



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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear a statement by the President of the Republic of Colombia, Mr. Belisario Betancur Cuartas. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming him to the United Nations and inviting him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. BETANCUR CUARTAS (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of Colombia, I would like first of all, Sir, to congratulate you most sincerely on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. It is a source of satisfaction to us that this honour has been conferred upon the Vice-President of a country with which Colombia has such brotherly relations. Your diplomatic skills and experience are a guarantee of the objectivity and effectiveness of the work of the Assembly.

3. I would also like to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome most cordially the delegation of Saint Christopher and Nevis, a country which, in accordance with the goal of universality, has just been admitted to membership in the United Nations.

4. It is easy to amuse oneself by putting together, like the pieces of a familiar jigsaw puzzle, the transformations which in recent times, through the magical power of commitments which changed collective behaviour, have swept away values once held to be immutable, among them the concept of sovereignty, on the basis of which each nation once withdrew into the isolation of its national borders as into a shell.

5. The conflict for power, even while it sacrifices consciences to opposing ideologies, characterizes every stage of the march of history. There is more profit in exploring its motives than in seeking to control it, in an age when those practising traditional diplomacy are displaced by incompatible factions determined to participate, whose precipitate pace is that set by the warning on the ancient Egyptian sundial: "It is later than you think".

6. Amidst the maelstrom of the Second World War and rising from its charred remains, the United Nations carved a place for itself in the preservation of the most urgently desired of all things—peace.

7. Since then 38 years have passed and, despite our constituent Charter, the world is moving farther away from that ideal. An objective review of its acts of insanity reminds us that since that time there have been in succession 150 armed conflicts, waged in the name of the most senseless causes, each one reflecting an apparent yet absurd polarization.

8. But the victims have come from the low-lying lands of the weak, not from the centres of arrogant power, and the blood has flowed in remote provinces, and not in the

fortresses where the interests truly engaged in the conflict are to be found.

9. Can such a paradox be attributed to a disintegration heralding a conscious regrouping? Let us, inspired by our faith in the survival of mankind, assert that it is so, offering the testimony of a free country turned both to the Caribbean and to the Pacific, located at the point of junction between the Central American isthmus and South America, and close to the heart of disturbances which imperil the future of the world.

10. At one time we cultivated the illusion that, but for a few deviant exceptions such as the Malvinas Islands, colonialism came to an end with the Second World War, as nations emerged and claimed their right to produce and to market what they produced. But the cold war drove them into client bands which competed with one another for the unheard-of privilege of being able to set fair prices for their products and to have access to technology and finance. That competition, the weakness of the weak and their inability to work together kept down the prices of oil and basic commodities. The détente of the 1950s saw the emergence of the first blocs of developing countries, which came together to transcend the capitalist-socialist dilemma by establishing an independent existence. With the dispersion of the West the developing world forged its own path, and there followed the discovery of modernization, demonstrated by Japan, Germany, Korea and China.

11. The price of lack of understanding was exacted with interest and without advance notice. The world is simpler than it appears, and the new oil prices and the reforms in the world economic system, which had gradually to be accepted, marked the advent of a new order. That has been Colombia's goal in adopting a position of balanced impartiality and coexistence within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at present under the charismatic leadership of Mrs. Gandhi.

12. By what means are we to bring the two great world Powers, each a centripetal nucleus for friendly nations, to reopen the dialogue, to give more thought to mankind than to their own sometimes warped interests? Three great men who have left their imprint on this century strove to break that vicious circle: Nehru, heir to the legendary wisdom of the Hindus; Nasser, restorer of the spirit of Islam; and Tito, archetypal exponent of pragmatic nationalism. Their philosophy, with its concern to defend the cultural identity of peoples defined by Sukarno at Bandung, advocates the gradual and dignified attainment by mankind of a single world identity, in contrast to the bipolar Manichean divisiveness of the Yalta agreements. It puts faith in dialogue, in the opening-up of channels through which peoples may develop autonomously and in peace instead of war among the powerful of the earth.

13. Satellite of none and dependent on none, as well as the enemy of none.

14. This stance of Colombia's has been fundamental to our foreign policy since the foundations of our nationhood were laid, when the Liberator Bolívar called upon

us to strive for a universal balance. Now, as we maintain those of our friendships that are based on respect, dignity, ideological plurality, democracy and rejection of colonialism, we believe that the time has come for the birth of the new world cultural order proclaimed by the African prophet of Negritude, Léopold Sédar Senghor, a spiritual adventure in which members are warmly invited to join us.

15. The time is now, because the polarization of the world into two menacing and mutually suspicious blocs is endangering peace with the appalling possibility of nuclear destruction.

16. The struggle for supremacy is the spur to acts of madness which shatter the measure of that which is rational and that which is not. The arms buildup is disproportion in its most tragic manifestation. It is always possible to assess the relative cost-benefit ratio of undertaking an act or leaving it undone, of expanding or diminishing its scope, of controlling or limiting it—save in the case of the arms race, whose excesses attain such a pitch that in the minutes it takes me to utter these words the world will have spent \$50 million on refining its techniques of destruction.

17. One of the simplest arguments on the side of peace states that war is not possible without weapons. There are those, like the Harvard University group, who believe that now that mankind has lost its nuclear innocence it will never be able to regain it, and that Promethean man remains bound to such weapons as to fire. He will never be able to free himself from his knowledge. But conflict springs not from weapons or the expansion of arsenals, but from political decisions. Peace is not achieved solely by the abolition of the arms race; it is necessary for us to disarm in spirit and in action—among other things, to deny any further confirmation to the theory that the models of hatred are monstrous offspring of the West which materialize in all their brutality in the South, and to avoid confirmation of the anguished thoughts of Nehru when in prison:

“Evil often triumphed, but what was worse was to see how that which had seemed so just became degraded and deformed. Was human nature so essentially evil that repeated suffering and disaster would be necessary before it learnt to behave rationally and to raise mankind above the level of the greedy, violent and deceitful being that he now was? And, in the meantime, was any effort to change that nature in the present or the near future doomed to failure?”

18. I shall not succumb to the attractions of Utopia, but I could not be at peace with myself if I did not cry out for all of us to be at peace with one another. Never has man held within his grasp so much technology beneficial to his welfare; never has he been so far from applying it to that end.

19. Such advancement, which belongs as naturally to everyone as air or water, flows from accumulated knowledge in the gathering of which human beings have played an active or a passive part. It follows that the fruits of that harvest should benefit all mankind. Yet millions, the majority of the peoples represented by the men and women assembled here today, are prisoners of their own ignorance.

20. Science should not be twisted into dogma or exclusion, for every scientific theory is biodegradable, and to make science into a cult rather than a culture is to exalt irrationality and obscurantism.

21. They should not be exalted in space, for instance, that being one of the great arenas in which to project the ideal of justice. The fascinating adventure of outer space

should make us sensible of our interdependence and of the community, which must husband precious resources in order that the species to which all nations belong may survive. For as we ascend to gaze more closely into the face of God we become more truly equidistant from any given point on earth. Consequently, we should not permit space to be traversed by the artifacts of war, to the helpless consternation of those countries which are not affiliated to the club of the powerful because they lack the means or are held back by philosophic inhibitions.

22. Our common heritage encompasses our crops, our mines, our coasts, the riches of the seas, our forests and rivers—in other words, our health, our education, our survival; that precious essential, peace. It is our very souls that are at stake.

23. Part of that heritage too is the intricate network of our communications, the sound and images which fill the privacy of our homes, affirming the right to information and enhancing the quality of our lives. To convert space into yet another dimension of welfare above the fragile and defenceless heads of the dragon-flies of the universe is a diabolical form of domination. Let us rather return to the appeal made by the great Austrian statesman Mr. Kreisky:

“What were once the railway, road and canal networks are now the telecommunications, information, computer, education and training networks using the most modern technology. Peoples seeking to develop have an absolute right to access without delay to these networks. We are witnessing a revolution in the concept of human resources. And we must avoid what is known as ‘electronic apartheid’ . . .”

24. Like the other countries of the geostationary orbit region, Colombia is aware of that privileged position. Accordingly, we have no wish to become the exclusive users of a resource of priority importance to the regions where its effects are felt, which is essential to peace and development and in which exploitation for the purposes of destruction or of undermining the sovereignty of nations or ecumenical stability has no part.

25. Despite my scepticism about rhetorical exhortations concerning peace and the deterrence-based arms race, there is a place for creative thinking such as that offered by the Club of Rome in its draft *Forum Humanum*. It has never been easy to learn from the lessons of history. Just as we are generous to ourselves in praising our few virtues, so we are circumspect and sparing in speaking of our defects. Voluble and contrary by nature, we are more so under the intoxication of power than in the melancholy of defeat—one of the relative advantages of being on the side of the weak.

26. Helmut Schmidt, that citizen of the world, recently explored the stormy seas of the crisis and concluded that we in the least developed countries had fared worst in the recession. The new fair prices for oil were paid “only in small part” by the industrialized countries, the brunt being borne by our terms of trade, which were shattered beyond repair. This fact was recalled a few days ago by Jorge Illueca, the President of this Assembly [*1st meeting*], and also by Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, the brilliant young President of Ecuador [*12th meeting*]. Someone with a black sense of humour commented that we, the poor, had been left to cope with an air-conditioned poverty.

27. There can be no lasting balance founded solely on the destructive capability of the super-Powers, much less on a division into spheres in which those in the subordinate areas row like galley slaves towards the power centres. The East-West polarization and the vertical

dichotomy between the rich of the North and the poor of the South has no part in a just concept of reality, and we refuse to resign ourselves to it like slaves to the treadmill.

28. We of the South hold to our commitment to Western values, the organic meaning of our militant striving for peace, a striving which is not diverted from its purpose to serve an ideology. Secretary of State George Shultz, a man of intellectual distinction, has suggested that the refinancing of the developing countries, their external trade deficits and the prices of their exports should attract greater concern than communist subversion or other traditional sources of anxiety. I would add blind protectionism to the list.

29. It is evident that the tempting option of protectionism, one of the most unjust forms of discrimination, poses an obstacle to the third world, whose debts amount to some \$600 billion. The refinancing of these debts must be made a priority, as the only alternative to the insolvency of the debtors. At the same time it would have a dynamic catalytic effect on the creditors. In spite of lacking so much, the third world plays a decisive part in the productive machinery of the industrialized countries.

30. Someone has cast doubt on the way in which Edward Heath, former British Prime Minister, presents these bold facts when he says:

“One in every 20 industrial jobs in the United States is dependent on exports to developing countries. Those countries furnish 25 per cent of manufactures, imported at prices 16 per cent lower than those of the industrialized countries. They are also the source of two thirds of the service-related earnings of the United States trade balance. And 60 per cent of the external debt of the non oil-exporting developing countries is owed to financial institutions in the United States, in which 300,000 jobs were cut last year as a result of the effects of the recession on peripheral areas.”

