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**7th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 25 September 1984,  
at 3.40 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of New Zealand, Mr. David Lange, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. LANGE (New Zealand): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election. When Africa's problems are looming so large, it is appropriate that an African should once again preside over the General Assembly. We are confident that your presidency will help make this session a fruitful one. New Zealand will do all it can to assist you.

3. We welcome the newest Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, a country of our own part of the world, with which we have long-standing ties. New Zealand has long believed that the membership of the Organization should be universal. We welcome every step in that direction. We would not want to see the principle of universality compromised in any way.

4. I would not adequately reflect the views of most New Zealanders if I did not, right at the beginning of my first address to the General Assembly, talk about an issue that has become very prominent in public debate in our country. New Zealanders—not just a few of them, but people from all sectors of the community—have become gravely concerned about nuclear weapons and the continuing and deadly competition in their production, their refinement and their deployment.

5. New Zealand is a small and remote country, perhaps a little distant from the mainstream of world affairs. We are fortunate enough to live in a region that constitutes a pocket of tranquillity in a deeply divided and troubled world. Like many members of the international community, New Zealand faces serious economic problems and some social ones as well; but we are at least able to come to grips with these problems without having our attention diverted by those immediate worries about security that are all too familiar for many Members of the United Nations. We are not occupied; we are nobody's client; we have excellent relations with all our neighbours; in 1984 no other country has New Zealand in its sights. For our longer-term protection we rely on our membership of the Western Alliance. That membership is formally expressed in a security treaty with the United States and Australia which for

33 years has been a central feature of the foreign and defence policies of successive New Zealand Governments, including my own.

6. Against this background, why is it that New Zealanders are becoming increasingly worried about a contest that is centred in two capitals half a world away? With no more immodesty than many others, New Zealanders like to think of themselves as practical and sensible people. They are simply alarmed at the continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals, because they can see no sense in it. How does it make sense continually to augment and refine an existing capacity to make the rubble bounce and bounce and bounce again? New Zealanders have felt deepening frustration at the inability of the States that hold nuclear weapons, in particular the two super-Powers, to agree on practical measures to halt and reverse the process of building more and "better" nuclear weapons. If ordinary people everywhere can see the irrationality of that race, they ask, why cannot the super-Powers see it also? And, if they can see it, why do they not do something about it?

7. Quite recently, another dimension has been added to these concerns. Our people, like others round the world, have known for a long time that the possibility of nuclear war is a terrible and frightening one. They have known for very many years that if the countries that have these weapons eventually descend to hurling them at each other, then those countries and their peoples will be destroyed. They have also recognized that other countries, including New Zealand, would suffer very severely indeed. But New Zealanders had not previously supposed that the direct physical consequences for them could be overwhelming. If common humanity and concern for others dictated anxiety about nuclear war, it was thought, perhaps we could afford to be slightly less anxious than others.

8. Within the last year or so, New Zealanders have been told that even that last tattered shred of reassurance is probably no longer available. Reputable scientists from east and west have told us that the global, climatic and long-term biological consequences of a nuclear war would be much more severe than had been previously thought. What is more, that would be the case if even a relatively small part of existing nuclear arsenals was used or if the weapons were used only against so-called counter-force or military targets. The scientists have also told us that nuclear war in the north may generate a nuclear winter in the south as well. They have gone further and advised us that there is a possibility of the self-inflicted extinction of the human species. That, we are told, is what could flow from the deliberate, if irrational, act, the mistake, the miscalculation or the accident.

9. To New Zealanders this is a truly appalling state of affairs. Refinements or modifications of the predictions which the scientists have made about the consequences of nuclear war may be made as a result of further work, but they will concern only the exact range of utter disaster.

10. What the scientists have already made entirely plain to all of us—plainer than ever before—is that the nuclear weapons that may have helped to maintain an uneasy peace between two great countries for more than three decades have become a threat to the security and survival of countries and peoples everywhere. The situation we are facing is quite unlike any other with which the international community has had to grapple before. It is one from which, unpalatable though it may be to think about, no country—and, for that matter, no individual—can back away. We shall not escape from it if the traditional prescriptions of great-Power politics are applied.

11. What the scientists have not demonstrated, of course, is that nuclear war will occur or that it is more likely now than it was in the past. But the question how close we may be to falling into the abyss does not take account of the essential point. The fact is that a nuclear war is possible, whether it is half a year or 100 years away or whether, as we all hope, it never occurs.

12. None of the nuclear-weapon States can tell us that it will not occur, that they will never do what they have in their power to do. The results of the use of nuclear weapons would be so grave that it is absolutely incumbent upon the nuclear-weapon States to do everything possible to avoid their use. And that would remain the case even if the consequences of nuclear war should be shown later to be only half or a quarter as bad as the scientists have predicted.

13. My Government can find no encouragement in the recent response of the nuclear-weapon States to this situation. The refinement and deployment of nuclear weapons continues apace. There are disquieting indications that the military competition between the super-Powers may, in the coming years, move to the new environment of outer space. Multilateral arms control negotiations are stalled and, in some cases, in danger of being discredited. I would ask the Soviet Union to respond positively to the United States invitation to resume key bilateral arms control talks in order to get a dialogue under way again.

14. My Government hopes that the two super-Powers will take a long hard look at the course of developments in the nuclear arms race. It is clearly in their own interests and in the interests of all of us to make a new and very much more determined attempt to reach agreements that will enable them to change direction. None of us underestimates the complexities involved in reaching agreements that will permit a mutual, balanced, verifiable—and very large—reduction in existing levels of nuclear weapons. We are aware that it will not be easy to manage safely the transition to a more secure world where, as a stage in the road to their elimination, the number of nuclear weapons is drastically reduced and where innovations in weaponry, if they are to occur at all, are not of a kind that cause instability. That process will require trust and good will. It is also likely to require the taking of risks. But the most dangerous risk of all is to do nothing: to allow compulsive competitiveness to continue indefinitely.

15. We ask, in addition, of the Soviet Union that it reflect on the fact that many countries, of which New Zealand is one, have the greatest difficulty in understanding its current reluctance to take part in bilateral arms control negotiations with the United States. The events that occurred between 1939 and 1945 gave the Soviet Union every reason to be concerned about preserving the peace. It will advance that cause by returning to the bargaining table and looking at ways and means of beginning the process of de-escalation.

16. Countries such as my own have to recognize that the contribution we can make to assist this process is limited; but we are bound to continue to try. There are several things we want to emphasize. The most urgent of these is the need for massive reductions in strategic nuclear arms. There are other things as well. New Zealand has, for many years, argued the case for the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

17. It needs to be understood that our advocacy of that measure is not prompted solely by the fact that one of the nuclear-weapon States continues, despite repeated pleas from all the countries in the region, to test its weapons in the South Pacific. We see a prohibition of the testing of nuclear weapons by any country in any environment as a critical first step in halting and then turning back the arms race. We have been disappointed at the lack of progress made in securing such a prohibition. My delegation will again at this session of the General Assembly sponsor a draft resolution which seeks to encourage and speed up that work.

18. A comprehensive test ban will also be of the greatest importance in preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons. Everything possible must be done to stop that from happening. My Government will want to take an active part in the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons next year. We see that Treaty as fundamental to world security.

19. There are, of course, other techniques of modern warfare which are not much less unpleasant than nuclear weapons. Biological weapons have already been outlawed. The need for a comprehensive agreement to outlaw the manufacture and use of all chemical weapons is another matter of concern to New Zealand. During the past year there appears to have been some prospect of progress in that direction. We urge the Conference on Disarmament to get on with the task.

20. If the international community is to chart a way out of the current impasse on nuclear weapons, this will be done through global measures in which the nuclear-weapon States will play the major role. But regional initiatives can also make a contribution. My Government regards the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)<sup>1</sup> as a significant regional advance. We are also fully committed to, and will vigorously defend, the Antarctic Treaty,<sup>2</sup> which demilitarized a whole continent to the south of New Zealand and prohibited the basing or testing of nuclear weapons and which, for more than 20 years, has effectively guaranteed the stability of that region.

21. Very recently, a new initiative has been taken in our part of the world. On the proposal of Australia and with the full support of my Government, the heads of Government of the 11 countries that make

up the South Pacific Forum agreed on 28 August of this year, at a meeting in Tuvalu, on the desirability of establishing a South Pacific nuclear-free zone at the earliest opportunity. The heads of Government spelt out the principles that will be applied in the construction of such a zone. It was agreed that there should be no use, testing or stationing of nuclear devices in the South Pacific; that no South Pacific country would develop or manufacture or receive from others or acquire or test any nuclear explosive device; and that nuclear activities in the South Pacific would be conducted in accordance with applicable international principles and treaties, notably the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. The meeting acknowledged the need for a South Pacific nuclear-free zone to respect the principles of freedom of navigation and overflight. It was accepted that South Pacific countries would retain their unqualified sovereign right to decide for themselves, consistent with the objectives of the zone, on their security arrangements and on such questions as the access to their ports and airfields by vessels and aircraft of other countries. It was agreed that in the course of the next year a draft of a treaty to establish the zone should be prepared.

22. This initiative represents, I believe, a major advance for the region. It would not, we know, spare us from the consequences of nuclear war but, when in place, it would significantly strengthen the existing measures, both global and regional, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. It would also, I believe, convey a clear signal that the South Pacific countries do not want their region to become an arena for rivalry involving nuclear weapons.

23. New Zealand would hope to be in a position to report to the General Assembly next year and, before that, to the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that good progress has been made in creating a South Pacific nuclear-free zone. New Zealand and the other countries of our region naturally expect that, when the necessary work has been done within the region, all the nuclear-weapon States will co-operate with us to ensure that the zone becomes a reality.

24. The recent meeting of the South Pacific Forum turned its attention also to the evolving situation in New Caledonia.

25. The question is not really where that Territory is going. Rather, it is how it gets there, and at what pace. The French Government has, I believe, made a clear and irreversible commitment to self-determination for the peoples of New Caledonia. There is a particular mix of interests and problems that must be resolved carefully and by the people most directly concerned, that is to say, by all the ethnic groups that have a legitimate stake in the future of New Caledonia.

26. All members of the Forum agreed that the changes that are to come in New Caledonia—and they must and will come—should be made speedily and peacefully, that is to say, without violence and without external interference. It is up to all parties concerned to exercise moderation. They must work together to achieve the kind of political future that satisfies the demands of a truly democratic and harmonious multi-ethnic society in New Caledonia.

27. A significant amount of progress has been made. A lot remains to be done. That was recognized

at the Forum. There we were agreed that the process of decolonization would be advanced by a public statement from France about its commitment to independence for New Caledonia. We gave it as our view that the referendum planned for 1989 should be brought forward; 1989 was, we felt, too distant a date. And we suggested some intensification of preparation for the country's eventual independence to ensure the full and active participation of the Kanak people in the country's educational, vocational and administrative life.

28. We called too, at that Forum, on the Independence Front to play its part in the early and peaceful evolution of New Caledonia to independence by recognizing the need for independence to reflect fully the multiracial nature of New Caledonia.

29. What we stressed above all was the crucial role of dialogue—that those involved should keep talking to each other. That was the message which the Tuvalu Forum sought to convey to France and to the Independence Front. I am hopeful that an initiative taken by the Forum to foster the process of dialogue will soon get under way and that a group of Ministers from Forum countries—including New Zealand—will be able to talk to the leaders of the Independence Front and to the French Government to tell each of them about the concern of the countries in our part of the world that New Caledonia should move through conference and dialogue, not through confrontation and dispute, to independence. We in the South Pacific have always found solutions to problems through dialogue, discussion, consensus; and it is through dialogue and consensus that we wish to see New Caledonia take its rightful place soon in the community of the nations of the South Pacific.

30. Neither we nor our South Pacific partners want to see unwelcome external influences intrude upon events of New Caledonia, nor to see the transition to independence marred by an outcome that is not in accordance with the wishes of all those in New Caledonia who have made that country their permanent home. Our part of the world has been fortunate in that it has been free from the conflict and violence that have so often accompanied decolonization elsewhere. We do not want that record to be blemished. I am confident that it will not be.

31. If it is important to all of us living in the South Pacific that our region remain free from conflict, we are equally concerned to ensure that our backyard, the Antarctic, does not become an area of international rivalry and discord. I have already noted that the Antarctic Treaty demilitarized Antarctica. What is even more important, the Treaty provides the only possible guarantee that the region will continue to be free from international rivalry and conflict. The study on the question of Antarctica, submitted by the Secretary-General [*A/39/583 (Part I) and Corr. 1 and 2 and A/39/583 (Part II) and Corr. 1*] should help countries more remote from the region to understand the contribution the Treaty has made and continues to make to the achievement of the purposes of the United Nations. I hope it will convince them that the Treaty system, which is open to all Members of the United Nations, must be preserved and strengthened.

32. I referred a moment ago to a conviction that there has been an irrevocable commitment to self-determination for the people of New Caledonia. I wish I could say the same about the situation in southern Africa. Namibia continues to be unlawfully

occupied by South Africa. The United Nations has had no choice but itself to accept a special responsibility for the Territory. It has guaranteed to its people that they will be able to exercise their right of self-determination. But that promise has been subverted by South Africa's determination to accept no settlement except on its own terms, and by the military power which reinforces the obstinacy and aggression that South Africa has also shown towards its other neighbours.

33. I wish, too, that it could be said that the agreements South Africa has recently concluded with neighbouring States signified a new era in the region. Regrettably, they do not appear to be agreements made willingly in order to resolve difficulties and develop closer working partnerships, or agreements in which peace and justice were equally sought by both sides.

34. Nor can it be said that the South African Government has offered justice to the people of South Africa in its new constitutional arrangements. There is not the slightest indication that it is ready to share political power with the black majority. Nor is there any sign that it is willing to dismantle the *apartheid* system. The essence of that system is unchanged. In recent and separate elections the Coloured and Indian communities have spurned the South African Government's attempt to draw them into an alliance and, by so doing, have confirmed their rejection of the *apartheid* system.

35. New Zealand likewise rejects *apartheid* and all it stands for. We are committed in our country to building a multiracial society based on freedom, justice and consent. The South Africans have already learned that my Government will not compromise with a system that rejects those values.

36. If my Government believes that there is today more reason than ever before to keep the basic issue of war and peace right at the top of the agenda of the United Nations, we also see an urgent need to move quickly and firmly to tackle the economic problems facing the world.

37. The world economy is just beginning to emerge from the worst trial it has known for over 30 years. Investment and production have increased, inflation is down and world trade is increasing. But doubts persist. Unhappily, even now many countries have yet to benefit significantly from the recovery in some of the leading industrial economies. The international financial system has shown enough flexibility to survive the recent crisis. That is a relief. But it is hard to feel very optimistic about the future when many countries are still struggling to meet their financial obligations and in many others large numbers of people are actually facing starvation.

