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at 10.45 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Jaime Lusinchi, President of the Republic of Venezuela, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. LUSINCHI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my pleasure to extend to you, Sir, in the name of the people and the Government of Venezuela, my sincere congratulations upon your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session. Your personal qualifications and your broad experience in the United Nations serve as a firm guarantee that important and fruitful results will be achieved during the deliberations of this Assembly.

3. We have intimate knowledge of your vigorous efforts as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and of your tireless labours on behalf of the freedom and independence of peoples. Zambia and Venezuela have worked together in the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination, and this has certainly helped strengthen relations between our two countries.

4. I should also like to pay a tribute to that distinguished Latin American who preceded you, Sir, in this important office and who represented his country in the United Nations for many years. I refer, of course, to the President of the sister Republic of Panama, Mr. Jorge Illueca.

5. It is also a special pleasure for me to greet most respectfully the Secretary-General, my old friend and the former Ambassador of Peru to Venezuela, and to congratulate him for the efficient and outstanding way in which he has shouldered his responsibilities in the promotion of peace and understanding among all peoples.

6. I come from a Latin American country whose people enjoy fully the inalienable rights of an open, pluralistic and democratic society which, in the daily exercise of freedom, seeks unceasingly to perfect its institutions. We have chosen such a system because of its great potential and because we are convinced that no other system can guarantee with so much integrity the aspirations and development of the human person.

7. I have come here today to voice the views and feelings of Venezuela before this great world forum

that is the United Nations and to set forth and share with the General Assembly some thoughts that we deem essential on the international situation. I shall also outline broadly the fundamental elements of my Government's foreign policy, which is that of the Venezuelan people.

8. My presence here in the General Assembly is unequivocal testimony to Venezuela's firm commitment to the United Nations and of our appreciation of its vital achievements in international affairs. Moreover, I have come here with the conviction that dialogue and an exchange of ideas are truly indispensable elements when we have our common interests at heart. I have made it a point to follow this approach in my own country, as it is without doubt the most useful means of nurturing understanding and promoting a convergence of views.

9. We Venezuelans are a people with democracy in our blood, possessed of broad vision and a deep-rooted vocation for peace, who believe that understanding among States and international co-operation are possible. We are, in sum, a small nation convinced that only in this manner will form and content be given to human solidarity and encouragement and meaning to the concerted efforts of all peoples.

10. Thus, I echo the unanimous opinion of Venezuelans when I state squarely that Venezuela has faith in the United Nations, in the reasons for its establishment and in the relevance of its principles, which are more valid and necessary today than ever before. That is why we stand firmly with those who support its strengthening, to prevent it from becoming a purely symbolic institution of frustrated hopes and dreams crushed by selfishness, in many ways an impotent institution, incapable of properly facing up to the challenges and demands of today's reality.

11. We cannot conceive of a world without the United Nations. However, serious obstacles weaken its effectiveness and credibility. If we interpret current events correctly, those obstacles serve to highlight the risks facing the international community when an organization such as this is undermined, neutralized and, as a result, immobilized. This situation tests the will of the States Members and their capacity for the settlement of conflicts in a civilized manner. A change in course is therefore necessary because it is easy to see that while the problems are getting worse, the mechanisms for resolving them are weakening. States should not relinquish their prerogatives nor should countries give up their vital interests, but in the final analysis the overriding goals of the international community as a whole should prevail.

12. The objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, adopted at San Francisco, have tended to fade away as the military Powers have

increased their antagonistic policies, with the result that we now live in a system of political supremacy and nuclear intimidation, and of economic privileges in the hands of a limited number of States.

13. Smaller countries like mine, Venezuela, have legitimate reasons to express our disappointment, to call for proper compliance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and to demand the correction of a process which, in our view, has been the object of a historic distortion by those Powers which played a major role in the creation of the Organization, steering it away from its original course and promoting, paradoxically, an international pattern of unilateral advantages and *faits accomplis*.

14. Since 1945, history has been warning us persistently of the risks confronting the world community. The nuclear arms race, which makes us all increasingly vulnerable, seems uncontrollable, while consuming huge resources and absorbing a great deal of sophisticated scientific research. The world is evolving towards a *modus vivendi* which curtails the possibilities for international peace, security and confidence, condemning the relations between States to a simplification of the East-West dialectic, in the search for mutual expediency between the interested parties which, naturally, resist change.

15. At the same time, the lack of understanding and the resistance of the industrialized countries conspire against any effective progress towards global economic relations grounded in equity and mutual benefit. More serious yet, attempts are often made to accentuate the already existing disparities between the North and the South through renewed pressure mechanisms, all in a climate of intransigence and unilateralism.

16. We are, thus, in the midst of a rarefied international environment, of constraints and established positions resistant to change because they are kept in place by strong interests and by dogmas of one stripe or another.

17. In times of crisis and tension one must speak unambiguously, in a dispassionate and objective manner. An inescapable conclusion then stands out: things cannot continue the way they are. Bold and constructive attitudes are required of the community of nations to chart a new course for international affairs, giving rise to political evolution, social and economic development, and equality of opportunity. We demand such a change of course in international life and in relations between States, which would resolve the great paradox of the world in which we live—an era of contradictions and ambivalence, of amazing scientific and technological advances, and yet a time of lack of imagination and of declining resolve to use those resources for the good of mankind in a way consistent with the most elementary aspirations for peace and justice and worthy of the essential yearnings of the human condition.

18. We are aware of our possibilities and our limitations, of what we can and cannot do. We know what our aspirations are, and in order to attain our goals countries like Venezuela are accepting challenges unprecedented in history. We are also aware of our faults and of our mistakes.

19. We have the moral strength to recognize our weaknesses as well as the honesty to assign clear and basic responsibilities to those whose duty it is to assume them. The General Assembly reflects in its

resolutions and decisions a ground swell of opinion that cannot be ignored, for that would be to ignore the real concerns of our peoples.

20. In the general context of international relations, Venezuela has spared no effort to contribute to a rapprochement and reconciliation of positions and to the search for solutions to various regional problems in the geographic area of our direct interest. This we shall continue to do, conscious that indifference is incompatible with our ideas and convictions.

21. We shall increase our participation in international affairs because we are convinced that interdependence is an irreversible phenomenon and that decisions are made on a global scale which affect the internal affairs of our countries, particularly the smaller ones, which are more vulnerable to external factors. In this context, we believe that a multilateral approach which takes into account the interests of all is the right course to follow.

22. We can only hope that the economic co-operation taking place between developing countries will be complemented by increasing co-operation between them and the developed countries with a view to promoting the new international economic order. The collective self-confidence of developing countries, while promoting a more efficient use of our own resources, may also help to counteract our vulnerability and ensure a more harmonious development process.

23. After 25 years of vigorous democracy, we Venezuelans know what our priorities are in the international sphere. Our foreign policy is therefore a reflection and an expression of the values and aspirations which drive us to uphold and defend our democratic way of life as set forth in our Constitution—namely, respect for human rights and repudiation of colonialism and racial discrimination, both of which run counter to Venezuelan convictions and our historical legacy. The aim of my Government is to intensify our involvement in all these matters. To this end we shall sponsor at Caracas in 1985 an international forum on human rights in recognition of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. This will serve as an opportunity to take stock of all that has been achieved to date and to shed light wherever darkness still persists as an impediment to human progress and the rights of mankind everywhere.

24. Everything related to the fundamental rights of the individual takes on greater importance day by day and arouses the strongest interest. In the broadest sense we are referring not only to the rights of the individual as such but also to the rights of the individual in society, to the rights of peoples to a more just and equitable distribution of wealth. In our opinion, it is not possible to lose sight of these implications when discussing such issues.

25. We attach special importance to democratic processes throughout the world and in particular to those in our own region. I wish to emphasize the special gratification of Venezuelans as they observe the strengthening of democratic processes in Latin America. Let there be no doubt about it: the process of democratization enables nations to reach firm understandings, to agree upon common struggles and to achieve consensus in the search for a common voice.

26. Venezuela is above all a country whose vocation is essentially Latin American. Simón Bolívar's writ-

ings are very revealing of this attitude. We feel that we are linked fraternally with the peoples and countries of the region, a region whose boundaries bind rather than divide. Unquestionably, we have sometimes stumbled on the road to integration; some of the obstacles were of our own making, others were foreign. It would seem that the time has now come for us to conduct a self-examination, to explore with greater determination our own possibilities for mutual exchange and balanced well-being. The great challenge of Latin America continues to be that of shaping a community of nations capable of resolving our ancient and complex problems without intervention by outside elements that seek to involve us in strategic confrontations.

27. In fact, however, our part of the world—Latin America and the Caribbean, the Utopian Arcadia of modern times—has not been able to avoid confrontation, and we look with dismay at what is happening in Central America. It is no longer a matter of minor differences between our countries but rather an obvious attempt by one Power or another to use those differences to further its own position in the world.

28. Latin Americans cannot accept the fact that their misfortunes should be multiplied to benefit schemes for foreign domination. We must ensure that this danger is averted, but in so doing we must not allow Latin America to become an area of confrontation in this difficult period of history.