31. This mutual dependence proves the urgency of reactivating the world economy as a whole and of redistributing financial resources through the conversion of a part of such countries' debts into investment in the social area, which will be discussed at the Latin American economic conference to be held at Quito in January 1984.

32. My voice is the voice of the ordinary man or woman, the beneficiary or victim of wise or misguided policies. A few hours journey away from these Headquarters lies a seething continent cut off from means of communication, banished from the attention of the powerful and currently the epicentre of events which in one way or another make us all actors in its tragedy.

33. The problems of Central America and the Caribbean did not develop overnight as if until yesterday those areas had been filled with dancing and the joyful strains of prosperity. Since attaining independence the region has followed a painful progress towards forms of genuine democracy, a journey in which development has lagged behind in the shadow of colonialist arrogance. But in the souls of our peoples, in the newly opened eyes of our starving children, there is potential. It is simply that their creativity is interrupted by interference alien to their aspirations.

34. Central America is an example of structural problems which must be solved by its peoples, and by them alone, within the sovereign framework of their genuine aspirations and their institutions. This is the purpose of the actions of the Contadora Group, which seeks to meet a need in the process of bringing peace to the region. It takes as a basis the common objectives of Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia, together with the firm

support of all Central American countries, in working for conditions of freedom in which each country may determine its own future.

35. Violence, tensions, incidents, underdevelopment and injustice are all symptoms of a crisis in which coexistence and self-determination have been forgotten and which sees the super-Powers shamelessly interfering in lands where peasants leave the sowing of seeds to take up unfamiliar weapons—and to dig their own graves.

36. In the joint endeavour within what is known to the world as the Contadora philosophy, I and my fellow heads of State, working together with our foreign ministers and advisers, made our diagnosis and are calling for understanding and seeking to foster dialogue, agreements and compromise solutions. And we are engaged in knocking on the doors of the powerful in our quest for peace.

37. To that end, on 17 July I and the Presidents of Mexico, Panama and Venezuela signed the Cancún Declaration [A/38/303], in which we make positive suggestions and reaffirm our belief in the search for peace, democratic institutions, respect for human rights and social justice. We expressed our concern to other heads of State, whom I wish to thank for their support. For the encouragement received from Pope John Paul II and many members of the world community, I wish to express my gratitude. It is clear to the Contadora Group that its mission as a herald of peace in Central America is in line with the objectives of the United Nations, and, within the context of Security Council resolution 530 (1983), we are assisting the Secretary-General in the task entrusted to him by providing reports on the peace-making process.

38. America, Asia and Africa are the scenes of similar conflicts. In all three continents unjustified outside intervention is endangering peace, fomenting hatred, enriching arms merchants and provoking violence. Notwithstanding the particular characteristics of each case, those conflicts have in common the factor of foreign intervention, whether as a root cause or as a concomitant element.

39. That is why the head of State of a small country like Colombia, which is not an economic, military or political power but which is certainly a moral one, which at home is endeavouring to achieve peace, development and change with equity, feels morally bound to declare that it is essential as a matter of urgency for foreign troops and military advisers to leave Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and Chad—wherever they are blocking the self-determination of the peoples of the world.

40. It is my country's fervent hope that in Central America, in the Near and Middle East, in South-East Asia and in any part of the world where man is engaged in destroying man, dialogue may silence the voice of the guns and that the sowers of death may depart. The sowers of death are the volunteers or mercenary troops and the great private or State corporations which, in the arms-producing countries, work to refine their diabolical inventions and build their power on their destructive capability.

41. I who now have the honour to address the Assembly am the second of 22 children of a semi-literate Colombian peasant family. I am not a technocrat, to my regret, but a former university professor who has stared hunger in the face, slept on park benches and taken any kind of work to survive. I am, then, a child of underdevelopment and a survivor of that dread disease, economic retardation. I know from personal experience the joys and sorrows of that branch of the human tree, the most numerous, the most long-suffering and perhaps the wisest of all. It is from that wisdom that I have spoken to the

Assembly, without Messianic gestures or any pretension save that of having been made President of my homeland through the free vote of my humble people. It is in their clear, forthright and candid language that I have spoken to you today.

42. As I look back, seeking a way to touch the Assembly's understanding, I recall the chiaroscuro world of my youth. How many changes there have been in one generation! While horizons were shrinking, life expectancy was expanding. Then we numbered 2 billion; now we are 4 billion; in the year 2000 we shall be 6 billion.

43. Then, as now, we lived amid the din of the hurricanes which the powerful nations unleashed upon the world. Today we have shaped this Organization, in which nations that before were deprived of a voice express their sovereign opinions freely on an equal footing with all others.

44. In spite of the omnipresent spectre of war and of the barbarism masquerading in the insidious disguise of terrorism, and in spite of the lunatic sway held by a reason of state which could dictate the shooting down of aircraft with the sacrifice of innocent lives, and generate a plainly absurd distinction between "authoritarian" friends and "totalitarian" enemies, as if in all cases there were not human lives at stake—something very noble has emerged from the Assembly's deliberations: dialogue between adversaries, no longer just theoretical but practical, a dialogue between equals in the world community.

45. I hope that you will forgive this reiteration of my rural creed, but I believe in the triumph of freedom over fatality, I believe that revolt against injustice is the driving force of history, and I believe that justice among the peoples will prevail.

46. For the African visionary Albert Tévoédjré, the poverty of the peoples is converted into riches by means of a solidarity pact which acts upon spirits as a spur to progress. A man of this century, Bertrand Russell, controversial and provocative, whose lucidity and intellectual honesty not even his most vehement opponents dared to doubt, uttered these frighteningly optimistic words:

"Neither poverty nor madness are an inevitable part of man's heritage. I am convinced that intelligence, patience and persuasion will succeed in liberating the human species from its self-imposed torment, provided it does not first exterminate itself . . ."

47. To paraphrase my compatriot, Nobel Prize winner Gabriel García Márquez, I urge members to work to give those sections of humanity condemned to 100 years of solitude a second chance on this earth.

48. Let us work together for a single race, the human race; a single language, that of peace; and a single purpose, progress.

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

50. Mr. ADDERLEY (Bahamas): Sir, it is a pleasure for me, on behalf of the Bahamian delegation, to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. You assume office with high qualifications and, with the acquired experience and stature you possess, you are specially equipped to guide the affairs of the Assembly at this troubled time. I wish you success in this demanding office and pledge the support of my delegation to you and to your colleagues in the General Committee, hoping for a realistically productive thirty-eighth session.

51. On behalf of my delegation, I wish also to express deep gratitude to the delegations which supported our candidacy for the presidency of the General Assembly.

52. I should like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, of Hungary, who presided over the thirty-seventh session. We are indebted to him for the tact, skill, patience and tolerance with which he carried out the functions of his office.

53. I take this opportunity to express the profound appreciation of my delegation and of the Government of the Bahamas for the unceasing efforts the Secretary-General has made in the pursuit of the goals and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. Within the limits imposed upon him by institutional restraints, as well as in the absence of either the will or desire of some States to reach the consensus which, I believe, the peoples of the world want in the pursuit of peace, economic security, self-determination and racial dignity, he has preserved the integrity of his office and the credibility of the Organization.

54. I note with great pleasure the admission of Saint Christopher and Nevis to this family of nations. The Bahamas and Saint Christopher and Nevis have been closely associated for a long time. In addition to common historical links and cultural associations, institutionally we have both been nurtured in the democratic tradition. We also share the common bond of membership of the Caribbean Community.

55. It is exactly 10 years ago that the Bahamas was welcomed as a Member of this esteemed international Organization. At that time there were 132 Members. Today the membership of Saint Christopher and Nevis brings the total membership to 158. To our mind, this quantum leap bears evidence of the truism that man should be the master of his own destiny and is testimony to the efforts of the Organization in the pursuit of decolonization.

56. There exist still those who think that the United Nations no longer fulfils its purposes and principles and should therefore not exist at all.

57. This institution was created by men of wisdom 38 years ago. That it has not succeeded in all of its tasks is true; that it has failed in its task is untrue. The Organization's effectiveness on certain issues is circumscribed when those issues are perceived in the eyes of the major Powers to be secondary to their own interest. None the less, the Bahamas reaffirms its support for the United Nations system, which to us represents the only realizable hope for just solutions to the problems which mankind faces today and a court of appeal for the State victim of aggression in whatever form it takes. We must discover a method whereby the Organization could more effectively and efficiently discharge its mandate, especially during the annual sessions of the General Assembly when an enormous amount of time could be more wisely utilized.

58. The problems of developing island countries are peculiar and demand special attention as these countries forge along the paths to development. Generally speaking, they are monocultural with subsidiary sources of income. They are archipelagos or clusters of islands, a condition which imposes severe cost implications for transportation, communication between islands and duplication that slow down the pace of sustained economic growth and development. In addition, they are particularly prone to natural disasters such as hurricanes and earthquakes and suffer from economic factors outside their control.

59. In recent years, however, more focus has been given to the special circumstances of small developing island countries. The Assembly has been in the forefront of the movement to bring about an awareness in the international community of the severe restrictions which are placed on such countries. The efforts of other international organizations, such as UNCTAD, the Commonwealth, the Organization of American States and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, have had a positive effect on the identification of the problems. I wish to pay a tribute to the untiring efforts of the Non-Aligned Movement, which in September this year held a meeting of experts in Grenada, the outcome of which, we hope, will highlight the type of assistance which small developing island States would wish from this Organization and its Members.

60. Tourism is the principal industry in the Bahamas and the foundation of our national economy. Unhindered and unimpeded freedom of travel in a non-discriminatory manner, whether by means of aircraft or by boat, is an indispensable element of a successful tourist industry. We attach great importance to this freedom. It was therefore with profound regret that we learned of the downing of a Korean commercial passenger airliner with the tragic loss of so many lives. We believe that this act was unnecessary. We offer the condolences and sympathy of the Bahamian people to the families of the victims. We join with others who have voiced their condemnation of those responsible.

61. At the preceding session, in the general debate [27th meeting] I stated that the problem of the control of drugs represented one of the primary social problems facing the Bahamas. We are not a producer of drugs but, positioned as we are between the suppliers and the consumers, we have been used by outside forces as a transit point for drugs destined for the North American market. We are appreciative of the work of the Commission on Narcotics Drugs, of which we are a member and to which we pledge our continuing support.

62. I wish to reiterate that what is urgently needed to combat this problem is a higher degree of international co-operation between the producer States, the consumer States and the transit States.