38. The protracted debates in international forums during the past few years have not done much to alleviate the real problems confronting us. New Zealand would like to encourage the development of a gradual movement towards pragmatism and compromise. New Zealanders have never seen much prospect of resolving the world's economic problems through confrontation. Dialogue and consensus are the techniques that we are trying to use in our own country, and they seem to us to hold out the best chance of success on the international scene.

39. The recent economic crisis has had at least one good result. During the past year or so, it has become widely recognized among industrialized as well as

developing countries that, despite the role that international financial institutions have played in supporting the adjustment and development efforts of individual countries, the present international system is not working well. If proof is still required it can easily be found in the debt problem, on the one hand, and the problem of protectionism, on the other. More and more, international trade is escaping the multilateral rules that should safeguard the interests of all countries, including the smaller among them. The need for an overhaul is pressing. The task now is to find the right technique for the job—that is, a technique that will work. New Zealand has been active in the search for an acceptable and effective procedure for dealing with the problem. New Zealand supports a comprehensive review of the trade and payments system.

40. Before I finish I want to reaffirm my faith and my country's in the United Nations. Nowadays there are many people who question the usefulness of the Organization for their own countries if not for the world at large. I am not one of them. I believe that the Charter of the United Nations is the foundation of the system of international relations under which we have all lived for nearly 40 years. I believe that the essential function of the United Nations under the Charter is to discourage the use of force by one State against another. I believe that the Organization has played a part in saving us all so far from the catastrophe of a third world war. I belong to a generation in my country which has never experienced at first hand the ravages of war in the sense of the amount of fear that war brings, and throughout my lifetime the United Nations has symbolized, as it has coexisted with a level of peace for which we yearn, the fact that multilateral arrangements can be of benefit to the human race. I believe that the United Nations has an important contribution to make towards bringing the nuclear arms race under control and freeing us from the fear of nuclear war. I believe that I and all New Zealanders and our children can rest more peacefully because of the work that is done within the United Nations, and I believe that that is true for all peoples on our Earth.

41. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of New Zealand for the important statement he has just made.

42. Mr. CLARK (Canada): It is with particular pleasure that I congratulate you, Sir, and your country, Zambia, on your election as President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You have worked closely with Canadians since the start of your long years of dedication to the United Nations. We also value the many links between Zambia and Canada, one of the most rewarding being our shared membership in the Commonwealth. It was an enriching experience for me to visit Zambia in 1979 for the conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government.

43. I should also like to welcome Brunei Darussalam, another fellow member of the Commonwealth, as the 159th Member of the United Nations.

44. Eight days ago the Progressive Conservative Government of Canada assumed office. It is appropriate that the first foreign policy statement outside Canada by our new Government should be here at the United Nations. Like all countries, we have urgent problems at home, and we are determined to

face them. But the basic reality of Canada is that we are open to the world; our economy responds to the international economy; our population comes from and connects with all continents and nations; the name of our capital city, Ottawa, is drawn from the Algonquin Indian word meaning "a meeting-place", and our history is that of a community where different cultures and contesting interests can meet together. Ever since we have been a sovereign nation, our Governments and our people have tried to put our talents to work for the world. We shall continue in that spirit.

45. Canada was active at the creation of the United Nations, and successive Canadian Governments, formed by different political parties, have consistently helped the Organization to meet its most difficult challenges. I come to this rostrum in the tradition of Howard Green of Canada, who struggled to achieve a partial test-ban treaty as a first step towards a comprehensive test ban; in the tradition of Lester Pearson, who inspired the concept of peace-keeping; and in the tradition of Paul Martin, who helped to end the log-jam which had prevented the admission of new Member States in the early years of the United Nations. Canadians are proud of having contributed to the solution of problems such as those.

46. In the nearly four decades since the Second World War, the international community has come to count on Canada as a moderating influence in a world beset by extremes. Our new Government is in the mainstream of this Canadian tradition and intends to build on it, consistently and pragmatically.

47. We want to ensure that we are using our influence and defining our interests in ways which reflect the contemporary challenges facing Canada and the world. As a new Government should, we shall undertake a thorough and public review of Canadian foreign policy aimed at the creative renewal of a moderate and constructive Canadian role in the world. Citizens of Canada and friends of Canada will be encouraged to suggest how the Canadian international tradition can best be applied to the increasing tensions and interdependence of the modern world, including those of the nuclear age.

48. The frightening facts of the nuclear arms race are well known. The super-Powers are developing new kinds of nuclear weapons, more countries are developing nuclear capacities, and the risk rises that terrorist groups could acquire nuclear devices. Physicians and scientists warn that even for survivors the world would be virtually uninhabitable after a major nuclear conflict. But far more threatening than the weaponry are the patterns into which the world has settled. Nuclear-arms-control negotiations between the super-Powers are at a standstill. This stalemate allows other nuclear States to claim impotence in the arms race and could encourage States without nuclear weapons to argue that they, too, have a right to acquire them.

49. If these patterns continue and the path towards effective nuclear arms control remains blocked, the world will become infinitely more dangerous.

50. We therefore welcome the meeting that will take place in Washington later this week between President Reagan and Foreign Minister Gromyko. We applaud the United States willingness, expressed so eloquently yesterday by President Reagan [*4th meeting*], to engage in political consultations on a regular and frequent basis. We hope that the Soviet

Union will respond positively to this opportunity to meet and to talk.

51. On these questions, Canada's influence is limited but real. We have no corner on moral authority or technical expertise, but we do enjoy a reputation as a people who are serious about peace and skilled at mediation. Those qualities are critically important in reversing the ominous trends which threaten to unravel arms control. The essential problem today is not moral and it is not technical. Neither super-Power wants a holocaust, and human ingenuity, which can invent weapons, can devise controls. The problem is political, and this is one of the forums in which we must work together to inch the world away from nuclear devastation.

52. Some people despair of anything constructive being possible in the present state of international tension. They point to the recent lack of progress in virtually every area of arms control. The Canadian view is that something must be done and so it can be done.

53. The major decisions rest with the super-Powers, but the responsibility rests with us all. Multilateral efforts, led and encouraged by the medium-sized and smaller countries, can help improve the atmosphere and can put specific, workable ideas on the agenda.

54. Canada, for its part, is determined to continue to play a leading role in the search for peace and disarmament. We believe that the nuclear build-up threatens the life of every Canadian and that it threatens the existence of human society. Countries like our own must use their influence to reverse that build-up and reduce the danger of destruction. That will be a constant, consistent, dominant priority of Canadian foreign policy.

55. My country is not neutral in the contest between open and closed societies. We defend and we actively assert the values of democracy and individual freedom. We believe it is essential to pursue the goals of peace and freedom simultaneously.

56. We shall seek, through concrete and realistic steps, progress towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We shall encourage super-Power and multilateral discussion on all outer space weapons and shall commission further studies on how a space-weapons ban might be verified. We shall work for the success of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons next year, in order to prevent the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. We shall bring to bear our technical expertise in verification measures to ensure mutual confidence and security in areas where arms control agreements can be achieved. We shall encourage agreement on a mutual and balanced reduction of conventional forces in Europe, and hence reduce the danger of escalation to nuclear war. We shall continue to press for a verifiable convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. Canada will continue its financial support of the World Disarmament Campaign. We shall, in addition, expect that the newly created Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security will contribute its share of studies and advice on specific arms control proposals and measures to reduce international tension.

[*The speaker continued in French.*]

57. Since we are new in office, I speak today in more general terms than I shall on future occasions. The Prime Minister, Mr. Brian Mulroney, has said

that our new Government "will play a more active role in the United Nations and its agencies".

58. Our Government is unreservedly committed to the United Nations. We value our bilateral relations with other countries and our role in such associations as the Commonwealth and *La Francophonie*. These links are important, but they are not enough. Whether medium-sized Powers or smaller countries, we all need effective international institutions so that our voices may be heard in the world and so that we may face together the huge political and economic problems of our century. A dynamic and responsive United Nations system is essential for countries such as Canada—but also for the super-Powers. It is precisely because more communities adopt an introspective attitude that we must strengthen the world institutions that bring us together.

59. In his reports on the work of the Organization over the past three years, the Secretary-General has tried to make us face up to our responsibilities as Member States. In his most recent report [A/39/1] he asks this:

"Why has there been a retreat from internationalism and multilateralism at a time when actual developments both in relation to world peace and to the world economy would seem to demand their strengthening?"

60. When are we going to start to answer his disquieting questions? Let us hope that it will not take a major disaster to jolt us out of our inertia.

61. The eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is a fitting occasion for each Member State to examine its commitment to the Charter of the United Nations. This anniversary must be marked by a renewal of commitments for the future, not merely by a celebration of the past.

62. It is not enough to reaffirm our adherence to the Charter. Member States must work together actively to strengthen the United Nations system. The Secretary-General has expressed the hope that in each of our countries our best talents will be put to this task. Let us take up this challenge and establish the guidelines for this work.

63. An unprecedented conference of 35 leading Canadians, sponsored by the United Nations Association in Canada, will take place on 26 October at Ottawa to launch a review of ways to strengthen the United Nations. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mulroney, and the Government intend also to ask Canadian parliamentarians to study this question and present formal recommendations.

64. How can we translate the results of this soul-searching in each of our countries into collective action to strengthen the United Nations system in concrete ways?

65. We should consider at this session, as a priority issue, how we, the "friends of the United Nations", can identify and give effect to practical measures to strengthen the United Nations system.

[The speaker resumed in English.]

66. Any analysis of what is needed to strengthen the United Nations system must be based upon a realistic assessment of what has gone right and what has gone wrong.

67. The first thing that has gone wrong is that the Security Council has become increasingly ineffective. We all recognize that the Council does not operate in a vacuum. It will continue to mirror world tensions.

But deteriorating relationships between its permanent members must not be allowed to immobilize the Council. We must immunize the Council to the extent that no matter what the crisis and whatever the state of relations among its members their representatives will continue to talk.

68. Last year the members of the Security Council held a series of private meetings to discuss how to improve the effectiveness of the Council. But that exercise appears to have run out of steam. Even ideas which appear uncontroversial on the surface seem to have been ignored. Why, for example, cannot the members of the Council agree to hold regular sessions *in camera*, with the Secretary-General present, to review the Council's and the Secretary-General's roles in facilitating the solution of current, incipient or potential disputes? A reluctance to talk is no excuse. The Council, at least behind the scenes, must function as a multilateral hot-line.

69. A second failing is that we have not lived up to our own responsibilities as States Members of the United Nations. We have expected the Secretary-General to fill the vacuum, without giving him adequate political support to do the job. We must allow the Secretary-General a greater margin of initiative and a greater independence of action. He has been able on his own to take action in some areas of United Nations activity. He has, for example, made a promising start in improving the management of the limited financial and human resources of the Organization. He has used a period of budgetary restraint to begin to weed out lower-priority activities. The Secretary-General has also been exerting a positive influence on many intractable international problems. But we must provide him with more political backing. He should be allowed and encouraged to increase his fact-finding capacity and his ability to exercise his good offices in particular situations.

70. A third thing that has gone wrong is that too much valuable time and resources are being wasted throughout the United Nations system on extraneous political issues. We all accept the fact that the Security Council and the General Assembly are political forums, but even here we should avoid the repetition of sterile political debates, the proliferation of resolutions on the same topic and the scheduling of redundant conferences and meetings.

71. We must also resist the over-politicization that is increasingly infecting the technical parts of the United Nations system, which are neither mandated nor equipped to handle such issues. It is naive to expect that a certain number of heated political issues will not be raised. However, it becomes debilitating when political issues begin to frustrate the normal give and take between groups in working out consensus on the essential activities of United Nations organizations. UNESCO, for example, has been a serious offender in recent years. We must step up the momentum to bring UNESCO back into balance.

72. We must not permit challenges to the universality of membership to undermine the continued viability of the system. Israel, for example, must retain its right of membership in the United Nations family of organizations. The Republic of Korea deserves full membership in the United Nations.

73. We must not, of course, allow any analysis of the things that have gone wrong to obscure the many

things that have gone right within the United Nations system. We often take for granted the many parts of the system which are continuing to function well. I shall cite only a few examples.

74. First, most of the United Nations specialized agencies are continuing to carry out their mandates with distinction and with dedication. ICAO, as a case in point, was able last spring to approve unanimously an amendment to its Constitution to make even clearer the existing prohibition against using force against civil aircraft.

75. Secondly, in human rights the distance still to go and the double standards still at play cannot obscure the step-by-step progress which has been made. All those who cherish human rights have been heartened by the election of a Government of Argentina committed to the restoration of human rights. Canada hopes that at this session of the General Assembly the next important international milestone in human rights will be passed by the adoption of the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.<sup>3</sup> We must send a message to the world that torture is unacceptable to civilized nations.

76. Thirdly, the United Nations development activities and humanitarian assistance continue to be irreplaceable. In 1984, UNDP will generate about \$1 billion in technical assistance to developing countries, using the parts of the United Nations system as executing agencies. UNICEF makes a vital contribution to meeting the development and humanitarian needs of mothers and of children. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and UNRWA co-ordinate essential humanitarian assistance to refugees.

77. Fourthly, the United Nations system is also helping to focus upon the most persistent social issues facing society. The designation by the United Nations of 1985 as International Youth Year has encouraged many countries such as Canada to develop a comprehensive national programme in this field. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, has strengthened the momentum generated on population issues over the last decade and identified emerging problems of global concern. The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held at Nairobi next July, will provide an opportunity to develop forward-looking strategies to stimulate positive changes in the lives of women.

78. Fifthly, under the auspices of the United Nations system, positive and often innovative legal régimes have been established in such critical fields as the law of the sea, trade, outer space, civil aviation, telecommunications and the environment. The progressive extension of the rule of law is fundamental to the whole multilateral system.

79. The record is much less positive in the area of peace and security. We can do more to make creative use of the machinery under the Charter of the United Nations to facilitate the peaceful settlement of specific disputes.

80. My Government wants the independence, sovereignty and genuine non-alignment of Afghanistan restored and foreign forces withdrawn from that battered country. We support the continued efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative to accomplish this.

81. We support the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] in their efforts to bring peace to the unfortunate country of Kampuchea, which continues to be occupied unlawfully.

82. Canada regrets the extension to Central America of East-West confrontation and the related militarization of the area. We applaud the initiative, skill and tenacity of the countries of the Contadora Group in their efforts to build a framework of reconciliation in the spirit of the Charter. We also welcome the opening of a direct dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua.

83. We need a negotiated settlement to end the suffering and destruction of the war between Iran and Iraq. We support the Secretary-General in building upon his recent success in obtaining the agreement of the belligerents to cease attacks on civilian population centres. His sending of a team to investigate allegations of the use of chemical weapons was also a useful action.

