based in the deep-rooted social and economic ills that for decades have confronted the area. Barbados supports the efforts of the Contadora Group and lauds its attempts to arrange consultations among all the protagonists. A lasting solution must involve the people of the region themselves. We feel that there must be a scaling down of the flow of arms and other interventions if a quick resolution of the issue is to be achieved. The conflict is affecting and will continue to affect co-operation in the hemisphere, especially since it diverts valuable resources from the more important tasks of social and economic reconstruction.

239. There are other issues that demand our attention. I refer to the Iran-Iraq conflict, Kampuchea, Cyprus, Korea, Afghanistan and, more recently, Chad. It is self-evident that these matters involve great difficulties. It is also self-evident that in every case there is more than one point of view, with each one being firmly held. Against this background Barbados holds two premises to be fundamental. First, it is a valid proposition that opposing points of view are genuinely held by the parties which espouse them to be in the best interests of their people. Secondly, it is the inescapable duty and function of this great Organization to strive unceasingly to achieve a reconciliation of opposing views. Failure to perform this function, this duty, will nurture a cynicism which will undermine the very foundations upon which the United Nations, this great hope of mankind, is built.

240. We hope that every effort will be made by the parties to these conflicts to explore every possible means of finding peaceful solutions. In this respect Barbados appeals to all concerned to co-operate fully in regional arrangements aimed at finding such solutions.

241. The international community faces another serious crisis in the area of disarmament and the arms race. As tensions develop, such as those surrounding the unfortunate shooting down of the South Korean civilian aircraft, the realization comes that a nuclear conflagration could very easily be started. Negotiations, whether bilateral or multilateral, must be encouraged in order to minimize this risk. Barbados calls on the super-Powers to act swiftly to conclude their negotiations on the reduction of strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Likewise, we would like to see a reduction in the expenditure on and proliferation of conventional weapons by all States.

242. The shooting down of an unarmed Korean civilian aircraft shocked the world. We are deeply concerned at the implications of this incident for the safety of international civil aviation. For what confidence can one have in international travel if acts like this are perpetrated? We trust that the world will never again witness such an occurrence.

243. A cause for satisfaction for Barbados is the confidence being placed in the United Nations by countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. Indeed, the presence at this session of the Chairman of the Movement, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, with several other heads of State and Government, is testimony to the continuing faith demonstrated by a large number of

developing countries in the usefulness of this Organization. We are convinced that the Movement can play a significant role in the resolution of many of the problems which confront our world today. In this respect the work of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries can assist the efforts of the United Nations itself.

244. Barbados fully supports the Movement in its struggle against colonialism and in its opposition to the growing polarization in international relations which stems from military blocs, alliances and the cold war. We believe that the strengthening of the Non-Aligned Movement will assist in easing the tensions in international relations.

245. We have noted with approval that non-aligned countries have over the years given expression to the legitimate rights and aspirations of their peoples to shape their own destinies in accordance with their national aims and objectives. We have no hesitation in endorsing the reaffirmation made by heads of State and Government at New Delhi this year of the need for strict adherence to the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other States. We assert that all States have the right to pursue their own economic development without intimidation, hindrance or pressure. Barbados joins with other non-aligned countries in their efforts to bring about a lessening of tensions and to strengthen international understanding.

246. Barbados, as a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, is concerned at the unwillingness of certain developed countries to engage in serious and productive negotiations with a view to bringing about adequate solutions to world economic crises, crises which serve only to aggravate inequalities and injustices. We are convinced that only a restructuring of the international economic order will ensure lasting peace, security and prosperity for all the peoples of the world. We share the view that at this stage in international relations, decision-making on matters of vital concern to all countries can no longer be the prerogative of any one group of countries, however powerful they may be. It is clear to us that in today's world a policy of co-operation must be pursued among States irrespective of their economic or social systems, size or location.

247. As we look at the world today the prospects are not comforting, yet we see around us an array of institutions supposedly devised to make the prospects good. We see hunger, disease and deprivation. We are helpless bystanders and feel our hands tied as we see brother killing brother and nation fighting nation. We see nations reeling under massive debt. We have an international monetary and financial system which has proved to be incapable of bringing economic activities into a state of balance. We see markets closed to willing entrants because of every type of protectionist barrier. In such circumstances there is small wonder that the confidence of many in the present system is dashed. Our task is to rebuild confidence by substituting another system that will work and live up to the rightful expectations of all peoples to economic progress and development.

248. The Barbados delegation is deeply concerned at the persistent crisis in the world economic situation. The continuing recession in the industrialized countries has put severe strains on export-oriented economies such as that of Barbados. It has put the integration movement in the Caribbean Community to a tough test for survival. This year's meetings of the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development have proved disappointing in their failure to arrive at satisfactory solutions to the trade, industrial, developmental

and financial problems of the developing countries. Official development assistance, including the funds placed at the disposal of UNDP for technical assistance, have not reached the levels established by agreement.

249. A number of international organizations have been addressing themselves to the seriousness of these economic problems. Quite recently the Organization of American States had a special meeting on the question of development financing. The secretariats of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Latin American Economic System also held a series of meetings in search of solutions to the debt problem. The Commonwealth Secretariat has produced a study by a commission under the chairmanship of Professor Helleiner of Canada. The debt issue also featured on the agenda of this year's IMF and World Bank meetings. Thus there is a full awareness of the persistence of debt repayment and trade problems. However, there is a lack of political will to deal with the problem in a manner that is satisfactory to debtors and creditors alike.

