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at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This afternoon the General Assembly will hear an address by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. King HASSAN (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is a great honour for me to address the Assembly in the name of Morocco, making the statement that is traditional at the opening of every session.

3. Numerous and varied subjects will be discussed during the current session, and we cannot say that one is more important or has higher priority than the others. I do not want to speak at length by enumerating the items on the agenda, and I do not want to mention all the documents available here. I shall confine myself to two issues—one to do with the Middle East and the other to do with Africa.

4. As all representatives know, there was held last year in the city of Fez a conference which we called the Fez Summit Conference. After much lengthy, serious and purposeful work, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference formulated a plan<sup>1</sup> which was well balanced and much discussed. Of the many descriptions given to it, the most important was that it made clear, practical and feasible recommendations unblemished by rhetoric or demagoguery.

5. We, the Arab kings, presidents and other heads of State, were able to reach the result that we did at the Fez Conference because at that time—I repeat “at that time”—we put aside everything that would have caused a split in our ranks. Each of us rose above the conflicts and disputes of the past, and with God’s help we reached the conclusions of the Fez Conference.

6. As if by a happy coincidence, two days before the Conference the President of the United States announced his peace plan, known as the Reagan plan.<sup>2</sup> We saw in that coincidence and the meeting of minds at Fez something that augured well for the future. I do not say that it promised success, but it gave grounds for optimism.

7. The Fez Conference decided to form a member committee, headed by the Chairman of the Conference, the one now humbly addressing you. The other members are from Algeria, Tunisia, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Conference instructed this Committee of Seven to travel to the capitals of the States permanent members of the Security Council and also entrusted it with a mission to Washington to ascertain the details of the Reagan peace

plan and to explain the Fez plan. We carried out our duty in Washington, Paris, London, Moscow and Peking.

8. Moreover, because of the importance of this Assembly and its impact on the course of events, the Committee of Seven decided that I should make a statement here in which I would try to explain the details of the Fez plan and say what bridges might be built, after dialogue, between the Reagan plan and the Fez plan.

9. We must be realistic and frank about historical facts. At first events went just as they should, and we made rapid progress, thank God. But unfortunately our horse began to feel weary, so to speak, and our enthusiasm waned. Since then the Committee of Seven has not met to assess objectively and clearly the results of its travels to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and China. If we had met to analyze and assess our work and its results, we could have kept the political and diplomatic dynamism without which no plan can be successful and yield results.

10. But, as I said, dark clouds loomed over the Arab ranks, and certain kings and heads of State procrastinated in meeting to assess and plan the next step. A few months later we were shocked by the Lebanese bomb, which became an obstacle impeding our advance towards further results. The Lebanese bomb exploded as if the enemy chose to have that explosion at that time because he knew the Arabs well. We have to say frankly that the enemy thus put a small tree in front of us, the Arab leaders. We are behind that tree and have lost our view of the forest. We had thought that by solving the problem of one country, an extremely complex problem in view of the multiplicity of ethnic communities, religions and factions, we would solve the general problem. We walked blindly into the trap set by the common enemy. We naïvely believed that we could solve the general Arab problem by solving that of Lebanon. Thus, as I have mentioned, we sat blocked behind that small tree instead of reaching the goal. That is why, as I said before, we lost perspective.

11. Here I wish to appeal that we correct our mistakes, mobilize our forces and spirits, you and we the Arab States, to get a second wind, in order to find a way out of the *status quo*, which is inaction. The worst enemy of any constructive policy is inertia.

12. Here, through my own personal efforts, I am able to propose the following action with regard to the Lebanese issue, which has dominated all aspects of the Arab problem. In all frankness we have to request either the United States—because the United States was the party that was watching over the Israeli-Lebanese agreement—or the General Assembly to reconsider the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, because it could be described as a *contrat lionin* in French. In other words, it is an agreement between the lion and the lamb, but this is inconceivable, because no person of conscience can feel gratified, nor any politically intelligent person be convinced by it.

13. It may well be remembered that in 1975 an agreement was signed in Algeria between Iran and Iraq. That agreement was a one-sided agreement because Iran at that

time had technological and military superiority over the Republic of Iraq. After a few years the Iraqis discarded the agreement of 1975 because it was imbalanced and one-sided. Thus we are witnessing the tragedy of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, a war between two fraternal Islamic countries that have common bonds of history, civilization and religion, which provide eternal common links between them.

14. This is why, as far as the Arab issue in particular is concerned, I appeal to all those of good will and even to our adversary, saying, "If you are the adversary we know, wise and with a history, religion and genius, you ought yourself to request reconsideration of this agreement you have concluded with Lebanon, because otherwise you are building on sand, and it is not possible for two peoples or two neighbouring countries to build their future on sand or on unequal agreements that would require lions to live with lambs in peace and safety."

15. My task, as Chairman of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference and as Chairman of the Committee of Seven, will end with this session of the Conference. I wish on this occasion to inform all my Arab brethren that during the short time that stands between now and the Riyadh conference, they will find, as always, in Hassan II, King of Morocco, the faithful servant of the Arab cause and an honest and steadfast supporter of the rights of the Palestinians and the people of Palestine.

16. I shall now turn to the second problem, that of Africa.

*[The speaker continued in French (interpretation from French).]*

17. I could continue in Arabic, but I think our African brothers who speak English or French will understand me more directly in French.

18. Immediately after its independence, Morocco, which had had the great misfortune of being colonized simultaneously by two countries, France and Spain, and having been divided up into four zones—the international zone of Tangier, the Spanish protectorate zone, the French protectorate zone, the Sidi Ifni and Sahara zone—came before this very Assembly and called immediately for the recovery of its territorial unity. It did so in official documents which we submitted to the Secretary-General.

19. As time went by and the years passed, we were able to recover the international zone of Tangier; we were able to recover the Sidi Ifni enclave and, finally, we were able to recover the province of Tarfaya.

20. There remained the Sahara, which was known as Western Sahara and still is so known. For the Spanish, there was no doubt that Western Sahara had to be returned to its legitimate inhabitants, namely, the Saharans, who at the time were represented in the Jema'a, which was an elected assembly. The following was Morocco's attitude. When Spain took possession of that territory, the Sahara was by no means a *terra nullius*. That means that before occupying it, Spain had first expelled the legitimate inhabitants and owners of the land. Seeing that the dialogue was becoming a dialogue of the deaf, we immediately asked the Assembly to be good enough to take this question to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, which is one of its consultative bodies in matters of international law, so as clearly to ask the following question: When Spain colonized the territory of Spanish Sahara, did it find there a *terra nullius*—a land without owner or citizens—or did it by force and occupation take over the sovereignty and administration exercised by Morocco over that part of its territory?

21. On 16 October 1975, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice<sup>3</sup> left no room for

ambiguity and recognized that there were links of allegiance between the Kingdom of Morocco and the tribes of Western Sahara. Strengthened by that confirmation, Morocco immediately entered into negotiations with Madrid which led to the tripartite treaty, ratified by the United Nations itself.

22. We thought that we would thenceforth be able to live at ease in our recovered territories in complete peace, prosperity and co-operation, both with our neighbours on the east and those on the south. But, as the Arab poet says, the winds do not always blow to the ship's liking. The winds were not favourable for tripartite co-operation among Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania—hence began that false war, that war which has no name but is known as the war of the Sahara.

23. We thought a great deal about the tragedy that was facing us, pitting us against each other and preventing us from realizing our economic and social ideals in the region. Many African countries—rightly or wrongly—said that it was absolutely necessary to hold a referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara. Morocco, relying on its rights, its history and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, refused—as long as it could—to agree to that referendum.

24. But since the dialogue seemed to be interminable, prejudicial not only to the present but also to the future and to the very unity of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], we decided to give the appropriate response to the three interlocutors we had. There were those who disregarded the whole matter, those who wanted to disregard it and those who still do not want to understand anything about it. Taking our courage in both hands, the Moroccan people and its King took the most distressing and painful decision of agreeing to prove what had been already proven by history, facts and law. In 1981, we went to Nairobi and officially proposed, on two occasions, that a referendum be held in the Sahara, for the reconciliation of Africa and to teach those who were unaware of things, to demystify the facts for those who were trying to disregard them all and to instill some wisdom into those who still did not want to understand anything.

25. At the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, a unanimous decision was taken, by consensus, to agree that there should be a referendum on self-determination in the Sahara, in accordance with the wishes and commitment expressed by Morocco, and it entrusted to a committee of heads of State the task of determining the procedures for the holding of that referendum. Meeting at Nairobi in the same year, the heads of State who had been designated as the Implementation Committee, and in whose work we personally took part frankly, sincerely and loyally, decided on the measures concerning the referendum.<sup>4</sup> The territorial area to be covered by the referendum was indicated on a map, as decided on by the OAU, from the east to the west, from the north to the south. The Implementation Committee decided how the Saharans were to vote and where the polling stations would be located. It decided that the Saharans would have to vote at their birthplace. Finally, respect for legality, the validity and honesty of the referendum would be entrusted to observers from the OAU, assisted by observers from the United Nations.

26. Today, for the first time in the United Nations but for the umpteenth time before public opinion, Morocco says and solemnly declares, through the voice of him whom God has designated to preside over the destiny of my country, that it wants that referendum. Morocco tells you that it is ready for the referendum to take place—tomorrow, if you wish it. Morocco is ready to grant all

facilities to any observers from wherever they may come so that there may be a cease-fire and a just, equitable and true consultation. And, finally, Morocco solemnly undertakes to consider itself bound by the results of that referendum.

[*The speaker resumed in Arabic.*]

27. I believe that I have said all that can be said on these two important issues without delving into other matters. I hope the Assembly has found in my statement and from my tone of voice that I have tried to speak on both issues with conviction, conscience and the utmost sincerity and faith in our Arab cause and the future of the African continent. These are both important and vital elements for the august community which God wanted to be one of love and peace, not war and discord, the community which members of the Assembly represent here. I wish all representatives, from the bottom of my heart, success and progress towards happiness for all mankind.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank His Majesty King Hassan II for the important statement he has just made.

29. Mr. MacEACHEN (Canada): I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I assure you of the full co-operation of the Canadian delegation in the discharge of your duties. You can count on our support in your efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the Assembly, a concern which you emphasized last week in your opening address [*1st meeting*].

30. I would also like to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis as the 158th Member of the United Nations. St. Kitts is a hemisphere neighbour, a Commonwealth partner and a close friend to many Canadian visitors.

31. We meet at a time of heightened tension. The urgency of many world problems has intensified since last year. The need for a dynamic United Nations has never been greater.

32. One year ago the Secretary-General inspired us to take a hard look at the Organization. We measured expectations against realities and, to no one's surprise, found ourselves wanting. We recognized that we were in the midst of what the Secretary-General called, in his report,<sup>5</sup> a "crisis in the multilateral approach in international affairs". We unanimously agreed on the imperative need to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. We have not yet succeeded. It is now time to move from high-sounding generalities on which we can all agree to specific measures for strengthening the multilateral system.

Mr. Bwakira (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

33. The reputation of the United Nations is widely measured by its contribution to peace and security. We must turn around the current perception that the United Nations cannot respond forcefully to crisis and conflict. We must make more creative use of the existing provisions and mechanisms of the Charter.

34. The key is the Security Council and the way in which the Secretary-General works with the Council and the members work with each other. Council members have been seeking ways to make the work of the Council more effective. It will be unfortunate if political realities prevent any significant improvements. We count upon the members of the Council, particularly its permanent members, to exercise their responsibilities on behalf of all Member States.

