



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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 17

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments:

(a) Appointment of six members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to invite members of the General Assembly to turn their attention first to part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 17 (a), which is contained in document A/38/461. In paragraph 4 of that report, the Fifth Committee recommends the appointment of Mr. Igor Vasilevich Khalevinski of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to fill the vacancy in the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for the unexpired portion of the term of office of Mr. Anatoly Vasilievich Grodsky until 31 December 1984. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to adopt that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 38/305 A).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

2. Mr. INCE (Trinidad and Tobago): On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago I congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca on his election to the office of President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that his vast experience and skill, particularly in the United Nations system, will contribute tremendously to the fruitful outcome of our work at this session. His election to the presidency is recognition of the high esteem in which his country and he himself are held by the international community.

3. My delegation pays tribute also to the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, who so successfully presided over the work of the thirty-seventh session.

4. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago wishes to express its warmest congratulations to Saint Christopher and Nevis, a sister Caribbean State, upon its achievement of independence, on 19 September 1983, and its admission as the 158th Member of the United Nations. It says much for the continuing relevance and influence of the United Nations and its pivotal role in the maintenance of international peace and security that while newly independent States face the challenges posed by such factors as small size, economic and infrastructural underdevelopment and limited natural and manpower resources, their Governments attach high priority to membership in this Organization.

5. We, the countries of the Caribbean Community and Common Market, have achieved our independence peacefully, but not without the dedication, hard work and sacrifice of several generations. We have thus sought to create societies founded on the values and aspirations of our peoples, enriched by the diversity of their racial, ethnic and cultural heritage. My delegation is confident that this respect for the human experience and the ability to forge a cohesive society will enable Saint Christopher and Nevis, like the rest of our Caribbean societies, to contribute invaluable to the future work of the United Nations.

6. The current crisis in the world economy continues. Recent hopes of a slackening in the recession appear to have been premature. The projected upturns in the economic activity of the developed market economies have not materialized. Indeed, there are disturbing signs that these economies may decline this winter. World trade over the last two years has been stagnant for the first time in the post-war period. Inevitably the situation has had particularly severe repercussions for the developing countries, which, while being on the periphery of global economic decision-making, are the first to feel its negative effects. The consequences for their development and for the social and economic well-being of their peoples have been disastrous.

7. Domestic policies being adopted by several countries to deal with the crisis continue to exacerbate it. High-interest-rate policies impact directly on the crushing debt burden of developing countries. High interest rates are the single most destructive element frustrating the efforts of developing countries to improve their economies. With these interest rates at 18 per cent, and with the need to renegotiate and extend repayment schedules, original debt doubles in less than four years, even without any new borrowing. The severe debt burden and debt servicing problems confronting most developing countries have worsened in 1983. Their debt burden is approximately \$540 billion and requires over \$100 billion annually in servicing. This has made it necessary for many developing countries to seek to defer repayment or to reschedule their loans, sometimes through further borrowing, simply for the payment of capital and interest due and not for new investment or additions to infrastructure. It is not surprising that under these circumstances there is widespread concern that the collapse of the economies of certain States could have disastrous consequences for the global monetary and financial structures.

8. In conjunction with high interest rates, there has been an unprecedented depression of the world commodity markets. In nearly all developing countries, including the net oil producers, export earnings experienced a catastrophic decline. This decline has been due to the state of the global economy and partly to the imposition of protectionist trade barriers by some developed countries. This myopic panacea, adopted by several important trading nations, restricts the volume of world trade and intensifies the world economic crisis. Developing countries thus find themselves with insufficient foreign exchange earnings to meet their current requirements for imported goods and

services and no foreign exchange reserves with which to meet their debt obligations.

9. The energy-exporting countries, for a while "growth poles" within the developing world, have not escaped the ravages of the crisis, and some of these countries are now faced with massive external debts from both official and commercial sources. At this time there is also a substantial decline in concessional loans for development, increasing obstacles to access to international capital markets and in fact a general lack of concern for the poor, be they individuals or nations. Even though certain economic and social forces combine to create and maintain poverty and dependence, it is convenient to think and say that destitution among certain nations of the world is a result of improvidence. And so, the remedies prescribed involve drastic devaluation, internal financial stringency, massive unemployment and import restraint, even on essentials.

10. Not too long ago, it was being said that the main cause of economic difficulties for developing as well as for developed countries was the high price of oil. It has now become clear, however, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the malaise and crisis within the international economic system has its genesis in other problems that are deep-set and of a structural nature.

11. A telling defect of the present international system is its inability to proffer guidance and attainable solutions, both political and economic, to ensure that the interests of the world community as a whole are adequately addressed.

12. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has been insistent that only through global perspectives and the adoption of a holistic approach to the present situation will the problems of the world economy and its future growth be satisfactorily resolved. The occasional small financial grants made to developing countries, further high-interest loans, selective and limited commercial concessions will not provide the answer. Such measures will merely contribute to continued economic and social privation, political disaffection, social upheaval and even revolution.

13. The resources of developing countries must be fully optimized for the benefit of their own people, and any economic co-operation between developed and developing countries must be predicated upon mutual respect and absence of inhibiting conditions.

14. The fabric of the international economic system is now so closely interwoven that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate issues whether or not they relate to trade, aid, commodities or monetary and financial development. The Bretton Woods institutions, which are now nearly 40 years old, are not equipped to deal with a world that has changed dramatically since the Second World War and in which economic power centres are more diverse and greater in number. Trinidad and Tobago firmly believes that the international community should give immediate consideration to recommendations for the reform of the international monetary system adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March this year [see A/38/132 and Corrs.1 and 2].

15. At Buenos Aires the developing countries extended a hand of meaningful co-operation to the developed countries. That gesture was rejected at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at Belgrade. The developed countries failed to adopt any of the prescriptions offered by developing countries for collective solutions to the problems of the international economic system.

16. The failure of that session is not to be attributed to the institution but to its members. The international community must accept the responsibility for the progressive deterioration of the machinery it has established for international economic co-operation.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) took the Chair.

17. In this respect, we fully endorse the decision of the countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to have a fresh political impetus to global negotiations and support the proposal to hold at the United Nations in 1984 a conference to deal with the subject. Trinidad and Tobago recognizes this initiative as an attempt to strengthen international co-operation and to revive the North-South dialogue.

18. Trinidad and Tobago regrets that, after six years and the two-part four-week special session at United Nations Headquarters in New York this year, the Commission on Transnational Corporations was still unable to complete its work on the elaboration of a code of conduct for transnational corporations.

19. Trinidad and Tobago shares the disappointment expressed by the Group of 77 that the flexibility and accommodation shown by the Group has not been reciprocated and calls upon those States concerned to display a more serious attitude and spirit of compromise in their approach to this exercise.

20. Trinidad and Tobago is pleased that, after long and difficult consultations and negotiations, most of the obstacles in the path of the establishment of a viable long-term financing system for science and technology for development have been removed and that the system can now become operational.

21. My country, like many other developing countries, is aware of the importance of the financing system in strengthening the scientific and technological capacities of developing countries, thereby accelerating their development. We therefore urge all potential donor countries to participate actively in the system in order to mobilize the identified core and non-core resources for the initial period 1983-1985.

22. Trinidad and Tobago commends the efforts of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 to intensify economic co-operation among developing countries. We do not envisage these relations as a substitute for North-South dialogue and international co-operation but as a complementary attempt to maximize and promote the rational and efficient use of human, material, financial and technological resources available in the developing countries.

23. In the present crisis of international co-operation, the need to accelerate economic co-operation among developing countries becomes more crucial. Over the last five years the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has demonstrated its commitment to integration and economic co-operation among developing countries by making available more than half a billion dollars to the members of the Caribbean Community. This assistance, to which we remain committed, has been channelled through the Caribbean Development Bank and other existing subregional institutions, as well as through our own programmes for technical assistance and co-operation. Trinidad and Tobago will continue, within the limits of its resources and in spite of the hardships imposed by the present international economic crisis, to assist its partners in the subregion and would encourage other hemispheric actors to translate their words into actions that would assist positively in the development of the subregion.

24. UNDP, the largest dispenser of technical assistance and co-operation within the United Nations system, has in the last few years experienced a serious shortfall in contributions to the extent that contributions in the third cycle, 1982-1986, could fall below the level of the first cycle in real terms.

25. In addition, there appear to be attempts to alter the structure of UNDP, which could result in recipient countries having less jurisdiction in determining priority areas for their countries' programmes. Trinidad and Tobago will support any effort to improve the governance of UNDP and to optimize the use of available resources in so far as these measures do not alter its unique characteristics. It is our view that this is the time not for reducing but for at least maintaining financial inputs to UNDP so that its invaluable contributions to developing countries can be enhanced.

26. Earlier this year the seventh session of the Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee was held at Port of Spain. On that occasion, in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee, I stated that the high vision embodied in the creation of the Committee eight years ago had not been reflected in the experience of its members and in the functioning of that body. The Committee has met with many impediments to its full effectiveness both at the level of its secretariat in the Port of Spain office and in ECLA in terms of resources, staffing and procedure.

27. On behalf of the members of the Committee, who are committed to playing their part to improve its functioning and effectiveness, let me express the hope that the United Nations system will do all in its power to complement our efforts in providing a truly efficient and effective operational programme for development in the Caribbean region.

28. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago considers that development can best be pursued in a climate of peace and security. History has shown that arms races inevitably culminate in war. The arms race continues unabated, with little sign of any substantial change of attitude on the part of the major Powers. Some estimates give the amount spent on armaments over the past year as \$650 billion—resources that are sorely needed for social and economic development. Apart from the actual expenditure on armaments, there are also the resources, human and financial, which are channelled into the disarmament effort and are thus deflected from constructive developmental activities.

29. There continues to be much talk, even by the military Powers themselves, about disarmament. In recent times this has tended to focus on the prevention of a nuclear war and the prevention of an arms race in outer space. But, while there is talk of peace, there continues to be a massive buildup of the store of arms at a rate that can be described only as preparations for war, preparations for war that are tempered only by discussions on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons.

30. Trinidad and Tobago is concerned not solely with the prevention of a nuclear war, vital though that is, but also with the growth and spread of conventional weapons, which are a major factor contributing to present international tension and instability. We further deplore the development and use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

31. The recent upsurge of popular peace movements throughout the world indicates that, even if policy-makers have not recognized the grave danger of extinction facing us, public opinion has. Trinidad and Tobago's wish is for the world to be free of the persistent danger of total

self-destruction which man continues to impose upon himself, and we are sure that we share the ultimate goal of all, or most, States: that of general and complete disarmament.

32. But it is not only the East-West confrontation that poses major dangers. In every corner of the globe the flames of war are being fanned; sometimes in the name of peace, at other times in the name of religion; sometimes in the name of political ideology or territorial sovereignty, at other times in the name of economic independence. Each instance of war, large or small, declared or undeclared, will contribute to the ever-escalating threat to international peace and security.

33. Trinidad and Tobago views with great concern—indeed, alarm—the grave situation in Central America, a situation which almost daily assumes new and more dangerous proportions. The problems of the region originate in social and economic ills, ills which are exploited by others who are ever eager to promote strife and disharmony in pursuit of their own ambitions.

34. The worthy efforts of the Contadora Group are to be welcomed and highly commended. We implore those States actively involved in the conflicts to continue to co-operate fully in the Contadora initiative. We further appeal to all States to desist from seeking to impose any settlement in the region by the use or threat of use of force, to exercise due respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all individual States, and to use their influence to promote economic and social justice in Central America. In this context, I recall that at the last session I urged the great Powers not to import their rivalries, conflicts and tensions into the Caribbean [*7th meeting*]. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago reiterates that appeal and insists that the Caribbean area be a zone of peace in which peaceful and amicable solutions are found to the problems of the area.