63. Last March the Bahamas hosted the first Seminar on Illicit Drug Traffic for Law Enforcement Officers of the Anglophone Caribbean. This Seminar, which had wide participation, was co-ordinated by the Division of Narcotic Drugs. One of its recommendations reads as follows:

“The drug traffic is clearly now an international phenomenon, sharing many characteristics with the internationally recognized crimes of slavery and piracy. There seems to be grounds for the formal recognition of drug trafficking as an ‘international crime’. Governments might request the United Nations to advise on the implications of such formal recognition of the gravity of offences related to drug trafficking and on the extent to which this recognition might assist in developing countermeasures to this traffic.”

64. The Bahamas strongly endorses the recommendations of the Seminar and hopes that they will materialize into constructive measures of activity by the Organization, for we are convinced that the internationalization and co-ordination of approaches to the problems of drug trafficking would lead to positive results.

65. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea was opened for signature at Montego Bay on 10 December last year. One hundred and nineteen countries signed it on that day. Since then, other countries have

signed it and yet others, including the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, have ratified it. I urge all States to become party to this Convention, thereby signifying their undertaking to be bound by a universal treaty. We further caution the minority of States contemplating unilateral action in respect of deep sea-bed mining activities that, in our opinion, any such activities conducted outside the framework of the Convention would be contrary to international law.

66. International economic, social and political crises, big-Power rivalries and lack of mutual trust are all responsible for the problems which exist between us.

67. I am afraid that, despite our awareness of the physical destruction and human tragedy that have resulted from wars or conflicts—whether by primitive, conventional or atomic weapons—the majority of States is still opposed to a programme of major disarmament.

68. There is no doubt that all nations consider disarmament as synonymous with peace. Perhaps the difficulty in making progress is that the concept of the words is such that they more often than not elicit theoretical and philosophical posturings on the part of negotiators. Each year Governments make statements concerning the ills of the arms race and representatives in the First Committee deal with various specific resolutions on the question of disarmament, but there is little evidence regarding implementation of measures that would prove the accumulation of arms unnecessary.

69. Despite the fact that Governments are aware that the arms race has resulted in the wastage of valuable resources that could be put to more productive use, there is a great unwillingness to desist from acquiring and developing newer and more sophisticated weapons of destruction.

70. The arms race is the single most crucial problem of today, and thus it behoves us all to work collectively towards significant disarmament measures which will restore the confidence of our peoples in the worth and effectiveness of the United Nations.

71. We have witnessed with frustration the turmoil and agony of countries in Central America. This situation brings home to us in stark fashion the price that is paid when solutions to political, social and economic problems are sought through military means. It is an example of ideological differences being given a higher priority than the interests of people and the lessening of human suffering; it is an example, too, of the negotiations and the mechanisms of the international community that were created to settle differences being prevented from functioning effectively.

72. In Central America the Government of the Bahamas supports all efforts leading to the strengthening of democracy. We support, too, efforts at reform which seek to redress decades of inequity and indifference. The Bahamas supports moves towards dialogue and negotiations, both among the countries of the area and among groups within each country, without unnecessary terms and conditions. The Bahamas recognizes the positive steps taken by various countries in attempting to resolve these difficulties. Among those countries are the members of the Contadora Group, which deserves the support and encouragement of the international community.

73. In the Middle East the issues continue to be volatile, complex and frustrating, with undiminished danger to world security. We hope that the present initiatives and negotiations in Lebanon will prove successful, and today, as in the past, the Bahamas urges all parties concerned to recognize fully their responsibility to make every effort

and explore every avenue which can lead to a peaceful and permanent solution to long-standing differences.

74. As we have stated in this forum previously with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict, we wish to emphasize concerning Lebanon that the Bahamas strongly supports the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that country, and we firmly endorse the Security Council's call for the withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon. Indeed, no foreign forces should remain without the full consent of the Government of Lebanon.

75. Other areas of conflict continue to affect the peace and security of the international community. Situations in Cyprus, Poland, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Chad and the war between Iraq and Iran continue to occupy our attention and tax the efforts of this Organization and others acting in the cause of peace. The Bahamas takes the view that peace, human freedom and social and economic development are indivisible and inseparable, and that progress in any one area cannot long outpace progress in the others without serious consequences resulting.

76. This session is convened at a time when the world economic situation continues to deteriorate. The present economic crisis is perhaps the most acute since the 1930s. The crisis does not seem to be simply a cyclical phenomenon, but more a symptom of deep-rooted structural imbalances and disequilibrium. The worst victims are the developing countries, and particularly the least developed countries. Prospects for most countries continue to look grim as those countries continue to experience serious balance-of-payments and debt-servicing problems, further erosion of the terms of trade, and acute poverty, hunger and malnutrition.

77. The Bahamas notes the global character of these problems and holds the view that domestic policies alone will be inadequate to counter the problems. The needed action must be global, for the growing interdependence of the world economy has made it imperative that urgent joint action be taken, by both developed and developing countries, for survival.

78. With this in mind, therefore, the Bahamas joins other developing States in expressing profound regret at the very disappointing results which emerged from the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Developing States take this position because of the flexible and realistic strategy which they felt they had arrived at during the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi in March, and at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, at Buenos Aires in March and April.

79. It is still the hope of many countries that the proposals of the Non-Aligned Conference will be responded to in a positive way by the developed countries in the spirit of compromise and co-operation in which the proposals were made. Particular attention is drawn to the need for a positive political response to the proposal for the launching of global negotiations in two phases.

80. One of the basic objectives of the Charter, and one of the basic obligations of Member States, is the promotion and encouragement of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Bahamas Government has always tried to live up to these international standards. Year after year, we have dedicated ourselves to fight against the evils of racism and prejudice, and we have proclaimed our faith in the inherent dignity and worth of the human person. We are, accordingly, distressed to come to the Assembly once again to voice our disenchantment with

the progress made in the area of the eradication of racism and *apartheid*.

81. South Africa continues to constitute a major area of tension in the world today, threatening international peace and security. The racist minority régime of South Africa continues to oppress the members of the black majority and to prevent them from exercising their inalienable rights as free human beings. The Bahamas condemns the *apartheid* policy of South Africa and supports military, economic and cultural sanctions against South Africa. The Government of the Bahamas continues to support the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the basis for democratic rule in, and the independence of, Namibia. It remains the view of the Bahamas Government that it is not sufficient for the international community simply to recognize that the racial policies of South Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security. What is needed most is broad agreement on a programme of practical steps and measures to be taken to put an end to that threat.

82. I had occasion to state at the thirty-sixth session that:

“Nothing in modern world history has affronted the dignity of so many people in the world as the racial policies of the Government of South Africa. The overwhelming majority of the people of the world are at war with the soul of South Africa as it is at present governed. Outside the African continent, there is a perception that in South Africa a white racist minority discriminates against and oppresses a black South African majority. That part of the picture is, to be sure, true, but it is incomplete in so far as it is a perception which does not recognize that *apartheid* goes beyond discrimination and oppression. For the Government of South Africa, locked as it is in the cocoon of its perversity, *apartheid* is a religion, the soul of their nation which gives it strength, the psychology of its people which gives them courage and a culture which gives meaning to their existence. We ought also not to underestimate the extent to which the Government of South Africa and the philosophy which it promotes represent an acceptable symbol to powerful ethnic forces in the world which cling to the belief that some men are more equal than others.” [27th meeting, para. 118.]

I also remarked in connection with the strategy against *apartheid*, that

“Most important of all, we have to destroy the illusion which it is sought to create that South Africa is governed by normal people capable of conventional reason and intelligence and that in the fulness of time their own enlightened self-interest will force change upon them, for it will never happen that way. We ought never to indulge in the self-delusion that there are conventional means by which *apartheid* will be renounced and abandoned voluntarily by South Africa because that régime will ultimately come to the conclusion that that is the right thing to do.

“This South African Government's religion and philosophy can only survive, too, because it has so many friends outside South Africa to give it aid and comfort. The war against *apartheid* must therefore be intensified outside South Africa against people who are capable of reason and intelligence and who ought to know what enlightened self-interest is.” [Ibid., paras. 119 and 120.]

83. Since the last Assembly session, the Bahamas has become a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We affirm and endorse the principles which

guide the direction of the Movement, particularly in the approaches to and strategies for development.

84. The Bahamas adheres to the views on the role of non-alignment expressed in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2]. The non-aligned countries today represent an overwhelming majority of mankind linked together by a shared perspective that transcends the differences in their social and economic systems. Their common commitment to the promotion of world peace, to the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, to the consolidation of the natural independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and to the social and economic uplifting of their peoples, constitutes an irreversible factor in world history.

85. It therefore follows that since the national goals of all countries are similar, there should be little difficulty in supporting the common cause or principles of the Movement, regardless of the particular ideology of each country.

86. I wish to draw attention to the policy of members of the Non-Aligned Movement on the issue of the new world information and communication order, as referred to in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference. We recognize that the present situation in the field of information and communication is largely a legacy of the past and of the continued dominant position of a few transnational news agencies of the North. The transformation into a new world information order will therefore require that the principle of the free flow of information be given its full meaningful and democratic content. This, however, does not mean that the media should come under the control of Governments. That would be intolerable, though clearly they should have an interest in policies of integrity which will ensure honesty in the distribution of news to the public.

87. The Bahamas, as a major tourist destination, conscious of its geographical proximity to the most advanced country in the world, is engaged in a continuous fight to maintain its distinct national identity. We need constantly to fight media-induced problems and values which introduce conflicts and even destabilization into our society.

88. At this very time in my country the grimy hand of the multinational imperialist communications media has clawed at the Bahamas, threatening its peace and stability in what may very well be part of a conspiracy to destabilize the Government of the Bahamas and overthrow it.

89. In a world of cynics, hardened to injustice, the fate of the Government of a country of 200,000 people and the invasion of its sovereignty will go unnoticed. But we are not satisfied that this particular problem has yet reached dimensions necessitating recourse to international attention in this body for relief from the extension of extraterritorial jurisdiction to the Bahamas and from the callous interference in the internal affairs of the Bahamas of multinational news media, disseminating news world-wide.

90. From our perspective, therefore, the new world information order is not an instrument designed to replace the domination of the transnational agencies by establishing national news bureaucracies in a move to restrict press freedom. Rather, we would emphasize it as a move towards more press freedom in the third world. That would really meet the need to inform and to be informed, which is, after all, a fundamental human need.

91. It is a geopolitical fact, recognized in few places apart from the Bahamas, that we occupy a peculiar

geographical position in the world, in which our closest neighbour to the south is the Republic of Cuba and our closest neighbour to the north is the United States of America.