35. Is it naïve to demand an enhanced spirit of co-operation and acceptance of responsibilities in the

Council? One wonders, in the light of recent events. The world will not soon forget that the Council was prevented from taking action on the destruction of a civil aircraft by the Soviet Union. We cannot write off this particular Soviet veto as a harsh fact of life. This exercise of the veto was callously irresponsible. It prevented the Council from taking action to preserve the safety of international civil aviation.

36. Canadians continue to be outraged by the tragedy of 1 September. On 12 September the Canadian House of Commons unanimously condemned "the unwarranted attack on and destruction of the Korean airliner on the orders of Soviet authorities". The House of Commons demanded "a full and truthful explanation of this brutal act from the Soviet Government". It demanded that "the Soviet Government co-operate fully in any impartial investigation under the auspices of the United Nations and of the International Civil Aviation Organization to prevent any repetition of such a tragedy". And the Canadian Parliament also demanded that "the Soviet authorities immediately offer full and generous compensation to the families of all victims, including Canadians". The text of this resolution was distributed on 13 September as a document of the Security Council<sup>6</sup> and is available to all United Nations Members.

37. Canadians are dismayed by the continuing failure of the Soviet Government to respond to official Canadian communications on this matter. A TASS report is an insulting response to a reasonable request for information.

38. One United Nations agency, ICAO, is undertaking an urgent and impartial investigation to determine the facts of the tragedy. It is also reviewing ways of preventing a recurrence of this tragedy. Canadians expect the Soviet authorities to co-operate fully with ICAO.

39. The ineffectiveness of the Council in dealing with the Korean Air Lines incident demonstrates once again the need to find more flexible and creative ways for Council members to address disputes. I would hope that agreement could be reached among Council members on the following specific measures: First, the Secretary-General should be encouraged to make greater use of his authority under Article 99 to bring current or potential crisis situations to the attention of the Council. To do this, he requires a greater fact-finding capacity. Secondly, the Council should meet informally to avert potential crises by examining incipient disputes during *in camera* sessions with the Secretary-General. Thirdly, the Secretary-General requires additional personnel and resources for more effective use of his good offices in the resolution of disputes.

40. These are not revolutionary steps. They can be taken on the basis of existing authority and by reallocating resources. But they would be useful and concrete and would facilitate the tangible progress on specific problems that is so urgently required. The Secretary-General has shouldered his responsibilities in an exemplary fashion. He does not, however, possess supernatural or, alas, supra-national powers. We, as Member Governments, must also shoulder our responsibilities.

41. The Secretary-General has just reported on one problem crying out for a solution—that of Namibia. It is almost five years to the day since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978). The outstanding issues regarding its implementation have, in substance, been resolved. All the parties have made concessions to achieve this result.

42. There is no excuse now for further delay. South Africa's pre-condition for implementation, the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, cannot legitimize

its illegal occupation of Namibia. The question of principle is clear. Namibia should have its independence regardless of what happens or does not happen in Angola.

43. The Secretary-General has spelt out the political realities very clearly in his report to the Security Council:<sup>7</sup> further disastrous consequences will result if we do not quickly reach the stage of implementation, and reaching this stage will require a determined effort by all concerned and particularly by those directly concerned.

44. The first step is clear. South Africa must end its incursions into Angola and its interventions there. It cannot seek unilaterally to reshape the region; boundaries and sovereignties must remain inviolate.

45. Secondly, the President of Angola has reaffirmed that his country has no desire to rely on foreign troops or keep them on its soil once Angola is no longer threatened. Measures to strengthen confidence and lessen tensions between those directly concerned are urgently needed.

46. Thirdly, the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) during 1984 is the essential step. Without this, there cannot be peace in the region. Those who seek peace will meet this challenge.

47. A fourth step should follow. UNCTAD is at present studying Namibia's economic and social needs. The international community will need to provide assistance to an independent Namibia, and Canada stands ready to play its part.

48. The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, and of Kampuchea by Viet Nam, persist in defiance of the Assembly's resolutions. The countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, [ASEAN], as recently as last week have made constructive proposals aimed at a solution to the Kampuchean situation [see A/38/441]. On Afghanistan, the Secretary-General and his personal representative have made an effort to get a real dialogue going. The achievement of an equitable solution, however, will require the demonstration of a greater sense of responsibility on the part of the Soviet Union.

49. Canadians have participated in 15 United Nations peace-keeping forces and observation teams. Peace-keeping can be an important part of promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes. The presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, for example, has prevented a recurrence of intercommunal fighting and has helped to maintain law and order. However, there is still no solution to the fundamental problems of the island. The Secretary-General and his representative have recently provided useful ideas on how a settlement can be reached. But until the parties themselves are prepared to make a serious commitment to negotiations, no just and lasting settlement can be found. Peace-making must be seen to go hand-in-hand with peace-keeping.

50. Of course, the alarming course of events in Central America continues to preoccupy us. Political solutions to the region's problems are slow to emerge. For this reason we have welcomed the initiatives of the Contadora Group, working with the five countries of Central America to find a path toward reconciliation. We are convinced that lasting solutions to the region's problems can be arranged only by the countries of the region—that approach is fully consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Contadora initiative provides a basic framework for stability and co-operation within which the root causes of the region's problems can be attacked more constructively than by military means.

51. One factor critical to the success of the Contadora initiative will be a positive response from all parties to

President Reagan's welcome offer of verifiable demilitarization. There has been some response both from Nicaragua and Cuba but, as yet, no dialogue nor any decrease in military activity. This is essential if an effective settlement in Central America is to be achieved. Canada would support concrete proposals by the Contadora Group to stop the process of militarization and to verify and monitor the progressive withdrawal of all foreign military personnel from the region.

52. Canada is committed to supporting these regional mechanisms. If renewed efforts by the five countries of Central America could lead to agreement among them on a common approach to economic and social planning, Canada would increase its contribution to the necessary regional infrastructure projects. We are more than willing to continue to help all countries there to solve their problems by themselves. But assistance to these countries will be effective only once they have jointly decided to reject outside military involvement. A common effort of this sort could help to restore the political stability and confidence without which programmes for development cannot succeed.

53. Perhaps no issues have more frustrated this Organization than the successive crises in the Middle East. The situation in Lebanon has been particularly tragic. We hope that the cease-fire just arranged will hold. The internal problems of this country have been complicated by others in the region who have chosen, at Lebanon's expense, ruthlessly to pursue their own interests on Lebanese soil. Canada strongly supports Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Foreign troops must withdraw unless they are present at the specific request of the legitimate Government of that country. We must all actively support, through the United Nations and by any other means open to us, the search for a just solution based on national reconciliation.

54. Nor can we allow events elsewhere to deflect our attention from the Arab-Israeli conflict. Nothing has occurred in the 12 months since we last gathered to lessen the burning need for a lasting solution which assures the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a homeland in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. I encourage all parties to exercise restraint. I call on Israel to rethink its policy on settlements. I urge all parties to enter into genuine negotiations. I call on them to make clear, in unambiguous terms, their readiness to accept the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to exist in security and peace.

55. Questions of disarmament and arms limitation have become the central preoccupation of our time. Negotiations between the major Powers have yet to show significant progress. President Reagan's announcement yesterday provides some encouragement that movement may be possible on the question of intermediate-range nuclear weapons. The proposals he advanced are an important step forward and demonstrate a constructive flexibility on the United States side which, we hope, will be matched on the Soviet side.

56. The major Powers have the paramount contribution to make in disarmament and arms limitation. At the same time, we must ensure that multilateral negotiations, under United Nations auspices, serve to reinforce the arms control and disarmament process. Machinery already exists for this purpose, but it has to work more effectively. The Committee on Disarmament, for example, has shown mixed results over the past year.

57. I regret that a working group on arms control and outer space was not established this year by the Committee on Disarmament. Prime Minister Trudeau warned

us at the twelfth special session, devoted to disarmament, that "we cannot wait much longer if we are to be successful in foreclosing the prospect of space wars". [18th meeting, para. 88.] This issue is urgent if we are to succeed in keeping outer space off limits to weapons of war. I commend the Committee's Group of 21 for their recognition of this urgency.

58. Having submitted a substantive working paper on this subject in 1982,<sup>8</sup> Canada has continued its research programme on both the legal and technical aspects. We urge the establishment of a working group early in the 1984 session and are prepared to co-operate fully in the detailed examination of the issues.

59. The Committee on Disarmament did make significant progress in the area of chemical weapons. Thanks to the co-operation extended to the Canadian chairman of the Committee's Working Group on Chemical Weapons, we now have for the first time a complete document which outlines the elements of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction. The Working Group has been given the task of undertaking, immediately at the outset of 1984, intensive negotiations on the text of a convention.

60. Canada's concern with the need to eliminate chemical warfare is of longstanding. It goes back to the First World War, when Canadian forces were subjected to the first massive gas attack. Since then, technological developments have made chemical weapons even more pernicious, as events in South-East Asia in recent years have unfortunately demonstrated. It would be a real achievement if a draft convention on chemical weapons could be agreed upon by the end of 1984.

61. We recognize also the absolute necessity of verification if we are going to make real progress in international disarmament and arms control negotiations. Since the Second World War, Canada has attached special importance to the development of international verification mechanisms and has assigned a high priority to research in this area. We have been making available increased funding for research which will help in the technical and practical aspects of verification. We hope that by sharing the results of our work through the Committee on Disarmament we shall make a real contribution to the Committee's effectiveness.

62. Multilateral institutions face the same challenges in the economic as in the political sphere. We have started to meet the challenge. International co-operation has been strengthened through the most intensive round of high-level economic consultations in several years. The series of meetings beginning with the joint IMF/IBRD meeting at Toronto in September last year and moving on to the first ministerial meeting in 10 years of the parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and then to the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi and the Summit of Industrialized Countries at Williamsburg and to the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has been an exhausting but worthwhile experience.

63. These consultations have encouraged mutually reinforcing national action in a number of sectors. There has been a welcome drop in inflation and nominal interest rates. In the debt area, we have seen an outstanding co-operative effort in handling major simultaneous re-schedulings. IMF has performed with vigour and resilience. Developing countries have adopted courageous adjustment programmes to restore their payments equilibrium. International financial institutions and bilateral

donors have kept open the flow of resources for development. The GATT ministerial meeting compelled Governments to take a hard look at their own behaviour and elicited renewed commitments to the open multilateral trading system. At the Williamsburg summit the major Western nations agreed on the vital interdependence of the world economy. The developing countries, seriously affected by the world recession, must be full partners in global recovery.

64. There is, of course, no room for complacency. As I stated at the session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Belgrade, there are no quick fixes to problems which are deep and ingrained in the world economy. To turn this partial and uneven recovery into one that is durable and widespread, we shall need action on many fronts. Continuing efforts are essential to reduce interest rates. In responding to the debt problem, we must ensure an adequate flow of funds to the debtor countries to support their adjustment efforts. Adequate official funds must be made available through IMF and the development institutions, especially to the low-income countries, while commercial banks must continue to play an important role in international financing. The needs of the International Development Association are particularly acute. For its part, Canada has recommitted itself to increasing Canada's official development assistance to 0.5 per cent of the gross national product by 1985 and to make best efforts to achieve 0.7 per cent by 1990. We have today deposited our instrument of ratification of the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities.<sup>9</sup>

65. In trade, the task ahead for our Governments and international institutions is to work together to carry out and monitor the commitments we have already made. It is positive action, not just pledges, that will build confidence in the trading system and contribute to economic recovery. Canada is actively supporting efforts in GATT and elsewhere to monitor commitments to resist protectionism. If individual Governments are to resist protectionist pressures, they need to know that they are engaged in a genuine collective effort and are not simply standing alone. We are mindful of the vital role of trade in the process of global economic development and of the contribution which export earnings can make to relieving severe strains on the payments balance of many countries. These efforts require our attention and resolve.