84. Canada hopes that the current efforts of the Government of Lebanon to restore peace and stability in that tragic country will be rewarded. We support Lebanon's territorial integrity and maintain that all foreign troops should withdraw unless present at the request of the Lebanese Government. Canadians have been appalled by the latest act of terrorism in which so many people were killed and wounded at the United States Embassy in Beirut.

85. We strongly support a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which provides for the right of all States, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized boundaries. We also support the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to a homeland within a clearly defined territory, the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

86. We should remind ourselves that United Nations peace-keeping forces and observer missions continue to be essential in a number of troubled areas of the world. All Member States have a responsibility to contribute to the support of these operations. In particular, we ask Member States to respond positively to the appeal by the Secretary-General for additional voluntary contributions to UNFICYP. While peace-keeping forces can help to reduce the risk of open conflict, lasting peace can be achieved only through reasonable political compromise. In that spirit, we applaud the constructive participation of the leaders of the two Cypriot communities in the proximity talks held during the last two weeks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. We welcome the announced renewal of those exchanges next month, and we urge the parties to seize this opportunity for progress towards a just and lasting settlement.

87. We are all painfully aware that political and economic forces now at play in the global environment are interrelated. It is worth asking: What is the record of the multilateral system on the economic front?

88. The debt crisis has severely afflicted many developing countries. The effects of severe indebtedness on the economic prospects of so many developing countries, on the well-being of their peoples and on the health of the international financial system as a whole must remain a major

preoccupation of the international community. Continued efforts will be required by the industrialized countries to ensure that the recovery strengthens and persists and spreads to all countries, developed and developing alike.

89. Canada will support expanding multilateral efforts to stabilize the debt situation, in line with the decision of major industrialized countries, at the London Economic Summit, held from 7 to 9 June 1984, to confirm their strategy on debt and to implement and develop it flexibly case by case. The Commonwealth, too, has been doing important work in this area. My colleague, the Minister of Finance of Canada, was invited by Commonwealth Finance Ministers, at Toronto last week, to recommend to this week's annual meeting of the World Bank and the IMF that issues of special importance to developing countries, including debt, be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Development Committee. I am encouraged by the agreement of the Interim and Development Committees, in Washington over the weekend, to devote special attention at their meetings next spring to such matters as debt, adjustment and financial flows in the medium-term perspective.

90. The courageous adjustment efforts of many developing countries must be continued, but it is also important that adequate financing be provided by the international community. In this respect, the important role that could be played by private investment should not be overlooked.

91. As a country heavily dependent on foreign trade and foreign investment, my Government is pledged to maintain close co-operation with its economic partners and to uphold the principles of the open and just multilateral system under which all countries, developed and developing, can prosper. Effective multilateral institutions are essential to prevent parochial responses to economic problems that require common action.

92. National and international action will be needed to stem protectionist tendencies, which are still strong and could threaten trade prospects. The major Western industrialized countries rededicated themselves at the London Economic Summit to resist protectionist pressures and to accelerate the work programme of GATT. Our collective ability to fulfil these pledges and to move towards a new round of multilateral trade negotiations will be critical in halting the erosion of the open trading system and ensuring that trade shall continue to be one of the motors of growth in the world economy. Developing countries, as well, must play their full role in this process.

93. Meanwhile, there are the urgent questions of human suffering that must be addressed. Our new Government intends to maintain Canada's commitment to reach by 1990 the target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product in official development assistance. Despite serious economic problems at home, we shall not turn our backs on the world's disadvantaged peoples. A greater share of our aid budget will be spent by non-governmental organizations, which have proved their effectiveness in community development programmes.

94. The record of the international community on economic issues is one of achievement, although it is far from perfect. We must ensure that the specialized institutions that we have created shall prove capable

of coping with current and future challenges. There is growing support for a pragmatic, issue-oriented approach. Organizations such as the IMF/World Bank, GATT, UNCTAD and others which have specific mandates within the multilateral system are being encouraged to get on with their jobs with a renewed sense of commitment and co-operation.

95. As the Secretary-General has emphasized, nowhere is human need greater today than in Africa, where many countries face drought and starvation. The problem of refugees remains of special concern there. So do the debt and balance-of-payments problems. This year Canada is devoting over 40 per cent of bilateral aid to Africa. We have sharply increased our food allocations and raised our contributions to humanitarian relief organizations.

96. The struggle for freedom and equality in southern Africa is also our common cause. Canada joined with other Commonwealth countries in adopting the 1979 Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice. We stand by that Declaration, which reflects our commitment to work for the eradication of the evil of racism. We reject policies designed to perpetuate *apartheid* and continue racial discrimination.

97. We are also grieved that the people of Namibia are still denied their independence after a century of colonial rule. South Africa must set a date to implement Namibia's independence under Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

98. I speak here today as a Foreign Minister conscious of the frustrations of the United Nations and the limits on its actions. But I first encountered the United Nations as an idea, not an institution—an idea that reached into the comfortable corner of the world where I was born, let me know that famine and war and disease were part of daily life in most of the world, and gave me hope that there was a way we could fight those evils. Viewed from that perspective, the United Nations can be judged not by volumes of repetitive debates but by the millions of children who are fed and clothed and are living; the wars that were averted or limited or postponed; the hundreds of millions of human lives that have been protected or improved because the idea of the United Nations connects people who can help with people who need help.

99. The idea of the United Nations is as important now as at any time in our history. It forces the comfortable out of complacency. It lifts the desperate beyond despair. It allows today's frustrations to be seen in the light of four decades of lives improved, conflicts reduced, perspectives enlarged.

100. Support for the United Nations must be based on a clear-sighted view of current realities. When we list the things that have gone wrong with the United Nations, we should not forget the things that have gone right, and when we rejoice in the things that have gone right, we often underestimate the political and economic problems that lie ahead. We must avoid the trap of blaming the United Nations for our own sins and omissions. If we collectively are unable to revitalize the United Nations system, we shall have to resign ourselves to watching it wither away. That must not happen.

101. The year 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, can be a turning-point in the life of the Organization. A broad coalition of "friends of the United Nations" must join forces to renew the

effectiveness of global institutions. My Government will do its utmost, working with other States and with the Secretary-General, to make these institutions flourish. This is the fortieth birthday present our peoples deserve. Let us prove that life begins at forty.

102. Last week in Canada, Pope John Paul II called for "a new vision of humanity" to inspire nations and individuals in the pursuit of peace and well-being for all. He asked Canadians to do more. Let us all do more.

103. Mr. TINDEMANS (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I would like to begin by conveying to you the congratulations of the Government of Belgium on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and expressing our wishes for success in the fulfilment of this most prestigious and essential task.

104. My country is delighted that a person of your stature has been chosen for this high office. It views this as an assurance of the success of our work. Furthermore, Belgium is happy to see a representative of a region of the world to which it attaches a very special interest chairing the General Assembly of an institution which, as underlined by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], constitutes the embodiment of multilateralism itself.

105. Allow me also to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Mr. Illueca, for the manner in which he guided the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and for the positive contribution he thus made to the Organization.

106. The universal character of the United Nations unquestionably remains one of its most important features. Its task, which is to receive into its fold all the States of the world on an equal footing, with respect for the sovereignty of each, is essential to its mission of peace. I am therefore happy to greet the arrival of a new member, Brunei Darussalam. I assure it of our intention to maintain with it relations of meaningful co-operation and friendship.

107. I wish to recall with emotion one of our late colleagues, Mr. Lee Bum-Suk, former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea. A year ago Mr. Lee led the delegation of observers of the Republic of Korea to the General Assembly. A week later, he fell victim, with other Korean leaders, to a repugnant political crime. I express the admiration of the Belgian people and Government for the moderation and self-restraint with which the leaders of the Republic of Korea reacted to this assault, refusing to respond to violence with violence.

108. This tragedy underscores more than ever how imperative it is to find, without delay, a peaceful and democratic solution to the question of the reunification of the Korean peninsula. Belgium shares the opinion of the Republic of Korea that any negotiation in this respect must begin with a dialogue between the two parts of Korea, a dialogue aimed at restoring confidence between them, which is indispensable.

109. While we await this reunification, Belgium declares itself in favour of the simultaneous entry of both Koreas into the United Nations. A decision to this effect could contribute to easing the tension in the peninsula and would also be in conformity with the principle of universality of the United Nations, a principle which we uphold.

110. This year Belgium had the privilege of welcoming the Secretary-General. I express our gratitude to him for this visit and our appreciation of his untiring efforts for world peace and security. The talks I had with him enabled me to understand better his dedication to his duties and his personal commitment to the best performance of his tasks. We think particularly of the consultations he is holding to bring about the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of the question of Cyprus.

111. I read the Secretary-General's report this year with the utmost attention, just as I did his two preceding ones. Similarly, I took note with great interest of his statements in other forums—particularly two speeches he delivered last May, one to the Brookings Institution and the United Nations Association of the United States of America and the other at the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. I want him to know how much his analysis of the crisis of multilateralism impressed me and how much I admire the opinion he expressed, as the highest official of the United Nations, on this crisis and its consequences.

112. What the Secretary-General said reminded me of the words of one of my predecessors, Paul-Henri Spaak, who in 1946, as you know, was the first President of the General Assembly. Even before assuming this post he made clear at San Francisco how he viewed the work of the Organization, declaring:

"Everybody today stresses the necessary solidarity that ought to manifest itself in time of war, and one is right to do so. But this solidarity would probably become unnecessary if the peoples understood more clearly that they must help one another in times of peace.

"From a strategic point of view, there are no more frontiers. When war breaks out in one part of the world, it does not take long to devastate the whole world. That is the terrible vision that is presented to us to remind us from time to time, since we tend to forget it, that we are all dependent on one another.

"But why do we wait for war to become conscious of this reality? It also exists—as much, and perhaps even more—in times of peace. It is fine to be united to achieve victory, but it would be even better, much more effective and less costly to be united to build a better world.

"One cannot limit oneself to drafting texts for use only when the situation becomes serious. I wish that we could build something that would become part of our daily life, of our daily concerns, something that would not only come to mind when the spectre of war threatened us but would help us to respond effectively to the disturbing questions that will be posed by the economic and social organization of the world.

"I should like the international organization that will result from our work not only to tell us how we may avert war and how to win it if, despite everything, it breaks out, but also to give us the means to ensure peace by giving men the chance to live with employment and in happiness."

113. The Secretary-General expresses the same concern when he calls in his report for the firm establishment of the three main elements of a stable international order: an accepted system of maintaining international peace and security; disarmament

and arms limitation; and the progressive development of a just and effective system of international economic relations. I wish him to know that we share his views and that he has our full support.

114. My colleague, Mr. Barry, current President of the Council of Ministers of the 10 member countries of the European Communities, has accurately expressed their views from this rostrum [*6th meeting*], for which I thank him. I recognize Belgium's own opinions in the ones he expressed and in the survey he made of an international situation that is more disquieting than ever. I can therefore concentrate on just a few subjects.

115. First, however, I should like to stress, as did Mr. Barry, the importance my country attaches to the planned meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the countries of Central America and the Contadora Group, on the one hand, and of the Ten, accompanied by the European Communities Commission, and Spain and Portugal, on the other. This meeting, which will take place in a few days, will enable representatives of States linked by history and culture to consider the problems of a region torn by a crisis rooted in political, economic and social problems. We hope that this meeting will bring about a new kind of co-operation which will lead to peace, economic recovery and social progress.

116. Rereading the statements I had the honour to make in the past two years to the General Assembly, I found that both covered subjects related to security and disarmament, the reduction of tension, and peace. My predecessors had already deemed these problems sufficiently important to dedicate most of their attention to them, as did the majority of my colleagues at this rostrum.

117. Is not that normal? Is not the pursuit of peace and the means to ensure or preserve it the prime objective of the United Nations and the foremost duty of the international community? The United Nations even dedicated two special sessions of the General Assembly to disarmament, in the work of which we placed great expectations. Unfortunately, crises have continued to cause upheavals in certain regions of the world and are all the more disturbing since they are set against a backdrop of regrettable tensions in East-West relations.

118. Indeed, far from having narrowed, the division between the Western countries and those of the Warsaw Pact seems to have widened, the arms control negotiations are stalled or have been interrupted, and the political dialogue itself seems to be in deadlock, to such an extent that some political commentators do not hesitate to call 1984 "the lost year".

119. In fact, 1984 seems not to have borne fruit with respect to disarmament, and even to détente, but it has not been completely lost for peace, and we should beware of an excessive and unreasonable pessimism, for a number of reasons.

120. I cannot help but feel that the most serious threats to peace lie in imbalances and errors of judgement. Undoubtedly, nuclear weapons have such a terrifyingly destructive power that no side could hope to win a nuclear conflict it might have started; but, precisely for that reason, should we not admit that this formidable weapon is a powerful deterrent?

121. The danger of a nuclear conflict would be greatest precisely if one of the potential adversaries were to stop viewing the atomic weapon as unaccept-

able and were to consider it as a weapon "like all others"—that is, a weapon which would enable it to wage and to win a war—and if, through misreading or miscalculation, it felt itself to be in a position to subject its enemy to a nuclear blaze without fear of retaliation. Hence, risks are due far more to imbalances and errors of judgement than to an increase in armaments. I think, therefore, that it is the upsetting of the balanced equilibrium which fosters the arms race, and not the reverse.

122. In this context I should like to take this opportunity, in my capacity of Minister for Foreign Affairs of a member State of the Atlantic Alliance, to reaffirm emphatically two fundamental elements of the doctrine of the Alliance: first, that the strategy of the Alliance is not to "wage war" or even to "win a war", but indeed to see that war never breaks out; and, further, that none of our weapons will ever be used except to react against aggression.

123. I should like to add that while taking the necessary steps to maintain and, where needed, restore this balance, essential to security and peace, Belgium and its allies have taken measures to avoid an arms race: indeed, they have twice decided to cut down their nuclear arsenals and resolved to reduce those arsenals by one nuclear warhead for each intermediate-range missile deployed. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] has also adopted the doctrine that "only the minimum number of those forces necessary to support NATO's agreed strategy of deterrence and defence should be retained".

124. Indeed, although balance seems to us indispensable, it does not follow that such balance must necessarily be at the present level. On the contrary, Belgium, like its allies, favours a balance at the lowest possible level, and that applies equally to conventional and to nuclear weapons. It is precisely for that reason that we are wedded to the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Force Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, as well as to all other negotiations likely to bring about reductions in the level of armaments without affecting the security of each country concerned.

125. We have pointed out that this will not be an easy task. Thus, we advocate the view that we should set ourselves to developing measures of confidence and security conducive to stimulating a climate in which negotiations having a more specific bearing on the reduction of armaments will stand a better chance of bearing fruit. Our efforts at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, at Stockholm, have no other intent.