29. We have shown what we can and must do in our region. The experience of the Contadora Group has been useful, and it has been accepted generally both within and outside the region as a suitable mechanism for assisting in the settlement of these complex Central American conflicts on the basis of the consolidation of peace, freedom, democratic pluralism and economic and social development of a region which has suffered unceasingly from within and without throughout history. Four Latin American countries have worked together with the countries involved in an unprecedented effort to help solve a potentially dangerous situation. Those efforts came to fruition with the formulation of the revised Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562], and the outcome is now in the hands of the Governments of the countries of the region.

30. To be frank, I believe that there are those who are interested in peace and those who are interested in war. Time will tell soon enough who these are. In any event, the Venezuelan Government is convinced that only through a process of political development based on democracy can lasting peace and just economic and social development for Central America be assured.

31. I am concerned lest we may be on the verge of exceeding the limits of political and social tolerance among the developing countries, which are suffering from the high unemployment rates and foreign imbalances that affect all of us to one degree or another. At the same time, there is a deterioration of international economic relations. We, the Members of the United Nations, have been unable to meet on common ground and, incredible as it may seem, we have forgotten the lessons of a not-too-distant past. I refer, of course, to the great depression of the 1930s.

32. The seriousness of the crisis we are experiencing makes it necessary for us to rethink the role the

United Nations system plays in the area of international economic co-operation and, more specifically, the negotiation strategies which have been followed to resolve world economic problems. In addition to the economic crisis, we are witnessing a breakdown in communications, intransigence and an uncompromising defence of anachronistic attitudes.

33. We are witnessing a process wherein certain powerful countries are continually postponing dialogue, which is tantamount to refusing to negotiate. This situation, in the global dimension as well as in a problem-by-problem approach, can result in something we all wish to avoid: confrontation. It is clear that at this critical time the responsibility falls upon all of us, and we wish to share it in order to lay the foundations for a better future for all. We have no choice but to live up to the challenges of the hour.

34. The peoples of the third world demand just changes, without delay. They demand efforts and results, of benefit to all.

35. As an additional factor in the historical problems of injustice in international economic relations, we are faced today with an extremely serious situation, perhaps the most serious in recent history. The amount of foreign debt of the developing nations is so overwhelming that its consequences affect their very political and social stability; the dimensions of the debt problems alone require the most far-reaching understanding. We are dealing here with issues which, because of their intimate links to the price collapses in the export market for raw materials, the increasing protectionism of the industrialized countries, the irrational rise in interest rates—whose slight variations, a result of manipulations by the world financial market, undermine our social programmes—all contribute to the weakening of recovery efforts, denying work to millions of Latin Americans and condemning them to a marginal existence. And that is only one example.

36. It is inexcusable that the economies of Latin America, which, to a greater or lesser degree, have been under tremendous pressure, in the lean year of 1983 alone transferred \$30 billion to the industrialized countries. Plainly and simply, this is a disaster for our economies. We therefore must consider new and unprecedented approaches. The responsibility for this situation is not that of the debtor countries alone, but also of the international banking system, the lender countries and the international financial organizations. No one should nor can escape this responsibility. No one can feign indifference and stand aside when it comes to seeking solutions to a problem of such magnitude.

37. These concepts and opinions form the basis for the action agreed to recently by Latin American countries in the Cartagena Consensus of 22 June 1984 [see A/39/331], which refers to the problem of the foreign debt.

38. To sum up, the foreign debt of the developing countries is a reflection of specific shortcomings in the area of global financial and monetary relations, and generally in the economic system prevailing since the Second World War.

39. That is how we Venezuelans see the foreign debt problem. It is part of a gradual breakdown in the world economic system over more than a decade, a process of decay whose most vivid expression is the debt situation in Latin America today. The problem has ramifications which extend beyond the countries

of Latin America and other developing regions. If, therefore, we do not address ourselves to this issue in a timely manner, with political sensitivity to the problems of the affected countries, the whole world economy could founder in a crisis of incalculable proportions. Let us not forget the dangers which could be triggered by these phenomena, among which interdependence is also an undeniable fact.

40. I have stated that the problem of our inappropriately incurred debt cannot be divorced from the process of our development, because our development must continue. Otherwise, it will run down and stagnate, creating conditions that are in contradiction with our vision of society and the role of democratic government. Development is a vital necessity for our peoples. Without it there is no justice, no security, no peace, no prospects for a well-integrated nation.

41. In order to attain these goals, Venezuela has embarked upon a process of readjustment, and this has meant enacting stern measures. Nevertheless, we have taken special pains to ensure that the burden of this readjustment is carried equally by all, so that the poor do not shoulder the greatest portion of that burden for the nation's economic recovery programme. These decisions have been made within the context of national dialogue and consultation, a process which has ensured that all Venezuelans understand the nature of the problems at hand and work to overcome them. This we shall all pursue with conviction and determination.

42. I find it appropriate to state here in this international forum that the sacrifices required to overcome this pervasive crisis must be assumed both by the developing countries, as we have seen, and by the industrialized countries. In one way or another, the developing countries are financing the deficits of the industrialized countries, or a good part of them, while, as a consequence, our peoples continue to go through crisis after crisis. It is obvious that there is a paradox here, which is irrational and without explanation or justification.

43. The reordering of the world economy must be governed by the principle of fairness. The industrialized countries cannot escape the need to correct their own external imbalances and budgetary deficits. It is obvious that the industrialized countries, in a crisis that they themselves have created, are in a better position than the developing countries to carry out a process of readjustment. The capacities of the developing nations are so limited that whatever measures they take in this respect could unleash political and social traumas that could seriously undermine their stability.

44. That is why there is an urgent need to ensure understanding and to substantially alleviate the situation of the third world's foreign debt. Otherwise, the economic recovery of the economically most powerful countries, which to a large extent takes place at the expense of the economically weaker countries, would be seriously compromised and might have a much higher future cost for those countries, because, inevitably, even more serious measures would be required, with world-wide implications that could affect collective security and stability.

45. Venezuela has been renegotiating its external debt within the framework of its intention to fulfil its national contractual obligations. We intend to develop an economic programme that is truly Venezuelan, a programme that will permit us to fulfil our

commitments abroad without impairing our capacity for economic and social development and our sovereign decision-making ability. I have made clear on various occasions that in no circumstances, nor as a result of any sort of pressure, will we accept conditions that could jeopardize the potential for development and well-being to which my countrymen are entitled. That is my commitment to the Venezuelan people, and especially to the poor and least fortunate among them.

46. Having established the bases for refinancing our external debt, we deem it appropriate to make the following comments.

47. The instability of interest rates creates an extremely risky situation for the developing countries. Whenever the rates are high, it is virtually impossible for a country to make payments servicing its external public debt without imposing on the general population unacceptable sacrifices with regard to their standard of living.

48. Today the principal creditors of the developing countries are large, private, multinational banks. This has had enormous implications for their respective domestic financial markets. Therefore, today, more than ever before, it is necessary for the monetary authorities of the industrialized countries to involve themselves actively in the problem.

49. It is important to avoid the long-term incapacitation of debtor countries that are trying to live up to their commitments. Such incapacitation would endanger the continuity of financial loans, which are fundamental to world banking.

50. For a solution to be viable and successful, the individual viewpoints and needs of everyone involved must be taken into consideration. For that reason, the solution should be the result of a concerted effort.

51. The various mechanisms proposed have a common denominator: they all require the indispensable participation of Governments and international monetary organizations. It is impossible to imagine the achievement of a solution with only the debtor countries and creditor banks negotiating.

52. Along with many Latin Americans, we Venezuelans are deeply concerned about the problems of drug trafficking and the illegal use of drugs, which have reached alarming proportions in many countries during recent years. The increasing scope of this problem has turned drug trafficking into a social calamity which must be fought with determination and courage at all levels and with every tool available to us—public and private, national and international.

53. Drug trafficking goes so far as to attempt to destabilize Governments through corruption, making use of all kinds of criminal elements, tying them into an intricate network of operations, conspiracies and complicities which involve all levels of society, from subversives of the left and right to the most affluent and most impoverished of our citizenry, striking at the very heart of public life. Its penetration is limitless and has reached such a magnitude that, as we stated recently at Quito, drug trafficking not only represents a threat to the national security and sovereignty of several countries but is also turning into a dangerous agent of international conflicts.

54. It is our firm belief that in order effectively to combat the scourge of drug trafficking and the illegal use of drugs, it is necessary to go directly to the

source, to the places where the raw materials are cultivated and where they are transformed into narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, and thus to strengthen even more decisive action at the main consumer centres.

55. Governments can no longer consider this as simply a political issue or a public-health problem limited to each State. It is time that we recognize it for what it is—an international problem, with wide-ranging social, economic and political implications.

56. Since becoming President of Venezuela, I have devoted particular attention to this issue, because in my capacities as a physician and a political leader I understand its devastating implications, its social consequences and its effects on youth, our most valuable resource. I recently promulgated in my country the Organic Law of Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, which fully reflects the firm intentions of my Government and all sectors of the country to combat this dangerous phenomenon.