66. There is another area where co-operation must be nurtured. This is producer-consumer co-operation on petroleum. Repeated energy price shocks have been an important cause of accelerating inflation, lower real growth, the debt crisis and the muting of the North-South dialogue. We are now facing an opportunity for producers and consumers to work together, as a reflection of overwhelming common interests, in conservation and assurance of supply and a fair, stable long-term price. There is now a greater spirit of realism in consumer-producer relations that offers some hope for pragmatic discussion of oil and related concerns in the coming years.

67. The international community has spent far too much time trying to devise new machinery and not enough in making what we have work better. I am encouraged by the pragmatic direction that the debate on reform of the international financial system has taken. The Commonwealth Study Group's report on challenges for the world's financial and trading system represents a most useful recent contribution to this debate. Many of its recommendations are aimed, in the first instance, at bringing about greater multilateral co-operation within the parameters of the present institutional system.

68. The same concern—to make existing institutions work better—has prompted the efforts by my country within the Governing Council of UNDP to achieve a more assured system of funding for that institution and to reinforce its role as a central fund for all United Nations technical assistance activities for development. We likewise attach importance to the current triennial review of the operational development activities to the United Nations system. This review provides an opportunity to reassert a coherent sense of purpose and direction to practical co-operation between North and South.

69. I have emphasized the most difficult issues of peace and security and economic co-operation. We should, however, balance our natural concern with these problem areas by recognizing and giving wider publicity to the ongoing achievements of the United Nations system. Too often what has been accomplished has been taken for granted. I should like to cite a few examples.

70. First, the United Nations specialized agencies continue to spearhead international co-operation in many vital technical areas. ICAO is the most recent case in point. It is important for us to ensure that the specialized agencies succeed in preventing extraneous political issues from diverting them from their principal tasks.

71. Secondly, slow but steady progress has been made, since the approval of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, towards the creation of a body of international treaties, mechanisms and procedures which should eventually cover all flagrant violations of human rights. No Government can claim any longer that human rights abuses are solely within their domestic jurisdiction. The work of the United Nations in human rights goes hand in hand with its efforts in the co-ordination of humanitarian assistance to refugees and in cases of natural or man-made disasters. We agree with the Secretary-General that the "individual human being" is "the ultimate *raison d'être* for all our activities" [A/38/1, p. 3].

72. Thirdly, the United Nations system remains in the vanguard of the progressive development of international law. Pioneering legal régimes have been established in crucial fields such as the law of the sea, outer space, civil aviation, telecommunications and trade. However, if the system is going to keep pace with new developments and technologies, legal considerations will have to take precedence over political objectives.

73. Fourthly, the United Nations system is also actively facilitating international co-operation in coming to grips with the most persistent problems facing society. One innovative proposal, which will be considered by the General Assembly at this session, is for the establishment of an international commission on the environment. The commission would address one of the major challenges facing the international community by studying the impact of economic and social development on the world's environment up to and beyond the year 2000.

74. If the United Nations system is to deal effectively with the panoply of current issues, we the Member States must not stray from the basic ground rules of the system. Universality of membership remains fundamental to the viability of the system. As stated in Article 4 of the Charter, membership in the United Nations should be open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the Charter, and this description certainly applies to the Republic of Korea, which, in its reaction to the calamity of 1 September and in its other actions, has demonstrated clearly its sense of responsibility and its desire for peace.

75. Another basic obligation of membership is that Member States must pay their assessed shares of United

Nations budgets and resist the temptation to refuse selectively to pay their shares of certain parts of those budgets. Otherwise, the system will be undermined.

76. This week, many heads of State and Government, including my own Prime Minister, are conferring here in New York. They have not lost faith in the multilateral institutions we have so painstakingly constructed. The United Nations system may be far from becoming, as some would hope, a world government which can enforce its decisions. But it is also far from being dominated, as others would have us believe, by a "tyranny of the majority". We must dig beneath these slogans. We must reinvigorate our multilateral institutions in practical ways, and, certainly, Canada is prepared to join in activities aimed at reaching that goal.

77. Mr. WU Xueqian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In the name of the Chinese delegation, I would like to extend to Mr. Jorge Illueca warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His outstanding talent and rich experience have won wide admiration, and I am convinced that under his guidance the session will conduct its work efficiently and handle all its tasks appropriately.

78. I also wish to take this opportunity to express our thanks to his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the positive contribution he made to the thirty-seventh session.

79. This is the first time I have attended a session of the General Assembly as chairman of the Chinese delegation. I am very pleased to have this opportunity to exchange views with my colleagues here on international issues of common concern.

80. The Chinese delegation extends its warm congratulations to Saint Christopher and Nevis on its recent achievement of independence and cordially welcomes it to the United Nations.

81. Safeguarding world peace is the most important task facing mankind today and the primary concern of all peoples in the world. Working hard for the modernization of their country and the improvement of their living standards, the Chinese people eagerly desire a lasting peaceful international environment. Like other peoples of the world, we are deeply concerned about the maintenance of international peace and security. However, we are compelled to face the harsh realities. The present-day world is far from tranquil and is beset with tensions and turmoil.

82. The fierce arms race between the super-Powers and their wrangling over the question of deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons have kept Europe in a state of tense confrontation. The hegemonists' aggression against, and rivalry in, the third-world countries have given rise to frequent wars and emergencies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Certain developed countries are shifting the consequences of their economic crises onto others, plunging many developing countries into great economic difficulties. All this has caused disasters in many countries and posed a serious threat to world peace.

83. People of all countries have come to realize more and more clearly that world peace can be effectively maintained only by resolutely opposing hegemonism. The numerous third-world countries and the people of the world have strengthened their united struggle against expansion, aggression and power politics, so that the super-Powers have met with ever-stronger opposition and constraints in pursuing their hegemonist policies. We are confident that it is possible to maintain world peace, so long as the people of the world become truly united and

wage a resolute struggle against all manifestations of hegemonism.

84. All the peace-loving countries and people ardently wish to see disarmament realized, and they have expressed this wish in various ways. The massive peace movement that has emerged in some countries in recent years reflects in its main trend the strong aspirations for peace of the people who suffered the havoc of two world wars and are now faced with the increasing threat of a nuclear war. Their aspirations are completely understandable and deserve sympathy.

85. Historical experience shows that a genuine desire for disarmament is essential to real progress in disarmament. Twenty years have passed since the 1963 signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water. During this period the two super-Powers have held many disarmament talks and reached some agreements. But what is the result? Their armaments, especially nuclear armaments, have increased in quantity and improved in quality despite all the talks on reduction. Their annual military expenditures amount to more than half of the world's total. More than 95 per cent of the world's nuclear weapons are in the hands of the two super-Powers, which admit that they have long possessed what is commonly known as "overkill" capabilities, and it is always the people of the world who are to suffer once these capabilities are put to use. The arms race between super-Powers has extended from the land, sea and air to outer space. And the reality is that, for all the disarmament talks, the arms race is intensifying, with each super-Power trying to gain the upper hand over the other. One cannot but question their sincerity for disarmament. Will they give up their nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail to let others live in peace for a while? Without good faith, their words and proposals, however high-sounding and numerous, would in essence only serve to cover up their continued efforts to expand their nuclear arsenals and hoodwink world opinion.

86. As matters now stand, it is only natural that people should ask the two nuclear super-Powers, which possess the largest arsenals, to be the first to reduce their arms, drastically cut their nuclear and conventional armaments and destroy the reduced armaments before there can be any reduction of arms by other countries.

87. China desires peace and favours disarmament. We are for genuine disarmament and against sham disarmament, that is, arms expansion under the camouflage of disarmament talks. The Chinese Government has, together with other third world countries, made unremitting efforts to promote real progress in disarmament.

88. China has always stood for complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China declared explicitly, in 1964, on the occasion of the successful test of its first atomic bomb, that China was developing nuclear weapons for defence purposes and that at no time and in no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons. China was the first country to propose that nuclear-weapon States should undertake not to use nuclear weapons against each other and was the first country to undertake the commitment not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States or nuclear-free zones. China respects and supports the proposals of non-nuclear-weapon countries for the establishment of nuclear-free zones or zones of peace. China is in favour of reducing conventional armaments as well as nuclear arms. China stands for the early conclusion of a convention on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of chemical weapons.

89. At the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, China put forward proposals on the question of the nuclear-weapon States ceasing to develop, and reducing, nuclear weapons,<sup>10</sup> calling on the two super-Powers to take the lead in adopting practical measures to cut their nuclear weapons and means of delivery by a wide margin. With a view to promoting progress in disarmament, we are prepared to make a further effort by proposing that, after the Soviet Union and the United States have taken practical action to stop testing, improving and manufacturing nuclear weapons and have agreed to reduce by half their nuclear weapons and means of delivery of all types, a widely representative international conference should be convened, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, to negotiate the general reduction of nuclear weapons by all nuclear-weapon States. We hope that this proposal will receive a positive response.

90. Thirty years ago, during the Sino-Indian talks in December 1953, the late Premier Zhou Enlai of China, for the first time put forward the five principles of peaceful coexistence; namely mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Those principles give expression to the common desire of the peoples of the world to defend their national independence and sovereignty and promote world peace. They are in full accord with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. Over the past 30 years, these five principles have been accepted by the international community as basic norms guiding the relations between States and have played an important role in maintaining international peace and security. Regrettably, however, peaceful coexistence among States, particularly the independence and security of the third world countries, has constantly been subjected to grave threat and violation by imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism.

91. The Kampuchean issue is, in essence, one of undisguised armed aggression against and military occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese authorities, with the support of a super-Power, in gross violation of Kampuchea's independence and sovereignty. Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea is now more than four years old. It has not only brought untold sufferings to the Kampuchean people but has also posed a grave threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. Viet Nam has so far refused to withdraw its troops, thus blocking a settlement of the Kampuchean issue which is long overdue. In an attempt to extricate itself from its predicament, Viet Nam has made all kinds of excuses and even described the Kampuchean question as "an issue between China and Viet Nam". This is sheer sophistry and slander.

92. The General Assembly has at four successive sessions adopted resolutions by an overwhelming majority, and the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in July 1981, issued a Declaration,<sup>11</sup> all calling for the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people may decide their own destiny free from outside interference. How can the Kampuchean issue be described as one involving differences only between China and Viet Nam? Talking about differences, they could be accurately stated as those between the Vietnamese authorities who crudely trample upon the Charter of the United Nations and the international community which firmly upholds it.

93. A number of countries have tried more than once to break the deadlock on the Kampuchean question and bring about a political settlement. On 1 March of this

year the Chinese Government put forward its proposal for resolving the Kampuchean question and improving Sino-Vietnamese relations. Like the ASEAN countries and all other peace-loving and justice-upholding countries, China hopes that after the Vietnamese withdrawal Kampuchea will become an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country and that free elections will be held under United Nations supervision for the Kampuchean people themselves to choose their political system and government leaders. We are prepared to join the other countries concerned in an international guarantee. We also hope that the South-East Asian countries will achieve peace and stability in the region on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We are willing to develop friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all countries in the South-East Asian region, including Viet Nam. The heart of the matter is that Viet Nam must implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, undertake to withdraw unconditionally all its troops from Kampuchea and act accordingly. This is the prerequisite for a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue.