126. Another reason for not indulging in excessive pessimism is precisely the willingness of the Atlantic Alliance to enter into negotiations at any moment and without pre-conditions. This overture has unfortunately not so far met with any response from the leaders of the Warsaw Pact nations. I want to believe that those leaders will come to realize how sterile such an attitude can be and that they will bring themselves to grasp the hand we hold out to them.

127. Finally, we are now on the eve of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and I cherish the hope that for the greater well-being of the whole international community this exercise will be fruitful. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of

Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] has been a success so far as limiting horizontal proliferation goes. Unfortunately, the results have not been equally convincing with regard to the limitation of vertical proliferation. If some progress could be made in that regard also, the chances of success of the Third Review Conference would be enhanced.

128. My intention is not to minimize the importance of the present crisis but only to put it back in its right perspective. The situation is perhaps not as alarming as some would claim, but it is worrying in more ways than one. First of all, we see the dynamics of overbidding, along with mounting tensions and a correspondingly diminishing confidence, taking root. Further, it has to be recognized that the increase in military budgets deprives the developing nations of necessary, indeed vital, aid. These expenditures also weigh very heavily on our own economies in these days of budgetary restrictions.

129. There are thus enough good reasons for wanting to reverse the present course of events without having to invoke bad ones. What makes us want to say "Enough!" to arms development is the waste that such development implies, the responsibility of the developed countries towards those not yet sufficiently developed, and the danger of nuclear proliferation.

130. We should not deceive ourselves, however. It will not be easy to retie the broken thread of negotiation. Too much emotion has entered into play; too much confidence has been undermined. We shall nevertheless have to overcome distrust, to rise above disappointment and to resume the dialogue. There is no alternative.

131. In the present state of affairs it is undoubtedly imperative to make every effort to achieve substantive progress in the near future at the most important negotiating tables which are still operating at Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna. The prospects of resuming negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces or the strategic arms reduction talks have not so far materialized, though we pray most fervently for such resumption. The hope of seeing an early start of discussions on the demilitarization of space has not yet materialized either.

132. We thus note with the utmost regret that practically all the established channels of discussion between East and West are blocked. For Belgium, it is not the venue which is essential: what is essential is that negotiations resume and be brought to a successful conclusion.

133. Perhaps we shall have to start from new, more realistic and, for the present, less ambitious bases, but our goal will always remain the same, that is, to turn Europe into an area of peace and security, based on respect for freedom and for the legal and humanitarian principles that must govern the relations between States and peoples.

134. Belgium, for one, has always considered that this ongoing dialogue is essential to the restoration of confidence but that it is not enough. We should not limit our contacts to the political issues alone; we must encourage the development of sound economic relations on realistic and mutually beneficial bases. Cultural, technological and scientific relations also have an essential role to play in bringing closer together individuals and communities across borders.

135. I am convinced that through patience and perseverance and by keeping in mind clear goals we shall in the end fulfil the true ideals of the Helsinki Final Act,<sup>4</sup> in which we had placed so much hope.

136. As the representative of a European country, I beseech all other countries of that continent to transcend the atmosphere of mistrust which in 1984 has rendered too many discussions fruitless, in order once again to take the path of negotiations. This will undoubtedly not be easy, but let us by all means take the path of dialogue, step by step, towards a horizon which will gradually grow ever wider.

137. By its tone, its philosophy and the proposals it contained, the statement made yesterday before the Assembly by the President of the United States [*4th meeting*] constitutes, to my mind, a positive contribution to the early resumption of this indispensable dialogue. Such dialogue is important not only for the countries of the Warsaw Pact and for those of the Atlantic Alliance but for the whole world, for the East-West tension does not affect only those States which play a direct part in it. In fact, it hampers, sometimes greatly, international relations as a whole. It weighs heavily on the work of the United Nations, making its action in the service of peace and development even more difficult. The President of the Council of Ministers of the 10 member countries of the European Communities has stressed this in a truly remarkable fashion in his statement [*6th meeting*]. Is it not true that this tension also often lends an additional dimension to local conflicts which, by broadening them, exacerbates them and makes them more difficult to solve?

138. My Government, which respects the sovereignty and independence of States as well as genuine non-alignment, has indeed always expressed the desire that the utmost care be taken to avoid involving other continents in the ideological and political differences which may develop between East and West and, in this context, not to bring division to those continents.

139. For example, two of the principles on which my Government bases its African policy are: first, that our country will strive to prevent the involvement of Africa and the African countries against their will in clashes between blocs and major Powers; and secondly, that it will endeavour to prevent anything that might contribute to the division and weakening of the African continent and will, rather, strive to promote inter-African co-operation.

140. The resumption of the North-South dialogue is imperative at all costs and should provide the effort required to combat the economic crisis which affects us all.

141. Belgium, like most other industrialized nations, is suffering particularly from unemployment, which is a source of anxiety for a large portion of our population. This makes wide-ranging industrial re-adaptation indispensable.

142. However, the economic crisis affects even more seriously the least favoured nations. Undoubtedly, some signs of economic recovery have been evident for some time, but so far it has had only a very limited effect on the industrialized world and even less on the developing countries.

143. The considerable indebtedness of many States seriously jeopardizes their development efforts even though some of them have faced this burden courageously and, with the help of the IMF, have at least

begun to find some solutions. Famine continues its devastation, and for some among us it is the question no longer of development but of simple survival.

144. In a world of ever-increasing economic interdependence, the international economic situation concerns us all directly. No matter which continent we belong to, what stage of development we have reached or what our political and ideological options may be, it is in our interest, just as it is our duty, to work together to find solutions to these acute problems, which weigh heavily, if perhaps unequally, on each one of us.

145. What do we see? The global negotiations are at present deadlocked. Proof of this is the fact that the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August 1984, have disappointed us in many ways. Even if the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, produced certain results, we cannot affirm that the North-South dialogue, in which we had placed so much hope, has had all the expected results.

146. What then can we do? I sincerely believe that we must, in spite of everything, strengthen the North-South dialogue, but we must realize that this dialogue can only be successful if it leads to balanced commitments. I am convinced that it is by heading in this direction that genuine progress can be made.

147. Belgium appeals urgently to the United Nations and in particular to its specialized agencies to spare no effort and to use all the means at their disposal to fight the scourge of recession and its consequences. Millions of men and women expect the international community to translate into action, under United Nations guidance, the commitments accepted under its Charter.

148. In this spirit, Belgium advocates an agreement between the European monetary zone and the zones of the yen and the dollar. This should result in a more stable basis for the world economy and a climate of increased confidence.

149. Furthermore, Belgium believes that everything possible must be done to find speedy solutions to the problems of the indebtedness of the developing countries. We consider this to be an indispensable condition of the recovery of the international economy and the improvement of North-South relations.

150. We cannot afford to despair. Recent experience proves that when our States are challenged by a situation in which man, his dignity and his life are at stake, they can surmount their different interests and their political differences to decide on and put into effect together the practical means required by the situation. I am thinking of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva from 9 to 11 July 1984. I have rarely seen an international conference inspired by such sense of human solidarity.

151. From the outset, the countries participating in that Conference recognized that the problem of refugees in Africa is the concern of all, for it is the common responsibility of all nations, even if, regrettably, some States chose to remain aloof from this great movement of international solidarity. On the one hand, the African Governments clearly reaffirmed their commitment to do everything in their

power to find lasting solutions for often painful human problems. On the other hand, donor Governments, which offer their financial assistance, committed themselves to working hand in hand with the African countries to support such solutions and to bear the often heavy cost of the infrastructure which the reception and repatriation of refugees implies for the countries concerned. The international development organizations, for their part, said that they are ready to co-operate fully in this undertaking.

152. It is not surprising, therefore, that this spirit, marked by positive and constructive determination and humanitarian concern, enabled the Conference to culminate in the adoption by consensus of a Declaration and Programme of Action [A/39/402, annex]. These documents are clear and reflect very well indeed the will that inspired all the countries represented, since they demonstrate the commitment of all to work together, in close solidarity, sharing the burdens, on the basis of a strategy designed to bring about a lasting solution to the refugee problem in Africa.

153. Moreover, the Conference stressed the vital importance of the complementarity of aid to refugees and development aid. The commitment to give concrete expression to this correlation was one of the substantive achievements of the Conference. Emergency aid and assistance are major aspects of this correlation and must continue. The efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to promote long-term solutions through voluntary repatriation—the most desirable solution, since it goes right to the heart of the refugee problem—and through settlement programmes have proved correct. All these efforts must also be continued. But to ensure these solutions, it is necessary to integrate the projects relating to refugees within the development process. The Conference clearly confirmed this principle.

154. It thus took its place within the general framework of North-South relations and proved that substantial progress is possible within this context as long as there is the will and the realism.

155. I firmly believe that if the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa achieved such success it was because its participants put the determination to save lives above all else, for it was for humanity that the United Nations was created—to save mankind from war, protect it from oppression, free it from poverty and hunger.

156. Every time that this is remembered, the actions of the United Nations have been crowned with success, a success which the Secretary-General points to in his report. Each time it is forgotten, the Organization has failed.

157. It is time, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, that we remember this.

158. It is, moreover, what the Secretary-General asked for in the statement he made on 31 May 1984 before the Preparatory Committee for the Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations. He said that the anniversary should be an occasion for the world community to

“speak out frankly and with a full sense of responsibility towards the entire human family and its planetary home, about the shortcomings of Member States and of this Organization to fulfil such vital purposes as the consolidation of peace

and security, disarmament, economic development and the promotion of human rights”.

He went on to say that

“a firm recommitment by all Member States to their obligations under the Charter and its fundamental purposes . . . needs to be expressed not so much through ceremony and in words as in policies and actions. A renewal of faith in the Organization is absolutely necessary to the future of the global community.”

159. That is a proposition to which Belgium, for one, intends to make a contribution, and it wishes to do so in the closest co-operation with each and every one of its fellow Member States in the Organization.

160. May this fortieth anniversary offer us the opportunity to ensure that elements that unite us prevail over those that divide us. Let us try to remember the tragedy of the Second World War, the state of the world at the end of that conflict, our desire that such a calamity should never happen again, and our decision to create, to that end, the organization which became the United Nations. After the tragic failure of the League of Nations, the hopes of humanity were transferred to an organization which would be universal and would be able to ensure collective security once and for all, tackle fundamental economic issues and reaffirm the basic rights of every human being. Let us recall the extraordinary surge of hope to which the birth of the United Nations gave rise in our people from all walks of life. Let us try from now on to fulfil that hope and let us learn from our failures.

161. A poet of my country, Emile Verhaeren, once sang the epic of a century-old tree, evoking the ordeals by which its growth had been marked from season to season; but he concluded:

“Its energy, however,  
Never failed  
One single moment.  
It wished, unwaveringly, its life  
To expand and be more beautiful  
In every spring.”

That is my wish for the United Nations on the eve of its fortieth anniversary.

162. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

163. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I wish to extend my cordial greetings to all delegations which are concerned about the tragic fate of the Khmer people and which are now attending this meeting of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The steadfastness and energy with which so many nations have for many years supported the just cause of Democratic Kampuchea, which has been invaded, occupied, plundered and half-colonized by an imperialist, annexationist foreign Power, represent for all the patriots of Kampuchea invaluable encouragement in their struggle for independence and freedom.

164. Mr. President, your noteworthy election to guide the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly is a well-deserved tribute to your well-known ability and your outstanding work as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It is

also, through you, a tribute to your valiant country, Zambia, which, under the successful leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda, has been carrying out courageous action on the front line against racism and *apartheid* and for the independence of Africa.

165. I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, to address to you our warmest congratulations and best wishes for success in your important and difficult duties. I wish also to express our sincere and profound gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who conducted our work with great wisdom and efficiency.

166. I should like, further, to express to the Secretary-General our profound esteem and deep appreciation for his tireless efforts to ease the tensions which have arisen in various parts of the world and his continuing work in the interest of security, justice and peace, which are primary objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has demonstrated on many occasions his impartiality, skill and courage. The Organization, to which he does credit, is greatly indebted to him.

167. It is a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the Coalition Government and the people of Democratic Kampuchea, to welcome the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations. Its accession to independence, its membership in ASEAN and the general esteem it enjoys enable it to make a valuable contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in that region of the world and in the Pacific. We wish its eminent sovereign, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, and the people of Brunei peace, happiness and prosperity, and we assure them of our determination to develop ties of friendship and co-operation between our two peoples, our two nations and our two Governments.

168. Finally, it is my duty and my privilege, on behalf of my Government and our people, to pay a warm tribute and offer heartfelt thanks to all the countries that have given shelter to Khmer refugees. First among these is the Kingdom of Thailand, which since the early days of our misfortunes has generously opened its borders to hundreds of thousands of our compatriots who have sought refuge on its territory. Many of them later found other countries of asylum, but Thailand is still housing about a hundred thousand of them and at present is receiving groups of hundreds of fugitives who have fled from zones controlled by the enemy. The protection accorded by the Kingdom of Thailand to our refugees is not only costly to it but also dangerous sometimes, when Vietnamese forces infiltrate its territory or bomb it. That neighbouring Kingdom has shown us exemplary compassion and solidarity, thereby winning our undying gratitude.

169. I should like also to thank the many more-distant nations which have given asylum and assistance to tens of thousands of Khmer refugees, enabling them to build, often with their families, decent and peaceful new lives. We owe undying gratitude to those nations which took pity on our unfortunate people and treated as brothers all those who sought refuge in their territories.

170. Many countries, Governments and peoples, international bodies, associations, groups and even private individuals have given our people humanitarian aid which is greatly appreciated. Others have given us essential diplomatic and material assistance in our struggle for national liberation. On behalf of

the Government and people of Democratic Kampuchea, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to all those great and generous friends of Cambodia.

171. This year, our liberation struggle has scored new successes in the battlefield. Since the beginning of the last dry season, our armed forces have increased their activities and intensified their attacks in the centre of the country, particularly in the provinces surrounding the Tonlé Sap (the Great Lake), a region of great strategic and economic importance. It is, in fact, a junction of railways, roads and waterways, whereby the enemy supplies its units stationed in the north-west and the west, near the border of Thailand. Our resistance forces have waged fierce battles, harassing the enemy and destroying many depots of military supplies, up to the heart of the provincial towns of Battambang, Siem Reap, Kompong Thom and Pursat.

172. As a result of our constant attacks on the railway lines and roads, up to Tonlé Sap, more than two thirds of the enemy supply convoys have been dispersed or destroyed. A large part of the "rice granary" of Battambang province has been freed from Vietnamese control, causing serious supply problems for the occupying forces and reducing almost to nothing the rice levy that they have tried to charge in order to benefit Viet Nam itself, whose economic difficulties, as is well known, are considerable.