57. The domestic measures that we are adopting will, of course, be insufficient if we cannot count on suitable international mechanisms to facilitate the co-operation necessary to combat efficiently and globally this tremendous problem which repudiates the most fundamental rights of man. That is why Venezuela, at both national and international levels, is committing its resources so forcefully in this direction. In this respect, we have proposed for consideration by the United Nations and other appropriate international organizations the creation of a special fund to provide assistance in an efficient and flexible way to developing countries affected by drug trafficking. This proposal is embodied in the Quito Declaration against Traffic in Narcotic Drugs, of 11 August 1984 [see A/39/407]. That Declaration reflects the decision of the international community to classify as an international crime against humanity all activities related to the illegal trafficking in drugs.

58. I cherish the hope that this session of the General Assembly will provide the appropriate opportunity to look deeply into this serious problem. It is a problem that requires a decisive response, and it is one that can be eradicated only through an unequivocal commitment to multilateral action. Venezuela is prepared to make its contribution in all fields of necessary action. Day after day, drug traffickers cross borders. There is no nation in this world that working alone can eliminate the serious political and social problem that drug trafficking constitutes.

59. We Venezuelans are not immune to the effects of the crisis currently afflicting our world—and I am not referring solely to the economic upheavals and political conflicts; they are only some of the consequences of the breakdown of moral values in the world today.

60. There is no doubt in my mind—and others have said this before me—that during these last few decades when man has triumphed technologically and scientifically he has experienced a concomitant weakening of the metaphysical roots which anchor him and give meaning to both his joy and sorrow, his life and death.

61. While this feeling of helplessness has engendered among those in the developed world a sense of bewilderment and alienation from life's most basic pleasures, it has brought about even more dramatic results in our countries. Material remuneration, with

which others compensate for the relative emptiness of their lives, serves but to highlight the glaring social differences which persist in our societies and the lack of understanding that already exists between the emerging nations, which are persistently trying to be understood, and those countries which still have a preponderant influence in world affairs. How do we integrate, without causing suffering, the countries of the third world into the mainstream of contemporary life or at least minimize the spiritual anguish that accompanies such change? That is the great problem which faces the leaders of the nations that form the majority in today's world. We can and must contribute to the building of a civilization that is more human and more positive.

62. Progress in all fields of human endeavour has always fallen short of the great Utopias which, from time immemorial, have fed humanity's hopes and dreams. If it were possible to probe the opinions of men and women all over the world, we would undoubtedly find that the great majority would condemn the confrontation dividing the world community today. The two poles of power which are attempting to divide up the world for themselves are but a manifestation of the moral bankruptcy of our times. Once again, the lust for power—the oldest and strongest passion of mankind—clothed as always in doctrine, returns with its eternal message of misery and uncertainty.

63. A nineteenth-century philosopher once postulated that the happiest periods for mankind have been blank pages in the book of life—in other words, periods in which neither creative activity nor intense searching occurred. But we are not living in such a happy period today and, consequently, our passage on earth cannot be another blank page. The great questions of the future are beckoning us with their immense risks, their possibilities and their promises. We have but to choose those paths that open up the imagination and lead us to bold decision-making and the search for the right answers for this time, a time which is in no way one of mankind's happier periods of history.

64. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Venezuela for the important statement he has just made.

65. Mr. VÄYRYNEN (Finland): May I begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Finland has good relations and has developed close co-operation with your country. Your wide experience in international affairs, and of the United Nations in particular, makes you especially qualified to guide this Assembly in its deliberations. You have my best wishes in the difficult task which lies ahead of you.

66. May I also express my thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who so ably fulfilled his role on behalf of the Assembly.

67. It gives me particular pleasure to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, to whom we already owe a great deal for his authority and leadership.

68. I should also like to extend a warm welcome to Brunei Darussalam, the 159th Member of the United Nations.

69. The world situation has not taken a turn for the better. Its characteristics are many: increased uncertainty, and even hostility, in international relations; a

spiralling arms race; unresolved political, as well as social and economic crises. In brief, ours is a world of conflict and confrontation instead of a world of dialogue and co-operation.

70. The United Nations must remain the principal instrument for the maintenance of international peace. It must provide for collective security under its Charter; it must assist in resolving international conflicts and disputes; it must foster economic and social progress and promote human rights. It is an organization of sovereign nations, each having legitimate needs for security and well-being. It is also an organization of interdependence and common responsibility. As the President of the Republic of Finland, Mr. Mauno Koivisto, stated last year, at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session [*11th meeting*], Finland is unequivocally committed to assuming its share of that responsibility.

71. On issues of security, States have increasingly sought to provide for their own security unilaterally by increasing armaments. Security is seen in terms of potentially antagonistic relationships. The result is perceived threats, heightened tensions and a continuous arms race. The arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, has become a source of insecurity for all. The nuclear threat concerns everyone. The world must explore other avenues for promoting security by developing its co-operative element, gaining security through arms control and disarmament, building relations through confidence and mutual understanding.

72. The record of disarmament efforts over the past few years is disappointing—indeed, it is alarming. The lack of progress is dictated by political realities. Yet, in a climate of confrontation, determined efforts to negotiate are particularly important. They may not change the turn of events overnight, but they attest to the need for conciliation and co-operation.

73. All Member States have responsibilities in the disarmament domain, but the world has the right to expect that the nuclear-weapon States, which have the primary responsibility for disarmament, act decisively to halt and reverse the course of the arms buildup. The prevention of nuclear war, the curbing of nuclear arms proliferation, the limitation and reduction of nuclear arsenals, the banning of chemical weapons and the prevention of an arms race in outer space remain priorities on the international agenda.

74. There must also be efforts towards arms control and disarmament at the regional level. Such efforts should aim at improved stability and security and should contribute to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. The Finnish Government is particularly interested in the promotion of nuclear-weapon-free zones and has put forward proposals for such a zone in the Nordic region.

75. There are ways to strengthen the co-operative element of security, the security of common responsibility. The fundamental premise is that in no circumstances nuclear weapons be used. There is interest by all in improved relationships and stability in the field of security; there is interest by all in preventing accidental wars and promoting crisis management. There should be a determined effort to transform this interest into commitments.

76. During the coming year the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] is to be reviewed. This Treaty remains

one of the most important single achievements in the field of disarmament. The Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty should make progress in strengthening the non-proliferation régime and in facilitating international co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. By displaying their commitment to nuclear disarmament and making tangible progress towards a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, the nuclear-weapon Powers would, for their part, contribute to a successful conference.

77. In Europe, where East-West tension is particularly visible, where the concentration of armaments is heaviest and where the arms buildup continues unabated, co-operative efforts are urgently needed. A key element is to build confidence among States responsible for security in Europe. This year an endeavour to build that confidence has been launched at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, at Stockholm. That Conference should, as soon as possible, proceed towards substantive negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures. Finland hopes that this and other endeavours within the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe process will lead to better implementation of the Helsinki Final Act<sup>1</sup> and to tangible progress for the benefit of the peoples in Europe and in the whole world.

78. There are other areas and issues affecting the well-being and lives of millions where common responsibility must be displayed. The deepening economic and social crisis in Africa has come to the attention of the international community. Starvation, famine and deprivation have taken command over a great number of African nations. Sub-Saharan countries in particular have been seriously affected by persistent droughts. Internal social upheavals, coupled with the international economic recession, have further drained the already weak economies of those societies. The refugee problem brought about by political conflicts and turmoils still adds to this agony. At the moment, more than 150 million people on that continent face hunger and malnutrition. It is clear that the present African plight exceeds previous experiences on that continent. As the Secretary-General has said, "the basic fact is that Africa is engaged in a struggle for economic survival."

79. The situation is grave, but not desperate. There are ways and means by which the underlying reasons for the present calamity can be addressed. The responsibility for bringing to an end the present economic and social crisis in Africa rests primarily with the African Governments themselves. We appreciate the efforts already undertaken by the African Governments and urge them actively to pursue measures to reverse these negative trends. But at the same time the international community cannot escape its own responsibility for supporting the intensified national efforts of the developing countries, particularly in the agricultural sector. Increased and improved aid and other supportive measures are called for. In this respect we welcome and support the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General and the organizations within the United Nations system to intensify their programmes in Africa. For its part, the Government of Finland channels over 50 per cent of its bilateral aid to Africa.

80. In recent years we have witnessed with increasing concern the way in which efforts to make full use of the United Nations as a forum for negotiations on

global economic problems have failed time and again. It is not enough to point to the factors that have contributed to the erosion of the credibility of the Organization. We have a common responsibility to make the Organization work by attacking its deficiencies together. A case in point is provided by the Economic and Social Council, which is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. According to the Charter, the Council should give policy impetus to economic negotiations throughout the United Nations system. It should also co-ordinate the activities within the United Nations system in increasingly interdependent sectors. We all know that the Economic and Social Council does not at the moment fulfil this task.

81. Another example in this field is the failure of the international community to launch global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development under the auspices of the United Nations. Today we seem to be further away from this goal than we were five years ago. We should not blame the institution for this situation. The responsibility lies with us, the Members of the Organization. More forthcoming attitudes towards the task of launching global negotiations are called for, in the North as well as in the South, if we are to make progress in this undertaking.

82. Despite these shortcomings and disappointments, we should not forget the fact that within the United Nations system common responsibility in the economic and social sectors is manifested in the field of operational activities for development. United Nations development funds are making a visible contribution to the improvement of the living conditions of people throughout the developing world. The United Nations operational programmes enjoy the support of the international community, although the planned growth rates of those programmes have not been met and the volatility of exchange rates has affected them negatively.