94. The question of Afghanistan is also a matter of great concern to the international community. Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan constitutes a gross violation of Afghanistan's independence and sovereignty, which has turned millions of Afghan people into refugees. This is something rare in the modern history of international relations. The international community has strongly called for an immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

95. The Chinese Government firmly supports this just demand. We are in favour of a political settlement of the Afghanistan question, and efforts have been made in many ways by some countries to promote indirect talks through the good offices of the United Nations. However, any political solution must accord with the relevant United Nations resolutions, especially the crucial principle of the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops. The formulation of "guarantee before withdrawal" is obviously putting the cart before the horse, and its purpose is none other than legalizing military interference and occupation and putting off withdrawal. We consider that an international guarantee is necessary, and China is prepared to join the other countries concerned in such a guarantee, but this can happen only after, and not before, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country and the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and sovereignty. At present, a genuine political settlement depends on whether the Soviet Union will publicly undertake to withdraw its troops and set a timetable for the withdrawal. Failing this, no effort to reach a political settlement will achieve real progress.

96. The situation in the Korean peninsula also arouses concern. The division of Korea into North and South has already lasted for more than 30 years. This not only runs counter to the aspirations of the entire Korean people, but also prevents any easing of tension in this region. The Chinese Government and people wholeheartedly support President Kim Il Sung's reasonable proposal for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and the establishment of a Confederal Republic of Koryo. The United States should stop interfering in Korea's internal affairs and withdraw forthwith all its troops from South Korea in accordance with the relevant resolution adopted at the thirtieth session of

the General Assembly [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*], so that the Korean question may be settled by the Korean people themselves free from interference by outside forces.

97. The situation in the Middle East has been tense and turbulent for years. The crux of the matter is that the Israeli authorities are carrying out wanton aggression and expansion against Arab countries and trampling upon the national rights of the Palestinian people and that their arrogance is inflated by United States partiality. On the eve of the commencement of the General Assembly session last year, Israeli aggressor troops massacred innocent Lebanese and Palestinian civilians in cold blood. As the current session meets here, Lebanon is confronted with the danger of being divided. To justify its aggression and expansion, Israel has kept harping on the need to guarantee its "security and survival". But the present reality is that Israel not only arbitrarily frustrates the restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights, but also wilfully threatens the security of Arab countries.

98. The key to safeguarding peace in the Middle East is to stop Israeli aggression. Israel must withdraw from Lebanon and all the Arab territories it has occupied, and the Palestinian people must regain their national rights.

99. Unity among the Arab countries is the fundamental guarantee of success in checking Israeli aggression and expansion and of the settlement of the Middle East question. As a Chinese saying goes, "Brothers may quarrel at home, but they unite to resist outside attack". We sincerely hope that the Arab countries and all the Palestinian groups will seek common ground on major issues, while setting aside minor differences, and strengthen their unity in the joint struggle against the enemy. The Chinese Government and people will as always firmly stand by the Arab people and support their just struggle. We are deeply convinced that all aggressors will be punished in the long run. Final victory will definitely belong to the united Arab people.

100. The South African authorities have persisted in their racist policies, continued their illegal occupation of Namibia and carried out repeated armed incursions and military provocations against neighbouring countries. Here lies the root cause of the turbulent situation in southern Africa. Peace and tranquility in that region require resolute sanctions against the racist South African authorities and the achievement of Namibian independence in compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. It is totally unjustified to attempt to link Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, as those are issues of different natures. What ground is there for obstructing the independence of one country by citing the presence of foreign troops in another? The people of Namibia strongly demand independence at an early date. They have carried out a prolonged struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*]. No force on earth can block the independence and liberation of Namibia.

101. The conflict in Chad is becoming more and more complicated because of the meddling of external forces. The majority of African countries are in favour of seeking a settlement through the OAU. They want to eliminate intervention by external forces and call for a settlement of the internal dispute in Chad through negotiations. The Chinese Government supports this justified position. We believe the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Chad should be respected, its internal affairs should be settled by the people of Chad themselves and all foreign intervention must cease forthwith.

102. The tension in Central America has further escalated in the past few months. It is impermissible to

attempt either to use military bluff to restrict the struggle of the people in Central America for democracy and social reform or to carry out infiltration by exploiting the national and democratic movements there. We consistently hold that the problems of the Central American countries should be solved by the people of the respective countries, that disputes between Central American States should be settled peacefully on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and that no external forces should be allowed to intervene. The Chinese Government supports the Contadora Group and the Latin American countries in their position against the super-Powers' attempt to involve Central America in their rivalry and confrontation and in their endeavour to uphold the right of the Central American peoples to self-determination and ease the tension in Central America. The issue of the Malvinas Islands remains a matter of public concern. We maintain that Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands must be respected by the international community and that resolution 37/9, adopted at the last session of the General Assembly, must be implemented.

103. In the face of the tense and turbulent world situation, we call on all States strictly to observe the basic principles of peaceful coexistence in their mutual relations and resolutely condemn and halt any acts that violate these principles so as to uphold the purposes of the Charter and promote the noble cause of world peace and human progress.

104. The question of development is one of the most important issues of our time. It has a direct bearing not only on the effort of the developing countries to safeguard their national independence and develop their national economy but also on the world economy as a whole and international peace and security. Many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have now entered a new historical period of bolstering their political independence with economic independence. Although they have achieved some gratifying results in their economic development, they have also come across serious difficulties. In particular, under the impact of the world-wide economic crisis, some developed countries have tried to get rid of their own troubles by shifting the consequences of the crisis on to others. This has wrought havoc among the developing countries, and many of them are faced with economic situations grimmer than any since their independence. We hope that these developed countries will become more farsighted, for all countries are closely linked in their economies, and the economies of the developing countries constitutes an important part of the world economy. If their economic difficulties are not resolved or, worse still, are aggravated, the entire world economy is bound to suffer. In trying to harm others these developed countries will end by harming themselves and will find it difficult to achieve a steady recovery and growth in their own economies.

105. Last April it was pointed out at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires, that the crisis confronting the world economy today is structural as well as periodic. The Group called on the international community to make the maximum effort to seek a global settlement and work out a set of mutually complementary and co-ordinated policies and measures on a short-term as well as a long-term basis. The Chinese Government supports the series of concrete proposals put forward by the Group of 77 for this purpose. It has become an increasingly urgent task to take emergency measures in the fields that are vital to the developing countries and carry out the necessary reforms in international economic relations. We always maintain that the

long-term objective of establishing the new international economic order should be linked with the solution of the immediate urgent problems. In order to promote North-South dialogue and break the present deadlock, it was proposed at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March, that global negotiations be carried out in phases and that some problems in specific fields be chosen as the basic content of the first-phase negotiations. This proposal is quite reasonable, but it has not been accepted by the major developed countries. The just proposal of the Group of 77 also failed to win positive response from the developed countries at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held not long ago. We hope that the major developed countries, and the United States in particular, will change their rigid position in response to the wishes of the developing countries and display sagacity and goodwill in promoting North-South negotiations and improving North-South relations.

106. While North-South dialogue is at a stalemate, South-South co-operation is making steady progress. This co-operation is new in international economic relations. A sure way to economic prosperity and greater economic strength for the developing countries is to expand South-South co-operation, embark on collective self-reliance, build up independent national economies and reduce dependence on developed countries. The strengthening of South-South co-operation, of course, does not replace North-South dialogue, nor is it intended to lighten the commitments of the developed countries towards the developing countries. But it can serve as a stimulus to North-South dialogue. China, being a developing socialist country and a member of the third world, has had historical experience similar to that of other third world countries and is faced with a similar task.

107. For the purpose of developing China's economic relations with foreign countries and strengthening South-South co-operation, Premier Zhao Ziyang, in his recent visit to Africa, put forward four principles, namely, "equality and mutual benefit, stress on practical results, diversity in form, and attainment of common progress". We are prepared, in accordance with these principles, to explore with other developing countries ways for active co-operation.

108. China is ready to work together with other countries for the defence of world peace, in the interest of smooth progress in its modernization programme and of its national security and in the fundamental interests of the people of the world. We will steadfastly pursue an independent foreign policy. We are opposed to all acts of hegemonism. We are striving to maintain and develop normal relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and will persist in a long-term policy of opening to the outside world on the basis of self-reliance. We attach special importance to strengthening our unity and co-operation with the other third-world countries. We support the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which is playing an increasingly important role in maintaining world peace. With unflinching interest we have done our best to develop good-neighbourly and friendly relations with our neighbouring countries. We are steadily promoting our good relations with the developed countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania. We are striving to improve and strengthen our relations with the East European countries. As for the United States and the Soviet Union, we also hope that the obstacles in our relations with them can be removed and normal relations maintained and developed in accordance with the five principles of

peaceful coexistence. We believe that this will not only benefit the people of various countries but is also in the interest of world peace.

109. As a founding Member, China has always attached importance to the role of the United Nations. We have noted that, thanks to the joint efforts of Member States and particularly those of the third world, the United Nations has in recent years played a positive role in the maintenance of international peace and security, in decolonization and the promotion of economic development. However, we cannot but point out that many of the correct resolutions adopted by the United Nations have not been implemented; as a result, it has become rather weak in the settlement of many important issues. The permanent members of the Security Council have a special responsibility to remedy this regrettable state of affairs. We appreciate the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his annual report for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. We support the views put forward by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries regarding the democratization of international relations. Together with other countries, we will strive to enable the United Nations to play a more positive and useful role in realizing the purposes and principles of its Charter.

110. Mr. DHANABALAN (Singapore): Allow me to congratulate Mr. Illueca on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His abilities and his reputation for integrity and goodwill are widely known. I am confident that we shall all be well served by his presidency. Allow me also to express my appreciation for the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General to further the objectives of the United Nations.

111. Early this month the world condemned a super-Power for shooting down a civilian aircraft and killing all 269 passengers on board. Although ICAO is still investigating the tragedy, two facts are beyond dispute. First, the conduct of the Soviet Union in shooting down the civilian aircraft and denying others access to its waters for search and rescue operations is in violation of the rules of international civil aviation. Secondly, the domestic laws of the Soviet Union, which authorize the destruction of intruding civil aircraft, are inconsistent with the Soviet Union's international obligations. We in Singapore, therefore, add our voice to the world-wide appeal to the Soviet Union to admit its responsibility for the tragedy, to pay compensation to the victims and to bring its domestic laws into line with its international undertakings.

112. It is difficult to identify any political problem or conflict where the prospects of achieving progress in the near term look promising. In the Middle East, peace with justice continues to elude us. The Palestinians continue to be denied the right of self-determination and to a homeland of their own. The outcome of efforts to persuade foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon has not been satisfactory.

113. Both the Soviet Union and Viet Nam continue to defy the international community, and their troops remain in occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea respectively. Military might has not, however, been able to crush the spirit of resistance. Nationalist forces in both Afghanistan and Kampuchea have grown steadily in strength, ensuring that the invaders will continue to pay a high price.

114. We in ASEAN have continued to seek a political settlement in Kampuchea. Our proposals would secure the legitimate interests of all the countries of South-East Asia and the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people. Our proposals have been endorsed by

the overwhelming majority of the international community, but Hanoi has refused to loosen its grip over Kampuchea. The tragedy is that it is the people of Kampuchea who suffer. We in ASEAN invite Viet Nam to join us in the search for a process that would result in the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and the establishment of a neutral Kampuchea.