35. In July the world celebrated the bicentenary of the birth of Simón Bolívar, the Liberator, and paid a tribute to his great deeds in the interests of a new and better way of life for mankind. The freedoms which he won and inspired must not be lost or subjugated to the interests of bloc politics. Our freedom, our independence, our sovereignty, must be preserved, and our disputes must be settled in a just and peaceful manner.

36. Trinidad and Tobago is pleased to have played a role in the evolution of a peaceful settlement of the Guyana-Venezuela controversy. We therefore welcome the fact that the two countries have now referred the choice of a means of settlement to the Secretary-General in accordance with the provisions of article IV, paragraph 2, of the Geneva Agreement.¹ Trinidad and Tobago hopes that this controversy will be quickly and peacefully resolved, thus restoring international confidence in the process of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

37. Trinidad and Tobago reiterates the sentiments of the heads of Government conference of the Caribbean Community and Common Market, held in July 1983 at Port of Spain, in respect of the position maintained by the Government of Guatemala on the status of Belize—a full Member of the United Nations family and an independent State. Trinidad and Tobago endorses the principle of territorial integrity and fully supports the position of the Government of Belize that this matter should be settled by peaceful means, without prejudice to its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

38. The Middle East continues to engage the attention of the international community, as tension, confrontation and armed conflicts spread. As in the past, the central

issue and the key to a just and lasting peace in the region remains the question of Palestine. Trinidad and Tobago reiterates its support for the full sovereign rights of the Palestinian people to a permanent homeland and to self-determination in their own State.

39. Trinidad and Tobago welcomes the peace initiatives that have been proposed and is of the firm conviction that success will hinge on the participation of all parties and interests concerned, including the Palestinian people through their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

40. Palestine was only last month the subject of an international conference held at Geneva. That conference adopted a programme of action² containing many positive elements which, if adhered to, could contribute towards a peaceful, just and lasting solution of the problems of the area. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago notes with particular interest the proposal that an international peace conference on the Middle East should be held.

41. Turning to the question of Lebanon, Trinidad and Tobago implores all States to respect General Assembly resolution 37/123 E, which calls for "strict respect of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and political independence of Lebanon".

42. We look forward to the early cessation of conflict and welcome therefore the present cease-fire which we hope will be a first step on the road to reconciliation and normalcy for that beleaguered country.

43. Peace initiatives motivated by or directed towards selfish national interests breed conflict rather than peace. We States Members of the United Nations family must all rededicate ourselves to the fundamental principles that sustain this body.

44. One of these is enshrined in Article 1 of the Charter:

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, . . . and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace".

45. This implies the existence of a political will, a spirit of co-operation and mutual respect and trust among Member States of the Organization, qualities which find expression in adherence to the principles of the United Nations and respect for the implementation of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Those principles also demand an equal obligation to ensure that the resolutions introduced into the deliberations of the General Assembly and Security Council are based on veracity, respect for Charter principles and the search for peace. Otherwise, Member States, especially those glorying in their real or apparent military might and in their sense of national importance, may be tempted to ignore or veto them.

46. My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1]. We concur in his view that 1983 has, so far, been a frustrating year for the search for peace, stability and justice and for those who believe that the United Nations is the best available international mechanism to achieve these ends.

47. The Secretary-General further emphasized that the time has come to move from words to action. My delegation wishes to commend this sentiment to all Members of the Organization and hopes that our common sense of purpose and direction will help us achieve the vital objective of the preservation of peace.

48. One aspect of this common sense of purpose and direction can be manifested by the universal acceptance of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This Convention is still to be ratified by certain States which participated actively in the long years of work which went into formulating this historic agreement. It will be of immense importance and a major contribution to the functioning of the International Sea-Bed Authority if this can be a truly universal body in which all members will co-operate in utilizing and preserving the resources of the sea-bed and its environs for the welfare and betterment of all mankind.

49. I now turn to the question of human rights. Trinidad and Tobago is alarmed at the unabated incidence of human rights violations throughout the world. We abhor any acts or measures designed to deprive an individual of his basic fundamental rights and freedoms. We urge Member States to comply fully with the relevant United Nations conventions, and we express our support for the efforts made by United Nations bodies to monitor and report on human rights violations.

50. In this context, I call attention once more to southern Africa, a region in which human rights, fundamental freedoms and the dignity of man are held in total contempt. The International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, which was held in Paris in April 1983, and the Security Council, which met from 23 May to 1 June 1983 to consider the question of Namibia, have both recognized that the preliminaries necessary for the implementation of Namibian independence, in accordance with the plan contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), have been in the main completed. The linkage theory that makes Namibia's proceeding to independence conditional on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola—espoused by certain members of the Western contact group—has rightly been rejected outright by an overwhelming majority of the international community. It is inconceivable that any of us, States Members of the United Nations, long advocates of the principles of democracy, human rights and self-determination, should insist on such a linkage. Namibia's independence cannot be an issue for barter.

51. South Africa's appointment of a State Council for Namibia to draw up a constitution for that country is yet another indication of its inability to act in good faith on this question. Trinidad and Tobago reiterates its conviction that unless and until the international community unites in clear determination to deal with the independence of the Pretoria régime, as demonstrated by its policies on Namibia and its repressive and abhorrent internal policy of *apartheid*, by imposing full mandatory sanctions against it in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, no change will come about in that troubled part of the world.

52. The past year has seen an escalation of tension in the southern African region as the *apartheid* régime continues its flagrant attacks on neighbouring sovereign States. It is an undeniable fact that that régime poses an extremely grave threat to the stability and peace not only of the region but of the continent of Africa and, indeed, of the international community of nations.

53. Trinidad and Tobago and other countries of the West Indian cricket community have recently been targeted by that régime, which, in its attempt to obfuscate international public opinion and break out of its isolation, has lured sporting personalities to its shores by offers of vast sums of money. Trinidad and Tobago clearly recognizes this ploy as another attempt by the régime in Pretoria to disguise its racist policies. We hasten to point out

that the resources they offer are ill-gotten and derived from collaboration with those States which defy the will of the majority of the international community by offering support and succour to that régime.

54. The vast sums of money being offered to our sports personalities must derive from South Africa's commercial sector, stimulated by its external trade with its partners, and we therefore appeal to all Member States, all United Nations and anti-*apartheid* organizations, to exercise greater vigilance with respect to economic sanctions against South Africa, since that country's economic base is the foundation on which its abhorrent system continues to thrive. The position of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago against sporting—and, indeed, all other—links with South Africa is already a matter of record in the Assembly.

55. We believe that every encouragement must be given to our sportsmen and sportswomen to enhance both their earning capacity and their international reputations. The Assembly may wish to give serious consideration to the provision of the machinery and funds to stimulate further the development of programmes, particularly in developing countries, to help sportsmen, sportswomen and artistes achieve their goals and ensure that they are no longer vulnerable to the blandishments of the *apartheid* régime.

56. In the meantime Trinidad and Tobago looks forward to the early completion of the drafting of an international convention against *apartheid* in sports.

57. In closing may I once again quote from the report of the Secretary-General. He states:

“We are at present in a period when the value of multilateral diplomacy is being questioned and international institutions are not functioning as they were intended to function. The machinery is running and the wheels are turning, but it is not moving forward as it should. . . . We must find means to push the machinery into forward motion again.”

58. The danger of our times lies in our institutions' divorcing themselves from the international public interest. It is therefore necessary to rededicate ourselves to Charter principles in order to restore confidence in the Organization and to ensure implementation of its resolutions. Should we fail to do so, our efforts to find peaceful solutions and promote significant development will be met with frustration.

59. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the important post of President of this session of the General Assembly. Your wealth of experience, including your profound knowledge of the Organization, is an excellent guarantee of the effectiveness of the work of the General Assembly.

60. I should like to take this opportunity to convey our gratitude to our friend and comrade Mr. Imre Hollai, the representative of the fraternal Hungarian People's Republic, for his skilful conduct of the proceedings of the General Assembly last year.

61. We would also like to welcome the entry into the United Nations of a new State, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

62. There are today 158 Member States of the United Nations. It is worth recalling that this reality of the contemporary international scene has quite a definite political meaning.

63. The solution to the crucial problem—the problem of war and peace—depends precisely on the States Members of the United Nations, on the way they construct

relations among themselves and on the way they act in the world arena.

64. Under the Charter of the United Nations these States have pledged to “live together in peace with one another as good neighbours”.

65. If only all of them abided by that Charter provision! It would not then be necessary so vehemently to voice the urgent need to defend peace and to dispel the storm clouds gathering over it.

66. That is what the Soviet Union is once again doing today.

67. Our planet is practically caving in under the unprecedented burden of arms with unheard-of destructive power. Should it happen that those arms are actually used, the very survival of human civilization will be in question.

68. The situation is compounded by the fact that the forces heating up the international atmosphere in order to further their pathological ambitions have now sharply intensified their activities.

69. The reckless actions of those forces, combined with the enormous potential of lethal weapons, have produced, figuratively speaking, an explosive mixture which has added an entirely new dimension to the threat to peace.

70. Given the present situation, the task of preventing war has now acquired particular urgency.

71. At a time when all mankind is threatened with a nuclear catastrophe it is the duty of all those who have anything to do with the political decision-making process to put concern for peace above all else.

72. This is what the peoples of the world are entitled to demand of their political leaders, their Governments and parliaments and, of course, international organizations, above all the United Nations, which is designed to be “a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations” in maintaining international security.

73. On all continents the people's anti-war movement is growing and its activities in the struggle to preserve peace are increasing. This is only natural, for people cannot and will not live today in a permanent state of anxiety about tomorrow.

74. The course pursued by some Members of the Organization is contrary to the age-old human yearning for a peaceful life embodied in the purposes and principles of the Charter and to the interests of the peace-loving majority of States. The credo of the architects of this course is revealed by the Washington-imposed decisions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] bloc. Their policy is aimed at achieving military superiority, a vantage point from which they wish to dominate and dictate to others.

75. It would appear that the nuclear arsenals of the United States and *NATO* are filled to capacity, and yet the assembly lines continue to churn out military hardware in a kind of frenzy. Every item of military hardware that exists is being either increased or replaced by another even more destructive.

76. Armaments programmes costing many billions are being approved one after another. Whatever objections are raised—and they are being raised in this regard by sober-minded politicians and authoritative public figures in the United States itself—the United States Administration has but one thing to say: there is not the slightest doubt that we must arm and preferably two or three times over.

77. There have been fierce clashes over deployment of the *MX* strategic missile and, indeed, as to whether it is necessary at all, but the decision was both to deploy the

MX and to develop the Midgetman—yet another inter-continental missile.

78. There were arguments over whether or not to build the B-1 bomber. The decision was to go ahead with two new types of strategic bomber at the same time.

79. Other kinds of nuclear and other systems are also being put into mass production. The barbaric neutron weapon and new chemical weapons are being stockpiled. Next on the list is the development of systems for waging warfare in and from outer space.

80. Under the pretext of an alleged shortage of nuclear weapons in areas where they already exist, attempts are being made to add to them, and where they do not exist, attempts are being made to deploy them.

81. The intention has been expressed to move nuclear weapons as close as possible to the borders of the Soviet Union and its allies, to introduce into Western Europe new American medium-range missiles, that is to say Pershing II and cruise missiles.

82. To the south and to the east the land and waters are also being saturated with nuclear weapons. All this is taking place over a wide geographic area, from Diego García to Okinawa, across the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

83. In order to justify the unchecked escalation of their militaristic preparations they are deliberately whipping up war hysteria and do not stop short of staging the crudest provocations.