83. As part of its efforts to reach the 0.7 per cent official development assistance target by the end of the decade, Finland will continue to increase its support to multilateral development activities and international humanitarian relief programmes. We will place particular emphasis on the special needs of the least developed countries.

84. In this context, I should like to mention that my Government welcomes the recent establishment of the World Institute for Development Economics Research at Helsinki. We hope that the first affiliated research institute of the United Nations University will fulfil the expectations of the international community by providing new impetus and fresh ideas in this very vital field of research.

85. The Members of the United Nations bear a common responsibility, one which extends beyond the immediate urgencies of today. What we are doing now—and what we are not doing now—will have an effect on our future and on that of our children.

86. Awareness of the dictates of ecology is spreading. The younger generations especially know that there is an exigent interrelationship between the needs of economic development, the resources of the earth and the environment of the human being—that our ecosystem is an integrated whole. Those problems cannot be successfully solved by any nation acting alone. They must be addressed by the international community as a whole.

87. Human rights are closely related to peace, security and prosperity in the world. An area of vital concern to the United Nations and to all its Member States is the need to protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. It should be recognized that the United Nations and its Members have made great progress in this field, whether defined in terms of political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, action against racism or the general development of the international bill of human rights. The process of developing new international rules in the human rights area continues. I wish to refer in particular to the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,<sup>2</sup> which my Government hopes will be adopted by the General Assembly as soon as possible. On the other hand, human rights continue to be widely disregarded and fundamental freedoms are still denied in many parts of the world. We continue to witness unjustified arrests, torture, arbitrary executions, religious intolerance and political persecution.

*Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

88. Surveying the implementation of internationally adopted human rights is a major task for the United Nations. It is important that the role of the United Nations be strengthened and further developed in this respect. I would in this context appeal to all Governments to lend their full and constructive co-operation to the relevant United Nations bodies in order to ensure the full enjoyment by all individuals of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

89. War against famine, ignorance, poverty and underdevelopment and the promotion of welfare and a secure future for mankind are the common responsibility of the Members of the United Nations. Let us hope that recognition of this common task will help us to find the way back to co-operation and conciliation even in the political field, where so much at present should be done.

90. The Nordic countries, confirming their strong support for the United Nations and for measures aimed at settling international disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter, have in recent years examined ways and means of strengthening the United Nations. Nordic endeavours in this field have close connections with the reports of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. The problems facing us and facing the United Nations can be tackled effectively only through close international co-operation and with the necessary determination and patience.

91. The Nordic countries have given particular emphasis to United Nations peace-keeping operations as one of the practical instruments which the United Nations has successfully evolved. Finland attaches great importance to these functions and today has troops and observers in all United Nations peace-keeping operations. We see these operations as an important way in which Member States, including the smaller ones, can contribute effectively to the collective task of peace-keeping and peace making.

92. This year the Organization, in particular the Security Council, has discussed situations which, in various parts of the world, are endangering regional and international peace and security. The Council has in most cases been able to reach a decision on the matter. What is lacking is the will to carry out those

decisions. We share the view of the Secretary-General, expressed in his report on the work of the Organization, that the international community cannot condone the disregard of almost all of these decisions by the parties involved in the disputes.

93. In our view, the basic principles of a peaceful settlement of the problem of the Middle East remain immutable.

94. The key to the situation is the Arab-Israeli conflict. Together with other developments in the region, it poses the most persistent threat to peace and security, not only in the region itself but also in the world as a whole. The political, strategic and economic importance of the region transcends the regional confines of the conflict.

95. A comprehensive settlement of the conflict must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Israel must therefore withdraw from Arab territories occupied since 1967. Acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. The right of Israel and other States in the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must be guaranteed. Furthermore, provision must be made for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to national self-determination. This presupposes the right of the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], as the most significant representative of their national aspirations, to participate in negotiations on their own future within a comprehensive solution of the conflict.

96. From the internal point of view, the situation in Lebanon seems to be improved even if many of the major problems still remain unsolved. We hope that the national reconciliation will not fail. The territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries must be strictly respected.

97. The war between Iran and Iraq has entered its fifth year. The loss of human life and waste of resources have reached staggering proportions. My Government welcomes and supports all mediation efforts that may contribute to a peaceful settlement of the war.

98. For nearly 20 years the United Nations has made strenuous efforts to achieve independence for Namibia. Today the prospects of a solution again seem to be improving. The front-line States, together with the South West Africa People's Organization, have shown a constructive spirit to find new ways for dialogue between the parties. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) still remains the basis for a solution of the Namibian question. The Government of Finland does not see any reasons why its implementation is delayed. Any political solution must be based on the holding of free and fair elections. The wishes of the people of Namibia must be fully taken into account in the independence process. The United Nations, with its special responsibility for Namibia, must sustain the pressure on South Africa so as to ensure that the independence of Namibia is achieved without delay.

99. In South Africa the *apartheid* system remains fundamentally unchanged. This was noted by the Security Council, which recently strongly rejected and declared null and void some of the superficial modifications to the system [*resolution 554 (1984)*]. Finland unequivocally condemns the *apartheid* system as an abhorrent violation of human rights and

human dignity. The need for concerted international pressure on South Africa to change its policies remains. There cannot be any compromise on the principle of the equality of every human being or on the need to have that principle observed in practice. That is why the Security Council must continue its consideration of measures to intensify the pressure on South Africa for change.

100. The situation in Central America remains critical. Finland believes that the solutions to the problems of this region lie in the maintenance of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. The States of the region themselves should be given an opportunity to solve their problems free from any outside intervention. To this end, Finland supports the efforts of the Contadora Group for a peaceful, comprehensive solution.

101. The United Nations is the forum for all States to make their contribution to fostering peace, security and well-being in the world. Each State, big and small, should participate in this effort. But in pursuing these ends, not only do nations have their role as Members of the world Organization, the United Nations; they also bear responsibility for peace and security in their own regions.

102. Finland has stable, harmonious relations and fruitful co-operation with all its neighbours. She stays outside the conflicts of interest between the great Powers, she maintains and develops friendly relations with all nations: Finland pursues a policy of neutrality. Finland seeks to promote efforts towards peace and stability in the Nordic region, towards security and co-operation in Europe and in the whole world.

103. The days when a State could pursue a policy independent of all others are long past. We live in a different world, a world of wider, more complex, more challenging responsibilities. They are common responsibilities that must be shared in order to secure peace and prosperity for all peoples of the world.

104. Mr. BARRY (Ireland): I have the honour of addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its 10 member States.

105. In this capacity, it will give me particular pleasure if you, Sir, will convey to the President my very sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. I am sure that with his considerable experience of the United Nations and his personal skills he will carry out successfully the important and difficult tasks which lie ahead.

106. I should also like to convey the Community's appreciation to the outgoing President for his efficient and skilful conduct of the proceedings of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

107. The 10 member States of the European Community also wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his dedicated efforts over the past year in the service of the United Nations and in the cause of peace.

108. Finally, I wish to extend our warmest congratulations to the newest Member of the Organization, Brunei Darussalam.

109. The United Nations is now almost 40 years old. The European Community is younger than that by 10 years. Both organizations were born out of the same experience—the agony and destruction of the Second World War—and both have one essential

aim in common—to prevent the recurrence of war. Surveying the international situation over the past 40 years we can take satisfaction from the fact that the continent of Europe has escaped another large-scale war and that the world has avoided global conflict, which in a nuclear age would have disastrous consequences for the future of mankind. But our satisfaction must be tempered by the realization that, even though global war has been averted, millions have perished in regional conflicts and civil strife, millions more continue to suffer under tyrannical and repressive régimes and, in a wealthy, scientifically advanced and resourceful world, millions of our fellow men are subjected to poverty, malnutrition and disease. Beyond these conflicts are the growth in nuclear and conventional armaments, the lack of success in arms control, and the state of the political relations between the super-Powers. None the less, there are hopeful signs, notably the forthcoming meeting between the President of the United States and the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. In this connection also the Ten were encouraged by the tone and the content of the address to the Assembly yesterday by President Reagan [4th meeting].

110. Despite these encouraging signs, the international community and the Ten must remain concerned at the persistence of negative trends in international life, and for this reason they will persevere in their efforts to halt and reverse them.

111. The principles underlying the Ten's approach to international issues are clear. Indeed, they may be simply stated.

112. First, we are committed to promoting the purposes and upholding the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In recent years the international community has been subjected to a series of crises which has tested the will and capacity of the Organization to keep the peace and deter aggression. Moreover, there has been a deadlock on a number of international and regional issues of fundamental importance. The United Nations has not responded to these challenges as well as it might; and Member States have not sought to use the Organization as they should. For their part, the Ten will continue to promote the United Nations, which, because of its universal character, is a unique forum for the resolution of conflict. We will continue to support also the endeavours of the Secretary-General to increase the relevance of the Organization and to improve its functioning.

113. A second set of principles, linked to the first, derives from our commitment to the rule of law and to dialogue in international relations. The European Community is itself constructed on these principles, and the Ten wish to see them applied more thoroughly and effectively in all areas of international life. In this connection, we believe that a renewal and deepening of political dialogue between East and West is an urgent necessity—urgent and necessary because of the awesome level of military forces; urgent and necessary also to prevent miscalculation or misunderstanding in sensitive areas of the world escalating into an international crisis. We are ready to extend our dialogue and co-operation with all States and regional groups.