115. The United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia cannot be implemented because of South Africa's insistence on linking the plan's implementation to the withdrawal of foreign forces from a neighbouring country. The intercommunal talks in Cyprus grind on without progress. In Central America, bloodshed continues. There are no simple solutions. Genuine economic and political reform is necessary. But countries in the region must have the means to resist foreign-backed subversion and insurgency. Domestic changes and problems cannot provide a pretext for foreign-inspired take-overs.

116. I could continue this catalogue of the world's woes. We are no closer to solving any of the conflicts and tensions that preoccupied us last year. Nevertheless, this year we meet under slightly less gloomy circumstances than last year. The fact that the industrialized countries of the North seem at last to be slowly pulling out of recession is cause for guarded optimism.

117. Not all the countries of the third world will, however, benefit from the economic recovery in the North. The harsh fact is that the recovery in the North will only imperfectly, unequally and slowly be transmitted to the South. But we cannot deny that the recovery gives us hope that the worst is over.

118. There is, however, no reason to be sanguine. No one knows how long this recovery will last. It could be choked off by high interest rates, or the huge debt overhang of less developed countries could bring the banking system crashing down on all of us. Most important, the end of the recession does not mean that many of us will necessarily come closer to achieving the economic and social goals we have struggled for.

119. For the past decade or so, countries of the third world have sought to organize themselves politically and economically in order to impress upon the developed countries of the North the need for a new international economic order. The record thus far has not been very encouraging. Appeals for a new deal have for the most part fallen on deaf ears. This was perhaps inevitable so long as the developed countries were mired in recession.

120. It would be comforting to think that with economic recovery there will be greater support for special measures to assist economic development in the countries of the third world.

121. The reality, unfortunately, may be very different. The countries of the North are more and more preoccupied with solving problems which have arisen in their relations with each other and so may come to see the South as increasingly peripheral to their welfare and to the recovery of the ailing international economy. In addition, there is a growing conviction in the North that much of the cause for the failure of the South to achieve more rapid development is due to misguided domestic policies in the countries of the South. Good will, a sense of guilt or self-interest—whatever it is that motivates those who strongly support special assistance to countries in the South is being rapidly exhausted.

122. The recovery will therefore not mean a return to business as usual. The industries of the developed countries are undergoing a period of profound technological change that will restructure the world economy. Robotics

and computerization are already revolutionizing production processes in the same way that mass production and assembly-line methods revolutionized production early this century. Further down the road, advances in such fields of basic science as genetic engineering and biotechnology and artificial intelligence will also have a far-reaching impact.

123. A further change that we will see in the North is in the outmoded institutions, such as labour and management practices and attitudes forged during the first industrial revolution. These rigidities have hindered Europe and North America in absorbing new management and production techniques. The result has been a decline in competitiveness usually redounding to Japan's advantage. Those countries must, and will, set about creating new institutions and practices that will enable them to regain their competitive strength.

124. All these changes pose challenges for us in the third world. They will make it possible for the developed countries to increase productivity and output with less labour. The introduction of automated production processes will erode the comparative advantage of the less-developed countries in cheap and plentiful labour. Economic recovery will not necessarily bring down levels of unemployment in the developed countries. Political pressures for protectionism will therefore not necessarily abate and may even become endemic. While this will naturally have an adverse impact upon our exports, the most dangerous consequences are far more subtle. Under electoral pressure and natural greed, the industrial North may hold on both to the labour-intensive industries and to the industries employing the new technology.

125. The fact is that the North is not really very concerned over competition from low-cost imports from the South. It is today evident that the developed countries of the North are far more preoccupied with each other than with the third world. Trade frictions between the European Community and the United States, between the European Community and Japan and between Japan and the United States have been far more significant and have had a greater impact on the world economy than North-South problems.

126. With the cost advantage arising from the cheap labour of third world countries being eroded by the new productive processes, we in the third world can no longer automatically depend upon a steady flow of investments from the North even if the world economy picks up dramatically. Developed countries may find it increasingly more profitable to locate plants in their own home countries to tap the highly educated and highly skilled labour needed by the new processes of production. The persistence of protectionism may also restructure existing patterns of capital flows, especially private capital flows. We already find, for example, Japanese companies setting up new plants in Europe and the United States in order to mute criticism and guarantee market access.

127. As these trends work themselves out in the coming years, there is a real danger that the developed countries will come to believe that by themselves they can constitute a self-sustaining and closed international trading and economic system that can safely afford to ignore the rest of us in the third world.

128. Needless to say, this is simply not true. I need only point out that in recent years more than 40 per cent of all United States exports have been to developing countries; more than 23 per cent of all exports from the European Community and some 57 per cent of all Japanese exports have also gone to developing countries. The magnitude of these trade flows shows that North and

South form a single interdependent system in which neither can ignore the other without dire political and economic consequences.

129. Asserting this fact, however, is not enough. The record of North-South negotiations has demonstrated that warnings or cries for help fall on deaf ears. We will be heeded only if we help ourselves. To be taken seriously, each country in the third world needs to organize itself to face the challenges of the recovery. We cannot ignore the implications of the new technology. Unless we acquire new skills, identify new opportunities and absorb new ideas, we will be left on the wayside of development. We need to retrain, upgrade and educate. We must move up or remain, as we have been, hewers of wood and drawers of water.

130. The measures needed to lift ourselves out of stagnation and low growth are more within our control than we care to admit. We have only to seek the reasons why some countries in the South have succeeded where others have failed. We will find that it is domestic policies that have made the difference. Pragmatic economic policies based on a sound knowledge of what motivates individuals and societies; education, training and social policies to elicit maximum effort; and institutions that meet specific local conditions—these are the ingredients of the success of the nations in the South which have managed to break the vicious cycle of poverty and stagnation. Such domestic policies have the great advantage of being within the control of each Government for their formulation and implementation, unlike schemes of international restructuring which no single Government can hope to influence decisively. The potential consuming power of the South, if translated into reality, gives it a more powerful leverage against the productive North. Production and consumption are inseparable elements of economic growth and prosperity.

131. The South has too often defined the challenge of development in terms of the past. To be sure, a history of colonization and exploitation has trapped much of the third world in a vicious cycle of poverty. But the future has its own vicious cycle. Technology can trap us in poverty as surely as history. I do not think that our peoples will be much consoled if, in seeking to redress the injustices of the past, we fail to meet the challenges of the future.

132. Mr. AKAKPO-AHIANYO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): The world in which we live is characterized by the contempt of some Powers for fundamental human rights and the rights of peoples. Intolerance reigns everywhere, and the arrogance of some nations makes us ponder on the true meaning of mankind's very existence.

133. In that context, I am particularly pleased to congratulate the President on his election to preside over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, which opened a few days ago. His country, Panama, is rightly famous for its isthmus, a bridge between North America and Latin America. We believe that as President he will be the bridge between the various opinions held at the United Nations and that he will synthesize positively the diversity of positions in order to reach compromises satisfactory to the international community. Therefore, we have no doubt that under his guidance, with the legendary wisdom of his country combined with his qualities as an experienced diplomat and statesman, we are assured of the session's success.

134. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai, who guided the work of the thirty-seventh session with competence, moderation and a spirit of reasonableness.

135. I wish also to convey the warm congratulations of Togo to the Secretary-General on all his ceaseless efforts to maintain peace throughout the world. These are all the more to his credit since the end of the century is characterized by a reign of intolerance. All those who, like him, seek at such a troubled time in our history to have the voice of peace and wisdom heard deserve our gratitude.

136. The delegation of Togo also warmly congratulates Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission as the 158th member of the Organization. In doing so, we hope that this young State will make its contribution to our joint quest for world peace, security and prosperity. To this end, I can assure it of the complete readiness of the Government and people of Togo to co-operate with it.

137. Intolerance of, and contempt for, human rights and the rights of peoples have characterized the whole period since the beginning of the thirty-seventh session. Throughout the world we are witnessing acts of violence to such an extent that we wonder whether the last quarter of the century has been struck by the demon of hate or of intolerance. If we are not living in a reign of contempt for human rights and the rights of peoples, how can we explain the cold-blooded shooting down by Soviet air forces of the Korean Air Lines Boeing 747, with 269 innocent people on board? Ten years ago a Boeing 707 of Libyan Air Lines was shot down in a cowardly manner in similar circumstances by Israeli air forces. This reveals the same contempt for fundamental human rights and the rights of peoples. What is most disturbing is the silence maintained on all sides in the face of these barbaric acts and the fact that, faced with these tragic events, even the Security Council is lost for words and takes no decision. The paralysis of the supreme body of the United Nations, if it were repeated, would cause serious concern to the smallest nations, which need the Organization's protection.

138. For what would be the fate of human rights and the rights of peoples if States, taking advantage of the power that they possess at a given time, subjugated other peoples, with contempt for all morality? Unfortunately, this contempt for fundamental human rights and the rights of peoples now prevails everywhere: in the Middle East, in Afghanistan, in Korea, in Democratic Kampuchea, in southern Africa—particularly Namibia—and in the Western Sahara.

139. The OAU, created 20 years ago, put on its political programme the liberation of Africa from the colonial yoke. Twenty years later we know that, unhappily, there is still one country, South Africa, which continues in Namibia to defy the international community and to flout fundamental human rights with its policy of *apartheid*. Racism in South Africa is still raised to the level of a political system; segregation is unashamedly common currency. Faced with intolerance, the people of South Africa has no other choice than to organize under the banner of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. Pretoria answers all the legitimate claims of the people of Azania with summary executions, mass imprisonment and blind repression. Are the peoples of Africa indignant, faced with such barbaric actions by the Pretoria Government? That Government's only answer is to bomb the front-line countries and to show a revolting arrogance in the face of unanimous condemnation by international public opinion. But sooner or later the peoples of Azania, with the support of peace-loving people throughout the world, will put an end to the *apartheid* régime, and South Africa will become a multi-racial society in which tolerance will at last become the law.

140. In Namibia, SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, is courageously waging a struggle for liberation. Our Organization has always demonstrated the support of the international community for this just cause. A number of solutions have been proposed, and Security Council resolution 435 (1978) clearly defined the stages designed to lead Namibia to independence and sovereignty with territorial integrity. But since then South Africa has continued to defy the Organization. Worse still, Member States of the Organization which unconditionally voted for Security Council resolution 435 (1978) too often today show an accommodating attitude towards South Africa and its claim to link Namibian independence to the breaking of international agreements made by neighbouring sovereign States. Togo believes that Namibia's independence is a problem of decolonization, which falls within the framework and the objectives of the United Nations and that this problem must be separated from South Africa's interference in the internal affairs of Angola and the other front-line States.

141. Contempt for human rights and intolerance have been displayed during this year. The Government of Togo wishes to repeat its position on Chad. Togo deals with States, not with individuals. That is why Togo deals with Governments established by the peoples concerned. When it was the Tombalbaye Government, Togo dealt with that Government; when it was the Government of General Malloum, Togo dealt with that Government; when it was the Government of Goukouni Oueddei, Togo dealt with that Government. Today, since President Hissèin Habré took power on 7 June 1982, Togo deals with Hissèin Habré. Tomorrow, if the people of Chad decides to acquire other leaders, Togo will deal with those leaders. Peoples acquire the leaders they want, and do so in different ways. It is not up to Togo, rather than the people concerned, to legitimize a Government.

142. Togo cherishes the firm hope that in the last analysis reason will triumph over contempt and that sooner or later dialogue will replace brutal arrogance.

143. As regards Western Sahara, Togo would like to recall that, faithful to its principles, since 15 March 1976 it has recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, in order to demonstrate its attachment to the principle of the self-determination of peoples. This is why we are all the more pleased that since the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in June, the hope has emerged of finally seeing implementation of the principle of the right to self-determination, which thus would allow the Saharan people to make its choice freely.