84. We, for our part, have already set forth our view, based on principle, of the incident involving the intrusion of the South Korean aircraft into Soviet airspace.

85. It is impermissible for anyone to infringe the sovereignty of States, and this includes the inviolability of their borders. This is a universally recognized rule of international law and is fully consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. Anyone that attempts to violate our borders must know that he will have to bear the full responsibility.

86. We have expressed our regret at the loss of human life. The initiators of this anti-Soviet act of provocation are entirely to blame for this tragedy. No matter what scurrilous slander or dishonest devices they resort to, they will never be able to cover up their tracks and conceal the true aims of their crime.

87. To the impartial observer there cannot and should not be the slightest doubt as to the nature of these aims. An act of sabotage against peace was committed to further militaristic policies and the inflation of military budgets.

88. In an attempt to change in their own favour the military-strategic situation in the world they invoke the security interests of the United States and its allies.

89. It is the right and duty of each country to protect its own security, just as it is its right and duty to work for the strengthening of universal peace.

90. But nowadays international and national security are interrelated to a greater extent than ever before. Neither can be reliably ensured when the United States and NATO are spurring the arms race and pursuing a policy based on a "position of strength".

91. Such a policy, however it may be packaged, is the exact opposite of a policy which ensures international security.

92. Certain quarters in the United States have become partial to ringing phrases. Of late a formula that has gained currency at the highest level is "peace through strength", which means, of course, the strength of the United States. This has been proclaimed as its policy.

93. In both ancient and modern history there have been quite a few attempts to be the strongest and to rule the world. It is common knowledge how these all ended.

94. Through costly experience mankind has distilled a different notion of what should be the basis of peace and security: the renunciation of the threat or use of force and peaceful co-operation among States. That is what inspired the creation of the United Nations. That is the one and only foundation upon which peace can rest.

95. The myth of the "Soviet threat", invented to deceive the peoples, is being used on a particularly wide scale today. In his own time V. I. Lenin aptly characterized those who "shout about red militarism . . . pretend that they believe this absurdity and throw charges of this kind right and left", making use of their "skill in concocting false arguments and in throwing dust in the eyes of the masses".

96. Since the Great October Revolution peace and friendship among peoples has been the sign of our socialist State. We remain faithful to that sign.

97. There has been a great deal of talk about the USSR being "excessively armed" and having military superiority. It has been claimed that the West needs to close the existing gap. Yet the facts—and the West is just as well aware of them as we are—confirm beyond doubt that in all areas—strategic nuclear arms, medium-range weapons in Europe, the conventional armed forces of NATO and of the Warsaw Treaty—there is approximate equality between the two sides.

98. Statements about national security interests are riddled with falsehoods. They are turned inside-out so that those interests conflict with the security interests of other countries and peoples.

99. Those who like to hold forth about the sanctity of international obligations and to preach morality in relations among States are violating elementary norms of decency, showing disrespect not only for statesmen and States but also for the United Nations. Moreover, as was pointed out in a recent statement by Mr. Andropov, this question as to whether this international Organization, whose task it is to maintain peace and security, can be located in a country in which an unbridled militaristic psychosis is spreading and the good name of the Organization is being insulted.

100. The contenders for the role of master of the destinies of the world brazenly proclaim as a sphere of their vital interests any particular area of the world they take a fancy to, an area perhaps that is even thousands of miles away from the United States. They are prepared to stake such claims all over the globe.

101. Thus, the sphere of the United States "vital interests" includes for example, the Middle East, where new anti-Arab deals and designs violating the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are being pushed through. Step by step the United States is forcing its presence, including its military presence, on that region.

102. Israel is being encouraged to continue its policy of aggression. Tel Aviv has absolutely no wish to end its adventure in Lebanon. Palestinian refugees in that country are being subjected to acts of genocide. Lebanon has been forced into accepting a capitulation agreement. Attempts are being made to turn the State of Lebanon into a United States-Israeli protectorate and virtually to dismember that country.

103. Constant pressure is being exerted on Syria to make it change its steadfast course in Middle East affairs.

104. As a result, the Middle East continues to be a focal point of the danger of war, while a peaceful settlement remains out of reach. All this is damaging to both the

vital interests of the peoples of the region and the interests of international security.

105. The Soviet Union consistently advocates the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, supports the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples, including the right of the Arab people of Palestine to establish a State of their own, and advocates a just and comprehensive settlement and the convening of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

106. The hegemonistic policy of "vital interests" is well matched by the tools used to implement it. They include the "central command" set up to carry out interventionist operations against almost 20 sovereign States in the Middle East, in South-West Asia and on the African continent.

107. The "rapid deployment force", whose mission is to prevent internal changes in various countries if such changes are not to Washington's liking, is in a constant state of readiness. It can be said that the creation of such forces has become a vogue among NATO powers. The events in Chad show where this can lead.

108. What about the extensive worldwide network of United States military bases? They too are being equipped for use against peoples and countries fighting for their freedom and defending their sovereignty. The areas where this struggle is going on are being surveyed for sites for new military bases.

109. Aircraft carriers and battleships are being dispatched to the shores of those who are unwilling to submit to foreign diktat. Modern "gunboats" ply the waters off the coasts of many independent countries.

110. Libya has been chosen as a target for a show of force in the Mediterranean.

111. A United States armada is stationed in the Indian Ocean. It is no accident that Washington is opposed to the proposal of the non-aligned countries to turn that region into a zone of peace and is impeding the convening of an international conference on the Indian Ocean.

112. The Soviet Union cannot ignore the threat to its security emanating from that quarter, especially since the United States has broken off and refuses to resume the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and subsequent curtailment of military activities in that region. Our country has been and remains in favour of the withdrawal from that area of all naval forces not belonging to the littoral States and supports the idea of creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

113. Large United States naval contingents are concentrated off Central American countries, along both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. Land and air forces are being concentrated.

114. The purpose of all this must be clear to everyone. The whole policy of the United States serves but one purpose: that of containing the liberation movement of the peoples, to obstruct the process of the strengthening of national independence and democratic change in Latin American countries.

115. At the same time the United States authorities dismiss the very idea that they assume the overt role of policeman. They prefer to call it "assistance to friends". Yet their friends include anti-popular régimes steeped in blood and infamy.

116. They are shielding the military junta in El Salvador from the wrath of the people by supplying it generously with money and weapons. They are sending their military

advisers there to supervise repressive operations being carried out by the puppet régime.

117. Brutal pressure is being brought to bear on Nicaragua, whose people have taken a strong stand in favour of the progressive development of their country. Nicaragua is being threatened from the sea, gangs of mercenaries and pirate aircraft are infiltrated into its territory, and neighbouring States are incited to hostility against it.

118. Washington will not succeed in concealing the fact that it is organizing aggression against Nicaragua, thus posing a threat to peace in Central America and exacerbating the international situation in general.

119. No amount of demagoguery about the "scheming of Moscow and Havana" will hide the true causes of the growth of the liberation movement in the countries of the region: imperialist oppression and the poverty of the masses. Do they really expect anyone to swallow their bait? Latin America and the world at large are fully aware of the actual state of affairs.

120. Washington does not like the fact that the Cuban people are following the path of socialism they themselves have chosen. Cuba's independent policy and its role in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries go against the grain. Cuba is being subjected to open threats and subversive actions.

121. Interference in the internal affairs of Central American States must be unconditionally stopped. The proposals put forward by Nicaragua and supported by Cuba open up the possibility of easing tensions and bringing about a political solution of the existing problems. The course pursued in particular by Mexico and other countries of the Contadora Group also appears to be positive in that respect.

122. There has been much effort to make things look as if the current aggravation of the international situation dates back to well-known events in Afghanistan.

123. One might assume that even those who were inclined to take that assertion on trust are now beginning to see through its absurdity. The enemies of the Afghan people will not reconcile themselves to the fact that the Afghan people have decided to rid themselves of medieval darkness and have begun building a democratic society.

124. The situation around Afghanistan—and I am stressing the external aspects of the problem—can be settled on the basis of the proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which proposals the Soviet Union fully supports. Military incursions into Afghanistan, as well as any outside interference in its affairs, must be stopped.

125. The talks being conducted through the representative of the Secretary-General are of positive significance. They would be more fruitful if the Pakistani side were to display greater political foresight.

126. The policy pursued by outside forces is behind the aggravation of the situation in South-East Asia. That policy is aimed primarily against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, whose peoples are defending their independence and are engaged in building a new and peaceful life. There have been persistent attempts to pit against the countries of Indo-China their neighbours, the States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN].

127. The Soviet Union has been and remains on the side of the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. We support the proposals to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation, and we support the initiatives of the three countries of Indo-China to open a political dialogue among the States of the region.

128. Those who are blowing the so-called Kampuchean question out of proportion are not acting in good faith. The people of Kampuchea have chosen the political system for their country and they themselves choose the ones to make friends with and to rely upon.

129. Alarming shifts are taking place in the policy of Japan, whose ruling circles seem to be pleased with the role currently assigned to it as NATO's partner in the Far East. The accelerated militarization of that country adds to tensions in the Far East.

130. This policy can hardly be in the interests of Japan itself and it certainly does not help Japan to develop good relations with neighbouring States.

131. Our country stands for the development of Soviet-Japanese relations on the basis of the principles of good-neighbourliness and co-operation, but of course this presupposes reciprocity.

132. The fact that the Korean question remains unresolved does not enhance the stability of the situation in the Far East. The proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea providing for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and the creation of the conditions for the reunification of that country by peaceful means, without outside interference, offer a suitable basis for the settlement of this question. The USSR is in sympathy with this position and supports it.

133. With the connivance of Western Powers and in the shelter of their neo-colonialist policies, the racist régime of Pretoria has been making aggressive moves against neighbouring States in southern Africa. These include, primarily, the undeclared war being waged against the People's Republic of Angola. Such criminal acts should be condemned and stopped.

134. The United Nations and the Security Council must bring to bear the weight of their authority in favour of the early decolonization of Namibia, which is still being blocked by South Africa and its protectors. We are confident that the Namibian people will throw off the fetters of colonialism and win freedom and independence for their country, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], their patriotic vanguard.

135. The people of Micronesia, which the United States is unlawfully attempting to hold on to and to convert into a United States military springboard in the western Pacific, are entitled to express their will freely.

136. Britain is pursuing a course aimed at the entrenchment of the colonial status and the militarization of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, while refusing to negotiate in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations.

137. A consistently realistic analysis leaves no doubt that the source of the increasingly alarming trends in the international situation resides, as pointed out in a recent statement by Mr. Y. V. Andropov, in the militaristic policy of the United States, which is posing a grave threat to peace. The essence of that policy is to try to ensure dominant positions in the world for the United States without taking into account the interests of other States and peoples and to block and reverse the objective process of the world's development.

138. Such a policy is bound to destabilize the world situation still further and to disrupt normal relations among States. Indeed, what guarantee is there that such an adventurist course will not have irreparable consequences?

139. The conclusion that must follow is that practical steps are needed to prevent the worst from happening. The dangerous shift in world developments must be

redressed so as to bring about an improvement in international relations.

140. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are doing everything in their power to achieve that goal.

141. The socialist society, as one which is confident of its creative potential, has no need of an arms race or war. It has demonstrated and will continue to demonstrate its advantages in the process of peaceful competition with capitalism, and it is our conviction that the future belongs to socialism.

142. However, we do not seek to impose our world view on anyone, and we believe that ideological differences should not be allowed to affect relations among States. This is a behest of Lenin, and our country will continue to abide by it.