114. Thirdly, the Ten recognize and respect the right of all States to security, independence and the determination of their own destiny. These principles,

which have informed the work of the United Nations since its foundation, are central to the Ten's approach to international issues. We believe that all States should be permitted to develop their human and natural resources free from external threat, in accordance with their own history and traditions, and without interference in their internal affairs.

115. Fourthly, the Ten believe in the fundamental importance of human rights and in the need for States to respect, in deed as well as in word, internationally agreed human rights standards. I shall have more to say about human rights later in my statement, but at this point I wish to emphasize that the principle of non-interference in internal affairs should not—indeed, cannot—be invoked by States to ignore or reject international concern at human rights abuses on their territory.

116. Fifthly, the European Community and its 10 member States are committed to promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples, to working for the elimination of poverty, hunger and disease throughout the world, and to alleviating the plight of displaced persons. We believe that dialogue, co-operation and partnership hold the key to the promotion of more equitable and more even development, which would also contribute significantly to economic progress for all.

117. The principles I have just outlined underpin and give coherence to the work of the Ten on the major issues facing the world today.

118. Nowhere is the need for dialogue and co-operation more evident than in the area of East-West relations. These relations have continued to undergo considerable strain in the past year. The Ten regret this. Earlier this year they declared their determination to maintain and intensify their contribution to the improvement of relations between East and West. They appealed to the Soviet Union to co-operate in progress towards genuine détente on the basis of a balance of forces, of respect for the interests of all States and of the faithful implementation of the Helsinki Final Act<sup>1</sup> in all its aspects, including effective abstention from the threat or use of force. They recall, in this connection, their position on the continued military buildup by the Soviet Union and on the question of Afghanistan.

119. The Ten have sought to keep open all possible channels of dialogue with a view to contributing to an improvement in East-West relations. Despite the difficulties, the Ten will persist in their efforts to return these relations to a more stable and predictable basis. They will continue to work for a lessening of mistrust and to seek constructive and comprehensive political dialogue with the Soviet Union and its allies in central and eastern Europe. They will seek wherever possible to build on existing co-operation with each of those countries. But, to bear fruit, the efforts of the Ten to improve East-West relations will need to be reciprocated in the same spirit.

120. As European countries, the Ten attach great weight to the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as a forum for contacts and negotiation which gives all participating States, large and small, possibilities for contributing to a dialogue on matters of vital importance to them. That process this year has acquired a new dimension at Stockholm in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Full implementation of the Helsinki and

Madrid provisions by all States participating in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would significantly assist the restoration of confidence in East-West relations. It is disturbing to note, one year after the conclusion of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and with a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe experts' meeting on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms due to take place in the first part of next year, an increase in the disregard by some participating States for the provisions agreed to at Helsinki and Madrid in these areas, including freedom of religion.

121. It has been a consistent wish of the Ten to return to a more normal relationship with Poland as actual developments there permit. In this regard, the Ten welcomed the Polish Government's amnesty decision of last July. The Ten hope that the Polish authorities, in a spirit of national reconciliation and tolerance, will follow that decision with further measures designed to meet the aspirations of the Polish people for dialogue and reform and that all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document,<sup>3</sup> including those on trade-union freedom, will be implemented by Poland.

122. For the 10 member States of the European Community the achievement of balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements, as well as the full implementation of such agreements, is a matter of the highest importance. We shall continue to work for such results and to lend support to the efforts of others to achieve them.

123. The problems of achieving effective agreements on arms control and disarmament are difficult at any time. The pursuit of such agreements is made all the more difficult in a climate of mistrust and strain in political relations. Nevertheless, there is no alternative to determined and painstaking pursuit, at the negotiating table, of concrete results in the form of substantial, balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament agreements. In the field of disarmament, statements of good intentions are not enough, and declaratory undertakings are a poor substitute for specific, concrete and verifiable measures. When one takes account of the continuing growth in armaments, certain potentially destabilizing technological advances in weaponry and the grave social and economic consequences of the arms race, it is evident that all countries, including the nuclear Powers, should have a strong common interest in the negotiation of effective measures of arms control and disarmament resulting in stability at lower levels of forces. The Ten profoundly regret the suspension of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intercontinental strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate nuclear forces. We consider that these vitally important negotiations should resume and be pursued actively with a view to reducing nuclear weapons to the lowest possible level.

124. Measures to curb and reverse the nuclear arms race should be complemented by efforts to maintain and improve the effectiveness of the non-proliferation régime, which has served the international community well since it was instituted in the 1960s. In this context, those members of the Ten which are parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] will work actively for the successful outcome of the

Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty in 1985.

125. The danger of an arms race in outer space is a matter of deep concern to the membership of the United Nations. Given the pressing need for agreement on steps to avert this danger, the Ten can only regret that bilateral talks between the leading space Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have not yet taken place. They hope that such talks will commence without delay. In parallel, multilateral consideration by the Conference on Disarmament of questions relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space is also desirable.

126. At the same time, we must take full account of other aspects of the disarmament equation; conventional disarmament and arms control are also necessary if the common desire for peace and stability is to be satisfied. The continent in which we Europeans live contains the highest concentration of conventional weaponry and forces in the world. This is one of the main reasons why the Ten, in conformity with the agreed mandate for the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which began work at Stockholm last January, are seeking negotiated agreement, in the first stage, on a set of militarily significant and verifiable confidence- and security-building measures. These measures would be designed to diminish the risk of a military confrontation in Europe and would thereby pave the way to a second stage of the Conference, at which the participating States would continue their efforts for security and disarmament in Europe, in particular by controlled reductions of armaments.

127. Those members of the Ten participating in the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe consider that the submission last April of a new proposal which seeks to resolve some of the more basic issues of those negotiations should permit real progress to be made towards agreement on conventional force reductions.

128. The Ten will continue to support realistic and concrete disarmament efforts in the sole multilateral negotiating body, the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva. We attach particular importance to the successful conclusion of negotiations taking place at the Conference on a convention to prohibit chemical weapons. Member States of the European Community have contributed actively to this work. In this connection, we welcome positive developments which have taken place this year: the United States has submitted a draft convention to outlaw these weapons and the Soviet Union has accepted the principle of on-site inspection of the destruction of stocks of chemical weapons. Although important differences remain to be resolved, the Ten hope that it will be possible to move towards the conclusion at an early date of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons.

129. The importance of the relationship between disarmament and development has been underlined in the deliberations of the Disarmament Commission this year. The Commission agreed that the world economy—and particularly the economies of developing countries—would benefit from appropriate international action that takes into account the close relationship of disarmament and development. The Ten hope that it will prove possible to reach a broad

measure of agreement at this session of the General Assembly on how the important question of giving concrete expression to this relationship should be pursued.

130. The Ten have a historic concern for and interest in peace and stability in the Middle East. We have spoken out consistently on the problems of the area and how they might be resolved in a fair and durable way. Individually and collectively, we have contributed to attempts to make and to keep peace in the Middle East.

131. It is appropriate here at the Headquarters of the United Nations to note the Organization's involvement in the area over the years and the experience and expertise that it has developed. The United Nations has a vital role to play in establishing and maintaining peace in the Middle East, and the Ten will continue to encourage and assist in the activities of the United Nations to this end.

132. Conflict and tension continue in three areas in particular: between Israel and the Arab States, in Lebanon, and in the Gulf. Each dispute has brought its own toll of human suffering and destruction. Each also poses wider threats in the region and to international peace and harmony. The international community, notably through the Security Council, has at various times set down guidelines for the solution of these problems in part or in whole. What is needed now is movement by the parties concerned in each case, with the support and assistance of the international community, towards negotiation of peaceful solutions in accordance with the guidelines.

133. With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) set out fundamental principles for a settlement of that conflict. The Ten believe that, in essence, such a settlement must further take account of both the right to existence and security of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that implies.

134. A negotiated settlement requires the continuing and independent expression of the will of the Palestinian people, and the Ten have repeatedly said that the PLO should be associated with the negotiations. The resolution of the problems between Israel and its neighbours should be based on the principles, widely accepted in the international community, of non-recourse to the use of force and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. For the Ten, this means that, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), Israel must put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967.

135. For some time now, because of events on both sides and developments elsewhere, there has been a hiatus in attempts to find a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Ten regret this. Each year that passes without a solution makes its achievement more difficult. Attitudes of hostility become more entrenched and the problems arising from the long occupation become more serious. Outside parties, including the Ten, can play a part in facilitating negotiations and can assist and support constructive steps by the sides. A number of proposals have been set forth, and remain on the table, which could be helpful for a comprehensive settlement. But it cannot be escaped that the parties themselves—Israel, the Arab States and the Palestinians—must sooner or later grasp the nettle and come to terms with each

other's existence and legitimate rights. The Ten urge those involved to take steps in this direction. We believe that a start could be made with the renunciation by all parties of the threat or use of force and with the abandonment by Israel of the policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories contrary to international law.