250. There is a crying need for change in the international monetary and financial system which obtains today. The tinkering which took place between 1971 and 1973 with respect to the Bretton Woods system has not addressed fundamental problems. There must be a restructuring of economic relationships so that developing countries have a greater say in recommending remedies.

251. Barbados joined this Organization seventeen years ago and has since carried out all its obligations under the Charter. States like Barbados cannot rely on military might to assist their independence and sovereignty. They do not have that might. Such States must place their security in the unity of nations and attachment to principles. Barbados has a vested interest in maintaining a peaceful environment in the Caribbean region, in the hemisphere, in the world. Whatever economic or social progress countries such as ours have made over the years can very easily be destroyed. For us, therefore, peace and security are no less important than economic progress and social development. The United Nations provides the possibility for continuing commitment to these principles. Barbados will play its part in ensuring that such commitment is not allowed to weaken. For the first time, therefore, Barbados is offering its candidature for a seat on the Security Council. This candidature is a further demonstration of our faith in the United Nations. We are convinced that our nation has a contribution to make to the counsels of that body. We pledge our service in the efforts to enhance the effectiveness of this important institution.

252. Finally, it is pertinent to ask and to reflect on why we are here. Why have so many world leaders traversed so many thousands of miles to attend this session of the General Assembly? Is it not because they have an abiding faith in mankind?

253. In the inspiration of the moment, a famous poet exclaimed, "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties!" Yet with all this vast potential the human race is still groping for self-fulfilment. Stunted by illiteracy, drained by hunger, warped by racism and bigotry, torn and bleeding through war, benumbed by drugs and fantasy, mankind looks longingly for lasting peace and security.

254. What we have achieved to date has been the collective contribution of us all. History mocks that nation or culture which claims that it alone is responsible for present progress. We have all paid our dues. History also mocks those nations which worship technological power. It was technology, made sinister by science perverted, that

caused the world wars of this century to be so pervasive and so devastating.

255. Out of this wreckage and misery came the United Nations. We came together as States to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person, in equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

256. Today the United Nations stands as a symbol of the aspirations of the human race. Together let us preserve it. Let us develop it to meet our future needs. Through it let us seek to realize the vast, untapped potential of human beings everywhere, particularly that of the innocent children of all races, cultures and creeds who will inherit the earth. Let this new collective achievement be the dearest legacy of this century to the next.

257. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on the representative of Jordan, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

258. Mr. GHAZZAWI (Jordan): In his statement before the General Assembly at this morning's meeting, the Israeli representative once again put forward the ludicrous idea that Jordan is the Arab State envisaged by the former Mandate over Palestine. Implicit in this is the even stranger contention that the Palestine problem has already been solved. In other words, the Israeli representative wishes the Assembly to believe that the tragedy of the Palestine people and the problem of Palestine, which have occupied us in our work since the inception of the United Nations and which pose a moral dilemma to the conscience of mankind, are in fact mere illusions.

259. My delegation has had the opportunity in the past to expose the Israeli misrepresentations of the facts relative to this matter. That is not a difficult task, given the absurdity of the Israeli argument. This and our confident knowledge that no one in this Hall takes this proposition seriously would have made it unnecessary for my delegation to address itself to this point were it not for the fact that apparently the Israeli representative operates on the premise that repeating a falsehood often enough somehow pays off. It is this apprehension that has prompted me to make this statement in exercise of my right of reply.

260. I stated last year, and repeat now for the benefit of Mr. Blum, that the establishment of Israel resulted in the dismemberment of Palestine and the dispersal of the Palestine Arab people from their ancestral homeland. We should like to remind the representative of Israel that before Israel came into being in 1948 Jordan had existed as a distant political entity and was an independent and sovereign State. At the same time, the Palestinian people were living in their homeland in Palestine. Even when, in 1947, the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two States—an Arab one and a Jewish one—the partition plan was very clear and specific regarding the territorial application of that plan and the exact location of the two proposed States in Palestine proper, that is, west of the River Jordan.

261. Israel argued in the past, when it suited its purpose to do so, that Jordan was an illegal occupant of the West Bank. Alternately, Israel has argued, when it has suited different Israeli purposes, that Jordan is in fact Palestine. If that is so, how can Jordan be in occupation of a part of itself? Even inverted logic is not without its contradictions. The contradiction is the more striking given the fact that the representative of Israel who spoke on this theme today is one and the same representative who in the Security Council used the following words on 2 August 1983: "The violation of the international boundaries of Palestine by the Arab armies". Thus, Palestine

is defined by Mr. Blum to mean the area west of the River Jordan when this definition is convenient for him, while he gives a completely different definition when it suits different purposes—as he did at this morning's meeting. So much for the credibility of the Israeli representative.

262. My aim in drawing attention to the fallacies and inconsistencies in the Israeli statement is not solely to expose these fallacies and inconsistencies; rather, it is to draw attention to the sad fact that the Israeli representative betrays a total lack of a genuine desire for a just and durable peace that takes into consideration the national rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people in their homeland in Palestine, which of necessity requires, as a first step, the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from the territories that have remained under its occupation since 1967. It is this mentality that is the real obstacle to the achievement of a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year*, 2366th meeting.

² *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.3), document A/CONF.62/122.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

⁴ *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

⁵ Adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

⁶ Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925.

⁷ Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, signed on 10 April 1972.

⁸ *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

⁹ *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

¹⁰ *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.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year*, 2461st meeting.