143. In his statement of 28 September Mr. Andropov said:

“The transfer of ideological contradictions to the sphere of inter-state relations has never benefited the one who resorted to it in external affairs. This is simply absurd and inadmissible at present, in the nuclear age. Transformation of the battle of ideas into military confrontation would be too costly for the whole of mankind.” [See A/38/459.]

144. Those forces in the United States and some other NATO countries which shape their foreign policies shrink from nothing in painting a distorted picture of the international situation and laying the responsibility for the exacerbation of that situation at the door of the Soviet Union.

145. Every possible propaganda means has been mobilized to that end. Statements have been pouring forth in torrents from platforms large and small, spewing out uncivilized invective and insults. That technique is used to camouflage their own policy, which is against the interests of the peoples.

146. They will not succeed in casting aspersions on the socialist system and on our civic, social and moral values. No amount of malicious slander can possibly lessen the honest and peaceful policy of the USSR and of the entire socialist community. We and our allies firmly repudiate these calumnies and will give them the response they deserve.

147. The development of friendly relations among States, the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, strict respect for the right of peoples to independence and social progress—these are the immutable principles upheld by the socialist countries in their foreign policy.

148. On the basis of a common world outlook and unity of purpose, these States fully co-operate and co-ordinate their policies in the interests of strengthening the foundations of international peace. They are asserting themselves as a powerful factor which has had a positive impact on world events.

149. The countries of the socialist community have made the prevention of nuclear war the centrepiece of their foreign policy.

150. Who among responsible leaders and sober-minded, thinking people in general could fail to agree that this is the most urgent task of our time?

151. There have already been so many speeches made on this subject, here in the United Nations and elsewhere, since the advent of nuclear weapons, but a solution has yet to be found.

152. The degree of progress in limiting and reducing nuclear arms will largely determine the nature of the international situation in the forthcoming period.

153. The present moment is particularly crucial with regard to the situation developing in the matter of the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe.

154. The plans of the United States to deploy, under cover of a NATO decision, new nuclear missiles in some Western European countries have long been poisoning the political atmosphere on that continent and beyond. The implementation of these plans would have an adverse effect on the entire European and international situation and would significantly exacerbate nuclear confrontation.

155. We believe that plans and ideas with regard to what is to be done with nuclear weapons—both in their totality and as regards nuclear systems in Europe—should be reversed.

156. The Soviet Union has supported the most radical solution, that is, that all such nuclear systems, both medium-range and tactical, should be removed from Europe. This would really be the zero option. However, NATO has pointedly made it clear that it is not ready to accept this.

157. We have proposed that the deployment of any new medium-range systems in Europe be cancelled and that all existing systems, both of the USSR and of NATO, be reduced by approximately two thirds; in other words, two thirds of the road towards totally ridding Europe of these weapons would have been covered.

158. Surely, it is quite clear what the Soviet Union is calling for in proposing this far-reaching step, which it is of course understood would not be the last word in the solution of this problem.

159. Why, then, has such a furor been created around the supposed desire of the USSR to gain the advantage in medium-range nuclear systems?

160. Why has it been concealed that the Soviet side is prepared, as has been repeatedly stated at the very highest level, not to have in Europe a single missile, a single aircraft or a single warhead in excess of what NATO countries would have?

161. Where is the objectivity in this approach? Any politician who claims to be objective is supposed to know at least the basic relevant facts and to make an honest assessment of them.

162. Recently the Soviet Union demonstrated once again its desire to reach agreement. Our initiative envisages that once a mutually acceptable agreement has been reached, including the renunciation by the United States of the deployment of new missiles in Europe, the USSR, while reducing its own medium-range missiles in the European part of our country to a level equal to the number of missiles possessed by Britain and France, would eliminate all the missiles affected by that reduction, including a considerable number of SS-20 missiles.

163. This renders totally groundless allegations that the USSR intends to retain the SS-20 missiles which are affected by the reduction, merely relocating them from Europe to the East.

164. Progress at the talks is being held up by the United States position, which in practice amounts to a demand for unilateral disarmament by the Soviet Union while the arsenals of medium-range nuclear weapons of the NATO countries would remain intact.

165. This position is merely disguised by talk about some flexibility on the part of the United States at the Geneva talks. Another instance of this so-called flexibility

has just materialized, and the deception contained in it has become clear this time too. Mr. Andropov has stated:

“To leave aside details, the essence of the so-called new move in the United States position, which is billed as ‘superb’, boils down to a proposal to agree, as before, on how many Soviet medium-range missiles should be eliminated and how many new American missiles should be deployed in Europe in addition to the nuclear potential already possessed by NATO.

“In brief, it is proposed that we talk about how to help the NATO bloc to upset to its own advantage the balance of medium-range nuclear systems in the European zone. And this move is presented brazenly as something new.” [*Ibid.*]

166. The unacceptability of such an approach is so obvious as to indicate only one thing: a persistent reluctance on the part of our negotiating partners to search for a solution based on equality and equal security and their intention to station their missiles on European soil at any cost.

167. Whether or not agreement is to be reached depends on the United States and on NATO as a whole. The current round of Soviet-American talks on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe is crucial in this sense.

168. If Washington’s position remains so unconstructive, if Washington goes so far as actually to deploy new United States missiles in Europe, then we of course will have to take countermeasures to preserve the balance of forces on both a European and a global scale.

169. It is to be hoped that Washington and other NATO capitals will ponder again and again the existing situation and the grave consequences which would result from another twist in the arms race.

170. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty States do not seek military superiority, but they will not allow anyone to acquire military superiority over them. They have invariably advocated equality, and equality at the lowest possible level.

171. The USSR proposals in the negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms are also based on the same approach. They call for, among other measures, a substantial reduction—a reduction by more than a quarter—of the total number of strategic delivery vehicles with a concurrent reduction to agreed equal limits of the aggregate number of nuclear weapons carried by these delivery vehicles. Our proposals arise from an interest in strengthening overall military strategic stability while strictly observing the principle of equality and equal security.

172. In the negotiations on the limitation of reduction of strategic weapons the United States has taken a one-sided approach. The position of the Washington Administration is actually aimed at promoting, rather than halting, the strategic arms race in areas where the United States sees advantages for itself.

173. The fatal consequences of a nuclear war are not to be regarded as fictional conjectures. Its flames would not spare a single country or people.

174. This is the unanimous view of the most eminent scholars and competent military and civilian experts.

175. There is and can be no justification for any actions that push the world towards the abyss, or for doctrines and designs based on the admissibility of a nuclear war and the possibility of winning it.

176. Guided by these considerations, the Soviet Union proposes the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly of an important and urgent item entitled “Condemnation of nuclear war”.

177. Such war must be condemned resolutely, unconditionally and for all time as the most hideous of crimes that can be committed against the peoples. We propose that States Members of the United Nations declare as criminal acts the formulation, promotion, dissemination and propagating of political and military doctrines and concepts designed to substantiate the "legitimacy" of the first use of nuclear weapons and in general the admissibility of unleashing nuclear war.

178. The USSR is submitting a draft declaration on this point to the Assembly for its consideration [see A/38/243]. Its adoption would contribute to generating a political climate which would make more difficult the actions of those who are devising plans calling for the first use of nuclear weapons.

179. The approval of this declaration, following the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [resolution 36/100], adopted in 1981 on the initiative of the Soviet Union, would be a major move by the United Nations towards removing that threat.

180. The condemnation of nuclear war should be effectively backed up by practical steps to curb the nuclear arms race.

181. In this context a freeze on nuclear weapons by all States which possess them would be an extremely timely and truly tangible measure. The idea of such a freeze has been winning ever-increasing support in the world, in both nuclear and non-nuclear countries.

182. Our country proposed some time ago, in the course of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms and on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, that both strategic weapons and medium-range weapons in Europe be immediately frozen for the duration of the negotiations.

183. Now the Soviet Union is submitting an urgent and important question entitled "Nuclear arms freeze" to this session of the General Assembly for its consideration [A/38/244].

184. Our proposal is for a cessation, under effective verification, of the buildup of all components of nuclear arsenals, including all kinds of delivery vehicles and weapons, a renunciation of the deployment of new kinds and types of such weapons, the establishment of a moratorium on all tests of nuclear weapons and of new kinds and types of delivery vehicles, and a halt in the production of fissionable materials for the purpose of creating arms.

185. A simultaneous quantitative and qualitative freeze on nuclear weapons by all nuclear Powers is the best way to achieve this goal. Our country is prepared to agree that initially this be done by the USSR and the United States on a bilateral basis as an example to other nuclear States.

186. Giving practical effect to this initiative would markedly raise the degree of trust among the nuclear-weapon countries and would make it possible to move decisively towards breaking the vicious circle of the arms race. This would also promote the reduction and, eventually, the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

187. We express the hope that States Members of the United Nations, above all the other nuclear Powers, will take a responsible and constructive stand on our proposal and will support it.

188. The Soviet proposal entitled "Conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from outer space against Earth" [A/38/194], submitted to the current session for consideration, has been prompted by concern for preventing the militarization of outer space, an issue which is becoming extremely important.

189. Positive action on this initiative, which is a follow-up to our 1981 proposal made here at the United Nations for a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space, would be in keeping with the urgent task of ensuring peaceful, and exclusively peaceful, use of outer space in the interest of and for the benefit of all people.

190. Specifically, the idea is to have a comprehensive ban on the testing and deployment of any space-based weapons designed to destroy targets on Earth, in the air or in outer space.

191. At the same time, provision is made for the complete renunciation of the development of new anti-satellite systems and the elimination of existing systems. If it would be of any help, we are also prepared to conduct separate talks on anti-satellite systems, including talks with the United States on a bilateral basis.

192. The obligation assumed by the USSR not to be the first to place any kind of anti-satellite weapons in outer space is yet a further manifestation of its desire to see the problem of such weapons solved in a radical way. This unilateral moratorium declared by our country is to last for as long as other States, in particular the United States, refrain from placing anti-satellite weapons of any kind in outer space.

193. The initiatives we are taking at this session are a logical extension of our foreign policy, based as it is on principle, and of the convincing peace-oriented proposals that the Soviet Union has been putting forward in recent years.

194. Among the many other steps taken by the Soviet Union in the key areas of international life, I would like to single out the following.

195. There is the obligation by the USSR not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. If such an obligation were assumed by all the nuclear Powers, this in practice would be tantamount to a prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Our appeal for this remains in force.

196. There is also the proposal for a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. This is consistent with the task of preventing the possibility of developing new kinds of nuclear weapons and of strengthening the non-proliferation régime. The Committee on Disarmament should as a matter of priority take measures with a view to producing the draft of such a treaty.

197. Furthermore, there are proposals for banning neutron weapons as well as for preparing an international convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

198. These and other Soviet initiatives aimed at limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament deserve the most serious attention.

199. I would like to make special mention of the joint proposal of the socialist countries for a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic alliance. The obligation not to use weapons of any kind—nuclear or conventional—that is to say, not to use force at all, would help to dispel mutual fear and distrust. The initiative is gaining increasing prominence in European and world politics.

200. It has always been our view that the problem of security on the European continent should be treated with particular circumspection. It is precisely here in Europe that the two militarily most powerful groupings of States—the Warsaw Treaty and NATO—are facing each other.

201. In view of all this, not a single move in Europe leading to the easing of tensions and the positive development of relations among States could be redundant or superfluous.

202. It is time to break the deadlock in the talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, where the level of military confrontation is particularly high. The draft agreement submitted at Vienna by the socialist countries creates real conditions for narrowing the gap between the positions and for reaching agreement.

203. The Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe scheduled for next January at Stockholm will play an important role in enhancing European and international security. The USSR, to the extent it can, will seek to ensure that the work of the Conference is fruitful and lives up to the expectations placed in it by political circles and broad sectors of public opinion in European and other countries.

204. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to preserving and expanding its diverse ties with the countries of Western Europe. We intend to continue to maintain relations with them along the lines traced by the Helsinki Final Act³ in a spirit of trust and co-operation.

205. The successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting of representatives of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is quite rightly viewed as an indication that the policy of détente, which has been so beneficial for all the peoples of Europe, has a great deal of vitality.

206. Even though there has been a coolness in relations in the current international situation, this proves that despite considerable divergencies in their policies, States with different social systems are capable of solving together problems that are not at all easy to solve, and of searching for and finding areas of agreement.

207. We would like to believe that appropriate conclusions will be drawn from this, and not only as regards Europe and relations among European States.

208. This November marks the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The whole history of Soviet-American relations makes it abundantly clear that whenever these two States have followed a course of mutual understanding and co-operation, their peoples as well as universal peace and security have gained thereby.

209. It has been our invariable view that the maintenance of normal stable relations between the Soviet Union and the United States is in their mutual interest, and we are in favour of their overall improvement and peaceful co-operation.

210. It is not through any choice of ours that Soviet-American relations are currently marked by tensions which also affect the international situation.

211. Today, the urgency of the problem of preventing the threat of war requires that each State be fully aware of the degree of its responsibility and to reaffirm, both in word and in deed, its commitment to the policy of peace. The Soviet Union is in favour of combining our efforts on the broadest possible basis in order to achieve this noble goal.

212. In the service of peace there is room for action by every country, regardless of its social system, its level of economic development, its size or its geographic location.

213. Such an important State as the People's Republic of China can do a great deal to ease international tension and eliminate the danger of nuclear war.

214. The Soviet Union is ready for a political dialogue with China on questions of bilateral relations, as well as on central problems connected with strengthening peace and international security. The positive development of Soviet-Chinese relations, which should be constructed with due account being taken of and mutual respect for the interests of each side and, naturally, without detriment to third countries, would benefit our two peoples and promote a better political climate in the world arena.

215. We welcome the growing activity of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in defending international peace. They need lasting peace to solve the difficult problems of their national and social development.

216. The results of the non-aligned forum held this year at New Delhi have once again demonstrated the anti-war and anti-imperialist orientation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

217. The policy of peace of India, the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, enjoys well-deserved prestige. The Soviet Union and India are linked by bonds of friendship and close co-operation which are highly valued by both sides.

218. The Soviet Union pursues a course of principle with regard to the elimination of all manifestations of inequality and exploitation, the building of confidence in economic ties between States and the establishment of just international economic relations.

219. The peoples of developing States have a real awareness of the magnitude and nature of our assistance in helping them to overcome their economic backwardness. In this area the Soviet Union is doing more than any developed capitalist country.

220. The Soviet Union supports the demand for the early launching, within the United Nations, of "global negotiations" on major economic problems, as envisaged in decisions of the General Assembly, and also the idea of the convening, within the framework of the United Nations, of an international conference on these subjects.

221. We have been and we remain sympathetic to the developing countries which are striving to do away with the tyranny of monopoly capital and free themselves from neo-colonialist exploitation.

222. Our country is firmly on the side of those who, to this very day, are fighting for their freedom and independence, those who are being forced to repel the aggressor or being threatened with aggression. This stand is inseparable from our struggle for lasting peace on Earth.

223. In the present alarming international situation there is also need for the mobilization of the entire impressive potential of the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining international security. The Soviet Union has supported and will continue to support consistently and resolutely United Nations efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war, curb the arms race, eliminate the existing hotbeds of international tension and prevent the emergence of new ones and to develop relations of peace and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

224. No matter how complicated the situation, real possibilities exist for overcoming the difficulties of this period in international relations. Mr. Andropov stressed in his statement of 28 September:

"The Soviet leadership does not hesitate about which line to follow in international affairs in the present critical situation . . . Our course remains aimed at

preserving and strengthening peace, lessening tension, curbing the arms race and expanding and deepening co-operation between States. This is the unflinching will of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of all Soviet people. These are, we are convinced also the aspirations of all peoples.”

225. We appeal to all States to draw sensible conclusions in the existing situation, conclusions that are in keeping with the most profound aspirations of the peoples, and above all to exert efforts urgently to solve the problem common to all mankind, that of eliminating the risk of nuclear war.

226. People must feel secure about their future.

227. Mr. Shams-ud DOHA (Bangladesh): It is indeed an honour and a privilege for me and the members of my delegation to participate in the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We bring warm greetings from the Government and people of Bangladesh.

228. I take this opportunity of congratulating Saint Christopher and Nevis on its independence and welcome it to our midst in the United Nations.

229. On behalf of the delegation of Bangladesh and on my own behalf I wish to extend to you, Sir, our most sincere felicitations on your assumption of the high office of President of the Assembly. The constructive role of your great country, Panama, in connection with regional as well as international issues, as evidenced particularly in the remarkable efforts of the Contadora Group, has earned the deep appreciation of us all. Your own long-standing association with the United Nations gives us every reason to believe that under your able and dynamic leadership we shall be able to achieve some fruitful and constructive results at this session.

230. We were particularly moved by your inspiring address immediately after you took over the presidency. Your assessment of the international economic situation, coupled with your strong plea for adoption of action-oriented programmes by the Assembly, leads us to believe that you will be playing a leading part in what the vast majority of us perceive to be the most critical issue facing us at the present time, that of our ability to exercise political will, our constituencies notwithstanding, to face the realities of the international economic situation of the day and to apply that will to substantive dialogue and negotiations.

231. In this and other efforts, Mr. President, we assure you of our fullest support and co-operation in the discharge of your responsibility. I should like to express our sincere congratulations to the other officers of the Assembly on their election to the various positions of responsibility.

232. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to convey our deep appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, for the very able manner in which he guided the deliberations of the thirty-seventh session. His wisdom, dedication and diplomatic skill have won him the admiration of all.

233. I would also like to record our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his unremitting efforts to realize the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for his contribution to the cause of international security, peace and progress. The Secretary-General's illuminating report [A/38/I] has been read with great interest, and I believe this document constitutes an important input to the work of the current session.

234. The thirty-eighth session must certainly count as one of the most exceptional and crucial sessions of the General Assembly. Already nearly 20 heads of State or Government have addressed us during this session. We

have, for the first time during the General Assembly session, seen an exchange of views carried out, even though informal and outside the framework of the General Assembly, in a manner aimed at creating a direct impact on making our work here both more productive and meaningful. The thirty-eighth session also takes place at a time of unprecedented crisis. The international situation, both in the political and economic sense, has often been described as the worst since the Second World War. Indeed, it is not without reason that a number of speakers in recent days have recalled those sad and bitter days of the thirties which presaged the outbreak of the Second World War. But, however close the parallel, the world has not stood still these past 50 years. The eighties are not the thirties and the United Nations is not the League of Nations. The essential difference, during this epoch-making half century, has been the emergence of more than 100 independent sovereign Member States. This is what gives the United Nations its strength and moral authority. The presence of sovereign States has acted as a force of restraint and moderation in international affairs over the years.

235. The third world, the South, the developing countries, the three great continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America, constitute a major force in world events, both politically and economically. In times of distress and conflict, these countries, which make up more than three-fourths of the population of this globe, can become a powerful and effective force towards the maintenance of peace and stability. Our inability to recognize this important reality at times has caused not only the spirit of international co-operation to suffer, but also the effectiveness of the United Nations.

236. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which two thirds of the United Nations belong, has championed the cause of peace and justice since its inception. Its growing membership and consistent principles have established its natural role in sustaining peace and diffusing global tension. We believe that this great Movement is now an indispensable catalyst in promoting understanding among peoples, ideologies and nations.

237. I humbly submit that in our experience, democracy, no matter how we choose to interpret it, has never meant that the voice of one or two, or even a handful of countries, should determine the destiny of mankind. International co-operation cannot be built on an edifice where some dictate and others follow. Peace and security, like development, are built brick by brick through the active involvement and participation of all Member States. Nowhere has this process been made more clearly visible or possible than at the General Assembly.

238. The 1950s and the 1960s witnessed tremendous development throughout the North, but the capacity of the developed countries to grow in any meaningful manner during the 1970s and 1980s was inextricably and inexorably linked to the fate of the developing countries. For it was the growth and development of this group of countries that constituted and provided the dynamic element of growth for the entire international community. For developing countries to grow and develop, two requirements stand out crystal clear: first and foremost is the creation of conditions of peace and stability, and the other is to create and maintain reasonable confidence in the economic system which could sustain us all. These requirements are interrelated and interdependent.

239. We have learned from recent history that progress in disarmament talks between the two super-Powers has a direct and positive impact on the international climate. Absence of progress has invariably resulted in an escalation in both numbers and quality of armaments, with

concomitant pressures on countries both far and near. The interaction between disarmament and development and the glaring discrepancy between the amount spent on armaments and that spent on development do not bear recounting. Suffice it to say that the voice of the General Assembly must be heard loud and clear in support of concrete measures to promote disarmament and to divert resources from armament to development. One concrete way of doing this would be to institute without delay some measure of international taxation on all expenditure on nuclear arms.

240. This session of the General Assembly must also take concrete measures to arrest the increase in armaments, particularly nuclear weapons. We must devise ways and means to depoliticize, as far as possible, the consideration of such questions within the United Nations. Technical issues, particularly those relating to verification and assessment of relative strength, should be determined as objectively as possible, perhaps by seeking the advice of eminent experts or through creation of supra-national bodies similar to the International Court of Justice.

241. Many more substantial suggestions in this regard have been made during this session. What is important is that these proposals be studied and examined seriously in the coming days. Considering the almost unanimous view that the arms race is the single biggest threat to humanity, it is inconceivable that we should not take practical concrete measures at this session to at least partially redress the situation.

242. I must refer here to the recent tragedy involving a South Korean civilian airliner. The tragic incident is a manifestation of the brinkmanship to which we are prone at a time when all of us are engaged in avoiding conflicts and areas where peace exists at its critical limits. It reinforces our belief that even dimensions such as these pose a direct and serious threat to global peace and security, and we must therefore find ways and means to avoid a recurrence of such an unfortunate incident.

243. Many, if not most, small nations and developing countries such as my own attach the highest importance to the work of the United Nations system as a whole. Whether we vote for or against a resolution is a matter which is studied very carefully. Those are not decisions which are taken at the behest of any one country or a group of countries. We make a conscious effort to weigh the pros and cons, looking for the principles underlying each issue. It is the respect for these principles that provides the greatest security for countries such as Bangladesh.

244. We want to see the development of a code of conduct for Member States, a code that permits no nation to take the law into its own hands. Bangladesh believes that the moral authority of the United Nations should be its greatest strength, a moral authority based on the principles embodied in the Charter. A strong United Nations whose voice is respected by all provides the best insurance and safeguard for all Member States. Moral authority and the political weight of the Organization are determined by its own Member States.

245. How seriously do each of us take the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council? Do the Articles of the Charter need to be invoked only when we find it convenient to do so? Where is the spirit that gave birth to the Charter? How can we choose to ignore the historic role played by the United Nations in the process of decolonization? More than 100 States have joined the Organization since its birth. The newly independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America

are in a sense the products of the United Nations. Certainly, the United Nations and their presence and participation in the work of the United Nations remain an important manifestation of the sovereignty and independence of these countries. The principle of one country, one vote is vital to the whole spirit of the sovereign equality of States and the essence of the Charter.