136. The Ten regard the progress which has been made towards reconciliation in Lebanon under the Government of Prime Minister Karamé as encouraging and worthy of support. But violence nevertheless continues to flare up, and fundamental problems remain to be addressed if the goal of an independent, sovereign country enjoying territorial integrity affirmed so many times by the United Nations, and endorsed by the Ten, is to be achieved.

137. Israel remains in occupation of a considerable part of the country, which is a cause of a great deal of human suffering and economic disruption in Lebanon. In the view of the Ten, Israel should withdraw its troops in accordance with the call of the Security Council. In this connection, we note that in his address to the Knesset the new Prime Minister of Israel said that one of the main objectives of the new Government is an early return of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The Ten believe that other foreign forces on Lebanese soil whose presence is not authorized by the Government should also be withdrawn. The Ten, some of which contribute to observer and peace-keeping operations in Lebanon, reaffirm their willingness to assist that country towards peace and normality. They take this opportunity to express their appreciation of the work of UNIFIL aimed at carrying out its mandate and its efforts to maintain stable conditions and protect the population in its area of operations. They support the renewal in October of UNIFIL's mandate and hope that conditions will be created which will allow the Force fully to carry out its tasks.

138. The Ten are concerned at the continuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq and the resultant increased tension in the Gulf area. There has been great loss of life on both sides among combatants and the civilian populations. Enormous material damage has been done. Shipping in the Gulf, including traffic to and from States not parties to the conflict, has been subjected to attacks. Of particular concern was the report in March of this year by an expert team dispatched by the Secretary-General,<sup>4</sup> which ascertained that chemical weapons had been used in areas inspected in Iran. The Ten condemn without qualification any use of chemical weapons and earnestly hope that they will not be used again in this or any other conflict. We call on both sides to comply with the principles and provisions of humanitarian international law in armed conflicts. We have underlined to Iran and Iraq the importance we attach to freedom of navigation and commerce in international waters, and we recall that the Security Council has more than once addressed this question.

139. More positively, it is noted with satisfaction that the undertaking by Iran and Iraq not to attack purely civilian targets is holding up well. We compliment the Secretary-General on bringing this about and on his work and that of the observer teams in maintaining it. A certain willingness to compromise and thus spare the civilian population further suffering is an encouraging sign. One of the possibilities offered by the United Nations has been utilized. The Ten urge both sides to extend this process, leading to

a general cessation of military activities in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions and numerous appeals of the international community. Negotiation could then begin aimed at finding a peaceful solution, honourable for both sides. Many intermediaries have offered their good offices in this area. The Ten hope that these efforts and those of the Secretary-General will be continued and intensified, and they are ready to support them.

140. The situation in Cyprus remains an important matter of international concern. The Ten once again express their unconditional support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. In particular, they reiterate their rejection of the declaration of 15 November 1983 purporting to establish an independent State within Cyprus. They deplore the fact that neither this declaration nor the subsequent purported exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership has been withdrawn, in disregard of Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

141. The Ten attach particular importance to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, and they call on all concerned to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his current efforts to bring about constructive dialogue aimed at a just and lasting solution to the problems of Cyprus.

142. It is now almost five years since the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. It remains a source of great concern to the whole world and continues seriously to affect the stability of the region. The Ten remain deeply concerned at the continuing occupation of that traditionally neutral and non-aligned country and at the violation of its independence. Despite repeated calls from the international community to respect the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, the Soviet Union refuses to heed the appeals to withdraw its troops, which is the key requirement for any satisfactory political solution. The Ten regret that the Soviet Union has shown no willingness to make a positive contribution to a settlement based on successive United Nations resolutions but has instead intensified its military efforts against the resistance forces, which have resulted in many civilian casualties and further suffering and destruction in a country already ravaged by war. The Ten are also deeply concerned that Pakistani civilians and Afghan refugees have been killed in attacks on Pakistani territory from within Afghanistan, and they deplore those violations of Pakistan's border.

143. There can be no military victory in Afghanistan. There can only be a political solution which will ensure the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the restoration of Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status and the right of the Afghan people to self-determination. In this regard, the plight of the refugees must not be forgotten. The exodus of more than a fifth of the Afghan population, driven from their homeland and forced to seek shelter in neighbouring countries, is a tragedy of immense proportions. Any solution must enable the refugees to return home in safety and honour.

144. The Ten are committed to supporting any initiative which aims at a lasting and principled solution, based on successive United Nations resolutions, to the problem of Afghanistan and recall their

proposal of June 1981 in this regard.<sup>5</sup> We continue to follow with interest the efforts of the Secretary-General's representative in his search for a political settlement within the United Nations framework, and we regret that to date those efforts have not met with significant success.

145. The Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea continues to threaten the peace and stability of the South-East Asian region. The reason for the failure over the last five years to make any progress towards a comprehensive political settlement which would bring an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people lies in Viet Nam's refusal to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Ten consider that the basis for a just and lasting solution is contained in the Declaration on Kampuchea, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981.<sup>6</sup> That Declaration calls for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to choose freely their own destiny, respect for the independence, neutrality and non-alignment of Kampuchea, and a commitment by all States not to interfere in its internal affairs.

146. The Ten are prepared to support any constructive efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem of Kampuchea. This cannot be achieved without the participation and co-operation of all those concerned with the conflict. We believe that a solution can be reached which accommodates the legitimate security concerns of all the States of the region.

147. The unresolved Korean question still constitutes a potential danger for the peace and stability of the region. The Ten reiterate their belief that a peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiations based on the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.<sup>7</sup> The Ten believe that the Korean people should have their place among the countries represented at the United Nations.

148. The Ten hope that democracy and full respect for human rights will be established throughout Latin America. They welcome the movement towards democracy in South America, which has been especially noteworthy over the past year. This progress has been achieved at a time of great economic difficulties. The Ten particularly welcome the restoration of democracy in Argentina following the elections of October 1983 and the achievement of the Government of President Alfonsín in consolidating democracy in that country. Elections have also taken place elsewhere in South America and these have served to strengthen the democratic process. Our hope is that those remaining countries in South America where democracy has not yet been restored will in the near future follow a similar evolution.

149. The Ten welcome the recent steps towards national reconciliation in Colombia and are following with interest the process of democratization in Uruguay, where elections are scheduled to take place in November of this year. I regret that, on the other hand, the repeated appeals of the international community to the Chilean authorities to take meaningful steps to restore democracy to their country continue to fall on deaf ears. Violent incidents continue. These have their origin in the denial of democratic freedoms to a people which has a long experience of democratic Government.

150. The Ten continue to be deeply concerned at the situation in Central America, especially in certain countries where murder and other atrocities are perpetrated, particularly on the civilian population, by the armed forces and by irregular armed bands, and where social and economic injustice continues to undermine the political consensus which is a condition of peaceful stability. The Ten have on many occasions expressed their full support for the efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. I wish today to reiterate our support for those efforts, which are based on respect for the independence of sovereign States, the right of States to freedom from outside interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the establishment of democratic conditions, and the strict observance of human rights.

151. The Ten are convinced that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by armed force but only through a political settlement springing from the region itself. The Contadora initiative offers a clear opportunity for such a settlement, and the Ten urge all those in positions of political responsibility in Central America to work towards a final settlement on the basis of the Contadora proposals. In this connection the Ten consider that the elaboration of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562] is a significant and hopeful development.

152. The Ten note recent developments which have brought some degree of hope to the Central American region, such as the statements made after his election by President Duarte of his intention to promote respect for human rights in El Salvador, and the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua, which it is hoped will lead to the establishment and consolidation of a genuine democracy in that country.

153. The Ten look forward to the meeting at San José later this week of the Foreign Ministers of the Ten, Portugal and Spain and of the States of Central America and of the Contadora Group. This meeting will mark the commencement of an intensified political and economic dialogue between the Ten and Central America.

154. The Ten are deeply concerned at the many problems confronting the African continent.

155. In South Africa, the black majority continues to suffer the injustices and indignity of *apartheid*, with no real prospect of change in its political status. South Africa's new Constitution fails to meet the aspirations of black South Africans for equal treatment and the demands of the international community for justice. The black majority is completely excluded from the political process, and only a small number of Coloureds and Indians were prepared to participate in the recent elections. The sense of alienation and frustration of the black population was demonstrated by the violence which surrounded those elections. There is an urgent need for an early move towards the full and equal involvement of all citizens in the political process if further conflict and violence are to be averted. The Ten will continue to press for constitutional arrangements founded on the principle of equality and acceptable to all the citizens of South Africa.

156. During the past year, the South African Government has continued to implement its homelands policy. Families and entire communities have been forcibly removed from the homes which they have

owned and developed over many generations. In the process, many South Africans, through their removal to the bantustans, have been rendered exiles in their own land and deprived of the livelihood they once possessed.

157. The Ten have, individually and collectively, expressed their abhorrence of and opposition to South Africa's actions. We reject the homelands policy, as we do all other aspects of *apartheid*, and we shall continue to put pressure on South Africa to abandon the *apartheid* system.

158. The Ten have noted with satisfaction the agreement between Angola and South Africa reached at Lusaka on 16 February 1984 on the strengthening and monitoring of the military disengagement in southern Angola. They have also noted the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good-Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [A/39/159, annex I]. They have commended the efforts of all parties concerned to bring about increased security and stability in the region. They stand ready to welcome other positive moves. However, genuine and lasting peace must be founded on justice and guaranteed by the removal of the fundamental causes of conflict. The recent agreements can have only limited impact if they are not accompanied by early and substantial progress in the elimination of racial discrimination and by independence for Namibia.