144. We have stated that the events of the past year have been dominated by contempt for human rights and the rights of peoples. This is also true of the Middle East and other countries of Asia.

145. Regarding the situation in the Middle East and the Palestine problem, my country, Togo, is guided by the following principles. All peoples of the region must live in peace. Palestine has the right to an independent and sovereign State. We cannot refuse the Palestinians that which the international community granted the Israelis. The occupation of other peoples' territory by force must cease on the part of the State of Israel. All the parties involved, in a spirit of mutual respect for each other's rights, must understand that arms have never resolved problems and that only dialogue around the negotiating table can restore peace in this region that for more than 30 years has been a theatre of war. We should like to reiterate our position. Togo supports the just claim of the Palestinians to live in a sovereign and independent territory. This legitimate principle, from which the State

of Israel has benefited, that State of Israel cannot refuse to others without evincing contempt for the fundamental rights of peoples and individuals.

146. Far from the troubled Middle East we find another hotbed of intolerance, Afghanistan. This problem emerged a few years ago following the invasion by foreign troops of that country, which wishes only to build its life in peace. When will there finally be respect for the right of the Afghan people to settle its own problems free from foreign interference?

147. In Democratic Kampuchea, strong backing has emerged around the tripartite coalition led by Prince Sihanouk, which serves as a lesson for the Vietnamese invader. Togo supports the efforts to achieve liberation of Democratic Kampuchea and cannot admit the *fait accompli* of occupation.

148. In Korea, the division of the country in two, were it to continue, would create a *de facto* situation of two fictitious Koreas, while the people aspire to unity. The proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and President Kim Il Sung in our view are a basis for discussion, provided the foreign interference which hampers dialogue between the two parties is ended.

149. The contempt and arrogance of some are not revealed solely on the political level. Today the law of the strongest governs economic relations between nations.

150. Today it is a truism to state that the world economic crisis does not spare a single country. In the industrialized countries the slow-down in production has forced enterprises to cut jobs and the rate of unemployment has reached alarming proportions. The tidal wave of unemployment continues to grow, creating a category of marginal citizens from which bands of hooligans, bandits and members of gangs of all persuasions are recruited.

151. The developing countries, whose economies are from the outset dependent on the economies of the industrialized countries, painfully endure the consequences of economic stagnation spawned in the industrialized countries. As the weakest link in the world economic chain, the developing countries bear with difficulty a crisis which is not their fault. Forced to borrow on the international market to ensure their development, these countries are the first victims of increased interest rates. Loans which were made several years ago can now be doubled or tripled by the mere fact of the rise in the interest rate. This unprecedented debt is accompanied by the adverse effect of the rise in the dollar. Since foreign loans are pegged to the dollar a rise in that currency automatically entails a rise in the debt. A short time ago the rate of the dollar was still bearable, but today it has increased by more than 50 per cent.

152. Everybody seems completely indifferent to this tragedy. The development efforts undertaken by the poor countries have been wiped out at one stroke.

153. Instead of facing the crisis, some of the industrialized countries adopt a way out in which a new kind of protectionism replaces the old and smacks of abject xenophobia. Nearly everything is blamed on foreigners, although those same foreigners, now conveniently called "expatriates", for decades contributed to the development of the industrialized countries. Faced with this tragedy, what is the solution advocated by the great Powers? Nothing, or almost nothing. But perhaps that is not true. There are quite a lot of conferences, but they in no way propose real solutions. Are the great Powers at least inspired by the will to do something? We have our doubts. They seem to refuse to face reality. However, man's creative spirit is not totally lacking during this last part of the twentieth century, and as has been stated by

the Founder-President of the Togo People's Party, the President of the Republic, General Gnassingbe Eyadéma:

"Today the development of science and technology has brought the people of our planet closer together and has endowed the developed nations with marvelous means of bringing about spectacular changes in the life of man.

"But what would be the use of this progress, the fruit of the intelligence and work of the human community, if change did not include as a prerequisite for its objectives the world-wide improvement of the human condition?"

154. Indeed, what would be the use of discovering how to travel to the moon if nations refused to shoulder their responsibilities? Here the annual report of the Secretary-General speaks with the greatest force. We have the impression that nations taken individually tend to abdicate their historical responsibilities, and now there is a serious danger that nations collectively are not able to shoulder their international responsibilities. It is at this level that the role of the Security Council is crucial. The Secretary-General in his report makes the following highly significant statement:

"All too often the members of the Security Council tend to be so divided on the matter at hand and so apprehensive of each other's reaction to it that agreement on how to proceed remains elusive. When we consider how to improve the performance of the United Nations we must give priority to the cohesion and co-operation of the membership in facing threats to international peace. We should recognize that such threats are of an importance which should override the differences of interest and ideology which separate the membership. The Council must be primarily used for the prevention of armed conflict and the search for solutions. Otherwise it will become peripheral to major issues, and in the end the world could pay, as it has before, a heavy price for not learning the lessons of history." [See A/38/1, pp. 2-3].

155. What happened regarding the most recent events which the Council has had before it is proof of the situation of deadlock, since, faced with the threat to peace, faced with contempt for human rights and the rights of peoples, the Security Council has not been able to take a decision. It is to be hoped that the alarm sounded by the Secretary-General, who has expressed here the anguish of billions of human beings on Earth, will at last be heard. If the echo of this hope resounds from the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, our meeting will not have been in vain.

156. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Information, Minister of Reform Institutions and Minister of External Communications of Mauritius, the Honourable Anerood Jugnauth. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

157. Mr. JUGNAUTH (Mauritius): I am grateful to the Assembly for according me the honour of addressing this important body. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Illueca on his election to the high and distinguished office of President of the General Assembly. It is a tribute to his country and to his own magnificent personal qualities. With his inspiring guidance, patience and tact, I am sure that our deliberations will lead to positive and meaningful results.

158. May I also thank the outgoing President most warmly for the moderation and diplomatic skill with

which he presided over the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly.

159. The basic objective of the United Nations at the time of its creation 38 years ago was the maintenance of peace and security in the world. To a large extent the United Nations has lived up to this—there has been no global conflict.

160. We are thankful to the Secretary-General for carrying out his overwhelming task with faith and dedication to the cause of peace and justice. He has won our admiration for the efforts he has exerted. We in Africa are particularly appreciative of his diplomatic initiative aimed at securing the independence of Namibia in the very near future. We wish him to know that Mauritius will support whatever initiative he undertakes with a view to achieving that goal.

161. The year that has elapsed since I last addressed the Assembly has been an extremely difficult one for my country. We have gone through a period of political uncertainty; our Constitution was threatened and our democratic institutions imperilled. I am pleased to inform the Assembly that my people have been able, through scrupulous respect for our democratic process of government, to overcome the dangers that we faced. What might have been a politically traumatic period has proved to be a period of rapid development of our national identity and consciousness. I address the Assembly today as the representative of a nation proud of its institutions, confident of its future and determined to face the formidable challenges of development.

162. We are acutely aware of the fact that economic development does not come easily; it is not to be had for the asking. In their desire to protect their system, the developed nations are taking decisions which have a direct and grave impact on the economies of developing countries. The sentiment that what is good for the developed countries is necessarily good for developing countries demonstrates a certain indifference to the economic problems facing the latter. However, it is only fair that the developed countries should share with their less fortunate brothers in the third world the economic and other resources at their disposal. Such assistance should not, however, preclude relentless efforts in the third world countries themselves towards economic uplift and progress. We in the third world are conscious that ultimately our future lies in our own hands.

163. I wish to recall that Mauritius is an island State with a population of 1 million and that we are, by force of circumstances, an outward-looking people. Interdependence is for us a stark fact of daily life. Price changes on world commodity markets and exchange-rate fluctuations have a direct material effect on each and every Mauritian household. Internally, our policy is to favour the rapid growth of a fairly liberal market economy.

164. The pattern of trade relationships between the developed and the developing worlds is unfair, and we have to build a system which guarantees to the producers of raw materials and basic commodities remunerative prices which will make it possible to raise the living standards of the poor half of the world. The industrialized world tends to think that all the problems of the developing countries are of their own making and are the result of inappropriate domestic policies. Yet, we all know that many developing countries which like Mauritius have unhesitatingly adopted tough and unpopular economic measures and economic policy changes have still not made great progress because of external constraints. Our efforts at industrialization have been thwarted by protectionism in the developed countries. Agricultural exports do not

obtain a remunerative export price, thereby discouraging agricultural production. High freight charges imposed by shipping companies belonging to the developed countries also make our exports uncompetitive. Faced with these difficulties, it is surprising that some developing nations have managed to avoid total bankruptcy. I would therefore like to appeal to the developed countries to adopt a more realistic approach to the problems of development in our part of the world.

165. The flow of aid being mostly tied to projects, is slow and does not tackle the basic problems of balance-of-payments deficits in our countries. Hence most developing countries have had to seek assistance from IMF, the World Bank and other specialized financial institutions, which do not always take into consideration the social fabric of our countries. While we appreciate the assistance that my country and others have received from these institutions, we have found the conditions imposed by them difficult to meet. We have adopted a structural adjustment programme opening our economy to free competition, but unfortunately protectionism and the abuse of safeguard clauses in various international agreements have impeded our development.

166. The primary objective of foreign assistance is and must be to help the economic and social development of low-income countries, which in turn will promote stability globally. We would like to see a more liberal and understanding attitude from these institutions, especially in the case of small countries where policy options are limited. Donor countries should make a special effort to revise their aid policies so as to ensure a greater transfer of resources to the developing countries, especially bearing in mind the interdependence of the world economy.

167. While our major preoccupation is economic development, we in Mauritius are very much concerned with the numerous problems and conflicts that beset the world. The ideal of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace seems to develop day by day into a mere dream. Were it not for the dogged perseverance of the nations most directly concerned, the General Assembly's call for the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace would have been buried under the combined weight of the arsenals of the super-Powers in and around our ocean. From Cam Ranh Bay through Diego García to Socotra, the Ocean is criss-crossed by sea lanes of terror that threaten our peace and security.

168. My Government hopes that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean will in the near future complete the task of harmonizing views on the Conference on the Indian Ocean. We are aware that certain countries have adopted dilatory and obstructionist tactics on this subject and that others support the holding of this Conference for propaganda purposes only.

169. We will not allow the ideal of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace to be devalued into an empty slogan. We will support all moves to prohibit any military use of the peace zone by non-Indian-Ocean States which arrogate to themselves the right to threaten the nations of the region or to interfere in their internal affairs.

170. As a first step towards the realization of the zone of peace, we call upon the international community to ensure that no new bases are established and to impose a freeze in the existing military facilities in our region. As a further step we would wish to see a balanced and mutual downgrading of super-Power military presence in the Indian Ocean.

171. In conformity with our anti-militarist aspirations for our own region, we would like to see a reduction of armaments on a global scale. As Indian Ocean States we

have the distinct impression that the Geneva disarmament talks are being utilised as a propaganda arena. We urge all parties concerned, in the interests of humanity at large, to imbue these talks with a greater degree of earnestness. Quite apart from the utter immorality of the nuclear arms race, we of the developing world deplore the senseless waste of resources in the deployment of nuclear weapons. The senseless competitive arms race is draining the world of vital resources that would have gone a long way towards alleviating the misery of millions who live below the poverty line.

172. I would like at this juncture to impress upon the Assembly the just and legitimate claim of my country over the Chagos Archipelago, which was excised from our national territory in contravention of General Assembly resolutions. I hope that in our endeavours to recover this part of our national territory by diplomatic and political means we shall continue to enjoy the unstinted support of all peace-loving countries.