246. The persistent presence of colonialism and racism in southern Africa is an outrage to humanity. It continues to pose a dangerous threat to peace and security in the region. Bangladesh is irrevocably committed to the cause of the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa. We pledge our unstinted support to their legitimate struggle for freedom, liberty and human dignity. We are fully convinced that their efforts will ultimately triumph. As an active member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, we firmly believe that the independence of Namibia can and must be achieved in accordance with the United Nations plan for Namibia, the only viable basis for peaceful transition of the territory from colonial subjugation to independence, and we have consistently asked for its full implementation without any modification whatsoever.

247. In the same spirit, we cannot condone the right of States to interfere in the affairs of other States. We have therefore consistently voted against the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. We should permit the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea to determine the governments of their choice. This should be done without the presence or threat of foreign troops.

248. We were dismayed when the sanctity of frontiers was so brutally violated by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Bangladesh expresses its deep sympathy for the brotherly people of Lebanon who have suffered so greatly. There can be no normalcy in Lebanon until there is a total withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Lebanese territory. We commend the efforts which have led to a cease-fire in that country, and I think we speak on behalf of all when we say that the efforts should now be extended to maintaining the cease-fire.

249. Bangladesh's position on the question of Palestine is clear and unequivocal. We have consistently maintained that any just and lasting peace in the area must be based on the acceptance by all parties of the fact that the question of Palestine lies at the heart of the crisis, that the acquisition of territory by force imposes an obligation on Israel to withdraw completely and immediately from all occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and that the Palestinian people have the inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to have a State of their own in their homeland under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative. We strongly condemn the continued Israeli occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories and the defiant establishment of settlements. It is on the basis of these essential principles that we can foresee an end to the turmoil and strife that have tormented the region for over three decades. In this context, we have consistently supported the Arab peace plan⁴ as a sound basis for establishing durable peace in the region. The quiet but effective efforts being made by the Al-Quds al-Sharif Committee are equally aimed at contributing towards this peace process in the Middle East. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva only last month, has demonstrated once again the deep and firm commitment of the vast majority of the international community to the early restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

250. We cannot but express our distress and anguish at the continued conflict between Iran and Iraq. We are

convinced that both Iran and Iraq want peace, and our discussions with the leaders of these two countries convince us that the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Gulf Co-operation Council and the United Nations must continue to assist the process of peace both separately and, if necessary, through a co-ordinated effort. I must say that this war has not only brought in its trail untold suffering and destruction to the great peoples in those two countries, but has also cast a shadow on the prospect for global peace and security. We should therefore like to make a renewed appeal to both Iran and Iraq to take full advantage of the many proposals which have been made to them for bringing this conflict to an end. I would even submit that both these brotherly Moslem countries may wish to take advantage of the current session of the General Assembly for this purpose.

251. The unfortunate developments in the brotherly country of Chad also give us cause for concern, and it is our sincere hope that it will be possible to resolve this matter through peaceful means.

252. The lack of progress in the inter-communal talks between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities has been a cause of concern to all of us. We urge both communities to engage in meaningful discussions for reaching a mutually acceptable solution of the problem that would enable them to live in honour and dignity within the framework of a federated Cyprus, where the rights of both communities will be fully protected. These talks have continued much longer than was expected, and unless there is some progress in the immediate future, the situation in Cyprus may take an irreversible turn.

253. If the effectiveness of the United Nations system is being eroded in the area of maintaining international peace and security, we notice with equal concern and alarm the drift away from multilateral co-operation and multilateral institutions towards bilateralism. That is all the more regrettable because Member States have always had the highest praise for the excellent work being done by various development agencies within the United Nations system. This tendency has perhaps become more pronounced as a result of the lack of progress in North-South dialogue aimed at international economic co-operation. Notwithstanding the considerable flexibility and pragmatism that marked the outcome of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries at New Delhi and the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 at Buenos Aires, we regret that there has been so little progress. The situation is further compounded by the fact that hopes were indeed raised when at the Summit of Industrialized Nations, at Williamsburg, the importance of the role of the South, the global nature of the current international economic crisis and the extent of interdependence between the North and the South were clearly acknowledged. At Belgrade also, at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, there was general agreement on the nature of the crisis and, in general terms, the remedial steps that were required, although there we faltered in the area of concrete measures. Why then, despite the present economic crisis involving both the North and the South, are we unable to act?

254. With regard to launching of the global negotiations, we feel there is an immediate need for close consultations within the framework of the United Nations, more particularly during this session, when we are already witnessing intensive initiatives at the highest level. We also feel that we should concentrate on exploiting those areas where agreement already exists or where agreement is possible. We believe that the time has come to step away

from the Versailles meeting cul-de-sac and start meaningful negotiations here in New York.

255. We have noted with interest the recommendations recently made by the Committee for Development Planning on the subject of money and finance.⁵ Some other expert bodies have also addressed themselves to this important subject. Recalling the proposal of the Conference of non-aligned countries, we believe that it would be useful if we could initiate at this General Assembly session preparations for an international conference on money and finance for development. But there is also a need for measures to be taken in favour of developing countries without any further delay.

256. The situation in the least developed countries is particularly desperate. These are the countries which now have little or no access to commercial credit and whose capacity for trade has been seriously hampered. Therefore, at least the following measures need to be taken urgently: a substantial increase in the official development assistance on highly concessional terms to the developing countries, particularly the least developed; the seventh replenishment of the International Development Association's funds to provide for a substantial increase in real terms in lending to recipients; a special drawing rights allocation of 15 billion for the next two-year period; the cancellation of all official debts of the least developed countries without any further loss of time; the waiving of all barriers of tariffs and quotas in respect of the least developed countries; commencement of the operations of the Common Fund to be set for 1 January 1984; abstention by developed countries from imposing new restrictions or other protectionist measures on any exports of developing countries; and full and effective implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries.⁶

257. A number of other measures in the areas of food and agriculture, trade, raw materials, money and finance and energy should also be initiated. We should be in a position to take action on all these matters at this session of the Assembly.

258. One of the subjects to which we have attached the very highest importance in the Group of 77 has been the role of the United Nations system in support of economic co-operation among developing countries and the Caracas Programme of Action.⁷ We are gratified to note that there has been some progress in this area, though much still remains to be done. The fundamental basis of South-South co-operation is that the South must be permitted to decide, of its own volition and without interference, the framework and substance of such co-operation. We sincerely hope that there will be no impediment created to the United Nations system's supporting the Group of 77 in strengthening and developing economic co-operation among developing countries.

259. I have endeavoured to explain why a country such as Bangladesh attaches so much importance to the United Nations and the United Nations system. In Bangladesh our own efforts during the past 18 months have focused on three broad fronts. First, we have endeavoured to take the Government to the people, and in so doing to engage the people more directly in the process of nation-building. Very belatedly in the post-colonial sense, we are the first in our region to reorganize the once remote local administration in the rural areas, where 90 per cent of the 95 million people of Bangladesh live, into effective and vibrant centres of real development activity. We are trying to provide infrastructural support for each of these centres, which we expect will also emerge as the first echelon of our political activity.

260. Secondly, we have intensified efforts to implement various measures geared to making the country self-reliant, particularly in food production. We have also stepped up a country-wide family planning programme to reduce the growth of population.

261. These steps are aimed at moving us swiftly towards strengthening our representative institutions, which have always formed an integral part of our society. We shall hold local government elections throughout the country this winter. These will be followed by elections at higher echelons, leading to parliamentary elections in March 1985. These democratic processes are integral to our way of life. In our perception, it is equally indispensable that there be peace and stability to sustain development and democracy. This will explain why Bangladesh attaches such great importance to a more stable system in the global sense.

262. Bangladesh must be permitted to proceed unimpeded with the delicate and complex task of national reconstruction and development. We need the friendship, understanding and assistance of our neighbours, our friends, the international community and the United Nations system. Conscious of the need to create an atmosphere of harmony and accord in South Asia, Bangladesh has joined six other countries of the region in promoting regional co-operation. Very recently we held the first-ever meeting of seven South Asian foreign ministers. We have been able to identify specific areas of co-operation, and we remain confident in Bangladesh that as this regional co-operation develops so will the overall climate in the region.

263. In our efforts to build a solid base for the relaxation of regional and international tensions, we have always supported the creation of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. We have also consistently supported the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

264. I wish to conclude by saying that the Bangladesh delegation expects to see the General Assembly take concrete and effective steps at its thirty-eighth session towards: the emergence of a free and independent State of Palestine; the emergence of a free and independent Namibia; the ending of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict; the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea; the halting of the arms race and the rapid scaling-down of nuclear armories; the immediate launching of global negotiations and the initiation of preparations for a conference on money and finance for development; the adoption of a set of immediate measures in favour of developing countries; the strengthening and revitalization of the United Nations system through expression of full respect for and total observance of the goals and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations; the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly; and the renewal of support for multilateral co-operation, as well as for the development activities of the United Nations system.

265. Above all, we should like to see the restoration of a sense of respect for the dignity of man, for human life; respect for the equality of man and his right to pursue a life of his choice, free from interference; and the restoration of healthy human values which ensure that we treat each other with compassion and understanding.

266. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by Mr. Robert D. Muldoon, Prime Minister of New Zealand. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and in inviting him to address the Assembly.

267. Mr. MULDOON (New Zealand): Sir, may I begin by congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. This is an appropriate recognition both of your own personal achievements and of the important role your country is playing in international affairs. New Zealand will fully support you in your endeavour to make this session a productive one, just as we fully support the Secretary-General in his efforts to make the United Nations more effective in the search for peace and development.

268. Less than two weeks ago I had the pleasure of representing New Zealand at the independence celebrations of the new State of Saint Christopher and Nevis. Today I join others in congratulating the international community's newest Member in being represented for the first time at the United Nations. It is a salutary reminder to us all that one of the first acts of such a young and small country has been to register, in a formal sense, its interest in this Organization. We in New Zealand have no difficulty understanding that. By most counts, we are ourselves a young and small country. Our welfare can be profoundly influenced for better or worse by external developments very largely outside our control. Some four decades ago, when the Charter of the United Nations was negotiated, we held high hopes that through international co-operation we would achieve a measure of political and economic security which a country like New Zealand could not hope to realize alone.

269. Time and experience have tempered our earlier expectations. In recent years we have seen the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan in flagrant violation of the Charter. Similarly, the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam has been followed by nearly five years of occupation, thereby preventing the political settlement that the Assembly has urged repeatedly. The essential character of the *apartheid* system remains intact, in spite of the strongest condemnation by the international community. Day by day we witness the continuing suffering of various peoples and countries in the Middle East, indicating to us once more that peace and security cannot be achieved by force of arms alone. In one of those areas of conflict—Lebanon—New Zealand welcomes the cease-fire and hopes that it paves the way for a more lasting settlement among the parties involved.

270. The Antarctic region stands in sharp contrast to these troubled areas throughout the world. For over 20 years the Antarctic Treaty⁸ has succeeded in making Antarctica an area of international co-operation and preventing it from becoming the object of international dissension. The Treaty is open to any Member of the United Nations and it remains in force indefinitely. It makes a very effective contribution to achieving the purposes of the United Nations. We assume that any study carried out by the Organization will fully recognize this fact and seek to reinforce the Treaty rather than to weaken it.

271. Antarctica is one example of what can be achieved by practical international co-operation. The South Pacific is another. At least once a year the heads of all the independent Governments in our region meet together in the South Pacific Forum to talk over common problems and to work out ways of dealing with them. So far we have succeeded in keeping our part of the world peaceful. We are, however, concerned about the continuation of nuclear testing in the South Pacific. We appreciate the offer made by the French Government to allow qualified experts from countries in the area to visit the testing site and check the effectiveness of the safety precautions followed by the French authorities. But the question is not merely one of safety precautions; it is about the use

of a relatively peaceful part of the world for an essentially warlike purpose.