173. Viet Nam had thought that it had found a solution to its set-backs by carrying out the large-scale installation of Vietnamese "peasant soldiers" on the best lands of Kampuchea. Foreign observers who managed to visit the so-called People's Kampuchea led by the puppet team of Mr. Heng Samrin, under tighter and tighter control of Hanoi's cadres, have reported that the process of pure and simple colonization of Cambodia has reached a very alarming degree.

174. It has been reported by reliable witnesses that almost half of the inhabitants of our capital, Phnom Penh, are now Vietnamese and that, in some regions under Vietnamese control, the occupiers have established purely Vietnamese zones in which most of the "settlers" are armed and participate in suppressing the resistance activities of the Khmer patriots.

175. This policy, favoured by some hundreds of Mr. Heng Samrin's followers, who have become mere collaborators with the enemy, imposes the compulsory teaching of the Vietnamese language in schools and the use of Vietnamese at all levels of the puppet administration, and promotes mixed marriages. The thousand-year history of Kampuchea has been outrageously distorted by the new masters so that school-children learn how to feel as members of the "Great Viet Nam", that is, of the "Indo-Chinese Federation" conceived by Ho Chi Minh.

176. The famous French naturalist and ethnologist, Marie Alexandrine Martin, a researcher at the National Centre for Scientific Research, author of several authoritative books on Cambodia, contributed a very valuable study to the review *Politique internationale*, in the summer of 1984, entitled "The Process of the Vietnamization of Cambodia", which all those who are interested in the problems of our country would do well to read. She pointed out, in particular, that in 1982 "the maritime borders were shifted to the detriment of Cambodia" and that in July 1983 a "treaty on the solution to the border

problems between the two countries" was signed by the leaders of Hanoi and their puppets in Phnom Penh.

177. She recalled that another text recognizes the existing borders, but it considers a "new delimitation of the land borders"; corrections to the borderlines have already been made, particularly in the province of Svay Rieng, the Parrot Beak district.

178. According to witnesses, and thanks to the prevailing influence of their representatives in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese freely cross over into Kampuchea and settle there. On the basis of their own findings and of considerable reliable testimony by Khmer refugees, foreign observers estimate the present number of Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia to be 500,000 or 600,000. At a meeting in Phnom Penh attended by high-level administrative cadres, the heads of districts and provincial communes learned of a decree (*prakas*) specifying that the Khmers must "share their lands with the Vietnamese civilians, help them to settle down and to build their houses"; otherwise they would be imprisoned for anti-Vietnamese activities. There have therefore been many incidents, and many Khmer civilians have fled into the maquis or to Thailand.

179. Mrs. Martin stated that some Vietnamese civilians, particularly those who speak Khmer as a result of having lived in Cambodia, "have already taken Cambodian nationality and can pass themselves off as Khmers . . . They, of course, have the right to vote." She added that the Phnom Penh leaders, as reported by many officials who escaped, do not even have the pretence of authority. They encounter "the inertia of the Khmers, who are less and less willing to co-operate with the occupiers and are more and more sympathetic to those who are offering resistance". The number of Vietnamese advisers in the administration has "doubled". Mrs. Martin concluded: "The people of Kampuchea, who have undergone all kinds of humiliation and repression, are admirable for their dignity in the test of strength which is now going on."

180. The correspondent of *The Washington Post* in Bangkok, confirming this information a few months ago in a dispatch to *The Japan Times*, stressed the growing resentment of the Khmers inside the country against the Vietnamese occupiers. The Vietnamese have aroused the aversion of the people because of the lack of discipline of their troops and the increasingly large settlement of Vietnamese in the provinces of Kampuchea. Last year, according to that journalist, 15,000 Khmers fled to Thailand as a result of a "purge" by the occupiers, the provincial administration and the military forces of Heng Samrin.

181. The correspondent of *The Washington Post* stated that whereas the Vietnamese and the puppets in their service stated that only 56,000 Vietnamese had settled in Kampuchea since 1979, Western diplomats gave the figure of 200,000 to 400,000, and the resistance movements gave the figure of 500,000 to 600,000.

182. For his part, Mr. Sek Yen, an important personality of the Heng Samrin régime, former Deputy Director of the Political and Propaganda School of the régime, fled to Thailand with 15 members of his family and was transferred to Bangkok.

183. Sek Yen revealed in a press conference that most of the Khmer senior officials were married to

Vietnamese women, who met once a week and reported on the activities of their husbands to the Vietnamese authorities in Phnom Penh. The children born of those marriages had been sent to study in Viet Nam.

184. With regard to Vietnamese influence in Cambodia, Sek Yen said that from the central administration down to the lowest levels, "all decisions were made by the Vietnamese. The home of every Kampuchean official, or of those who want to please the occupiers, must have a portrait of Ho Chi Minh displayed in a prominent place."

185. He stressed also that "ordinary Cambodians are starting to find ways to support the (anti-Vietnamese) resistance forces". Sek Yen concluded that the Khmers "are increasingly supporting the Coalition Government, because they want to eliminate the Vietnamese and liberate their country, a task they believe to be possible".

186. I felt that I should sum up the remarks of Mrs. Martin, a real expert on our problems, whose intellectual independence is beyond doubt, and of Sek Yen, a personality of the pro-Vietnamese régime of Heng Samrin who fled his country in protest against the Vietnamese domination of Cambodia, which has been reduced to bondage by the Hanoi Government.

187. It is interesting to note that, unlike almost all foreign observers and journalists who have been able to penetrate Vietnamese-controlled Kampuchea, some persons still repeat the propaganda themes of the Vietnamese, to the effect that the Phnom Penh régime is desired and supported by the whole Khmer people and that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is rejected by everyone. So that international public opinion can judge the validity of that statement, I repeat a proposal I have been submitting for several years now—that is, that after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, general elections under strict United Nations supervision be organized in my country, elections in which all parties and political groupings, including the Heng Samrin team, could freely participate. This democratic suggestion should have been taken up right away by the Heng Samrin government and its Vietnamese allies. It was a golden opportunity, since the Khmer people, according to them, would vote massively in favour of the present Phnom Penh leaders, getting rid once and for all of the three component parts of the resistance. Crushed and laminated by a vote of the people supervised by the United Nations—and therefore with irrefutable results—the resistance groups would simply have to leave Khmer soil and reflect upon the humiliating defeat in exile.

188. Unfortunately, neither Phnom Penh nor Hanoi wanted to hear of any such free elections, nor do they want to hear of them now.

189. I would add that the very logical and reasonable proposals that I have presented over the years have had no more success; they have been met with the same categorical refusal. For example, in order to pave the way to the reconstruction of our country—three quarters of which has been destroyed by war—I suggested the creation of a government of national reconciliation, through the inclusion in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea of all the other Kampuchean parties that would agree to work for an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

190. This government of national reconciliation would become a member of ASEAN, with the status of a neutral, non-aligned State, in order to prove to the Vietnamese and their great Soviet friends that a reconciled Kampuchea would not be part of the so-called Chinese threat, about which Viet Nam pretends to be so concerned.

191. It is clear that, for the time being, Viet Nam and its allies reject any political solution to the problem of Kampuchea. That is shown by the recent Vietnamese proposal to embark on so-called unconditional talks between the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese States—alias the Vietnamese Indo-Chinese Federation. In fact, this Hanoi proposal, which some people describe as a breakthrough, seeks merely to bury the five resolutions of the General Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea [*resolutions 34/22, 35/6, 36/5, 37/6 and 38/3*] and to recognize the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea, and therefore the Vietnamese Indo-Chinese Federation, consisting of one master and two servants.

192. And yet our armed resistance is gaining ground. It has more than 60,000 combatants, better armed, equipped and trained and with a better experience of war and a higher degree of patriotic motivation—as is shown in the courageous raids, mostly successful, throughout the national territory.

193. On the other hand, the Vietnamese offensives, ill-supported by Khmer adolescents who have been forcibly conscripted into Heng Samrin's paltry units, have doubtless done much harm to our civilian compatriots in the liberated zones, but they have not succeeded in imperilling our combatants—still less in winning back those zones.

194. No matter how loudly the Vietnamese proclaim that the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible, the fact is that, quite to the contrary, it is on the point of being reversed. Militarily, our position is gradually improving. We are striking back and are often taking the initiative, vigorously and with determination. Politically, as the best observers have confirmed, the people inside the country, despite their understandable desire to live in peace, are clearly siding, in their hatred of the Vietnamese occupiers—the masters of so-called People's Kampuchea—with our Coalition Government. The soil is getting hot under the feet of the enemy, which thought it could make short shrift of little Cambodia.

195. Diplomatically, finally, our legitimate Government is becoming better understood and supported by nations that are committed to independence and justice and that, in fact, make up the overwhelming majority of the United Nations. I have seen this myself on the scene, during my many trips in Asia, Africa and Europe, where I have received the most understanding and encouraging welcome everywhere.

196. The intensification of our struggle in Kampuchea, as well as the increasing support by the international community, will not fail—in the not-too-distant future, I hope—to bring Viet Nam to its senses and make it participate in an international conference on Kampuchea.

197. That is clearly in the interest of Viet Nam itself, which has been suffering more than would appear because of its condemnation by the highest international forums, and also by most of the Powers that were its friends and allies when it was courageously defending its right to self-determination and reunification. Need I recall that among those friendly

nations, Cambodia, of which I was Head of State, was in the forefront.

198. I would stress also that our Coalition Government is not, as it is sometimes reproached with being, a Government-in-exile. Its Ministers work all the time in the liberated areas, to which I pay regular visits to assist the people there, to inspect our combatants and to receive the credentials of diplomatic envoys of friendly Powers.

199. We have every reason for hope, if we can safeguard our national union now and in the future. That is the basic factor in the survival of our nation and the preservation of our national identity.

200. Our overriding duty now is to devote all our forces to the patriotic union, without which our struggle would be futile. I note that all the component parts of our Coalition Government have become aware of this need and place the salvation of the homeland before any other consideration. It gives me the greatest pleasure to see the failure of our enemies to sow division within our coalition.

201. We Khmers know full well that the Vietnamese are our neighbours and will be so for all time. It is a warlike, expansionist, ambitious race, with which we have often had difficulties in living in peace. Its leaders are, however, on great occasions capable of realism. They have demonstrated that in recent decades in their dealings with the United States. They probably know when not to go too far. Their domestic situation, particularly the economic situation, is becoming increasingly difficult, and the people of South Viet Nam are not really committed—to put it mildly—to the ideology and austerity of the North.

202. With regard to Kampuchea, the Hanoi leaders no longer have any illusions: they know that their Phnom Penh puppets obey them only reluctantly and have no authority over the populace which, humiliated daily, is alienated by their excesses. Thanks to the courageous action of our resistance forces, Kampuchea will never be the rice granary coveted by North Viet Nam to alleviate its food shortages. This war has taken a heavy toll: many lives have been lost, human resources that should have been devoted to the development of Viet Nam have been diverted to the military; it has sapped the economy of Viet Nam and its international prestige.

203. That anachronistic colonialist policy cannot go on forever—unless Viet Nam has a suicide mission or wants to make sacrifices totally out of proportion with the benefits for which it hopes from this failed operation.

204. If the adversary can heed the voice of reason, we propose to end this age-old hostility. If it withdraws from our territory, we offer to develop with it and its allies of the moment, and with all countries of the world, relations of friendship and co-operation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, in equality, mutual respect and common interest. The Kampuchea that we build will be independent, neutral, non-aligned, no one's enemy, and friend of all who wish it well. How could it disturb Viet Nam—a country of 52 million inhabitants—which is so militarily powerful?

205. Thus far, the Vietnamese have left us no alternative but to fight them. We sincerely hope that they will soon realize the need to negotiate with the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea and understand that there would be no humilia-

tion involved in establishing between our two peoples relations based on justice, wisdom and equity.

206. As a Member of the United Nations, Democratic Kampuchea, through the voice of its delegation, would like in conclusion to state the following.

207. First, we reiterate our cordial solidarity with our brothers and sisters of Laos, themselves victims of Vietnamese domination, in their just struggle for the independence and freedom of their homeland.

208. Secondly, we reiterate our abiding support for the ongoing efforts of the Korean people to reunify their homeland. We firmly support the just proposals of President Kim Il Sung for an independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

209. Thirdly, our support and solidarity go also to the Afghan people struggling against the Soviet invasion. We wish the heroic Afghan combatants fresh victories until the Soviet forces withdraw, so the Afghan people can exercise its inalienable right freely to choose its Government and its economic and social system.

210. Fourthly, we continue our firm support of the Palestinian people in its efforts, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], to recover its legitimate national rights, including the right to found an independent State on its territory—the only way to bring about a lasting peace in the Middle East.

211. Fifthly, in the same hope, we welcome the establishment of a government of national union in Lebanon. It is essential that all foreign forces withdraw from that martyred country so that it can once again find its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

212. Sixthly, we urge two fraternal neighbours, Iraq and Iran, to end the escalation of the war between them; we support any measures that could bring about a peaceful settlement of that conflict.

213. Seventhly, we reiterate our total support for the African liberation movements, in particular the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole, legitimate representative of the popular struggle of the Namibian patriots, for the withdrawal of the present illegal Administration and the transfer of power to the Namibian people, with United Nations assistance.

214. Eighthly, we support the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and the countries of the Horn of Africa to restore peace and stability in the region. We reiterate our solidarity with the Somali people in defending their independence and territorial integrity.

215. Ninthly, we support the efforts of the people and the Government of Chad to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

216. Finally, we support the initiatives of the countries of the Contadora Group to eliminate the tension prevailing in Central America and the Caribbean and to bring about the freedom and independence of all States of the region.

217. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of Democratic Kampuchea for the important statement he has just made.

218. Mr. RAMÍREZ OCAMPO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a good omen indeed, and Colombia is very pleased, that the deliberations

of this session of the General Assembly should be presided over by so distinguished a person as Mr. Paul Lusaka, one of the most eminent leaders of African unity. From the very beginning, Zambia and Colombia have shared the ideals of independence defended by the United Nations Council for Namibia, so wisely guided by Mr. Lusaka.

*Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

219. We should also like to congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca, who worked so excellently during the last session of the General Assembly. We agree with him on the ideals of peace which have taken shape in the Contadora Group.

220. I take this occasion to welcome the State of Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations.

221. I also congratulate the Secretary-General on the report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], which he has presented to the Assembly for consideration, in fulfilment of the guiding role entrusted to him by the Organization.

222. Only 15 years remain before mankind embarks upon the third millenium of our era. This century has been characterized by sharp confrontations and by wars, but also by the most dynamic technological and cultural progress. Yet, equitable development and peace still elude vast segments of the world.