173. We note with sadness that the world is still bedevilled by aggressions, conflicts and wars in such countries as Chad, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Namibia, in the Middle East and in Latin America. The international community cannot remain insensitive to the untold sufferings of the peoples of these areas. The international community has a moral obligation in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to ensure that the inalienable rights of these peoples are not blatantly trampled upon and their problems aggravated by foreign interventions. It is their sacred right to determine their own future free from any external interference.

174. As we live in a world of shrinking dimensions whereby interdependence is the *sine qua non* of the survival of mankind we must all strive tirelessly for lasting peace.

175. We in Africa cannot dissipate our energies in internecine conflicts and mindless fratricide while the illegal occupation of Namibia continues. We should focus our attention and our struggle on helping to liberate our brethren in South Africa. We wholeheartedly share the aspirations of our African brethren and will give them our full political and moral support in their struggle against racist domination.

176. I would like here to reiterate our full support for the front-line States which daily bear the brunt of South African aggression. They too are victims, victims of the racist régime's effort to destabilize them.

177. We reject outright the spurious linkage between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia. South Africa cannot perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia in complete disregard of United Nations resolutions and world public opinion.

178. We are dismayed and saddened by the senseless and fratricidal carnage taking place in Lebanon. We are convinced that the sectarian violence in that war-weary country would come to an end if all foreign intervention was to cease. The Lebanese people should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination under international supervision.

179. The Palestinian cause has suffered a serious setback with the invasion of Lebanon and the cynical manipulation of factions within the Palestine Liberation Organization. It would be illusory for the invaders and manipulators to imagine that the Palestinian cause could be weakened by such manoeuvres. The Palestinian people will not be denied their identity as a nation and their inalienable right to a homeland.

180. In South-East Asia we are witnesses to ruthless cultural destruction in which the proud Khmers continue

to suffer the occupation of their country. A rich and ancient civilization, nurtured patiently over several centuries, is being mercilessly destroyed and the genius of the Khmer people is being regimented out of existence. We are appalled by the lack of concern shown by the world for what has become an endangered people and a civilization facing extinction. The fact that this sore has festered for eight years does not in any way attenuate the urgency of finding a solution to it. We call for the immediate termination of the foreign occupation of Cambodia, the restoration of its non-aligned status and the re-establishment of the Cambodian people's right to self-determination in a truly independent country.

181. It saddens me to have a place on record the shock and sadness of the Government and people of Mauritius at the reported shooting down of the Korean Air Lines 747 plane. We deeply mourn the tragic loss of life and share the grief of the bereaved families. We deplore the total disregard of established norms of international civil aviation demonstrated in this incident. It is my country's earnest hope that the international community will adopt safety measures that will ensure that such a violation which imperils civilian air traffic and jeopardizes the lives of innocent passengers is not allowed to recur.

182. It is our belief that the Korean question should be taken up and resolved by Koreans themselves, through dialogue and negotiations. We believe in a peaceful solution to this question and in non-interference from outside in the search for that solution.

183. An end should be put to the sufferings of millions of persons separated from their families, and, in this connection, humanitarian considerations should guide all genuinely peace-loving nations of the international community.

184. Equally guided by purely humanitarian considerations, we have expressed sadness at the unfortunate events in Sri Lanka and have also expressed our confidence that the Sri Lankan authorities will successfully put an end to the risks to life and property to which a section of the population has been exposed.

185. The world is becoming increasingly interdependent, and although there are some areas where peace still eludes millions of people, there have been developments in the recent past which indicate an awareness on the part of the international community of the need to co-operate globally on specific issues.

186. The signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in December 1982 at Montego Bay is just one example of this process, and I am sure that the concept of the common heritage of mankind will become the cornerstone of co-operation in other areas of great concern to the international community. It is the wish of my country that a broader international body be set up to govern the immense ice-bound land mass known as Antarctica.

187. I have today addressed the Assembly as the newly elected socialist representative of an independent, non-aligned, democratic country. My Government is pledged to a foreign policy based on strict non-alignment, support for democratic ideals, advocacy of the right of peoples to self-determination and respect for the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU.

188. The United Nations is a unique organization of developed and developing countries. It has a special role to play in the harmonious development of relations between the two groups of countries which is vital to the common interest. I earnestly hope that the United Nations

will mobilize its resources to promote greater international understanding and help free mankind from the scourges of war, gruesome poverty and economic insecurity. With the exercise of its collective will, this supreme world body can prove to be more effective for the sake of the welfare and future happiness of mankind.

189. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Information, Minister of Reform Institutions and Minister of External Communications of Mauritius for the important statement he has just made.

190. Mr. ELLEMANN-JENSEN (Denmark): May I first of all offer to Mr. Illueca my sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I can assure him of the full co-operation of the Danish delegation in performing the duties of his high office.

191. I also wish to extend a most cordial welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis as the newest member of the United Nations family.

192. We have all come together here to seek ways and means of maintaining international peace and furthering progress for the peoples of the world. Unfortunately, developments over the years have not made it easier for us to bear this awesome responsibility. On the contrary, the tasks ahead of us may seem even heavier than those we have tackled in the past. But we must see them as challenges rather than as threats.

193. In the past year very few conflicts, if any, have been settled. In fact, existing conflicts have escalated and new ones have arisen. Still, the world community of nations provides an opportunity for the parties to meet and listen to each other and thereby to take a dignified and responsible approach to the pursuit of international objectives in respect for the rights and interests of others. Bilateral diplomacy most often fails at the very time when a conflict comes to a head, and it is precisely in such situations that multinational diplomacy at the United Nations can come to the rescue. The very existence of this forum is one of the most important instruments of the international community for confidence-building measures.

194. We saw a dramatic fresh example of the need for confidence-building only a few weeks ago when 269 innocent airline passengers lost their lives as victims of the excessive assertion of security interests.

195. Against that background, the Danish Government notes with pleasure that the American Government has once again confirmed its readiness for continuing the dialogue with the Soviet Union in the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces at Geneva.

196. I strongly hope that the Soviet Union will respond positively to the new American proposals which are designed to meet Soviet concerns. It is now up to the Soviet Union to show similar flexibility at Geneva.

197. The Secretary-General, in his report to last year's General Assembly,<sup>5</sup> presented some thoughts and ideas on the role of the Organization. They were neither new nor revolutionary, but they came at a time when a warning was needed and from the person obviously most qualified to voice it. The world has embarked on an exceedingly dangerous course. Governments ignore the United Nations and seek to attain their political goals by resorting to the threat or use of force. By doing so they render the United Nations impotent to pursue its most important purpose: the maintenance of international peace and security. When the United Nations is allowed to play its rightful role, it is often too late. And then,

perhaps, understandably but no less unjustly, the United Nations is blamed for the lack of results.

198. In confirmation of their traditional strong support for the United Nations, the Nordic countries have prepared a report containing suggestions on possible measures to strengthen the United Nations [A/38/271]. The latest meeting of the Nordic Foreign Ministers called attention to the report and reaffirmed that the Nordic Governments will continue their active efforts to strengthen the United Nations as a universal peace-keeping and peace-making organization.

199. The Secretary-General's appeal struck a resonant chord with the Member States. The many positive and constructive contributions fostered by the Secretary-General's report should not, however, become a pretext for self-congratulation. In this year's report [A/38/1] the Secretary-General rightly stresses that there is still a long way to go.

200. Denmark is fortunate to be situated in a region where peace has been maintained for nearly four decades. Nevertheless, we remain conscious that peace cannot be taken for granted. Without persistent efforts and a dialogue encompassing all countries in our region, it will not be possible to preserve confidence among the nations.

201. Geography places Europe at the centre of the East-West conflict whose adverse effects are felt very strongly also in other parts of the world. Whatever progress we can achieve in our area will be beneficial also to developments in other parts of the world where the tension may be even greater. Consequently, there is a great need for a comprehensive East-West dialogue on a wide range of subjects, political as well as economic.

202. The process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is a most important channel for such a dialogue. And it is indeed encouraging that East and West, with the precious help of neutral and non-aligned participating States, have reached agreement on a number of substantial issues at the Conference follow-up meeting at Madrid. We hope this accomplishment may influence general East-West relations in a positive direction.

203. Denmark's participation in European political co-operation is yet another manifestation of our confidence in international diplomacy. Through this co-operation we, the ten nations of the European Community, seek to play a constructive role in offering our political support for negotiated settlements of many regional conflicts. The growing interest in this form of political co-operation testifies to the value of a political effort which gathers its strength not from military power, but from a multi-lateral framework for co-operation between peace-loving nations.

204. Since the last session of the General Assembly there has been little substantive progress in the Middle East situation. Developments over the past year have made it even more manifest that the Palestinian problem is the core of the Middle East conflict and that some sort of negotiated agreement between Israel and the Palestinians must be established. Only then will progress towards a generally acceptable Arab-Israeli settlement be possible. The Danish Government is firmly convinced that it is in the best interests of Israel to hold out the prospect of a partnership with the Palestinians—a partnership of equals. The Palestinians, for their part, should clearly recognize that the only path to fulfilment of their legitimate national aspirations is the quest for mutual recognition with the State of Israel. The time has come for Arabs and Israelis to recognize that their maximum aims

are unattainable and that they must negotiate with each other to achieve peace.

205. The hopes for an historic compromise between Israel and the Palestinians may have been shaken by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its dramatic and indeed tragic aftermath. But bitterness and hostility must not make us lose sight of the need to search for some outline of a Middle East peace settlement.

206. Against this background, the Danish Government welcomed the American initiative contained in President Reagan's speech on 1 September of last year.<sup>2</sup> It has the merit of drawing a proper distinction between a firm commitment to Israel's security and opposition to Israel's claim to sovereignty over the occupied territories. We hope that the prospect of exchanging territory for peace is still a powerful allurements to Israel. We were also encouraged by the Fez Declaration<sup>1</sup> as a clearer manifestation of an Arab willingness to compromise.

207. Regrettably, these initiatives have not so far initiated a process leading towards a break with the immobility of the past. To create a situation in which diplomacy can perform usefully, change is crucial in two respects.

208. First, the settlement process in the occupied territories must be halted. The Arab identity of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip must be preserved in order to keep options open for the future of these territories. Their political destiny must be determined by the inhabitants. If the demand for negotiations is to be meaningful it is imperative that Israel should not pre-empt the future.

209. Secondly, foreign forces must be withdrawn from Lebanese territory. This would be an important step in support of the determined action of President Gemayel and his Government to re-establish Lebanon's unity, sovereignty and independence, and its right to live within internationally recognized frontiers. My Government fully supports the right of the Government of Lebanon to extend its authority to all parts of Lebanese territory. We welcome the cease-fire which took effect yesterday morning. We hope that it will be the first step towards a national reconciliation in that country.

210. In this connection I also wish to place on record the Danish Government's regret that the conflict between Iran and Iraq continues despite the calls of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the efforts of the special representative of the Secretary-General and the appeals and peace initiatives of various groups of countries, including the 10 member States of the European Communities. The conflict remains a serious threat to the whole region. I call once again on the parties to accept an immediate cease-fire, to withdraw all forces behind the internationally recognized frontiers and to seek a just and honourable negotiated settlement.