272. We realize that this problem cannot be dealt with on a purely regional basis, and that is why New Zealand, like other countries in the South Pacific and elsewhere, attaches great importance to the negotiation of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. To be effective, such a treaty would need to be fully verifiable. Given good will and effort on all sides, we believe this problem can be overcome. The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty would do much to strengthen the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to limit the nuclear arms race.

273. The part of the world in which New Zealanders live is one of the few areas of relative tranquillity. Nevertheless we are from time to time sharply reminded of the limitations both of international law and of normally accepted standards of civilized behaviour. The ruthless and totally unjustified attack by the Soviet Union on a civilian airliner has provided such a reminder. The Soviet Union must accept full responsibility for this act of brutality. What is truly outrageous is that the Soviet Government claims this action was fully in accordance with Soviet law. In plain language they seem to be saying that if tomorrow a civilian airliner from any one of our countries mistakenly flew over Soviet territory then they reserve the right to shoot it down.

274. The limits to international co-operation are thus plain—all too plain—to see, yet the membership of the United Nations remains intact, and we welcome to the fold a new Member from the Caribbean region.

275. The reason, I suggest, is obvious. However difficult it has been to develop habits of international co-operation on these major political issues, there is no practical alternative for the overwhelming majority of countries.

276. I believe that today this applies with equal force to the international economy. International economic linkages are such that in practical terms no single country any longer has freedom of action. That is the consequence of several decades of sustained growth in world trade, production and investment. The interdependent world economy has arrived on our doorsteps, and the world has little idea how to manage it.

277. The theory behind economic interdependence is not new. We always knew that the health of any individual economy was linked in no small measure with the health of its major trading and investment partners. There is nothing novel in pointing to the close connections between, say, trade and financial flows.

278. What is new is that the practical significance of those linkages has increased to such an extent and with such rapidity that we have failed to adapt sufficiently our institutions and our thinking so as to be able to cope with those linkages.

279. New Zealand respects the competence of the principal economic institutions such as IMF, the World Bank and GATT. As originally conceived after the war, they each had their role—IMF was concerned principally with short-term balance of payment adjustment and maintaining exchange rate stability, the Bank was concerned with development and GATT dealt with trade.

280. The growth of interdependence has totally blurred these tidy dividing lines. The long-term resolution of the debt burden built up over recent years is inextricably linked with the resolution of the problems of protectionism. The old phrase that debt is deferred trade sums up the reality that it is only through increased exports that the interest and principal repayments can ever be met.

If protectionism chokes off that possibility, then the debt problem assumes very different proportions.

281. It is not just a question of interdependence between issues such as debt and trade, development and growth. It is also a question of the interdependence between countries, between regions, between North and South.

282. The current economic crisis facing many less developed countries has obscured the fact that until recently the growth performance of many of those countries was particularly strong. It has been estimated that in the 25-year period 1950 to 1975 the per capita gross national product of the developing countries as a whole grew at an average rate of 3.5 per cent per annum. Even though we knew this left a number of countries with unacceptable levels of poverty, this was a remarkable historic achievement. It was matched by creditable progress in such crucial indices as a steady rise in life expectancy and adult literacy.

283. Because of these developments it was clear by the beginning of the 1980s that it was no longer accurate to see the concept of dependence flowing one way only. By the 1980s the economic health of developed countries was beginning to be influenced profoundly by the economic performance of their less developed neighbours.

284. This is what interdependence means. It was visibly demonstrated last year when the expected recovery of the developed and affluent countries members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] did not eventuate in the second half of 1982 very largely because of a sudden downturn in the demand for their exports to the less developed world. Faced with acute financing difficulties caused by a contraction in commercial bank lending, many of the more heavily indebted countries had no option but to pursue adjustment policies based largely on slashing imports. This impaired their own development needs. It impaired the OECD's recovery.

285. From the suffering of the Second World War a system for international economic co-operation was developed. Those who designed that system had in mind a world economy that was very different from the interdependent world economy we live in today. In many respects those post-war arrangements achieved their central objectives. Many of the key elements, such as currency convertibility, are still as relevant today as they were then. The successes of that system of trade and payments created the global economy we have today. I believe the international community must now move on to the next phase of international economic co-operation and begin the task of managing that interdependence.

286. To describe the scope and magnitude of that task I have used the term "a new Bretton Woods". For over a year, at a variety of international forums, I have urged the international community to initiate the comprehensive examination of the world's trade and payments system that is the first necessary step towards a new Bretton Woods. The conference as such should be regarded as the last step, the culmination of the most careful preparatory process of analysis and discussion.

287. During that time there has been considerable debate over the future of the trade and payments system. There have also been unmistakable signs of a recovery in the United States economy, and the immediate danger of default by the most heavily indebted countries has been averted by various rescue operations.

288. The key question, I believe, is whether the recovery and these rescue operations will in practice set back the growing consensus in favour of a comprehensive examination of the underlying structural difficulties facing the

world economy. There is a serious danger that this will be the case. The remedy, however, lies entirely in our own hands.

289. Let me first summarize the international debate as I believe it has evolved over that period. In February 1983 the Brandt Commission's second report proposed a major review of the world's trade and payments system.⁹ In March the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries endorsed the Indian Prime Minister's call for a conference on money and finance for development. Following the meeting of OECD ministers in May, at which I repeated my call for a Bretton Woods-type conference, the French President made a very similar proposal. Then, at the Williamsburg Summit the leaders of the industrialized countries issued a somewhat tentative call for their ministers of finance to work with the Managing Director of IMF to prepare the groundwork for what might develop into a high-level international monetary conference. However qualified that endorsement may have been, it was a response from the developed world to the growing weight of opinion favouring a careful examination of these international economic issues. The middle ground, if not clearly delineated, was at least becoming visible.

290. Finally, at the meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers, which concluded in Trinidad and Tobago less than two weeks ago, ministers of finance from 44 countries, representing the diversity of wealth, population and size that is the key characteristic of that grouping, commended the general thrust of a major report entitled "Towards a New Bretton Woods".

291. This was a report compiled by eminent experts from nine Commonwealth countries. Its work on conditionality, liquidity problems, the role of special drawing rights, protectionism and sovereign debt, to mention only a few of the issues covered in the report, will, I hope, be sifted and refined. As the first attempt by an international institution to outline the agenda for such a fundamental examination of the trade and payments system, it deserves careful consideration by the wider international community.

292. Surveying the debate over the past 12 months as a whole, therefore, international opinion seems to have been evolving in a promising direction. We were beginning to move away from the sterile confrontations that have been the hallmark of international economic debate even in recent years.

293. However, we now face the possibility that the recovery—welcome as it is—may have the somewhat predictable result of unravelling a good deal of that growing consensus. If the international community has been increasingly ready to consider the scope for changes to the trade and payments system, it has no doubt been due to the long period of stagflation we have been through. Equally, now that the first clear signs of a recovery in the United States and certain other industrial economies are evident, some of the pressure to examine these long-term issues is off. It may be only realistic to expect that debate to be influenced by short-term fluctuation in the real economy. It would, I suggest, be reasonable to expect a little more vision.

294. In spite of the misgivings of many Governors and the continuing, though privately expressed, disquiet of the international banking community, a message to emerge from the annual meetings of IMF and the World Bank was, regrettably, all too clear. With some of the major industrial countries there was a mood that can be expressed quite simply: now that the recovery is under way, let us put aside all this talk of changes to the trade and payments system.

295. I believe that view is more than short-sighted; it is tragically misplaced. The recovery of industrial countries, in itself undoubtedly the best piece of economic news we have had for some years, will not come to grips with the deep-seated changes that have occurred in the world economy since the formation of the Bretton Woods institutions.

296. In 1982 the world economy went backwards. World production declined by an estimated 2 per cent, and the volume of world trade declined by 2.5 per cent. Had this continued into 1983 I believe it would have put nearly impossible strains on world economic and political stability. The recovery certain developed countries are now experiencing has to be seen against that perspective. It has turned the tide against the forces of contraction of world output and trade unprecedented in our post-war experience. The recovery in demand will strengthen many commodity prices and thus may offer some relief to those countries which, like New Zealand, have suffered disastrous declines in their terms of trade during the last decade. Finally, however, the recovery is not a panacea for the problems of debt, protectionism and development.

297. In the first place the recovery is cyclical in nature and confined to relatively few countries. Even for them the persistence of high real interest rates is a serious threat to sustained recovery of their economies.

298. Recovery will not tackle the underlying roots of protectionism, since clearly, the growth of protectionist action predates the recession. Protectionism, which is by no means confined to the OECD countries, will persist in the developed world if only because no one is predicting growth rates which will reduce the number of unemployed, roughly 35 million, in the OECD area.

299. Recovery will not do much to alleviate the debt burdens of many developing countries. The Commonwealth study "Towards a New Bretton Woods" estimates that there are as many as 40 countries which have been reported to have agreed to debt reschedulings or to be in substantial payments arrears. In the 10-month period to June 1983 the value of cross-border debt being renegotiated with commercial banks has been calculated as being over 20 times larger than in any previous year. Debt of this magnitude is a powerful force for uncertainty, a threat to the recovery and a source of instability for these Governments, whatever their political system.

300. Nor can I see any reason why the recovery should reverse the mood—so obvious in most countries—which has been aptly described as "aid weariness". The New Zealand political system is no more immune to that than any other democratic country. However, my experience with our small but highly effective aid programmes in the independent countries of the South Pacific has convinced me that the prevailing modern view of aid is profoundly misplaced.

301. I have advocated putting aid on a firmer basis, possibly by issuing special drawing rights to the countries in greatest need. In any such distribution there may be a useful role for the World Bank, in part because that would put the Bank's finances on a more assured basis.

302. These are only some of the medium- and longer-term issues which I believe the modest recovery in the OECD area will do little to address.

303. The ideas, the issues involved, although technical in nature, have profound political implications. Many countries represented in the Assembly have witnessed directly the political consequences that flow from economic dislocation. Economic growth and stable financial markets will not of themselves preserve the fabric of world peace, but they are powerful positive forces all the same. Many of

the elements of the post-war system of economic co-operation are under strain. I believe we, as an international community, now need to develop new political levers to tackle some of the underlying difficulties. We must move beyond the *ad hoc* responses that have developed to cope with severe, long-term current account deficits. We must reassure heavily indebted countries that there will be adequate financing available while they pursue the long-term process of structural adjustment. The original political mandate of GATT, which is now all but exhausted, must be renewed.

304. The difficulty in all this is to move beyond general expressions of concern to initiate a process which might come to grips with some of these fundamental issues facing the world trade and payments system.

305. Of course, if the complacent mood prevalent in some countries persists there is little that can be done. In that case, the middle ground that I believe was becoming visible until very recently will quickly disappear. We will quit the field and leave it to extremists of varying points of view. We will return to the dubious pleasure of the sterile confrontations of past years.

306. I do not pretend to have a blueprint for the process that might lead to a comprehensive examination of the trade and payments system. There are many possible approaches, involving different timetables and different combinations of people and institutions. The study "Towards a new Bretton Woods", to which I referred earlier, has one such proposal worthy of the Assembly's consideration. Ultimately, the process must be tailored to the needs of the main participants so as to command their support.

307. It is not hard, however, to describe in general terms the criteria for a successful examination of the trade and payments system.

308. First, the basic work must be undertaken by experts of the highest standing, otherwise its analytical competence would be subject to easy and probably fatal challenge.

309. Secondly, these experts must enjoy the confidence of major Governments and have ready access to their political advice. In that way, we might avoid proposals that are completely outside the limits of political possibility.