92. The people of no country in the world prize their freedom, their independence, their sovereignty, their parliamentary democracy, more fiercely than Bahamians. The legacies of the former colonial slave societies which also evolved as multi-racial societies have implicit in their existence some fundamental cultural contradictions and problems which have yet to be eradicated. The Bahamas is not unique in this; neither is it peculiar to us that our most urgent post-colonial task is the economic and social reconstruction and development of our society. It is therefore to be expected that our priorities must of necessity be somewhat different from the priorities of those countries whose colonial history is different and more remote, or which never really had one.

93. We in the Bahamas hold very strongly to the internationally acclaimed principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. We have neither the means nor the desire to interfere in the domestic affairs of any State, and we deplore efforts by others who attempt to do so. Should it be considered unreasonable, therefore, to ask other States to be similarly guided in their behaviour towards us? I think not.

94. I pose that question because it is a customary principle of international law, an adjunct of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, that all States are obliged not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States or to attempt to impose their will upon smaller and infinitely weaker States. This obligation refers not only to overt and armed interference, but also to the more subtle aggressive attempts which can have a destabilizing impact on any country.

95. There remain some States in the international community which seek, through their various judicial and economic agencies, to impose their policies, hegemonism and laws upon other sovereign States by aggressively pursuing hostile economic policies towards them. The extraterritorial extension of domestic laws is unacceptable, as it ignores the fundamental principles of international law and the sovereign equality of States as provided for under the Charter of the United Nations. Such acts demonstrate a complete lack of respect for the laws, policies, rights and interests of other States, and have very serious implications for orderly development. This is particularly important in the case of small developing countries, for it undermines social and economic progress and disrupts political stability, all of which are crucial variables in the process of development.

96. All legislation is *prima facie* territorial, and so it must be an act of interference with the authority of another State, and contrary to the comity of nations, for one State to apply its domestic laws outside its own national jurisdiction. This is a clear and unequivocal expression of the territorial principle of national jurisdiction which is provided for under the Charter. Otherwise, the international system guided by the rule of law breaks down, and one State becomes subjugated to another, which has the effect of undermining its existence as an independent, sovereign and territorially integral entity. We therefore object very strongly to attempts by States to export their policies and laws to sovereign States which may have different legal systems and different interests to protect.

97. In conclusion, I wish to state once again in the Assembly that the Bahamas has always considered that the strengthening of the effectiveness of the United Nations is one of the highest tasks of the Member States.

For our part, we oppose firmly the growing tendency to withdraw from or bypass the United Nations in seeking solutions to substantive problems. We exhort all Member States, rather, to commit themselves to increasing the effectiveness of the Organization by striving to implement the decisions and resolutions of the Assembly.

98. In this spirit of idealism, I pledge that the Bahamas will do its utmost to assist in promoting the principle that conflicts and disputes must be solved through constructive dialogue and peaceful negotiations, and that in an era of ever greater interdependence we are compelled to co-operate in the search for peace, equal rights, security and progress for all peoples, always remembering the golden rule.

Mr. Msibi (Swaziland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

99. Mr. CHNOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): I wish to congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca on his election to the office of President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I wish him and the Secretary-General every success in their responsible work.

100. I wish also to express appreciation for the work of your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, of the Hungarian People's Republic.

101. I welcome to our midst the new Member of the United Nations, Saint Christopher and Nevis, and sincerely congratulate it on achieving independence.

102. The period that has elapsed since last year's session of the Assembly has unfortunately been marked by a further escalation of the struggle between the two main diametrically opposed forces of the present day. On the one hand there are those that are nudging the world towards increased tension, escalation of the arms race and the possibility of nuclear war, and on the other there are those that are striving to strengthen peace, international security and co-operation.

103. The efforts of militarists to upset the existing military balance and to pile up more mountains of weapons have met with the growing resistance of the masses, whatever their political views or religious convictions. This was clearly borne out at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, held at Prague last June. The capital of Czechoslovakia—a country where the Second World War, the most horrifying war of history, both began and ended—thus became a forum for the exchange of the most humanitarian ideas.

104. From the rostrum of that forum, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, stated:

“Despite the gravity of the situation that we jointly face today, we are convinced that there is still time to take the necessary steps to prevent world developments from continuing along the dangerous spiral of increased tensions, and to set them on the path of building confidence, developing mutually advantageous co-operation and lessening both political and military tensions. Everything possible must be done to avert the danger of war, whether it be a global war or a limited one, a major war or a small one.”

105. In the light of this requirement, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our Government were fully in accord with the recent statement made by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Yuri Andropov, concerning the fundamental issue before the world today, namely the

safeguarding of life in peace, that most vital interest of mankind. They were also highly appreciative of the firm position of principle taken by the Soviet Union, which once again demonstrated to the whole world that the pursuit of peace, security and co-operation among nations is the basic principle of its peaceful Leninist policy.

106. Indeed, the current international situation shows convincingly how urgent it is to translate this position into concrete deeds. Over the past year, we have noted a further evident deterioration in that situation. It is an alarming state of affairs, which calls for immediate and radical therapy.

107. Why is this so?

108. What are the real causes of this unfavourable diagnosis? Where, figuratively speaking, should we look for the seat of this dangerously spreading infection that is undermining the stability of the entire international community?

109. After a thorough analysis and careful consideration of all the facts, we noted a few days ago in a joint communiqué issued in Moscow following our talks with Andrei Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Foreign Minister of the USSR, that:

“... the complicated nature of the present turn of events in Europe and in the world arena in general is a direct result of the actions of aggressive imperialist circles, especially those of the United States of America, which are trying to achieve military superiority so as to impose their will on others and to dominate the world. They are implementing unprecedented military programmes, fanning hotbeds of tension and conflict, and are ever more grossly interfering in the internal affairs of many countries and peoples. They are systematically undermining normal relations between States with different social systems by whipping up militaristic hysteria, by ideological sabotage, by shameless falsifications and slanders against the socialist countries designed to deceive the peoples and by staging major acts of provocation that flout the basic norms of international law.”

110. In this complex situation it is necessary above all, as we see it, to break out of the impasse that exists with regard to the question of eliminating the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war.

111. This sword of Damocles hanging over civilization constantly threatens it with catastrophe and devastation. Losses would not be counted in terms of cities, but in terms of whole continents. We reject the prospect of a Euroshima or a Eurosaki. We vigorously protest against the dangerous plans for the deployment of new United States medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Such deployment would upset the existing military balance in Europe in favour of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. We in Czechoslovakia cannot remain indifferent to such a deployment. After all, the Pershing II missiles are to be deployed a mere 180 kilometres from our borders. That represents a flight lasting only a few tens of seconds.

112. Along with broad sections of world public opinion, therefore, we wait for the United States to abandon its fruitless rhetoric at the Geneva talks and finally to show willingness to reach an agreement that respects the principles of equality and equal security. It is precisely this crucial principle that is the foundation of the recent significant Soviet proposals, which are further proof of its constructive, honest attitude. The proposed path

towards an agreement justly takes into account the legitimate interests of both sides. The United States would refrain from deploying missiles in Western Europe and the Soviet Union would reduce the number of medium-range missiles in the European part of its territory to a level equalling the number of British and French missiles and would dismantle all missiles involved in such reduction.

113. The stakes are high. The success of the Geneva talks could steer world developments into calmer waters. On the other hand, their failure could be the harbinger of risks and uncertainty. Everything now depends on what position will be taken by the United States. Will it heed the voice of reason, or will it continue to temporize and place its stake on the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe, thus placing its European allies in the unenviable role of hostages, on whose territories the deadly weapons would be stationed, who would not be involved in a decision on whether they should be used, but who would bear the full brunt of the dreadful consequences entailed in the deployment of these weapons, including retaliatory strikes?

114. I therefore wish to emphasize that Czechoslovakia does not reject any realistic proposals for the solution of the current complicated situation. Nor, indeed, does it reject the zero option. On the contrary, Czechoslovakia is fully in favour of a zero option—but a zero option in which zero really means zero: zero for the medium-range nuclear missiles, zero for tactical nuclear weapons, zero for land-based missiles, zero for nuclear weapons launched from the air, zero for missiles launched from the sea, zero for aircraft carrying nuclear bombs and zero for aircraft carrying nuclear missiles; in other words, zero for all systems capable of delivering nuclear charges.

115. How many of these were stationed by the NATO countries in the continent of Europe alone, and where they were targeted during the last three post-war decades was generally known—whether these were the land-based Matadors, Thors, Pershing I, Honest Johns, Little Johns, Lance missiles and atomic howitzers of various calibres, or the submarine-based Polaris and Poseidon missiles, or the Starfighter and Phantom aircraft. To understand the threat that these weapons posed to our old continent, it was not really necessary to be a West Point graduate. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, ever since the United States held the atomic-bomb monopoly, has always been merely attempting to catch up with the United States superiority in nuclear weapons and, in the second half of the 1970s, merely responded essentially to the megatons of nuclear death already installed on the European continent through the modernization of its nuclear potential and the deployment of what in English terminology is known as “surface-to-surface 20” missiles—that is, the SS-20s—by which the Soviet Union merely maintained approximate parity, something which at that time, by the way, nobody questioned.

116. It must therefore be stated quite frankly that if new United States missiles are deployed in Western Europe this approximate parity will be upset and an entirely new military-strategic and political situation will be created. This must be stated quite openly, particularly to those who seek to obscure reality with tricky computer games with numbers, with haggling about the number of missiles, with puzzles about “dual decisions”, alleged “zero options”, “interim solutions” or “global ceilings”—all of which serve but one purpose: to confuse the public so that people can no longer make their way through this confusion of numbers, the maze of proposals and the tangle of declarations and thus can be intimidated by an

alleged Soviet superiority or threat, and so that the situation can be used for the actual deployment of missiles.

117. It must be stated very unambiguously that if United States missiles are deployed in Western Europe, they will pose a strategic threat to the Soviet Union and to all the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. Our countries will be forced to take necessary measures to respond to this threat, in order to ensure their own security and to create a necessary counterbalance—including measures that will affect the territory of the United States itself. This must be realized in complete seriousness and in the full sense of these words. The statements of the socialist countries on this issue are already a matter of record. Furthermore, the Czechoslovak statement made on 3 June 1983 remains fully in force; in that statement we give complete support to the position of the Soviet Government and the steps it feels are indispensable to ensure the Soviet Union's own security and that of its allies.

118. However, so long as the deployment of United States missiles in Europe has not yet begun, we are of the view that an agreement is possible. There is still time. Let us not forget that in politics chances that are wasted are not usually repeated. It is therefore in the interest of both Europe and the whole world that an agreement be reached at Geneva.