223. Many of the political problems we are now experiencing stem from the distribution of power since the Yalta agreements, which established spheres of influence that have often clashed with the national interests of States. This situation still persists—in essentially the same guise—in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

224. Indeed, the American continent has not been immune to the effects of this theory of world power. Over the past several decades we have witnessed the imposition of dictatorships against the popular will—totalitarian régimes that have disregarded lawful means of expression. As is well known, the advent of such régimes, of the left or of the right, has invariably been the prelude to constant violations of human and other basic rights.

225. We must, therefore, establish a policy which will protect mankind from ideological polarization involving violent confrontation. This can be done only by advocating the sound principle of pluralism as the essence of dialogue and as recognition of differences of opinion.

226. It was that concept which prompted my country, in all good faith, and in co-operation with Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, to strive to prevent open confrontation in Central America and thus avert the social and economic upheaval that would result from a fratricidal war bound to have grave consequences for the stability of our continent.

227. What we advocate for the region is the promotion of democratic systems, free interplay of political parties, respect for the rights of others, and tolerance as the corner-stone of the political process. This position stems from the fact that by peaceful means we have overcome our temporary differences with our sister States of Latin America. Hence, we cannot believe that armed confrontation or an internationalization of the problems of the region is the way to a brighter future—one which we truly desire—for a

continent made up of countries characterized more by similarities than by differences. That is why we ask the nations gathered here to give their political backing and support to the current peace efforts of the Contadora Group.

228. Twenty days ago, the Foreign Ministers of Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia submitted the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562], the main sections of which emphasize the non-use of force, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty. The Act proclaims the need to restore peace and confidence in the region by means of the right of peoples freely to select the kind of political, economic and social system best suited to their own interests.

229. To that end, the Contadora Act establishes that no territory shall be utilized for acts which violate the sovereign rights of other States. We advocate the creation, promotion and strengthening of democratic systems by means of efforts at national reconciliation, with a view to achieving lawful popular participation in political agreements.

230. In that document on peace and development we also advocate the implementation of agreements by means of a relaxation of tension and the promotion of confidence. Hence we have specified the functions of the Verification and Control Commission for Security Matters, composed of four commissioners, representing States known for their impartiality, who will verify the dismantling of foreign military installations. Furthermore, we ask for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign advisers involved in training and in operations. In addition, the signatory countries are requested to abstain from conducting within their territories activities designed to destabilize Governments in the region.

231. There is now a real possibility of an agreement that will make it possible for the Central American States to tackle their own development problems without internal or external threats of war. We have come before the United Nations in the hope of finding support from the Organization, which was established precisely to preserve peace.

232. It would be naive to deny that the serious economic problem affecting the entire region of the continent is at the root of the crisis gripping Central America. One of the objectives of the meeting to be held at San José, Costa Rica, at the end of this week is the convening of the Foreign Ministers of the member countries of the European Economic Community [EEC], Spain and Portugal, together with their counterparts from Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia, to discuss possible formulas for direct economic assistance and other forms of co-operation so that this region of Latin America may have better prospects of development.

233. I cannot let pass this opportunity to commend the attitude adopted by the 10 member countries of the EEC, along with Spain and Portugal, in their desire to participate in a solution based upon the support of all nations of goodwill in the search for genuine political balance and for the diversification of economic opportunities.

234. The countries members of the Contadora Group, in compliance with the mandate entrusted to them last year, have this afternoon reported to the Secretary-General on the work they have accom-

plished and on the progress of their talks. We have submitted the revised Contadora Act to be circulated as an official Assembly document. We also intend to inform the Security Council, in compliance with the provisions of its resolutions.

235. In addition, the Contadora Group will submit a draft resolution for discussion by the General Assembly, thereby complying with the provisions of the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its last session entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives" [resolution 38/10].

236. Once the Contadora Act, which has met with broad support from the countries of Central America, has been signed, and once we have received the final comments from those Governments, an additional protocol will be opened for signature by all countries. It will reflect in concrete legal terms the unanimous support the international community has given to the Contadora process from its very inception. The adherence of the super-Powers and the industrialized countries to the Act is especially necessary in order that our objectives may be successfully attained. Nor is it superfluous to add that it will be solely and exclusively the political will of the signatory States, free from any interference, that will decide the fate and future of the region.

237. In this same context of the constant search for peace on all levels, the Government I have the honour to represent here, headed by its President, Belisario Betancur, has embarked with special resolve upon a labour of peace for the benefit of all its citizens.

238. It is a special characteristic of my country's present Administration that we are practising at home what we preach in the international arena as a solution for Central America. It is fitting that this should be so, since political leaders are often subject to criticism for the lack of consistency that is perceived between what is preached at the international level and the actions that their Governments in fact take.

239. Colombia is confident that, as the very essence of democracy, dialogue is better suited to national interests than confrontation and unbridled struggle. We have carried out a policy based on "national dialogue" in which our political system has never been threatened, much less our institutions and our legitimately established authorities, which have rightly been praised on all sides.

240. I should now like to draw the Assembly's attention to one of the issues that is of greatest importance to the international community, namely, foreign debt. At a recent meeting we discussed the difficulties of strengthening the democratic system if the adverse consequences of indebtedness were allowed to persist and if Latin America remained subject to a constant drainage of its resources that are being transferred to the creditor countries and thereby creating effects that are clearly disastrous for employment, production and growth.

241. The Latin American region, far from having progressed, has in 1983 and thus far this year regressed to 1976 levels. In other words, all the political, financial and social efforts of the past eight years have been in vain. The widely publicized recovery of certain industrialized countries remains confined to their economies. The passage of time has thus confirmed that we were right when we stated in

1981 that recovery in the North would not automatically generate recovery in the South.

242. We are forced to reflect on the futility of the efforts of the Organization in sponsoring the first and Second United Nations Development Decades, six sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the development of the new international economic order, and the promulgation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which today, given the crisis in the developing world, seem to be mere historic facts.

243. Latin America now transfers 3 per cent of its gross national product to the developed countries. Over the past three years, this has represented a capital loss of almost \$50 billion. How paradoxical this seems when we read the commitments made in the 1960s by which the industrialized countries were to transfer 1 per cent of their gross national product to the developing countries. We have rechannelled and rendered futile the real efforts of eight years and have derogated the political efforts of a quarter of a century.

244. Hence, and for good reason, on 21 June of this year, 11 Latin American countries met at Cartagena de Indias to consider carefully and effectively the political and material consequences of the heavy burden of a \$350 billion indebtedness and in order at the same time to find, for the purpose of individual renegotiations, areas where problems converge and where solutions might be shared, to evaluate them together, not to propose either a unilateral moratorium or the oft-mentioned debtors' club, but rather to work out the best way to fulfil our financial commitments and meet our financial obligations through the reinitiation of a development process that has been allowed to stagnate in our region.

245. The validity and timeliness of the Cartagena Consensus [see A/39/331] will be proved either by success in dialogue or by the bankruptcy of debtors and creditors if that dialogue is not achieved. It highlighted as main points of analysis and discussion the need to find real levels of interest rates consistent with the growth of the world economy and the ability of the debtors to pay; the need to establish special compensatory facilities to cover the overhead caused by present financial conditions; the need to make the credit terms of the multilateral financial agencies more flexible; the urgent need for the IMF to contribute to the creation of a new world liquidity aimed at alleviating the debt burden and opening markets through the elimination of protectionist barriers.

246. The first follow-up meeting to the Cartagena Consensus was held at Mar del Plata just two weeks ago. There, in spite of the optimism of the communications media and of some Governments of developed countries over the temporary success of some individual renegotiations, we concluded that no substantive solution had yet been found to the indebtedness problem. As was stated by the negotiators themselves, the rope has loosened a bit but the knot is still not untied. In these circumstances, we find ourselves faced with the need to invite the developed community to establish a direct political dialogue with the Governments of the debtor countries. Only governmental decisions on all sides with great foresight can save the world economy from strangulation in the near future.

247. My country wishes to reiterate in the Assembly its interest in the proposed dialogue. We cannot imagine that this mechanism, which has so often saved mankind from its deepest crises, might through fear or lack of understanding be disqualified as a means of achieving lasting solutions to the problem. Recent rises in the rate of the dollar demonstrate that it is urgent for all countries, including the industrialized countries, to study the international financial problem together.

248. On 10 August 1984, at Quito, as was very eloquently stressed this morning by the President of Venezuela [6th meeting], the Presidents of Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia and the Vice-Presidents of Nicaragua and Panama declared that the traffic in and illicit use of narcotic drugs was a threat to the public health of peoples, affecting their development and posing a constant danger of subversion.

249. They also recognized that the narcotics traffic is an activity planned and carried out at the international level through organizations having vast resources and that the struggle against it must be waged equally by producer and consumer countries and must include concerted international action. Towards that end, there is a need for a specialized international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, which would declare narcotics traffic to be a universal crime, establish action at the world level to combat it and create an assistance fund for the producer countries that are endeavouring at great cost to eradicate it.

250. Colombia has suffered from this scourge at an incalculable cost, to the extent that this year it brought about the death of its Minister of Justice, cruelly assassinated by the drug underworld, which he was valorously combating.

251. My Government is continuing that combat, but it knows full well that that trade would not exist if the consumer countries were to tackle it with equal energy. This is why we propose to the Assembly that a pitched and universal war be waged against traffic in narcotics.

252. At the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, in 1975, Colombia for the first time referred<sup>5</sup> to the need for a legal definition of outer space, and in particular the need to ensure the rights of the equatorial countries to the limited natural resource of the geostationary orbit, which has assumed extreme importance as a result of accelerated technological and scientific advances, the new industrial potential of outer space and the risks of its militarization.

253. In the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, meeting at Geneva from 19 March to 6 April 1984, we submitted, on behalf of the equatorial countries, draft general principles governing the geostationary orbit,<sup>6</sup> which the Group of 77 consider to be a good basis for negotiation. The draft principles represent a serious legal statement having broad scientific support; they urge that the resource be placed at the service of mankind and that the present situation of monopoly and inequity be redressed. In 1982, at our initiative also, the new International Telecommunication Convention, adopted by the Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union, held at Nairobi, included recognition that there are countries such as ours that have a special geographical situation.

254. The growing concern of the developing countries over the prevailing congestion of frequencies and in certain orbital positions has led to the convening of a World Administrative Conference of Space Radiocommunications, which we hope will deal with all these issues in a spirit of justice.

255. Just as we have contributed to the definition of the law of the sea, a successful endeavour of the international community, we believe that at present we must in the same spirit establish the laws of outer space, taking duly into account the special circumstances of the equatorial countries and recognizing the needs of the developing countries.

256. In the effort to strengthen peace and avoid the destruction of civilization, Colombia believes it is making a concrete contribution with its proposals on the regulation of the geostationary orbit, and we invite the spokesmen of the space Powers to explore the path towards harmony and consensus formulas. We want outer space to be a way of reaching our shared destiny and never a springboard for destruction, hatred and war.

257. We have repeated, almost to excess, the way in which my country understands and puts into practice its belief in the ideology of the purest humanism. We have never taken up arms except in defence of our territorial integrity. None of the sister countries bordering ours—in the Caribbean as in the Pacific, on the Orinoco as on the Amazon—can say that we have called into question the sanctity of treaties and good faith in their fulfilment. Today, as in the past, we advocate acceptance, *urbi et orbi*, of the express commitment of a State.

258. That is why we strongly reject interference or military intervention by one country in the affairs of another, whether in Afghanistan, Kampuchea or Namibia, in Mozambique, Angola or Chad, in Nicaragua, El Salvador or Honduras. Wherever such activities have occurred we have seen a succession of countless corpses and injustices, as well as misery, in various continents, leaving a trail of hatred, pain and insecurity for the human race.

259. We must affirm here that foreign troops and military advisers must return to the camps from which they came. If we want every State to be the master of its own wealth, the architect of its own economic development and the creator of its own cultural identity, each must be able with complete autonomy to follow its own course towards peace, justice and progress.

260. We have defended the right to be different, without affecting the universality of international organizations.

261. We are concerned about the situation in the Middle East, which is why we call for a solution recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to a sovereign State, without calling into question the existence of the State of Israel and its desire to live in peace within its own borders. That is what we also hope for Lebanon, where we should like to see the restoration of the peace and harmony that characterized that nation for so many years, so that there may be no more bloody acts against humanity such as those that we have witnessed with horror recently.

262. Similarly, we stress that Great Britain and Argentina should once again sit down at the negotiating table to resume the dialogue, unilaterally interrupted, which will make it possible to reconcile

Argentina's sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands with the interests of their inhabitants.

263. We welcome the resumption of relations between Spain and Guatemala, announced on 22 September in our capital, Bogotá, after the successful mediation of the President of Colombia.

264. It has rightly been said by representatives of all the schools of thought into which today's international politics are divided that the arms race between the two major Powers has gone beyond the bounds of rationality. Simple logic would prompt us to reflect on the madness of stockpiling enough weapons to destroy the enemy 10 times over. Where can this frenetic and absurd race lead, if not to total destruction?

265. Let us pause to reflect on many reasons to celebrate in the near future the triumph of life over death, to sow peace in fields now devastated by war and to guarantee the existence of the millions of human beings who share this planet with us, so that the intelligence of man shall never be so evil or perverse as to prefer nuclear holocaust over the expectations of progress and fraternity among all the peoples of the world.

266. A year ago, in this same Hall, at the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, President Belisario Betancur stated that: "Peace is not achieved solely by the abolition of the arms race; it is necessary for us to disarm in spirit and in action" [19th meeting, para. 17].

267. We do not want mankind of today and the future to awaken to a nuclear threat that has become an obvious, unchangeable fact. That is why, together with Chile, Peru and Ecuador, we protested against the nuclear tests carried out in the South-East Pacific, tests that endanger the marine ecosystem of those regions of the southern seas. If, as we were haughtily told, those tests have no effect on the marine environment of those regions, why were they not carried out in the seas near the coasts of those conducting them? My country is sure that it is joined by the overwhelming majority of those represented here in supporting the idea of a nuclear agreement, as mentioned by President Reagan in his statement here [4th meeting], giving the world hope of arriving safe and sound in the third millennium of our era.

268. We express the following thought against all types of injustice. How can we not support the rights of the Namibian people in its struggle for independence? Or how can we not support the black race, which has not given up its legitimate appeal for an end to the unnatural practices of *apartheid* in South Africa? How can we forget the millions of innocent refugees who die at the hands of mercenaries of authoritarian, violent régimes or who are defenceless victims in the waters of the Pacific?

269. Colombia supports everything that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees can do in this regard, in the hope that his work will help millions of human beings throughout the world. We must study means that will guarantee them a return to their own countries, with respect for their personal integrity and with no danger to their lives.

270. Likewise, we ask that the question of the Korean peninsula be resolved by peaceful means, through dialogue between the parties directly concerned, so that negotiations may be resumed without hostility.