159. The Ten hope that the southern African agreements will contribute to a climate of mutual confidence which would facilitate the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We regret deeply that our hopes for an early settlement remain unfulfilled and that South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. The Ten do not accept that the United Nations plan should be delayed or set aside for extraneous reasons or for arrangements inconsistent with resolution 435 (1978). We shall continue to work for the immediate implementation of that resolution because it alone embodies a universally accepted framework for a peaceful transition to independence in a manner which is guaranteed by the United Nations to be free and fair.

160. The European Community and its member States will also continue their aid to the Namibian people, particularly through their support for the United Nations Institute for Namibia. They reaffirm their readiness to assist in the development of a free and independent Namibia.

161. The Ten hope that peaceful solutions can be found to the situation in the Horn of Africa. They believe that such solutions should be based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

162. Throughout Africa, the Ten continue to cooperate with Governments, regional organizations and the OAU in their efforts to promote stability and economic and social advancement. The OAU plays an important role in the promotion of peace on the continent, and the Ten support in particular its efforts to find peaceful solutions to the problems of Chad and Western Sahara.

163. The problems caused by the severe drought which has struck large parts of Africa, together with the connected problem of desertification and other factors, have contributed to the deterioration of the continent's economy and its ability to produce food. The European Community and its members are

conscious of the necessity to assist the victims of this calamity, and they will continue to provide substantial emergency and development assistance to alleviate its effects.

164. The Ten endorse the efforts of the international community to alleviate the situation of the 4 million refugees in Africa. Their sufferings evoke our concern, as do the many problems which confront those States which give them shelter. The Ten and the Commission of the European Communities have already stated at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984, that they will continue to provide assistance to African economies to help their economic and social structures to cater effectively for refugees and returnees. They will also continue to support and encourage international co-operation to prevent the political conflicts and economic distress which are among the primary causes of refugee flows. The problem of refugees is, of course, a world-wide phenomenon. The Ten expect fruitful results from the work of the Group of Governmental Experts on International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees.

165. I referred at the outset to the Ten's commitment to human dignity and to the defence of human rights as a principle underlying the Ten's approach to international issues. Many of the political problems I have just described derive from a failure to recognize the dignity and worth of the human person and to uphold the rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the International Covenants on Human Rights and in other international human rights agreements. Our task as the Ten and the task of the United Nations is to ensure that States adhere to their obligations to promote and protect all categories of human rights—civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. The Ten believe that all these rights form an integral part of a global system for the protection of the individual. They are indivisible and interrelated and must all be defended. The promotion and protection of one category of rights can never excuse a State from promoting and protecting other rights or exempt it from its obligations in this regard.

166. Unfortunately, the obligations entered into by States are too often broken. Numerous reports and surveys testify to the continuation of torture, political imprisonment, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, summary executions and racial and religious discrimination as instruments of State policy. The failure to match our aspirations with achievement weakens the human rights system so carefully and painstakingly developed over the past 40 years and calls into question the seriousness of our commitment. It is difficult to imagine the impact on those who suffer injustice and repression of the feeling that the world is indifferent to their plight and has abandoned them to their fate. For their part, the Ten will continue to speak out against violations of human rights whenever they occur, to work for the protection of the victims, and to promote international agreement on standards and procedures.

167. In this connection, the Ten welcome the progress which has been made on the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.<sup>2</sup> We look forward to the adoption of the draft convention at this session of the General Assembly. Effective measures

to enforce the prohibition on torture are necessary. Torture and other forms of ill-treatment affront the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and undermine the primary aim of international co-operation on human rights—the achievement by each human being of a life of freedom and dignity.

168. While the Ten are convinced that international co-operation contains the greatest potential to eradicate abuses of human rights, they are also conscious of the important role played by individuals and groups. It is a matter of grave concern that the most serious abuses are often inflicted on those who actively work to expose violations and remedy injustice. The Ten believe that the international community has a special duty to protect those who risk their life, health and liberty in defence of the rights and freedoms agreed by all.

169. I turn now to the international economic situation.

170. The beginning of this decade saw the worst recession since the 1930s. Recently there has been a recovery which has been strongest in some of the larger industrialized countries and, of course, particularly here in the United States. The effects of this recovery are now beginning to be spread more widely. Last year there was a resumption of growth in world trade, and it has apparently been accelerating further in 1984. However, uncertainty remains concerning the likely evolution of the international economic situation.

171. Nevertheless, considerable progress has been made in reducing rates of inflation in almost all the industrialized countries. Despite the uncertainty I have mentioned, the prospects seem generally favourable. In addition, significant progress has been made recently in adjusting fiscal and external imbalances in many countries, both developed and developing. Many non-oil-producing developing countries have achieved a remarkable adjustment in their balance-of-payments positions.

172. As was noted in the London Economic Declaration, issued at the London Economic Summit held from 7 to 9 June 1984 [see A/39/304], a continuation of the recovery requires unremitting efforts. We need to spread the benefits of the recovery widely, in the industrialized countries as well as to the developing countries, especially the poorer countries, which stand to gain considerably from a sustained growth in the world economy. Progress has been made in laying foundations for sustained growth, but in the future we shall need to work for greater financial stability, notably in interest rates and exchange rates, and to make further efforts to liberalize trade and to combat protectionism.

173. The very high level of real interest rates is a matter of particular concern. This directly affects economic activity, distorting exchange rates and capital flows and exacerbating problems of indebtedness. To ensure the continuation of a strong and sustained recovery, it is essential that interest rates internationally come down to more acceptable levels. At the same time, it will be essential to ensure adequate transfer of resources to developing countries.

174. In assessing the economic outlook, no one can afford to be complacent. There are sizeable disparities in fiscal policy and growth performance among industrialized countries. There is growing imbalance

in the current account positions of some major countries. There is the weakness of growth in many developing countries and the associated decline in their real per capita incomes. There is the still precarious financial position of many heavily indebted countries.

175. The debt problems of developing countries have rightly been the focus of attention at a number of recent international gatherings. These are problems of crucial importance. Progress has been made, but developing country indebtedness is likely to be prominent on the international economic agenda for some time to come. It is clear that progress towards resolving debt difficulties depends to a large extent on the evolution of interest rates and the rate of expansion of exports of the developing countries, and on the evolution of some other variables. All countries should work to create the conditions in which the key variables can move in the right direction—and here we should not overlook the importance of appropriate economic policies in the debtor countries. We recognize, of course, that there is a link between adjustment and development, and the efforts of developing countries to adjust their economies should be supported by the international community.

176. The very high level of unemployment in both developed and developing countries is a major source of concern. This is so particularly in Europe, where we are undergoing a difficult period of structural adjustment. We must currently tackle the lack of employment opportunities for the millions of people who are willing and anxious to obtain employment. In the Community and world-wide, we must devise a consistent strategy which, while resisting inflationary pressures, aims to reduce the massive unemployment problem. Medium-term projections, on the basis of present policies, indicate that we in the European Community can expect no significant reduction in unemployment for some time to come. The costs of sustained unemployment at present levels are enormous, not just in terms of lost output and incomes but also in terms of their detrimental effects on attitudes in our societies.

177. In all these problems we are bound to recognize the increasing degree of interdependence of different countries and areas in the world economy and the consequences of economic policies pursued by individual countries or groups of countries for developments in other parts of the world. At the same time, we should be aware of the interrelationships of different policy areas, which all too often in the past had been considered separately. Given the uncertain economic environment in which we are operating, it is important that we retain flexibility in our economic policies and that we be prepared to act to counter any threat to world recovery.

178. In the Community we feel that the problems of development should be tackled in an integrated way and over the longer term. It is against this background and in this spirit that the Community has approached the various issues raised during the year in the framework of the North-South dialogue. Many of the issues considered remain unresolved and are on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. In this connection, the Community recalls its position in favour of global negotiations, which should of course be on a basis acceptable to all.

179. The review and appraisal of the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade is another issue before the General Assembly. Despite considerable efforts within the framework of UNCTAD, in the Economic and Social Council and here at United Nations Headquarters, that important exercise is not yet complete. The recent economic recession has held back progress towards the growth and development for which we all hoped and planned in 1980. The review should allow us to take advantage of the improving economic climate and give a new impetus to the implementation of the Strategy for the remainder of the Decade.

180. On behalf of the Community, may I say that we, for our part, firmly hold to our commitments made in the context of the International Development Strategy. In particular, we reaffirm our commitment to maintain and, where possible, increase the levels of official development assistance, especially in favour of the less developed countries.

181. I have already spoken of the concern of the European Community at the terrible problems of Africa, in particular sub-Saharan Africa, where drought and desertification have exacerbated an already difficult situation. I should like to underline that in recent years more than 50 per cent of the total aid received by African countries—that is, over \$5 billion a year—came from the Community and its member States. We heartily welcome the growing determination of African countries themselves to engage in further concrete efforts to come to grips with the various problems besetting their economic and social development.

182. We regret that it was not possible to reach agreement in the Economic and Social Council on a declaration drawing attention to Africa's problems. We have confidence, however, that the General Assembly will successfully conclude the negotiations on the declaration. We believe that such a declaration will be a signal to the world of the international community's concern at the plight of Africa and will encourage action to alleviate that plight.