119. The socialist countries have through tangible deeds consistently promoted and continue to promote a constructive policy of peace. The continuity of that policy is reaffirmed in the Political Declaration adopted at the Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty [See A/38/67 and Corr.1]. The backbone of that document is the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the preservation of peaceful relations between States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and those in NATO—the two strongest political-military alliances in the world. Having been entrusted with the dissemination of that important document, Czechoslovakia duly brought it to the attention of the majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

120. The response that we encountered almost everywhere confirmed that the cause of peace is uppermost in the minds of the people of all the countries of the world. The Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, in their meetings at Prague last April, elaborated further procedures for the implementation of the peace proposals in the Declaration [see A/38/151]. Our readiness for a serious exchange of views between the two alliances was once again confirmed.

121. We emphasized in particular that the proposed draft treaty pursues the objective of elaborating in international law and making firm in different treaty documents the principle of the non-use of force formulated generally in the Charter of the United Nations. It proposes the adoption of the principle of not being the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other. Further, it contains the commitment to maintain viable peaceful relations and to develop them purposefully and actively on the basis of reciprocity. It provides for the right of all non-aligned and neutral countries of all continents to accede to this proposed treaty. In a word, it strengthens peace and averts the danger of war.

122. We are of the opinion that it is essential to start constructive negotiations on the draft of this treaty without delay.

123. The positive results of the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe offer

proof that even in an aggravated international political climate it is possible to achieve concrete measures for its improvement. The conclusion of the meeting by the adoption of a substantive and balanced Concluding Document, which embodies the continuation of the policy of peace, détente, East-West dialogue and the development of comprehensive co-operation on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act,¹ represents a victory of political realism and confirms the incontestable truth that political will and action are the motive power in the solution of problems which at first glance seem insoluble. The results of this meeting may well pave the way to a new phase in the process initiated by the Helsinki Conference, whether at Vienna in 1986 or at any other working-level consultations and meetings. Particularly significant, in our view, is the decision to convene next January at Stockholm the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The relevant Czechoslovak bodies were charged with the implementation of the provisions of the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting in accordance with the laws of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

124. The urgent need nowadays to search for and to find a common language and to strive through negotiations for mutual understanding and the solution of existing problems is in sharp contrast with certain negative phenomena of recent weeks. What I have in mind is, first of all, the ferocious anti-Soviet campaign surrounding the incident with the South Korean aircraft. This testifies to the fact that the whole purpose of the deliberate instigation of hatred and slander is to obscure the far-reaching and well-prepared military-political provocation against the USSR in the Far East. Equally unheard-of was the refusal to provide guarantees for the safe participation in this session of the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, one of the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations, a participant in the founding conference of the Organization and the representative of a country which is a permanent member of the Security Council. This is a flagrant violation of the 1947 agreement between the United Nations and the host country, which explicitly states that the Federal, state or local authorities shall not impose any impediments to transit to or from the United Nations Headquarters of the representatives of Member States, irrespective of the relations between the Governments involved.

125. These and similar actions illustrate the psychological war unleashed by imperialism and extended, as a matter of policy, from the field of ideology to international relations. They represent attempts to draw public attention away from the fact that it is imperialism which tramples basic human rights under foot every day, in particular, the most fundamental rights, the right to equality of all people and the right to live in peace.

126. In vain, however, do the highest representatives of imperialism cast themselves daily in the role of arbiters of all things occurring in the world, arbitrarily falsifying history and describing the post-war map of Europe as the result not of agreements but of acts of force. In vain do they depict the socialist order as the source of all evil or the garbage heap of history. In vain do they, even from the soil of neutral countries, refer to socialist countries as savage and primitive, countries which long before Columbus produced schools of thought and jewels of world culture. In vain do they accuse the representatives of these countries of "brutal acts", manufacturing vicious and careless lies, and insulting them with expressions taken from the language of the gutter. In vain do they incite the peoples of socialist countries against their own Governments with frenetic rhetoric from the studios

of their radio stations, which in itself is a political rarity that in every respect equals the most extreme verbal assaults from the time when the cold war was at its peak.

127. As far as we are concerned, we shall never stoop to such an undignified way of conducting a "discussion". Ideological non-coexistence, yes. Psychological warfare, no. We shall never answer lack of breeding with the same behaviour. Such an approach is not in keeping with our principles or our policy. Our truth does not require blustering words. Its strength lies in the historic mission of our social order, which is scientifically predetermined to replace the departing order.

128. This is a fact nobody can change, not even those who exploit their fellow man—who is also created in God's image—and appropriate for themselves the surplus value created by his labour, the principal source of his capital and his wealth; not even those who leave millions of people unemployed; nor those who deny their fellow citizens the right to free education; nor those who do not provide free medical care. In other words, not even those representatives of monopolies and military-industrial complexes who, in defence of their class interests and profits, turn their "humanism", as Yuri Andropov noted recently, into "new heaps of weapons of mass destruction—from MX missiles to nerve gas containers" [see A/38/459].

129. The proposals of the Soviet Union on such questions as the "condemnation of nuclear war" and the "freezing of nuclear armaments" made from this rostrum yesterday [18th meeting] are, in our view, a constructive and, at this time, extremely significant contribution to the implementation of the ideals of the Charter concerning international security and the maintenance of worldwide peace. We fully associate ourselves with their purpose and content, as well as with the request that they be included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly.

130. With regard to the course and the results of this year's session of the Committee on Disarmament, we cannot say that we are fully satisfied. Nevertheless, we continue to regard the Committee's activity as being of extraordinary importance. Experience so far has shown that, given sufficient political will on the part of its members, the Committee has in the past been able to work out and adopt important international legal documents which, to a certain degree, have curbed the arms race.

131. The development of the situation shows that it is also necessary to take further urgent measures to prevent the militarization of outer space. For that reason we welcome and fully support the significant new proposal made by the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the Earth [A/38/194]. We highly appreciate the unilateral commitment of the USSR not to be the first to launch any type of anti-satellite weapons into outer space as long as other States, including the United States, refrain from so doing. We regard this proposal as a sound basis for the solution of the question of the demilitarization of outer space.

132. We are of the view that the whole range of disarmament issues can be resolved only through realistic, consistent and purposeful international co-operation on the basis of equality and equal security. The principles for such co-operation have been laid down in the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament which was adopted, on the basis of our initiative, at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly [resolution 34/88]. The timeliness and the lasting significance

of that document were confirmed by the adoption of relevant resolutions at the two most recent sessions of the Assembly. We believe it would also be useful for the current session to deliberate seriously on this matter and to adopt appropriate recommendations. My delegation is prepared to take an active part in that work and to contribute to it by submitting a specific draft resolution.

133. The growing threat to peace is also reflected in the flaring up of old hotbeds of tension and in the creation of new ones. The imperialist circles are further escalating their policies of blackmail and diktat. They are interfering in the internal affairs of other States, and they are using force on all continents.

134. Developments in the Middle East are indeed alarming. The deterioration of the situation caused by the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people is proceeding with generous support from world reaction. The reckless actions of the Israeli expansionists aimed at speedily changing the demographic character of the occupied Arab territories further increase the urgent need for a speedy, just and comprehensive peace settlement.

135. It is, moreover, deplorable that Washington is resorting here to direct armed intervention in an effort to expand a military-strategic bridgehead to allow it to interfere in the entire region. The cease-fire agreement reached by the parties to the internal Lebanese conflict must be welcomed. However, lasting peace can be achieved only through the complete and immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and from other Arab territories. The interventionist troops of the United States and other NATO countries should also leave Lebanon.

136. Of even more pressing urgency appears to be the need to halt the senseless war between Iran and Iraq and to reach a settlement of the disputed issues between them on the basis of mutual respect for their independence and territorial integrity.

137. We commend the efforts which have been made by the Government of Afghanistan to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation prevailing around Afghanistan and to improve relations with neighbouring countries Pakistan and Iran. The Afghan-Pakistani talks held through the mediation of the personal representative of the Secretary-General made a significant contribution to that end.

138. We are in full solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, which continues in difficult conditions for the defence of freedom, independence and unity against the interference of external forces and against open subversion. We support the peaceful policies of the countries of Indo-China, which are striving to resolve disputes in South-East Asia through dialogue. It is also high time that the General Assembly finally recognized the authority of the true representatives of the Kampuchean people, who have done so much to heal the wounds caused by the Pol Pot régime.

139. We support the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the country.

140. We welcome the recommendation for the settlement of the question of Cyprus contained in General Assembly resolution 37/253. Respect for the independence and the sovereignty of Cyprus is a prerequisite for its implementation. The talks between the representatives of the two communities, which were positively influenced

by the personal initiative of the Secretary-General, may play a significant role in this respect.

141. We formally protest the racist policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. It must terminate its unlawful occupation of Namibia, as well as its barbaric sorties against neighbouring independent States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola. The people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], must be given an opportunity to exercise its right to self-determination, freedom and national independence, as laid down in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. This should be done immediately without any pre-conditions and obstructions created by South Africa or the so-called contact group.

142. There is no peace or stability in that important region of the world, Central America. The pronounced deterioration of the situation that has occurred there since the last session of the General Assembly must be ascribed to the escalation of acts of aggression directed against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, and against the national liberation movement in El Salvador. We denounce this hegemonistic policy of imperialism towards Central American countries. We appreciate the efforts of the States of the Contadora Group to resolve the crisis in Central America by means of political negotiation.

143. This applies equally to the southern part of the continent and some of its unresolved problems, among them the problem of the Malvinas Islands, which poses a threat to the peace and security of the entire region.

144. We appreciate the activity and the positive part played by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, its contributions to the struggle to restore the international situation to health, to halt the arms race, to establish lasting peace and to achieve the peaceful settlement of conflicts in various parts of the world. We attach considerable value to its seventh summit conference, held at New Delhi, which addressed an appeal to the nations and peoples of the world asking them to develop broad mutual co-operation in the solution of international problems as well as in democratizing relations among States through the establishment of a new and just international economic order.

145. Therefore, we watch with concern everything which stands in the way of these objectives. One such development in particular is the sharp increase of protectionism and discriminatory tendencies on the part of the West. In an effort to blunt the impact of the economic difficulties in their own ranks, the respective capitalist countries have turned their fire against many of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have also tried to export these difficulties to the socialist States. These are policies which we denounce.

146. In conclusion, I should like to express my belief that the United Nations will be even further involved in normalizing and improving international relations. May I in this context recall the position formulated in the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at their Prague meeting last January, which says that it is essential to enhance the effectiveness of and to strengthen the role of the United Nations in international affairs as an important forum for uniting the efforts of States in order to strengthen peace and international security and to promote the resolution of pressing world problems. I can assure you that Czechoslovakia, which is one of the founding Members of the United Nations, will do its utmost to ensure that the Organization, the integrated expression of the aspirations of peoples to peace, may achieve the noble goals which it set for itself 38 years ago.