310. Thirdly, any such group must be of manageable size. In my view this implies a small group of around 15 to 25 members broadly representative of the international community and working closely with the major international economic institutions. We would probably end up with something analagous to the structure of the Interim Committee and the Executive Board of IMF. Unlike the Interim Committee, however, it would be concerned with all the fundamental long-term trade and payments issues, rather than simply determining the current policy of IMF.

311. Fourthly, a conference, involving participation on a far wider international basis, should be seen as a conclusion rather than a beginning. The Commonwealth finance ministers saw a Bretton Woods-type conference in this context very much as an end to the process rather than a commencement.

312. It is more difficult to be definitive about the timetable when agreement on the process described above still escapes our grasp. I believe there is an urgent need to begin the task now, and I believe that the general proposition has wide support. If we accept the projections which imply an annual rate of growth in the key industrial countries of 3 to 4 per cent into 1984, then this gives us some flexibility to implement any changes agreed at what we might call the study group level. If we delay the start

of our examination too long, then we face the possibility of yet another cyclical downturn in the world economy. A return to an even less auspicious macro-economic climate could sound the death-knell to the implementation stage of the exercise.

313. The point requires no labouring. There is a real and pressing need to get on with the job of re-examining the system and working out how to adapt it to the needs of the period we live in. Delay is dangerous. To avert the threat, we should aim to have broad international agreement to implementing changes in the trade and payments system by, say, 1985. The process of preparing for it should begin straight away, certainly by the beginning of 1984. The time for action is now.

314. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of New Zealand for the important statement he has just made.

315. Mr. AL-NUAIMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf of the United Arab Emirates, our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that you will contribute effectively to the realization of the aspirations and the hopes expected of this session.

316. I am also pleased to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for his wisdom and skill in guiding the proceedings of the preceding session.

317. I am also delighted to welcome on behalf of my Government the State of Saint Christopher and Nevis as a new Member of the Organization.

318. We would like to express to the Secretary-General our support for his efforts to strengthen the United Nations and enhance its role in establishing a lasting peace based on right and justice, as well as on respect for the letter and spirit of the Charter. My Government shares the views expressed in his report on the work of the Organization, which portrays a gloomy picture of the existing international situation as a result of acts by certain States in violating the Charter, in resorting to arenas other than this Organization and intensifying confrontation and conflict, all of which have weakened the role of the United Nations as a forum for dealing with issues of international peace and security.

319. The cornerstone for building a world in which peace, security and friendship prevail among nations is made up of compliance with the provisions of the Charter and of international conventions, respect for the principles of international law and absolute confidence in the United Nations so that it can fulfil its important role in preserving international peace.

320. One of the most vivid examples of violations of the Charter and contempt for the role of the United Nations is the stance of Israel regarding resolutions on the Middle East situation, the question of Palestine and the aggression against Lebanon.

321. The history of the Arab-Israeli conflict has demonstrated that the question of Palestine is inseparable from the Middle East problem; that piece-meal consideration of some aspects of the Middle East problem will not lead to a comprehensive solution of either of these problems; that, on the contrary, this approach has led to further complications of these problems and to the repeated explosion of the situation in our area. In the light of this obvious fact, the Arab States, at their Summit Conference held at Fez, adopted a unified and integrated peace plan as a basis for the achievement of a just and comprehensive

peace in the Middle East. The outcome of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held recently at Geneva, clearly demonstrates that the majority of the nations of the world endorse the necessity of bringing about expeditiously a just settlement of the question of Palestine that would enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights.

322. The entire world has concurred that a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem should be based on two fundamental requirements: first, acknowledgement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, and secondly, complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. Notwithstanding that concurrence, Israel continues to escalate its policy of consolidating the occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories, of denying the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, obliterating the Arab character of the occupied territories, violating the sanctity of the Holy Places and their special status for Moslems and Christians alike, and destroying systematically the historical characteristics of the Arab and Palestinian territories in order to Judaize and annex the rest of them.

323. Concomitant with this policy of annexation and Judaization, Israel continues to pursue an aggressive policy towards the inhabitants of the occupied territories, a policy characterized by systematic oppression, murder, forced deportation of the population and encouragement of Zionist settlers, armed to the teeth, to commit massacres of the unarmed Arab inhabitants. The most recent of these acts was the attack on and the murder of students and members of the faculty of the Al-Khalil Islamic College, a situation before which the Security Council stood helpless because of the exercise by the United States of its veto power.

324. Israel erroneously thought that its policy of oppression against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and its invasion of Lebanon would destroy the will of the Palestinian people and their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. Yet this people has proved, through its struggle and perseverance, that it will not falter, submit or surrender, in spite of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila and other places.

325. The continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon threatens not only the peace and security of the region but also international peace and security; and it prevents a settlement of the Lebanese question that would guarantee the unity and integrity of Lebanon. Therefore the United Arab Emirates considers that the settlement of the Lebanese question lies in the implementation of Security Council resolution 509 (1982) and in enabling the Lebanese people to solve its internal problems. We welcome the cease-fire agreement arrived at by the Lebanese parties concerned, as well as the beginning of a dialogue aiming at the conclusion of a peaceful and just solution of the problem. At the same time, we appreciate the efforts made in reaching this agreement.

326. We call upon the international community to put an end to the crimes committed by Israel against the Arab inhabitants of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. We also call upon the United States of America, in particular, to play a positive role in resolving the question of the Middle East and Palestine and to bear its responsibility in that regard on the basis of right and justice. Similarly, the European States, too, should shoulder their special responsibility in finding a lasting, comprehensive and just solution for the Middle East problem.

327. With regard to the Gulf region, the United Arab Emirates, as one of the coastal States of the Gulf, urges all Powers to respect the sovereignty of the States of the

region, to insulate them from the great-Power conflict and to leave the responsibility for preserving their security to those States alone. Similarly, we support the efforts to take the necessary measures for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace as well as for the genuine commitment to this Declaration by the great Powers.

328. The continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran, with its massive losses, threatens the peace and security of the States of the region and could serve as a pretext for intervention in the region by the great Powers. We believe that all Member States should sincerely endeavour to put a speedy end to that war, which has lasted all too long.

329. For our part, at the request of the Gulf Co-operation Council and together with the sister State of Kuwait, we have made sincere efforts to end this continuing bloodshed.

330. In reiterating our readiness to continue our endeavours and support all other efforts being made in that regard, we express our appreciation to Iraq, which responded in a concrete manner to end the war in order to reach a peaceful settlement that guarantees the rights of both parties. We hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran will also be responsive to those endeavours and efforts.

331. We believe in the right of every people to choose the system of government it desires and in the non-intervention by any State in the internal affairs of another. On the basis of this belief, we call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan and for non-intervention in its internal affairs, thus allowing its people alone to choose its system of government.

332. We also urge the settlement of the conflict existing between North Korea and South Korea through free dialogue in order to remove the causes of that conflict and to realize the desire of their peoples for national unity without any foreign intervention.

333. Concerning Cyprus, we hope for the intensification of the efforts exerted by all parties, in particular the Secretary-General, to reach an agreement between the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus that would guarantee security and coexistence for the people of the island, as well as the territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

334. The developments in southern Africa continue to arouse our grave concern, in view of the intransigence of the racist minority and its actions to perpetuate its control of, and its violation of the political and civil rights of, the majority of the population. The Pretoria régime persists in its policy of *apartheid*, its restriction of freedoms and its executions or arrests of leaders of the national movements.

335. In Namibia, that régime maintains its defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, its frustration of the efforts of the Secretary-General and the creation of obstacles and difficulties, thus impeding the holding of the elections called for by the United Nations. The most recent obstacle was the formation by the occupation authorities of the so-called Council of State to draft a constitution for Namibia, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. My delegation reaffirms its support for the legitimate struggle waged by SWAPO for self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia. We strongly condemn the repeated aggression committed by South Africa against the neighbouring States.

336. The failure of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held last

year, was due to the fact that the four years between the two sessions on disarmament were characterized by a deterioration in the international system and by political instability. These were reflected in numerous violations of the Charter of the United Nations, in invasion and military occupation, in intervention in internal affairs and in violations of human rights.

337. We believe that arms control and disarmament can be achieved only in an atmosphere of political stability and confidence, in particular among the States possessing nuclear weapons. My country once again welcomes proposals for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, *inter alia* in the Middle East. We hope that the international community will give this matter the attention it deserves, since it constitutes a basic factor in the establishment of security and stability in our region.

338. Recent developments in the world economy are not promising. Its various sectors, especially international trade and the international monetary system, have experienced a slow-down and erosion which have clearly had a negative effect on the economies of both the developed and the developing countries.

339. International trade has deteriorated during the past few years, and the negative results have had a stronger impact on the developing countries than on the industrial countries. The same may be said of the world financial situation and the international monetary system, the performance of which also demonstrates a weakness in the international economy. A comprehensive review and a radical reform of that system are necessary.

340. The conclusion that may be drawn from observation of these two sectors is that the economies of the countries of the world are interdependent. This means that the solutions to these economic problems should be comprehensive and collective, taking into consideration the particular characteristics of rich and poor States alike.

341. The international community as represented in the United Nations has recognized this reality and its dimensions. The General Assembly has adopted numerous resolutions on the establishment of an alternative economic system including those relating to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56*].

342. My country regrets the lack of progress in international efforts to reform the world economic system, particularly the failure of the international community to launch the global negotiations because of the position taken by some developed industrial countries. We continue to believe that the launching of those negotiations on a sound and effective basis would make a great positive contribution to the establishment of solid foundations for a just international economy. We also regret the negative outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, despite the efforts of the States of the third world to ensure its success. That failure was due to a lack of seriousness on the part of the developed countries. What arouses our concern is that many of those States have started to retreat even from commitments they undertook at previous sessions. The continuance of such a situation would inevitably lead to a dangerous erosion of confidence and reduce international relations to chaos.

343. The United Arab Emirates reaffirms its support for collective efforts to reform the world economic situation, particularly those made within the framework of

the United Nations. My country has done its utmost to this end, unilaterally and through regional and international organizations. Our oil policy as regards both production and pricing reflects our meticulous care to take into account the difficult circumstances facing the world economy.

344. My country sees the group of developing countries as a valid collective framework for achieving self-reliance, not as an alternative to international efforts but as truly complementing them.

345. In order to translate these policies into action, my country has contributed since its independence to the regional and international institutions which play a positive role in the growth and development of the other developing countries.

346. In the light of the foregoing, it is necessary to emphasize once again that the overall picture of the international situation, whether at the political or at the economic level, is not very promising. Our planet is confronted with various dangers and perils. This makes it more essential than ever before to call for caution and vigilance, to employ reason and prudence in dealing with issues of an international character, not to allow immediate self-interest to take precedence over the interests of mankind as a whole and to ensure for all a secure life and a future free from the threat of annihilation. Thus, international détente and the avoidance of tension in international relations should be given the utmost priority in order to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence. This will make it possible to promote the role of the United Nations and its various organs as a forum for constructive dialogue aimed at identifying the common denominators in the interests of States and thus freeing the world from tensions and crises.

347. Our confidence in the ability of the United Nations to play a positive role in international relations leads us to emphasize the importance of strengthening and enhancing its role in the establishment of a lasting peace based on right and justice and by adherence to the letter and spirit of the Charter, thus fulfilling our hopes for a better future in which both small and large States will enjoy stability and independent development.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Agreement to resolve the controversy over the frontier between Venezuela and British Guiana, signed at Geneva on 17 February 1966 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 651, No. 8192, p. 323).

² See *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.

³ Final act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1983, Supplement No. 6*.

⁶ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁷ Adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

⁸ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

⁹ *Common Crisis North South: Cooperation for world recovery*, the Brandt Commission 1983 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press).