211. The presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan continues to threaten the stability of the entire South-West Asian region and the development of harmonious East-West relations. Furthermore, the situation in Afghanistan has inflicted heavy suffering on the population, of which roughly one fifth has had to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. Since the invasion of Afghanistan the General Assembly has repeatedly appealed to the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces so as to enable Afghanistan to return to its former independent and non-aligned status. These appeals have been supplemented by several peace initiatives which, unfortunately, have been of no avail so far. Today I wish once again to add my Government's voice to all the many calls for withdrawal of the Soviet forces and for the recognition of the right of the Afghan people to self-determination.

212. Similarly, the armed Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea almost five years ago remains a serious threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. Recalling the increasing and overwhelming support which the resolutions on the Kampuchean situation have received in the General Assembly over the years, I reiterate the appeal for a comprehensive political settlement which would secure complete withdrawal of all foreign forces, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine its own destiny through free elections supervised by the United Nations, respect for the independence and neutrality of Kampuchea and a commitment by all States to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs.

213. Developments in southern Africa present a growing danger to peace and stability.

214. Denmark has repeatedly condemned South Africa's political, economic and military pressure against neighbouring States—not least its continued occupation of areas of southern Angola. Recently South Africa has exerted brutal pressure on a defenceless independent State, Lesotho. South Africa's blockade against Lesotho and its pressure for expulsion or extradition of South African refugees are in flagrant violation of international law. At the same time, South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the United Nations. Denmark is ready to support all efforts towards urgent implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and we welcome the renewed efforts of the Secretary-General. The settlement of extraneous political issues cannot be a precondition for implementing the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence.

215. In South Africa itself injustice and repression prevail. The fundamental elements of the *apartheid* system remain unchanged. In some respects they have even become more sophisticated. Planned constitutional amendments pay nothing but lip service to the aspirations of the non-white South Africans to real political influence. And they do not address the question of political rights for the country's black majority.

216. Denmark is more than ever convinced of the need to increase international pressure on South Africa and to make it more effective. Developments since the last session have unfortunately—but abundantly—demonstrated that a peaceful abolition of the *apartheid* system can be brought about only through effective international pressure.

217. Humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of oppression in southern Africa remains an essential element of Denmark's policy with regard to that region. Denmark's calls on all Members of the United Nations to provide such assistance in order to help alleviate human suffering in southern Africa.

218. Latin America is attracting growing international attention. Economically, some countries in the region have a very high potential. Others are among the most impoverished in the world. In many Latin American countries a process of economic growth and transformation is under way while a change of their political structures towards democratic rule is taking place. We follow this development attentively and with sympathy. But we are deeply concerned at the attacks on democracy and violations of human rights which have become a part of every-day life in many of these countries. We hope that the countries of Latin America will become full-fledged democracies and that the efforts to alleviate the economic and social injustices in the region which are the root cause of its serious political problems will be successful.

219. The situation in Central America is particularly threatening because the risk of a more comprehensive

armed conflict can no longer be disregarded. We remain convinced that the conflicts in Central America can be settled only through negotiation. We have therefore welcomed the initiative of the Contadora Group of countries, which seems to be bearing fruit.

220. The Secretary-General stated, in his address to the Committee on Disarmament early this year,<sup>12</sup> that he was acutely conscious of the crucial stage we have reached in the history of mankind's efforts at disarmament, an endeavour of supreme importance for the preservation of human life and values. The Danish Government fully shares the Secretary-General's concern.

221. It is said that the present international climate is not very conducive to disarmament efforts. It is indisputable that progress in disarmament and arms control depends on the existence of confidence among States, and mainly—but not exclusively—between the two States which are most directly responsible for the great arsenals of nuclear weapons. The best way to build such confidence is through direct and serious dialogue. Disarmament issues are an urgent topic for such a dialogue, since the relationship between disarmament efforts and other confidence-building measures is one of interdependence and interaction.

222. Nuclear disarmament remains the issue of the highest priority. At the bilateral level the United States and the Soviet Union have conducted negotiations on mutual reductions of nuclear strategic arms for well over a year. The Danish Government hopes that these difficult negotiations will result in an early agreement on substantial reductions of those weapons.

223. The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intermediate-range nuclear forces are of special concern to us. We hope, and we believe, that the negotiations will lead to concrete results even before the end of this year. Should this effort fail we must fear that the arms buildup will continue and that we cannot expect a renewal of the willingness expressed by the Atlantic alliance in 1979 to seek a negotiated correction of the imbalance created by the Soviet Union's deployment of additional SS-20 missiles.

224. Parallel multilateral negotiations are taking place at Geneva in the Committee on Disarmament. We clearly see that the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union have had such an impact on the Geneva negotiations that they have almost become stalemated. This is understandable, but certainly not acceptable. Agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty and a convention banning chemical weapons remain objectives of prime importance, and the Danish Government urges all parties to show good will and flexibility.

225. In this context, I should like to add that the Danish Government supports all realistic efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in conformity with the provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, devoted to disarmament [*resolution 5-10/2*].

226. It is a cause of great concern that serious international negotiations concerning the question of preventing an arms race in outer space, including anti-satellite weapons, have not yet been initiated. The Danish Government hopes that the Committee on Disarmament will agree to deal with this important and complex question at its next session.

227. The world-wide buildup of conventional arms is a matter of growing concern. Conventional weapons are the weapons used in current conflicts, and the resources absorbed by the conventional arsenals exceed by far the funds spent on nuclear weapons. We trust that the report

of the Group of Experts on All Aspects of the Conventional Arms Race and on Disarmament relating to Conventional Weapons and Armed Forces will provide a valuable basis for the deliberations of the next session.

228. A question constantly on our minds is how best to ensure that the United Nations will be able to play an effective and decisive role in disarmament. At this session once again, the agenda includes a vast number of disarmament items. We do not, however, accomplish much by adopting a long list of resolutions. What we lack is not disarmament proposals, but realistic disarmament efforts concentrating on the most vital problems.

229. We must not forget, however, that wars can be fought with fewer, or less deadly weapons. It is not enough to look at the means of war; we must identify the causes and try to eliminate them.

230. The problems of today are global. In matters of peace and security this has been evident for decades. But the same lesson can be learnt in many other respects also. Our world is restricted. So are some of its resources. Others, however, can be expanded. We must learn to develop and share the world and its resources to the benefits of us all.

231. The closing paragraph of the New Delhi Message, proclaimed by the recent Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, contains a sentence which is phrased in such eloquent language that I should like to quote it: "The earth belongs to us all—let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man." [*See A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2.*]

232. In several statements, including that of the Secretary-General, international economic problems have been emphasized. This is not only because of the close interrelationship between the world economic situation and international stability and security.

233. Since the end of the 1970s, most countries, developed and developing alike, have experienced the consequences of a global recession. In recent months, however, signs of change have emerged. Recovery seems to be under way in some major industrialized countries, and it is the responsibility of the international community to seize this opportunity to restore sustained economic growth and development.

234. To do so, all nations must co-operate in creating new and more equitable economic relations. In June of this year, at Belgrade, we all faced this challenge. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development did not achieve a major breakthrough in the North-South dialogue. But it stressed the interrelationship between the various economic issues currently being discussed by the international community and pointed out ways to carry on the process of economic co-operation in the appropriate forums.

235. But most of all the Conference emphasized that the concept of global interdependence is more than just a catchword. Experience, including that of the sixth session of the Conference, has proved the need to consider all the interlinked economic questions. Consequently, Denmark continues to support an early launching of global negotiations covering all major issues in the world economic area.

236. The serious problems of the developing countries impose increased obligations on all developed countries, especially towards the poorest countries of the third world. A serious setback for the results achieved so far in development co-operation must be avoided. In this respect, the performance of donor countries in the field of official development assistance remains significant. My

Government noted with pleasure that all developed donor countries, irrespective of their attitudes to the 0.7 per cent target and to the time-frame for its achievement, committed themselves in their statements at the Conference to redouble their efforts to expand official development assistance.

237. It will be necessary to channel more resources to income- and employment-generating activities in developing countries and to work for higher efficiency in the management of development. Increased production, especially in the agricultural sector, is a prerequisite for sustained economic development.

238. In these efforts we must pay special attention to the conditions of the poorest segments of the world population. The World Development Report of the World Bank has repeatedly stated that, even with an annual growth in gross national product of 5 to 6 per cent, over 600 million people in the developing countries will be below the poverty line by the year 2000 unless the pattern of growth is modified to put more emphasis on poverty alleviation. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see resolution 35/56] is a relevant instrument to promote these demands for development co-operation. We look forward to the mid-term review which is to take place next year.

239. As one of the major contributors to the development activities of the United Nations family, my Government is concerned about the continued stagnation in the resource flow to the United Nations development system, and especially to UNDP. My Government has decided to propose to the Danish Parliament that Denmark's contribution to UNDP be increased by 8.5 per cent next year. I hope that other countries will also be able to increase their support to UNDP.

240. I have not touched upon a number of other important economic problems. The Danish Government is confident, however, that all these major topics will be given due attention during this session, with due regard for the need for improved international co-operation to restore world growth and development.

241. Human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the dignity of man, are the very essence of the philosophy upon which the United Nations is built. In spite of the fact that all Member States of the United Nations have solemnly committed themselves to promote respect for, and observance of, human rights, we are constantly confronted with serious and massive violations of human rights in many parts of the world under different pretexts and more or less sophisticated disguises. Accordingly, no effort must be spared to ensure that recognition and observance of human rights remain at the heart of the policies and strategies of the Organization, thereby fulfilling the ideals of the Charter.

242. I wish to draw special attention to the cases where people are silenced or exposed to inhuman treatment just because they fight for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. They deserve an effective and courageous response by the United Nations to its moral and legal obligations.

243. Denmark strongly supports the efforts initiated by the Commission on Human Rights to combat the appalling practices of torture, summary or arbitrary execution and disappearance.

244. I hope that many countries will join in our endeavours to alleviate the sufferings of victims of torture by

making substantial contributions to the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture established in 1981 for that particular purpose. Subject to parliamentary approval, my Government intends to make another substantial contribution to the Fund in 1984.

245. I am aware that my statement may have sounded like a litany on increased tension, aggravated conflicts, and unresolved economic problems. I am afraid it is also a realistic assessment of the world situation today. It will no doubt be reflected in the debate during the coming weeks here. We need not become despondent, however. On the contrary, we must accept the challenge and try harder than ever to reach accommodation and reconciliation.

246. What better goal, then, for our work than the theme of the Buenos Aires Platform from the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77<sup>13</sup> earlier this year: Dialogue and Consensus.

247. We must be willing to listen to each other's points of view and to make every effort to find the common ground for concerted action in which we can all join. Only through a sincere dialogue and genuine consensus can we hope to reach real and lasting solutions to the world's problems.

248. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Sri Lanka has asked to speak in exercise of this right of reply.

249. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): I have asked for the floor only because the Prime Minister of Mauritius has chosen to make a specific reference to events in Sri Lanka, which of course, he stated, was guided by "purely humanitarian considerations".

250. It is of course possible that the delegation of Mauritius has not been able to bring to the notice of the Prime Minister of Mauritius the statement made by my Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 6th meeting. Perhaps if the Prime Minister had had the benefit of that statement, he may have had a somewhat different view of those events in Sri Lanka, to which he thought it appropriate to make a special reference in his statement.

*The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

<sup>2</sup> *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Washington, D.C. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, no. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>3</sup> *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14692.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1*.

<sup>6</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15985.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/15943.

<sup>8</sup> CD/335, Appendix II/Vol. IV, document CD/320.

<sup>9</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

<sup>10</sup> A/S-12/AC.1/23 and Corr.1.

<sup>11</sup> See United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20, annex I.

<sup>12</sup> See CD/421, Appendix III/Vol. I, document CD/PV.194.

<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.