147. Mr. KASIM (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure to convey to the President my warmest congratulations on his election to this high office. His election is a tribute to the prominence of his country in world affairs and a testimony to his experience and competence.

148. I should also like to pay tribute to his predecessor for the skilful manner in which he conducted the work of the last session.

149. It is also a source of satisfaction to pay tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, especially for his important report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1].

150. I wish to congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on its independence and accession to membership of the United Nations.

151. The world situation gives rise to great concern. The current world economic crisis is affecting all countries. Its adverse impact is particularly felt in the developing countries, with the result that some had zero growth rates and others negative growth rates. The developing countries are facing mounting deficits in their balance of payments, resulting from a decline in the prices of their exports through the collapse of raw material prices, from the increase of protectionism, and from an increase in the prices of their imports, in addition to the heavy financial burden of servicing their foreign debts. The situation has been further aggravated by high inflation and unemployment in those countries. In the light of these facts, it is imperative to take immediate measures to enable the developing countries to overcome this acute crisis. Such measures must include the stimulation of international trade, increase in borrowing, aid and financial transfers, preferably on soft terms. We are confident that prospects of an economic recovery in the developed countries will have positive impact on the world economy; however, we do not consider this to be a substitute for the adoption of such immediate measures. Moreover, it is imperative that such measures be accompanied by the commencement of global negotiations in order to establish the new international economic order on the basis of justice and equity for all. It goes without saying that the spirit of understanding and the notion of interdependence among nations should be the basis of such negotiations.

152. Regarding world peace and security, the picture is yet more bleak. While none of the old conflicts has been resolved, new ones have arisen. In addition to the continued Israeli aggression against the Arab nation, including the latest invasion of the sisterly State of Lebanon, the war between Iraq and Iran, the situation in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Korea, Cyprus and Chad and the problem of Namibia and southern Africa—in addition to all these, the situation in Central America has appreciably deteriorated this year. Equally threatening is the increase in tension between the East and the West, especially between the two super-Powers, with the result that détente has diminished, only to be replaced by cold-war policies.

153. This tension in world affairs is regrettably accompanied by disregard on the part of some countries to their obligations under the principles of international law and the provisions of the Charter, especially those principles pertaining to the threat or use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, good-neighbourliness, and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States. Still more alarming is the lack of desire and enthusiasm on the part of Member States to follow the path of multilateral negotiations in order to devise satisfactory

solutions to the imminent and formidable problems which are facing us. While the absence of progress towards reasonable solutions is a source of concern in itself, the lack of will and desire to continue the pace of collective endeavours is more frightening and more puzzling. It certainly constitutes a set-back to the principle of co-operation and interdependence which should prevail in international relations and among the peoples.

154. I need not remind the Assembly that, while this state of affairs causes concern about the fate of humanity, it represents a challenge to the Organization. The Organization was established to save the world from the scourge of war and to be the source of moral authority, as has been stated in one of the important speeches which we have heard already from this rostrum. However, let me add that this moral authority will be ephemeral unless it is translated into legal and political authority. We notice that States which have been granted special privileges in accordance with the Charter do not adequately fulfil their obligations towards the Organization. This has led to the emasculation of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, and eventually to the withering away of its moral authority.

155. Since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 more than 100 wars and conflicts have broken out, for none of which has the United Nations been able to provide any real solution. Even when the Organization succeeded in taking certain decisions concerning any of those conflicts, its decisions have remained unimplemented, due to the inability to invoke the powers and authorities provided for in the Charter, which has led some countries, especially small peace-loving countries, to lose faith in the ability of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security and has forced them to seek security in regional alliances and international

JCS.

156. The widespread use and threat of use of force in international relations, accompanied by the weakening of the United Nations, have subverted the system of collective security. This state of affairs has been further endangered by the tendency of some countries to define their national vital interests in an unlimited manner, which makes the maintenance and protection of those interests a source of friction between States. We note with regret that this situation has adversely affected the United Nations as an instrument for the resolution of conflicts. In particular, the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has been demoralized and rendered ineffective. We find also that States entrusted under the Charter with special responsibilities and privileges have pursued a policy of selectivity in the Council, ignoring their obligations under the Charter. A concomitant result of such practices has been the weakening of the Council and a lessening of its effectiveness and prestige. More seriously, it has encouraged the adoption of such selectivity by others, thus becoming reciprocal.

157. The most glaring example of this sad state of affairs is to be found in the Middle East, where a true reflection of the deterioration in the world situation is evident. Apart from the common use of force and aggression in the area, one can easily sense the immobility and paralysis of the United Nations. The situation there has been further complicated by the resurgence of East-West rivalry, to the detriment of the legitimate interests of the peoples and States of the region. Consequently, those legitimate interests have usually become subordinated to the interests of the super-Powers and their global schemes. The responsibility for this dangerous situation lies to a great extent with Israel, whose policies have

condemned the area to a state of continuous war and tension. The underlying cause of this situation lies in the fact that Israel has defined its national interests in terms of mythological ideology, putting into the service of those interests a formidable military power. That military power has been basically sustained by foreign support, for 37 per cent of Israel's military budget in 1982 was provided by a single country. Hence the Middle East problem comes down to the fact that one State in the region has unlimited objectives and uses unlimited power for the realization of those objectives. Accordingly, Israel's military might is employed towards achieving hegemony over the whole area and gaining predominance in the region.

158. Naturally, peace becomes incompatible with such policies and with Israel's central objective, which is to annex the occupied Arab territories. As a prelude to this annexation, Israel is striving to evacuate the indigenous Arab population from those territories. For that purpose, the Israeli occupation authorities have embarked upon a series of illegal policies and practices which run counter to human rights and are designed to create certain economic, social and political conditions and consequently psychological conditions in those territories which the population there will find unbearable and which consequently will force them to leave their homes to Israeli settlers. This policy includes the training and arming of the Israeli settlers whom Israel entrusts with the task of terrorizing the Arab inhabitants through attacks on their lives and their religious and civil institutions. Israel believes that it could dissociate itself from the legal and political responsibilities for these horrendous acts by claiming that they are the work of individuals. Israeli settlement activities have transcended Israel's pretensions to security, which were in the past used to camouflage its creeping annexation of the occupied Arab territories. We are now witnessing the implantation by Israel of its settlers inside cities and other densely populated areas like Nablus, Al-Khalil and Jerusalem. Of course, when security pretexts are no longer adequate, mythological ones are always available.

159. Israel's settlement activities are the instrument of its continued occupation of the Arab territories. In addition to the fact that they represent a continuous increase in the size of Israel, those settlements have forced Israel into undertaking military crusades and pre-emptive strikes against its Arab neighbours. Since Israel's settlements have been established in occupied Arab territory, the inhabitants of which are bound to oppose them, Israel has sought to expand its security zone through the creation of *cordons sanitaires* in the territories of neighbouring Arab States. Thus the alleged security needs of Israel's settlements have become detrimental to the sovereignty and national security of those States.

160. It follows therefrom that Israel's military operations, its occupation of additional Arab territory, its persistence in upsetting power configurations in the area and its efforts at dispersing Arab defence capabilities are the main functions of Israel's settlement policy. Decisive and immediate action is needed to stop this colonial policy if we are to arrest its dangerous escalation in the occupied Arab territories. Israel's frenzied efforts to change the demographic, geographic and economic structure of the occupied territories must also be halted. The world community must deter Israel from implementing the canal project linking the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean, which was approved by the Israeli Cabinet on 24 August 1980 and work on which was inaugurated on 28 May 1981. Such a project, if implemented, would irreparably damage Jordan's vital interests. It would

also be in contravention of the norms and principles of international law, especially those pertaining to the fundamental rights and duties of riparian States and to occupation by force.

161. In pursuance of its policy of removing the traces of its occupation and its aggression against the Palestinian people and as a complement to its settlements policies, Israel has recently reactivated an old plan to demolish the camps sheltering the Palestinian refugees in Gaza and the West Bank, claiming that this is a humanitarian act, whereas the real purpose of the plan is to force the Arabs to leave their native soil and find refuge elsewhere. This measure is also designed to do away with something that reminds the world of the problem of Palestine, namely, the existence of 2 million Palestinian refugees, many of them still in camps in the West Bank and Gaza. This scheme coincides with recent appeals for concentration on the humanitarian aspect of the Palestinian question, thus ignoring and excluding its political aspects. It also coincides with efforts to liquidate UNRWA by curtailing its services, in particular by suspending rations to the refugees.

162. As far as Jordan is concerned, the search for a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict is the cornerstone of its foreign policy and the principal goal of its diplomatic endeavours at both the Arab and the international levels. In contradistinction to Israel's policies, which are designed to prevent peace, Jordan sincerely supports all efforts and initiatives that increase the chances of genuine peace. Consistent with this policy, King Hussein headed the Committee of Seven which emerged from the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, and was entrusted with presenting the Arab peace initiative to four permanent members of the Security Council. The plan, which was endorsed by the Arab heads of State at the Fez Conference,² represents a positive contribution and a collective Arab effort based on international law and on the principles recognized by the United Nations, especially by the Security Council, for a political settlement in the Middle East. As a supplement to this discourse and in pursuance of Jordan's peaceful policies, we decided to build on what was achieved at Fez in 1982 as well as on other political initiatives, especially those which include a mechanism for implementation. To this end, we have recently engaged in substantive consultations and contacts with several parties which are directly concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. Although those contacts did not develop in the way we had hoped, Jordan will continue to support and encourage every effort that could lead to the salvation of our people and the liberation of our land from Israeli occupation. The realization of this goal is a cardinal principle of our domestic and foreign policy.

163. The Geneva Declaration on Palestine,³ of 7 September, is based on all international political initiatives relating to the Arab-Israeli conflict, in particular those possessing a valid legal base and machinery for implementation. It is an important international move towards the achievement of a political settlement of this conflict. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine at Geneva set out the principles which Jordan has always considered to be the basis for an international consensus on the achievement of a just and lasting peace. These principles include the following: Israel's total withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories on the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and from Gaza and the Golan Heights; recognition of the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinian people in Palestine, their homeland; and the right of all States in the region to live in peace

within internationally recognized boundaries. However, Israel has ignored these peace endeavours and has worked hard to foil them.

164. We firmly believe that Israel would not have been able to persist in its intransigence and continue its policy of expansion had the United Nations, especially the Security Council, been able to fulfil its responsibilities in an effective manner and to invoke the powers provided for in the Charter. Moreover, this intransigence on the part of Israel and its refusal of all peaceful and objective initiatives could not have continued had the super-Powers, in particular those directly concerned, shouldered their responsibilities. Israel's *faits accomplis* in the occupied Arab territories and in the area generally have been overlooked.