183. We recall that at the meeting of the World Bank a few days ago the Development Committee expressed strong support for the proposed action programme contained in the Bank's report,<sup>8</sup> emphasizing that its implementation would require the concerted and sustained efforts of African Governments, bilateral donors and international organizations.

184. At the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, the world community considered the relatively limited progress of industrialization in the developing countries since the Second General Conference in 1975. In the Community's view, faster progress in industrialization world-wide is necessary, and the benefits of industrial growth should be spread more widely among developing countries. We regret that it was not possible to reach agreement on the chapeau or preamble to the report of the Fourth Conference,<sup>9</sup> although we were very near to achieving a consensus. We are pleased that the Conference provided an opportunity for a thorough examination of problems facing developing countries in their efforts to industrialize. It concluded with a consensus agreement on nine resolutions aimed at helping the developing

countries to overcome those problems and at defining the role of UNIDO.<sup>10</sup>

185. We in the Community welcome the opportunity to give further consideration to the two resolutions on which agreement was not reached<sup>11</sup> and which have been transmitted to this session of the General Assembly. We hope it will be possible to achieve consensus agreement on them. We believe it appropriate that, on the eve of the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency, the industrialization of developing countries should continue to be in the forefront of our attention here.

186. The effect of demographic patterns—in particular the rapid growth of the world's population—on development and the utilization of resources continues to be a cause of concern. The second half of the twentieth century stands out in history for its unprecedented population growth. Growth rates are still very high in many developing countries, and, even though the global rates have now begun to decline, the result, combined with the rapid growth of previous decades, will be a doubling of the world population over the course of the next 50 years, which will add to the difficulties of overcoming the obstacles to economic and social development. This will necessitate increased international attention now and in the years to come to the problems of improving the balance of resources between the peoples of the world. The International Conference on Population was held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984 against this background. In reviewing and refining the World Population Plan of Action, the Mexico Conference provided, in its recommendations adopted by consensus,<sup>12</sup> many useful guidelines to Governments in both developed and developing countries.

187. For the Community's own part, and in the context of strengthening our links with the developing countries, our efforts have been largely devoted this year to negotiating a third Lomé convention with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. As in the case of its predecessors, the third convention will cover a whole range of trade and aid provisions for over 60 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. We take pride that this co-operation convention represents an unprecedented effort to create a new model for relations between North and South, encompassing almost half of the international community, including most of the poorest nations. The negotiations have now entered their final stage and it is envisaged that the new agreement will be signed in December at Lomé, the capital of Togo. We do not claim that this convention will provide definitive solutions to all the development problems of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. It is, however, a contribution, based on a number of fundamental principles, which should enable both the Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries to continue to build the kind of co-operation that will be beneficial to both sides. The objectives of the convention make that clear. We have agreed that we will support and promote the efforts of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries to achieve self-determined, self-reliant and self-maintained development. Our efforts take account of local needs and local resources. Development must be encouraged from within and not imposed from without.

188. Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

The Community and its member States believe that the Convention constitutes a major effort in the codification and progressive development of international law in various fields.

189. The Convention has now been signed by five member States of the Community. Some concern persists with respect to the deep-sea-bed mining régime of the Convention and should be dealt with in such a manner as to make the Convention universally acceptable. In fact, we attach great importance to the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. I hope that the Convention will become a useful instrument for the promotion of co-operation and stable relations between all countries in this field.

190. The Ten appreciate the importance of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which over two thirds of the General Assembly now belong. The Movement exercises a considerable influence on international affairs. We believe that genuine non-alignment can contribute significantly to international stability and to the peaceful settlement of the problems which face the international community.

191. These problems, some of which I have touched on in this statement and most of which appear on the agenda of this session of the Assembly, present a distressing catalogue to those who believe that the United Nations could and should play a more important and decisive role in international life. It is therefore entirely appropriate and necessary that the Secretary-General should draw attention again this year, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], to the dangerous breakdown in the multilateral approach to international questions. The Ten agree with the Secretary-General's diagnosis of the problem. We also agree with his prescriptions for a solution. We have supported his efforts in the past and we shall continue to help in whatever way we can to restore respect for the Charter of the United Nations and to strengthen confidence in the Organization.

192. As the United Nations enters its 40th year there is an evident need for a recommitment to a multilateral approach which would draw on the energy, the imagination and the potential for co-operation of the majority of the Assembly. Other approaches have been tried and have failed. The Secretary-General, in his report, has sounded a warning about the risks of continued failure. We ignore that warning at our peril.

193. I should like now, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, to turn to a problem of supreme importance for all who live in Ireland, whether in the north or the south.

194. During the past year more lives have been lost in Northern Ireland, and the alienation of the nationalist minority there from the system of political authority, security and justice has continued. The urgent need to promote a political solution which will end the violence and alienation remains the most pressing problem confronting my Government. When I addressed the Assembly last year, at the thirty-eighth session [15th meeting], I expressed the hope that, following the completion of the work of the New Ireland Forum, its members would be able to present to all the people of Ireland and to the British people a clear and realistic analysis of the Northern Ireland problem, together with imagina-

tive, generous and workable ideas for new arrangements in my country with which all sides could identify. As one of those who worked in the New Ireland Forum over a period of 11 months, I am very honoured to inform the General Assembly that my hope has indeed been realized.

195. The report of the New Ireland Forum was published on 2 May 1984 and has been presented to the Secretary-General. It represents the position of the overwhelming majority of Irish nationalists—that is, almost 75 per cent of the entire population of Ireland—regarding the problem of Northern Ireland. Eleven major realities are identified in the report's analysis and 10 requirements are proposed as necessary elements of a framework within which a new Ireland could emerge. The British Government is invited to join in a process that will recognize those realities and give effect to those requirements and thus promote reconciliation between the two major traditions in Ireland. The Forum report suggests three possible models for creating a new Ireland which would be based on these realities and requirements. As a document reflecting the view of Irish nationalists, the preferred solution is naturally that of a unitary State, achieved by agreement and by consent and embracing the whole island of Ireland. However, other solutions along federal-confederal lines or involving a joint authority of the Irish and British Governments in Northern Ireland are also outlined in the report.

196. Further evidence of the realism and openness of the Forum parties is clear from their stated readiness to consider other views which may contribute to the political development that is so urgently required. The four major Irish nationalist parties which reject violence took part in the New Ireland Forum, and the Government of Ireland, formed by two of those parties, has decided that the findings and conclusions of the report are in accordance with its policy. We have brought the report in all its aspects to the attention of the British Government, and we now await its considered response. The report has already been the subject of a useful debate in the British Parliament, and it has stimulated a new interest on the part of many in Britain in working with the Irish Government to create a durable solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

197. We have been encouraged, too, by the positive international response outside Ireland and Britain to the Forum's report. The Irish Government believes that the interest of those international institutions—to which both Ireland and Britain belong—in the problem of Northern Ireland can be of positive support in our search for a solution. The sympathetic interest of the United Nations, as well as the recent adoption by the European Parliament of a report on Northern Ireland, are examples of such helpful and constructive interest.

198. The debate which was inaugurated by the publication of the New Ireland Forum report has already shown that there is much that is now common in the British and Irish perceptions of the Northern Ireland problem. It is encouraging that the British authorities now acknowledge the importance

of the Irish Government's concern for the interests of the minority community in Northern Ireland. My Government is concerned for the needs of all the people of Northern Ireland, and in recent months we have welcomed signs that some spokesmen in Northern Ireland, representing the people of the unionist tradition there who value their British heritage, are ready to be more open to their fellow citizens of the other Irish tradition.

199. Since I last spoke before this Assembly, the heads of Government of Ireland and Britain have on a number of occasions had the opportunity to review the situation in Northern Ireland. Following a substantive discussion in November of last year they expressed their deep concern about the continuing violence and their joint determination to take all possible means to end it. The two heads of Government, Mr. Fitzgerald and Mrs. Thatcher, will meet again shortly for a summit session of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council. Could the two Governments jointly determine in the months ahead to meet the requirements of the Northern Ireland problems identified in the New Ireland Forum report—and it is my conviction that only such an urgent joint approach can succeed in resolving this tragedy—then we will need the support and understanding of all in the United Nations. A lasting commitment on the part of the Irish and British authorities to a realistic settlement will be difficult for both Governments. I believe, however, that we can, together, as two Member States inspired by the ideals of the United Nations, overcome those difficulties, meet the risks involved and bring peace at last to the suffering people of Northern Ireland.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*

#### NOTES

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

<sup>2</sup>E/CN.4/1984/72.

<sup>3</sup>Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of Representatives of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Held on the Basis of the Provisions of the Final Act Relating to the Follow-up to the Conference, issued on 6 September 1983.

<sup>4</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1984*, document S/16433.

<sup>5</sup>*Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

<sup>6</sup>See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

<sup>7</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

<sup>8</sup>The World Bank, *Annual Report, 1984* (Washington, D.C., 1984).

<sup>9</sup>ID/CONF.5/46 and Corr.1, chap. II, sect. A.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, sect. B.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, sect. C.

<sup>12</sup>See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8 and corrigenda), chap. I, sect. B.