271. The world today is on a razor's edge, threatened on all sides by the military confrontation of the two blocs. That is why the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is necessary. The Movement, of which Colombia is a member, is needed in order that the world shall no longer be a battlefield for those vying for supremacy. We welcome the policy that stems from the foresight of Marshal Tito, Prime Minister Nehru and President Nasser, which inspired dozens of newly-independent countries to think for themselves, to struggle for their freedom, to define their own political, economic and social system with universal values.

272. It has rightly been said that the United Nations was established on the basis of two principles involving the very fate of the human condition, principles intended to save mankind from annihilation. The first concerns the right of States to have their territorial integrity respected, as a basis of international law, together with recognition of their autonomy and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The second principle concerns the progressive development and improvement of the standard of living of the various nations of the world.

273. There can be no doubt that the Organization has partially fulfilled its purpose in respect of decolonization; in affirming the principles of economic and social justice; and in serving as a political forum, so that all ideas may be heard, since politics consists to a large extent in reaching understanding with the adversary. My country, as a peace-loving country, as a signatory at San Francisco of the Charter of the United Nations—whose principles continue to inspire us to seek agreements such as those sought by the Contadora Group—would like to propose a return to those principles. We would like to propose that we make of them a constant practice, a daily endeavour, an imperative for all men of good will.

274. A return to principles is a sound policy, above all at a time when, in the midst of grim expectations, we lose our way and no longer find the compass at hand. There is no doubt recognition of the fact that this community of nations, based, as is any other, on respect for the rights of others, as was emphasized by Juárez, and on tolerance for other ideas, remains a valid system for the airing of disputes among States. Never before have we found such validity in the words of the French philosopher who described a decent way of life and of thinking which, if applied strictly and with understanding, could be a way of shared existence for all countries: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

275. In this statement, my country has endeavoured to share with the Assembly its highest ambition—peace; but we fear that we may be alone, that in this tower of Babel, this confusion of languages, not only are words different but also the concepts that they express. We must recognize that for the developed world, the socialist and capitalist countries, peace is a concept closely related to disarmament and the need to prevent a nuclear holocaust. It is, in a word, the solution of the East-West conflict. For the developing world, however, that third world which includes three quarters of our planet, peace is a concept which is inevitably linked to those of poverty, hunger and injustice—in other words, it means a solution to the North-South conflict.

276. Colombia wishes to invite the international community to work together to find a common denominator for the East-West and North-South conflicts, so that we may all arrive at the same idea of peace and therefore unite all our energies in order to achieve peace, in progress and justice, for all peoples.

277. Mr. BODSTRÖM (Sweden): I should like first of all to congratulate Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I also wish to take this opportunity of warmly welcoming Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations and to extend to it my country's sincere wishes for a peaceful and prosperous future.

278. Among the items raised at the first session of the General Assembly in 1946 were two issues that merit our special attention today. One was the elimination of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The other was South Africa's claims to what was then known as South West Africa, that is, Namibia. Now, when we are approaching the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, these issues are still with us. On the agenda of the General Assembly we find the questions of the accelerating nuclear arms race and the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. These sad facts should be a cause for deep reflection.

279. There has been no improvement in the international situation over the past year. Relations between the super-Powers are marked by deep distrust and there has been little dialogue between them. At the same time, the economic gap between industrialized and developing countries is growing. The debt crisis continues to be a serious development problem. No region can escape being affected by the tensions created by this negative climate.

280. For almost a year, no negotiations have been going on with regard to the reduction of nuclear weapons. Despite the insights presented by scientists about the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war, as a result not only of the immediate destruction but also of the nuclear winter, both super-Powers are investing in more and more advanced systems. Warning times become shorter and the risks of a conflict breaking out by accident are increasing.

281. The current climate of confrontation must be replaced by increased dialogue. This dialogue should embrace both the armaments situation and the many regional conflicts which, under the influence of the great-Power rivalry, tend to become increasingly difficult to solve.

282. It is a deeply regrettable fact that almost 40 years after the founding of the United Nations we are still far from living up to the basic principles laid down in the Charter of the Organization. The United Nations has all too frequently had to play the part of a passive onlooker. Its interventions in conflicts, when at all possible, have often come late and have been directed towards the external symptoms of the conflicts rather than their causes.

283. In spite of their obligations under the Charter, States still to a great extent resort to force to resolve problems. The international community has been unable to rid itself of the scourge that the violations of human rights constitute. The programmes of the United Nations for the promotion of economic and social development have not been assured sufficient resources.

284. The authority of the United Nations can be maintained only if Member States fulfil the obligations they have assumed under the Charter. The basic provisions of the Charter are and must remain the foremost principles of the international community. They must be our common guidelines for peaceful relations and co-operation between States. Disputes must be solved by peaceful means. The threat or use of force must not be tolerated. States must respect each other's territorial integrity and political independence. They must recognize each other's right to security. Every State chooses, in its own way, how to achieve security, but this must not be done at the expense of another State. At a time of increased interdependence, security must ultimately be ensured in common.

285. In no circumstances can violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter be tolerated. No country should have to be subjected to such acts. In pursuing its traditional policy of neutrality, Sweden has upheld and is determined to uphold its territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Only by respecting the fundamental rules of international law and through international co-operation can a lasting peace be ensured. A special responsibility rests on the permanent members of the Security Council. If they themselves, in contravention of international law, disregard the principles of the Charter, a dangerous breeding-ground is created for international anarchy.

286. For Sweden, membership of the United Nations and the obligations this involves remain a corner-stone of our foreign policy. For the Swedish Government, it is of the greatest importance that the United Nations be given the opportunity to fulfil as intended its primary purpose—the maintenance of international peace and security.

287. The debate ensuing from the Secretary-General's clear-sighted analyses during the past two years has resulted in a number of practical suggestions to strengthen the United Nations. Last year, the Nordic countries made a concrete contribution to this discussion in a joint report to the Secretary-General.<sup>7</sup>

288. The Security Council should find working methods to make it easier to deal with conflicts at an early stage and to prevent the resort to violence. With this objective in view, there is room for improving the co-operation between the Council and the Secretary-General. Better methods must be found to ensure that the Council's decisions are implemented. The Council should consider meeting at ministerial level on some occasion in order to consider the dangers threatening peace and to discuss methods of containing them at an early stage.

289. The principle of collective responsibility for the financing of the expenditures of the Organization, including all peace-keeping operations, must be upheld.

290. As Member States, we must all be responsible for ensuring that we utilize the Organization in the proper manner. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], the Secretary-General draws our attention to several tendencies with respect to working methods and resolutions which are contrary to this aim.

291. It is of vital importance that the universal character of the United Nations be maintained. Differences of opinion will not be brought any closer to a solution if States are excluded from the Organization.

292. It is also important that States do not turn away from the work of the United Nations but instead participate in efforts to carry out from within the reforms of the United Nations system that may be called for.

293. The United Nations offers a well-formulated code of conduct, well-tested negotiation machinery and an indispensable meeting-place.

294. The concern of peoples and Governments at the accelerating arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race between two super-Powers, is reflected in the widening involvement of the United Nations in the area of disarmament. Initiatives, proposals and recommendations for confidence-building measures in the military field, arms control and disarmament have increased in number. Studies are carried out on questions of fundamental importance for the disarmament efforts. The non-nuclear-weapon States—that is, the great majority of the United Nations Member States—try in different ways to find methods to break the deadlock in negotiations between the two major nuclear-weapon States and to halt the arms race. Sweden continues to attach great importance to this work within the United Nations and at the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva.

295. On 22 May of this year, six Presidents and Prime Ministers from five continents, including the Prime Minister of Sweden, made an appeal for the nuclear arms race to be stopped [see A/39/277]. They urged the nuclear-weapon States to proclaim a nuclear-arms freeze. Also, a broad section of public opinion in many countries increasingly demands of the nuclear-weapon States a nuclear-arms freeze. This is reflected in the work of the United Nations by the resolution on a nuclear-arms freeze initiated by Mexico and Sweden in 1982 and approved by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority [resolution 37/100 B].

296. However, it has been possible to implement United Nations disarmament resolutions to a limited extent only. This cannot fail to weaken the authority of the United Nations. A great responsibility for this situation rests on the two leading nuclear-weapon States.

297. Those with the power to decide on the use of nuclear weapons are not only gambling with the survival of their own countries but also putting our lives in jeopardy. For this reason, we who do not possess nuclear weapons must do our utmost to assert our interests and to persuade the nuclear-weapon States to realize that they also have a responsibility to us.

298. Today, less than one year before the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, there are no ongoing negotiations, either bilateral or multilateral, on nuclear disarmament. At the Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, it has proved impossible even to establish a committee on the question of a nuclear-weapon-test ban. This failure of the nuclear-weapon States to fulfil their obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] gives rise to serious misgivings for the future of that Treaty. Against this background, it is of particular importance that a comprehensive test-ban treaty be negotiated and that negotiations in the nuclear-arms field are resumed.

299. A decision to observe a moratorium on the deployment of additional nuclear weapons would be a valuable contribution in this connection. It is also urgently necessary to initiate multilateral negotiations in order to prevent an arms race in outer space. The major space Powers can lay the foundation for progress on this question bilaterally.

300. In our work at the United Nations, at a time marked by tension and mistrust between the two super-Powers, we must seek practical ways to contribute to building up the minimum of mutual confidence required for progress in the field of disarmament. Progress in the negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons at the Conference on Disarmament indicates that this is not impossible.

301. Since the beginning of 1984, Stockholm has hosted the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. It is a positive and significant fact that practically all the States in Europe, as well as the United States and Canada, are now negotiating confidence- and security-building measures to promote détente in Europe and prepare the ground for negotiations on disarmament.

302. Respect for human rights must be an indivisible part of the international legal system and of the work for peace. Violations of human rights are not the internal affairs of individual countries and must be condemned wherever they may occur. An alarming discrepancy remains between the real situation in many parts of the world and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights. Sweden welcomes the increasing attention now being paid to this serious problem by the United Nations. We appreciate the involvement of the Secretary-General and support his efforts.

303. An important step forward is that a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment<sup>3</sup> has been submitted to the General Assembly for consideration at this session. Reliable information indicates that this shocking violation of the integrity of the individual is being committed systematically in a large number of United Nations Member States. In the view of the Swedish Government, it is of great importance that the Assembly accord this draft the highest priority. We hope that it can be adopted, if possible this year, in such a form that its implementation can be monitored in an effective way.

304. The urgent question of abolishing the death penalty is now being dealt with by the Commission on Human Rights. It is the Swedish Government's hope that the work can be carried out with the greatest dispatch.

305. Outside the United Nations system as well, significant work is being carried out for the promotion of human rights. It is of great importance that the commitments in this field which were made in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, should be given substantive content.

306. We share the Secretary-General's view that increased and better co-ordinated multilateral efforts are required to deal with the serious drug problem.

307. We must also strengthen the role of the United Nations in the management of the earth's common resources. Ever since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment took place at Stockholm

12 years ago, we have gradually realized that it is a matter of survival for the human race to find international solutions to the central problems of the environment. However, at the international level this realization has so far led to rhetoric rather than to concrete action. It is our hope that the World Commission on Environment and Development, recently established by the United Nations and chaired by Mrs. Brundtland, of Norway, will prove successful and strengthen the work of UNEP.

308. The United Nations has a particular responsibility to contribute to a settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. The absence of positive steps in a peace process is disturbing.

309. The parties concerned must meet in direct negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Also the PLO must take part in these negotiations on an equal basis. A peace settlement must meet the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people for self-determination, including the right to establish a State of their own in the West Bank and Gaza. The same applies to Israel's right to exist in peace within secure and recognized borders. A possible way to speed up a settlement of the question would be to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, as proposed by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.<sup>8</sup> Israel's policy of establishing illegal settlements in the occupied territories must cease; it constitutes a serious impediment to a solution of the conflict.

310. The Israeli occupation forces must leave Lebanon without delay. The Swedish Government supports the Lebanese Government in its efforts to create peace for the Lebanese people and restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

311. The Iran-Iraq conflict has now entered its fifth year. My Government expresses its appreciation of the Secretary-General's initiative with a view to terminating attacks on civilian population centres and the use of chemical weapons in the war. The effect of the war with regard to free shipping in the region is also a source of concern. It is the earnest desire of the Swedish Government that it will be possible to bring this tragic conflict to an early end by peaceful means.

312. As was noted at the meeting at Stockholm in June of this year between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Nordic countries and of the front-line States in southern Africa, the *apartheid* policy remains unchanged. South Africa continues its endeavours to weaken and dominate the neighbouring States in order to maintain and strengthen the *apartheid* system. In its indiscriminate killings and its imprisonment of members of the political opposition, in particular the United Democratic Front, the régime has shown its true face.

313. Against this background, we must again—and with renewed vigour—urge the Security Council to decide upon binding economic sanctions against South Africa.

314. Six years after adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978), the United Nations plan for Namibia remains unimplemented, as a result of continued delaying tactics on the part of South Africa. We find this unacceptable. Extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, must not be used as an excuse to obstruct Namibia's

independence. The Security Council should now enforce its plan for Namibia and finally bring about a solution to this question.

315. The Soviet troops still remain in Afghanistan. In violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, the people of Afghanistan are still denied the right to independence and the opportunity to determine their own future. A similar situation exists in Kampuchea, where the Vietnamese occupation continues. Although the years pass, we must not accept these conditions. We support the efforts to resolve the conflicts. The foreign occupation troops must be withdrawn. The suffering of the civilian populations in both countries must be brought to an end.

316. The situation in Central America is still tense. The conflicts in the region have their origin in economic and social injustice. Sweden fully supports the efforts initiated by the Contadora Group to prevent further spreading of the conflicts and to find peaceful solutions. Only through respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the countries in the region can foundations be laid for political solutions and the danger to international peace and security be eliminated. Progress in the entire region towards democracy and respect for human rights is of decisive importance. The peoples of Central America must be given a chance to build up their societies in peace and freedom without external intervention. The United States has a great and undeniable influence in the region. The Swedish Government is of the view that the United States should act with restraint and use its influence to promote negotiations.

317. The people of Chile are still deprived of their civil rights and liberties. The United Nations must untiringly continue to press its demands for the restoration of democracy and respect for human rights in Chile.

318. My earlier remarks on the importance of strengthening the United Nations also apply to a very high degree to international economic co-operation and to North-South relations. We must seize every opportunity to strengthen the multilateral dialogue in the economic field.

319. Unfortunately, the discussions in the United Nations on the problems of development have made practically no progress lately. The International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, constitutes a noteworthy exception. It is our hope that it will lead to concrete results.