165. The credibility of any peace initiative depends on its clear acknowledgement of the illegality of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories. It must also firmly oppose Israeli practices which include deliberate plans to evict the indigenous population from the West Bank and Gaza.

166. Those schemes, which we have seen beginning to be carried out in certain cities in the West Bank and Gaza, are jeopardizing the national security of Jordan and affect other neighbouring States as well. Moreover, they diminish peace prospects. Failure to comprehend the far-reaching effects of such a situation would constitute a fatal blow to all opportunities for peace in the region and would seriously diminish the validity of any international peace endeavour aimed at resolving the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

167. A major obstacle to the peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the incompatibility of the words and the deeds of some. The drastic imbalance of power in the Middle East, and in particular Israel's quantitative and qualitative military superiority, have enabled Israel to persist in its intransigence and aggression.

168. Jordan, which has shared all aspects of the plight of the Arab Palestinian people, is more aware than others of the deep implications of this plight. We recognize the significance of the humanitarian aspects of the Palestinian problem, especially those pertaining to the daily sufferings under the occupation and the worsening living conditions of the Palestinian refugees, but we do not believe that the settlement of such issues alone can be a substitute for a political solution. Such a solution should take into account the national and historical rights of the Arab Palestinians to their homeland, Palestine. The *faits accomplis* created by Israel in the occupied Arab territories, and recently in Lebanon, one third of whose territory Israel occupies, should induce us all to respond adequately in order to put an end to this grave situation.

169. Lebanon has become an arena of conflict between foreign interests. In Lebanon today we witness accounts being settled and spheres of influence being drawn. But, above and beyond this, Israel seeks to keep Lebanon in total disarray so as to stifle Arab potential. This would also serve as a smoke-screen for its designs to judaize and swallow up, gradually and discreetly, the West Bank and Gaza. Therefore, we caution against allowing the tragedy of Lebanon to be used as a vehicle for finalizing Israel's colonization policies in the West Bank and Gaza and other Arab territories occupied in 1967. Consistent with our concern at the dangerous implications of the situation in Lebanon and its obvious adverse effects on Arab rights in Palestine, we support all efforts—especially those of the Government of Lebanon—which aim at ensuring the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon; and we call upon everyone to refrain from any action that would prolong the agony of the Lebanese

people and could be used by Israel as a pretext for continuing its occupation of southern Lebanon. We appeal to the international community to support Lebanon's endeavours to ensure Israel's withdrawal from its territory and put an end to all practices violating Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and detrimental to the unity of its people. In this context we welcome the cease-fire achieved recently in Lebanon, towards the realization of which Jordan contributed modest but sincere efforts. We also support all Arab and international efforts aimed at the preservation of Lebanese sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity.

170. The continuation of war between Iran and Iraq amid an atmosphere of international indifference is a matter of deep concern. This war, which has now entered its fourth year, is continuing to cause bloodshed and destruction and is draining the resources of both countries. This is causing Jordan pain and grief, and we should like to reiterate here the imperative need for the international community to halt this war and provide a solution on the basis of international law and principles of justice and equity.

171. An objective look at this war indicates very clearly that Iraq has accepted and worked for an end to the hostilities and has withdrawn its forces to its internationally recognized borders with Iran. On the other hand, Iran insists on continuation of the war and has repeatedly attacked Iraqi territory, ignoring Iraq's calls for a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Iraq has demonstrated its peaceful intentions by accepting the verdict of the international community and going along with Security Council resolutions addressing the conflict. Furthermore, Iraq has co-operated with the representative of the Secretary-General, the mediation efforts of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. While appreciating Iraq's positive response to these peace efforts, we call upon Iran to reciprocate and respond favourably, in the interests of both countries and peoples and the region as a whole.

172. The situation in southern Africa is not very different from the one prevailing in the Middle East, since it is the result of similar aggressive policies of the Government of South Africa against neighbouring African States. The racist Government of South Africa continues to practise its *apartheid* policy in spite of world condemnation. However, mere condemnation without effective action has enabled South Africa to continue to obstruct the achievement of Namibia's independence and to block the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this respect, we emphasize the need for the Security Council to assume a more effective and decisive role in securing Namibia's independence. We call upon the United Nations to condemn the collaboration between Israel and South Africa in various fields, particularly the military and nuclear. Such collaboration poses a threat to the regional security of Africa and international peace and security as a whole.

173. The continuation of violence and tension in Central America is severely endangering the region's stability. To avoid any further escalation of violence, we stress that polarization and internationalization of the conflict must be avoided and we urge a political solution. Such a solution would enable the peoples of the region to devote their energies and resources to addressing their economic and social needs, which are at the core of the problems affecting the region. We therefore welcome the efforts of the Contadora Group and express the hope that it will be able to contribute to a solution on the basis of its various relevant declarations. We also call for the implementation of United Nations resolutions pertaining to Afghanistan

and for respect for the rights of all peoples to self-determination and to the expression of their national will in conditions of total freedom.

174. Jordan calls for the solution of the problem of Cyprus by peaceful means, through intercommunal talks under the auspices of the United Nations and within a framework that would preserve the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

175. We support the solution of the problem of Korea by peaceful means through negotiations between the two parts of Korea, in accordance with the joint communiqué issued in July 1972.⁴

176. In conclusion, Jordan, which has to bear the brunt of Israeli aggression, reiterates its determination to cooperate in all sincere and objective efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just peace without forfeiting any of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to the land of its forefathers. We shall always accord the highest priority to the deliverance of that people and the territory from Israeli occupation. We call upon everyone to shoulder their responsibilities before it is too late and request that this Organization match its words with deeds.

177. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all to express the Albanian delegation's sincere congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca on his election to the presidency of the Assembly. I also take this opportunity to greet the Secretary-General and to wish him every success in the accomplishment of his important tasks.

178. As at previous sessions of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania will express without reservation at this session the opinions of its Government on recent events and on the present international political situation in the belief that by so doing it will make its modest contribution to the cause of peace and security. We believe that only an open debate without illusions can be useful to the cause of freedom-loving peoples and countries.

179. The international political situation has in no way improved since last year. On the contrary, it is more turbulent, more complicated and extremely tense. Because of the policy of aggression, oppression and diktat pursued by the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, many peoples and countries have had to face great economic, political and military pressure, endure innumerable privations, and even experience situations of war.

180. This situation is further aggravated by the world economic crisis which has gone on for many years now. The world economy remains in a state of stagnation; in a number of countries the recession continues, or growth has been imperceptible. The shrinking of markets has brought about a drop in world exports. The colossal debts once touted by the monopolies and Governments of the great capitalist Powers as the road to salvation and, indeed, to enrichment have now turned into new chains in which imperialism has bound various peoples and States. This entire situation has led to record levels of unemployment, endless price rises and a further deterioration in living standards. In many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, people are living below the subsistence level and genuine human tragedies are unfolding. Today it is becoming clearer than ever that the idea of a "new international economic order", in spite of the good intentions which may have motivated some, remains a utopian idea, because the imperialists and neo-colonialists will never renounce their privileges or their positions of dominance. The latest example of this is provided by the recent session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which ended without result

because the industrialized countries, with the United States in the lead, openly opposed the demands of the developing countries. Thus, it was confirmed once again that one can put no trust in the moralizing sermons of the imperialist Powers. We believe that the correct path is that of resolute opposition to neo-colonialist plunder, and the taking in hand and independent management of national assets. The developing countries are capable of imposing on the industrialized Powers their just demands for equitable trade in the economic field and for cooperation based on mutual advantage.

181. The international political situation continues to deteriorate and is riddled with fresh conflicts; objectively speaking, it is the result of the stepping up of the militaristic and aggressive activities of the United States and the Soviet Union and of their rivalry for domination and hegemony. In every major event in the world today, in every regional conflict, we come up against one or both of the super-Powers. In one way or another, and in varying degrees, all peoples are faced with interference from them, and are threatened by the aggressive policies of United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In many regions and zones of the world—such as Afghanistan, Lebanon, the whole of the Middle East, Central America, South Africa, South-East Asia, and so forth—local conflicts and wars are taking place, causing suffering and misery for the peoples.

182. The development of events in Europe shows that tension and insecurity on that continent are becoming even greater. It is true that many institutions, indeed a growing number, have been set up to ensure the security of Europe, that innumerable meetings have been held, and that there has been endless talk. Great fanfare accompanied the signing of the Final Act of Helsinki; the same applies to the Belgrade meeting and, more recently, to the Madrid compromise. But apart from demagogic propaganda, the peoples of the world have seen no concrete measure which would justify in the least the optimism expressed by the marathon meetings on European security.

183. What good are all those meetings, documents, acts and resolutions when Europe has been turned into a veritable arsenal of conventional and strategic weapons, when the United States imperialists are piling up their cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, and when the Soviet social-imperialists have targeted their SS-20 missiles on European countries? False illusions are being fostered about the negotiations being held at Geneva on these nuclear weapons. But the European peoples cannot expect their security to come from the mathematical calculations which are offered daily to public opinion in the propaganda inspired and controlled by the super-Powers, such as the proposals and counter-proposals on the number of missiles to be deployed on the continent. Accepting such sophistry would mean falling into the trap of the theory of the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, and therefore submitting to their diktat.

184. Peace and security in Europe and in the world can be maintained and strengthened by opposing the aggressive policies of the super-Powers, giving them no opportunity to exploit their political and economic links with various States in order to harm the peoples of other countries and to attack them and jeopardize their freedom and independence.

185. Expressing the view of socialist Albania, the leader of our people, Mr. Enver Hoxha, has said:

"Neither the Atlantic pact, the Warsaw Treaty, the military bases installed in various countries, nor the

atomic weapons of the super-Powers can guarantee the defence of the European countries, their free and independent development, or their sovereignty and territorial integrity. These countries can guarantee them only by breaking up these pacts, sending the American and Soviet soldiers home, and smashing the political, economic and military chains with which Washington and Moscow have bound Europe."

186. For a long time now we have been hearing statements and theories about the threat posed by the military blocs and their activities, but that is all empty talk if it is not accompanied by specific actions. That preaching becomes even more worthless—indeed, harmful—when its authors grant facilities and favours to the soldiers of the United States and the Soviet Union, thus giving the imperialist super-Powers a favourable ground for their further penetration and posing a threat to other countries and to peace.

187. For its part, Albania's deeds are consistent with its words. It will never allow the establishment of foreign military bases on its territory, nor will it allow anyone to infringe on or to threaten from its territory the interests, freedom and national independence of neighbouring peoples and States.

188. The Albanian people understands full well the opposition of millions of people in Europe and throughout the world to the arms race waged by the super-Powers and to the threat of war. It joins in that opposition, because it is only through the determined efforts of the peoples that the war-mongering plans of the imperialists can be foiled.

189. We believe that in the Balkans, too, the super-Powers have stepped up their attempts at interference and at stirring up sinister forces and misunderstandings in order to keep alive the spirit of confrontation and to undermine good-neighbourly relations among the peoples and countries of that region.

190. The Albanian Government well understands the sincere concern about, and efforts to ensure the maintenance of, peace in the Balkans and will support any constructive and realistic steps to that end. It continues to believe that in order to strengthen peace in the Balkans it is necessary to oppose the United States' and the Soviet Union's policy of interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the peninsula, to take concrete steps to dismantle foreign military bases, not to give facilities to the super-Powers' naval and air forces, and to cut all links with the aggressive pacts they lead. Such steps would respond to the true aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans to live in peace and friendship among themselves. Socialist Albania has been, and always will be, a factor for peace and stability in the Balkans. It will not fail in the future, too, to make its contribution to building lasting collaboration on the basis of a policy of good-neighbourliness and the principles governing relations between sovereign States.

191. The development of the situation in Europe is also linked with the situation in the Mediterranean. The peoples of the area view with legitimate concern the activities of the super-Powers, which have militarized that sea and are practising gunboat diplomacy. When a small country dares to raise its voice about the extremely insecure situation in the Mediterranean, all sorts of accusations and even threats are levelled against it. There is much talk today about the pollution of the environment in that sea and about the measures that should be taken to clean it, but we believe that its cleansing must begin with the most dangerous and deadly pollution, by the evacuation of the fleets of the United States and the Soviet Union.

192. Much has been said at the United Nations about the situation in the Middle East. Many resolutions have been adopted and Israel's policy has been condemned, yet Israel has continued for decades on the path of aggression, expansion and colonization of Arab territory, driving the Palestinians out of their own land and committing monstrous crimes against them. In particular, the martyred Palestinian people has become the target of criminal attacks by Zionism and imperialism. Israel's policy in the occupied territories is one of genocide, of denying the Palestinian people its national identity. A year ago Israel attacked Lebanon, and it is now carrying out a *de facto* partition of that country. All this aggressive and expansionist activity by Israel has been directly encouraged and supported by United States imperialism. Moreover, today we see that United States Marines have firmly established themselves in Lebanon.

193. This stationing in Lebanon of United States troops, together with the troops of some European countries, is a precedent fraught with dangerous consequences. In fact, it means legalizing an act which, in one way or another, opens the door to a return to the old policy of the imperialist Powers, which, under the pretext of restoring order, used to send their armed forces to various countries in order to establish their domination there.

194. Present developments in the Middle East give clear evidence of a further escalation of the imperialist-Zionist plot against the Arab peoples. After Camp David, Israel attacked and occupied a large part of Lebanon and hit the Palestinian movement hard. Now it is concocting plans for the subjugation of Jordan, and it is seriously threatening Syria with war. The United States and Israeli military staffs are planning how to attack and dominate the Arab countries, one after another.

195. Israel's actions against the Arab peoples are also encouraged and promoted by the policy of the Soviet Union, with its plots and deals with the United States. It is a known fact that, for all the confrontations and clashes between them, those two super-Powers are also making efforts to reach agreement to the detriment of other peoples. This is obvious in the reciprocal concessions that they each seek so that they may act undisturbed, each in its own interest, in Afghanistan and Poland, in the Middle East and in Central America. In spite of the declarations made by Moscow and Washington and their attacks on each other, the theory of zones of influence continues to be applied.

196. The development of events in the Middle East is also part of a plot hatched by the East and West to squeeze and stifle the anti-imperialist revolution of the valiant Iranian people who, by resolute struggle, toppled the Shah's régime and drove the United States imperialists out of their country.

197. We believe that the Arab peoples and the other peoples of the region will not allow the imperialists and the Zionists to act to their detriment. They will find the strength to unite and to stay the hand of the aggressors. Experience has shown that when the peoples of the Arab countries close their ranks and strengthen their unity they have the force and the means to compel the aggressors to be reasonable. There is no doubt that ending the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, with their disagreements settled by negotiation, would serve the interests of the peoples of those countries themselves and the peoples of the Middle East in general and would contribute to preventing further super-Power interference in this sensitive region.

198. The Albanian people and its Government will always support the struggle of the valiant Palestinian people to gain its inalienable national rights. We will

support the struggle of the other fraternal Arab peoples for the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel and their struggle to expose and foil the intrigues and plots of the super-Powers.

199. The Albanian people also supports the just struggle of the people of Afghanistan to liberate its country from the Soviet invaders.

200. The imperialist doctrine of inciting local wars, feuds and rivalries as a means of achieving domination and hegemony over the peoples concerned is also clearly seen on the African continent, where conflicts are fanned with almost periodic regularity. Chad is the most recent example of imperialist intervention. Its people are killed and the country is destroyed, to the profit of others. The Albanian delegation believes that the people of Chad can solve its own problems, and must be allowed to do so, in keeping with its national interest, without any external interference, no matter what the pretext for it.

201. The imperialist Powers are doing their utmost to keep Africa subjugated, underdeveloped and divided, so as to ensure the continuation of their neo-colonial exploitation of the continent. They do not hesitate even to support such régimes as the racist régime of South Africa, which is but another Israel in the hands of imperialism in Africa. Without the support of, first and foremost, the United States, South Africa would not have dared to continue to occupy Namibia and to suppress by Fascist methods the people of South Africa, who continue to live in segregation, deprived of all their rights. The African peoples have never accepted this situation; they have fought, and continue to fight, against imperialist intervention, racism and racial discrimination. The Albanian people and Government have firmly supported the just struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and national independence, as well as the struggle of the African peoples to root out colonialism.

202. A very grave situation has been created in Central America, where the United States has stepped up its pressure and its military intervention against the freedom-loving people of Nicaragua, and where it is financing and sending mercenary troops to suppress the struggle of the people of that region. The events in Central America prove that the United States cannot accept the situation created in what it considers to be its own "backyard", where the peoples have risen against oppression, plunder and exploitation. The peoples of Latin America are facing not only pressure and direct attacks by the United States, but also the manoeuvres of the Soviet Union, which is trying to use the antagonism between those people and United States imperialism to pave the way for its own penetration there.

203. The Albanian people are with the Latin American people who want to rid themselves of the brutal interference of United States imperialism. We support the right of the Nicaraguan people to live free and independent in its own country. We also support the struggle of the people of El Salvador, and the sovereign right of Argentina over the Malvinas Islands.

204. South-East Asia has today become the target of plots and interference by the super-Powers, whose policy is aimed at inciting division and at creating new conflicts in order to open the way for their own neo-colonialist inroads and their military expansion in that region. We have supported and will continue to support the right of the peoples of that region to live in freedom, independent of any interference or intrigue by the super-Powers.

205. The Albanian Government appreciates the withdrawal of part of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea

and hopes that that process will continue. The super-Powers have engaged in much speculation at the expense of the Kampuchean people, who have suffered for years on end from the savage onslaughts of United States imperialism and the massacres of the Pol Pot gang. It is high time for the international community to face reality and really help the Kampuchean people. On this basis, and abiding strictly by the principle of the inalienable right of peoples and States to be fully independent and to decide their own destiny without any foreign interference, the Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania has decided to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

206. We hold the view that the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea must occupy its own seat in the United Nations, now unjustly held by the representatives of the Pol Pot gang.

207. Although the war in Korea has been over for more than three decades, that country remains divided. United States troops must withdraw from South Korea, and the Korean people must be able to exercise their legitimate right to live united in their own homeland.

208. In the light of the events that have occurred since the last session of the General Assembly, it is clear that to varying degrees the imperialist super-Powers are the protagonists in the turbulent and serious situation that exists in the world. Each of them strives to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other, to acquire new markets and to secure spheres of influence. The crisis has made them even more aggressive. However, it is also a fact that the policy of oppression and exploitation, aggression and diktat is to an increasing degree encountering great resistance from freedom-loving countries and peoples. The course of events will show whether the imperialist Powers will lead the world into a new conflagration and catastrophe or whether the peoples will abolish war and save mankind. The struggle for national independence and for peace and security in the world, therefore, is closely connected with the unmasking of the aggressive policy of the imperialist super-Powers and stern opposition to it.

209. Our State has pursued an open and consistent foreign policy, based on principles. It stands for the development of relations and co-operation with all those countries that abide by the principles of equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for the sovereignty of each people and for its right to choose its own social system. The Albanian Government has always shown good will and taken a correct attitude in the development of relations with other States. It has been and is against any diktat in relations between sovereign States. We will never compromise on the subject of distortions and insinuations designed to obscure our correct stands and demands. For 35 years now, Great Britain has illegally blocked the return of Albanian gold bullion plundered by the Hitlerites. This gold represents part of the sweat and toil of our people and it must be returned to them, along with the accrued interest. Our people will defend their interests strictly and with determination and will fight against injustices that they have been and still are suffering.

210. The economic and political situation in the Socialist People's Republic of Albania is a healthy one. Our people have achieved important successes in all areas, and in the fulfilment of their development plans, by relying on their own strength. The people of our country live free from the nightmare of insecurity about the future, because phenomena such as those to be seen in certain countries of the world—crises, inflation and unemployment, rises in prices, drug addiction and other ills—do not exist in

Albania. The well-being of the working masses is constantly on the increase and they look to the future with confidence. All the victories our people have achieved in the course of the four decades of the people's power are due to our genuinely socialist order and to the correct leadership of the Labour Party of Albania with Enver Hoxha, the great son of the Albanian nation, at its head.

211. There are over-zealous propagandists who write innumerable pages filled with calumnies against socialist Albania, depicting it as a country that is mysterious, isolated, and so on. Of course, we do not expect benevolence and praise from people who are representatives of certain well-known reactionary circles and who have made it their profession routinely to invent stories based on hostile chauvinist positions. None of this worries us in the least. The truth is that Albania is forging ahead and daily becoming stronger, without loans or credits, by following a completely independent and sovereign policy. Although it is a small country, it is coping courageously with the various pressures and plots of the super-Powers and is not deviating from its correct and honest socialist course. Our people are determined to continue

along that course, because experience has shown them that only this has brought them continuous progress and development, as well as genuine freedom.

212. At this session of the General Assembly the Albanian delegation will share the efforts of all peace-loving countries and will not fail to make its contribution to the cause of the peoples, to genuine peace and security.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

NOTES

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

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

³ *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, sect. A.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.