320. If the recovery of the world economy is to be sustained, the developing countries must become more actively involved in the process. Among other things, this requires increased access for those countries to the markets of the industrialized countries. This is necessary, not least in order to cope with the debt problems. At present, the developing countries make interest payments at the rate of approximately \$60 billion a year to the industrialized countries. They receive only approximately \$30 billion in grants from the industrialized world.

321. In spite of the economic upturn, however, protectionist tendencies appear to be on the increase. This development must be countered. All countries should work to strengthen and expand free trade. A new round of multilateral trade negotiations, carefully prepared, can contribute to that end. It is also extremely important that the decisions taken at the

sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, be followed up.

322. The developing countries' own struggle against economic and social crises must be supported by increased aid, not least through multilateral channels. UNDP must be strengthened, and the co-ordination between the various aid organizations within the United Nations system must be improved. The largest multilateral development body, IDA, whose undisputed competence has been of decisive importance to the poorest countries, must be ensured sufficient resources. We therefore regret that some of the largest donor countries have not shown willingness to contribute to the reinforcement of IDA.

323. The critical situation in sub-Saharan Africa, which is characterized by drought and starvation, must be met with prompt and decisive action. Meanwhile, it is encouraging that the African States themselves are attempting to reverse the development through regional co-operation. Sweden has supported, and intends in the future to increase its support for co-operation within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

324. UNICEF's work for the survival of children is also of the greatest significance. We welcome the Fund's initiative in taking up the question of support for children in especially difficult circumstances, such as children living in situations of war. In this connection, attention should also be drawn to the draft convention on the rights of the child, which is under consideration in the Commission on Human Rights.

325. The countries of the world need the United Nations. We need the United Nations in order to eliminate the risk of armed conflicts and to achieve international disarmament.

326. We need the United Nations in order to be able to deal with the pressing common problems of environment and resources, which no one country can tackle alone.

327. We need the United Nations in order to follow through our efforts to improve the economic and social conditions of the third world.

328. The United Nations must not be allowed to degenerate into a forum for confrontation. The United Nations must be a forum for constructive deliberation and co-operation.

329. Mr. ELLEMAN-JENSEN (Denmark): I should like first to offer Mr. Lusaka my sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I assure him of the full co-operation of the Danish delegation in performing the duties of his high office.

330. Furthermore, it gives me great personal pleasure to extend a most cordial welcome to Brunei Darussalam as the newest Member of the United Nations.

331. The international situation today represents a disheartening picture. We are witnessing a lack of progress in the dialogue between East and West in the crucial area of arms control and disarmament. The global problems of hunger, poverty and the violation of human rights remain serious. Regional conflicts have deteriorated into open military fighting. Perhaps the only reason for keeping some optimism alive is the fact that the growth in international communications gradually makes people

aware that we live in one world and ultimately share a common future.

332. The real and urgent challenge of today is to organize the international community in a way that compels us all to face the fundamental issues confronting mankind. The world has become too small for antagonism and confrontation. Differences and conflicts of interest must be resolved through compromise and co-operation.

333. The relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is a fundamental factor in the environment of international politics. This past summer's great disappointment was the lack of sincerity in bringing about negotiations aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space. Earlier, the Soviet withdrawal from the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and the strategic arms reduction talks interrupted the serious efforts aimed at achieving security at a lower level of armaments. But problems are not solved by turning one's back to them.

334. In this negative atmosphere, it is extremely important that efforts to turn developments in a more positive direction have been made in the dialogue between East and West at the collective level. In NATO we have thoroughly examined East-West relations in the light of the experiences of the 1970s and the challenges of the 1980s and with the aim of creating a more constructive dialogue. In our declaration from the meeting in May in Washington we reconfirmed the priorities and aims of the Alliance. Thus, despite severe set-backs in recent years for the policy of détente, the Alliance has not given up hope. In fact, efforts to seek dialogue and co-operation will be intensified as part of a long-term policy to bring about genuine détente and stability. The President of the United States, when he spoke in the Assembly yesterday [4th meeting], very clearly reaffirmed the United States commitment to this policy, and we very much hope that the Soviet Union will respond positively to that statement.

335. Our policy undoubtedly corresponds closely to the hopes and aspirations of all people in West and East alike. It also corresponds closely to the conditions that must be met if the individual countries on both sides of the present dividing line in Europe are to enjoy fully the privilege of expressing their interests and pursuing them in co-operation with others. The principal aim is to strengthen peace and deepen co-operation between East and West. In the short term, a more modest aim is to reach a situation in which both sides have more to gain from co-operation than from confrontation. The Danish Government is ready to contribute actively towards the attainment of this aim.

336. The Danish Government values highly the possibilities for common action which flow from the multilateral process initiated by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975. The years have also demonstrated the value of the Conference process as a framework for dialogue. This process represents to all the participating States, big and small, an opportunity and an obligation: an opportunity for all to launch their ideas and values into the discussion about the future of Europe; an obligation to seek results through consensus.

337. This year, the process has acquired a new important dimension, the Conference on Confi-

dence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, meeting at Stockholm, with the task of establishing a set of militarily significant, verifiable confidence- and security-building measures covering the whole of Europe. It is our hope that the Conference will be able to work out concrete measures to strengthen confidence between East and West and thus consolidate the commitments under the Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act concerning the renunciation of force.

338. We are also looking forward to the CSCE expert meeting on human rights at Ottawa next spring. We trust that the meeting will contribute to the promotion of the human dimension of the Helsinki Final Act.

339. Last year, a record total of 63 resolutions concerning disarmament was adopted by the General Assembly. Unfortunately, this impressive number of resolutions has not had much impact in terms of concrete disarmament measures. The Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, has dealt intensively with many questions which my Government regards as high-priority issues, such as a comprehensive and effective ban on chemical weapons. The course of these negotiations has so far been discouraging.

340. We urge all parties to show good will and flexibility and to work together in an effort to solve some of the high-priority questions, including an agreement on a comprehensive test ban and the question of preventing an arms race in outer space.

341. Nuclear disarmament remains the issue of the highest priority. At the bilateral level, the United States and the Soviet Union have conducted negotiations on mutual reductions of strategic nuclear arms. It is regrettable that these negotiations have been discontinued. It is the view of the Danish Government that they must be resumed without delay.

342. The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intermediate-range nuclear forces, negotiations which have also been discontinued, are of special concern to us. Instead of a negotiated correction of the imbalance created by the Soviet deployment of additional SS-20 missiles, a situation has been created which has led to further deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The Danish Government sincerely hopes that negotiations will be resumed without pre-conditions or delay.

343. In an effort to halt the continued build-up of nuclear weapons, the Danish Government supports the idea that the nuclear-weapon States should agree to a verifiable freeze on all types of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles as a basis for negotiations on a build-down, taking into account the security interests of all States. In this context, I should like to repeat from my statement at the thirty-eighth session [8th meeting], that the Danish Government supports all realistic efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in conformity with the provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, devoted to disarmament [resolution S-10/2].

344. We can, and must, achieve measures of nuclear disarmament. But this does not mean that we should simply accept the present situation in the area of conventional arms. Quite apart from the possibility of conventional war itself and the risk of escalation, in certain circumstances, into nuclear war, if the diversion of resources to development is to mean

anything at all, then most of these resources must come from expenditure on conventional arms and armed forces, which accounts for four fifths of present military spending.

345. For all those and other reasons, we hope that the study which the Secretary-General has submitted to the General Assembly on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces [A/39/348] will be a first step towards effective measures of conventional disarmament, which will complement measures of nuclear disarmament. I wish to express my gratitude to the Group of Experts for their endeavours, which resulted in a study adopted by consensus.

346. The conflicts in the Middle East still give rise to considerable concern. During the past year there has been little substantive progress towards a peaceful settlement of the problems of that war-torn region. The Danish Government calls upon all parties concerned in each conflict to recognize that their maximum aims are unattainable and that negotiations between them are the only way to achieve peace.

347. The fundamental and longest-lasting conflict in the Middle East is the Arab-Israeli dispute. The Palestinian problem is the core of this conflict; and a solution to the Palestinian question remains a prerequisite for an Arab-Israeli settlement, which can be achieved only through direct negotiations between all parties concerned. Although we do not want to prejudice the outcome of such negotiations, the Danish Government has often stated its belief that a lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict must take account of both the right to existence and security of all States in the region, including Israel, and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

348. However, regrettably, it is becoming ever clearer that the existing situation is detrimental to the building of the confidence necessary for the peace process. It is crucial that the Israeli Government put an end to its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories, in order to preserve the principle of exchanging territory for peace, on which Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is based. It is equally important that all parties apply the principle of non-recourse to the threat or use of force.

349. The Danish Government commends the achievements of the Lebanese Government of National Unity towards an improvement of the security situation in Lebanon, and its efforts towards national reconciliation. It is our firm belief that the international community still has an important role to play in the restoration of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. Any durable settlement in Lebanon would also require the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory.

350. The continued conflict between Iran and Iraq poses a very serious threat to the stability of the whole Gulf region. Human suffering on both sides has been shocking, and despite numerous international mediation offers no peaceful solution is in sight. I wish to express again my Government's appreciation to the Secretary-General for obtaining the commitment of both parties not to attack civilian targets, and I encourage the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to bring an end to this tragic conflict. Since the begin-

ning of the war, Denmark has pursued a policy of impartiality and has continuously advocated a peaceful settlement based on negotiations. It goes without saying that we strongly condemn any use of chemical weapons in this or any other conflict. We also call upon both parties to comply with the principles and provisions of international humanitarian law in armed conflicts.

351. A glimmer of hope for the future of southern Africa arose earlier this year. At Lusaka, an understanding was reached on 16 February between Angola and South Africa on the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola. At Nkomati, an Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness was signed on 16 March by Mozambique and South Africa [A/39/159, annex I], which seemed to imply that South Africa was finally abandoning the policy of destabilization of the countries neighbouring it. Hopes were raised that these agreements would contribute to peace and stability in the region, and more specifically to early progress towards independence for Namibia.

352. Regrettably, it now seems that the hopes were raised too high. There is imminent danger of a return to the deadlocked position which characterized the negotiating process last year. South Africa has suspended the withdrawal of its troops from Angola and continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. Whereas SWAPO has reconfirmed its commitment to the United Nations plan for Namibia's transition to independence, South Africa continues to lay down extraneous conditions for its co-operation in the implementation of the plan. The Danish Government remains convinced that the Namibian people must, without delay, be given the opportunity to decide their own future through free and fair elections, under United Nations supervision and control, in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

353. In South Africa itself the fundamental elements of the *apartheid* system remain. The new South African Constitution has in no way changed the deplorable fact that the great majority of South Africans are still denied basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The effective boycott of the recent elections by the so-called Coloureds and Asians clearly showed the solidarity of those groups with the black majority and their aspirations for basic human rights for all, without distinction of any kind such as race or colour. The repressive measures undertaken by the South African authorities against those who were active in the boycott are clear evidence that the so-called constitutional reforms are nothing but an attempt to consolidate the *apartheid* system.

354. Peace and stability will not come to southern Africa as long as the *apartheid* system is maintained. The Danish Government remains convinced that the international pressure on South Africa must be increased and made more effective. The South African Government must not be given any illusion that the world community will settle for anything less than Namibia's early independence and the eradication of the *apartheid* system.

355. In defiance of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, Soviet military forces have remained in Afghanistan, thus violating the territorial integrity of an independent State, maintaining the threat to the stability of the

South-West Asian region and imposing a serious strain on the international climate and a heavy burden on neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. The latest Soviet military attempt to bring the popular resistance movement under control has added dramatically to the sufferings of the already hard-trying civilian population. We are seeing a further increase of international concern for the humanitarian aspects of the situation. To my Government's call for withdrawal of the Soviet forces and recognition of the right of the Afghan people to self-determination is added the hope that international relief organizations, including UNHCR and the International Red Cross, will be given working conditions that will enable them to alleviate the plight of the civilian population.

356. My Government is deeply concerned over the situation in Kampuchea, which is comparable to that in Afghanistan. I reiterate the appeal for a comprehensive political settlement that would secure complete withdrawal of all foreign forces; the right of the Kampuchean people to determine its own destiny through free elections, supervised by the United Nations; respect for the independence and neutrality of Kampuchea; and a commitment by all States to refrain from interfering in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

357. Denmark has noted with satisfaction the moves towards democracy that are taking place in various Latin American countries. We hope and believe that this process will lead to full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in all countries of Latin America.

358. The Danish Government is gravely concerned at the present tense situation in Central America. Just and durable solutions to the centuries-old social and economic injustices and oppression cannot be achieved by military means. The only path to just and durable solutions lies in regional political co-operation and respect for the fundamental principles of non-interference and the inviolability of national frontiers. This goal can be attained only through economic and social reforms and a more equitable distribution. It is of overriding importance that all the conflicts in Central America be settled by peaceful means, through negotiation. All parties directly or indirectly involved in those conflicts should therefore show the greatest possible restraint.

359. My Government fully supports the peace efforts of the Contadora Group and regards the elaboration of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562] as an encouraging development. I hope that the forthcoming meeting at San José of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Community, Spain and Portugal and their counterparts from the countries of Central America, as well as of the Contadora Group, will contribute to a successful outcome of those peace efforts.

360. International awareness of human rights has emerged, and a body of international human rights law has been adopted. A global human rights conscience exists. It is for States to respect human rights and to ensure that respect under responsibility not only to their citizens but also to the international community and international law. Nevertheless, these standards continue to be violated in almost every part of the world.

361. There are no easy solutions to human rights problems. One important aspect in our efforts to improve the human rights situation is the imperative necessity of achieving global accession to global instruments and to their implementation machinery in its totality, as well as the political will to abide by the decisions, recommendations and views of international institutions established to safeguard human rights.

362. In spite of the results achieved in the field of standard setting, it is still necessary to improve the protection of human rights in international law. The vicious practice of torture and summary or arbitrary executions are but two examples of flagrant human rights violations where international efforts are required. My Government warmly welcomes the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment,<sup>3</sup> submitted by the Commission on Human Rights. It is hoped that the lengthy and exhaustive deliberations belong to the past, so that the compromise text before us may be adopted during the present session of the General Assembly with effective and mandatory implementation provisions. My Government is also prepared to support steps to extend and strengthen the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions.

363. The Danish Government remains firmly convinced that ideological, religious and cultural differences in the world should not prevent the universal and homogeneous application of human rights standards. We therefore sincerely hope that this session of the General Assembly will see a return to the consensus it established last year on the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [*resolution 38/14*].

364. In addition to the immediate sufferings caused by violations of human rights, such violations tend to generate refugee problems. Despite an encouraging trend during the past year, voluntary repatriation under safe conditions is still a possibility for very few refugees. Resettlement in third countries remains the only remedy for far too many. Denmark remains committed to participating in international resettlement programmes in a spirit of international burden-sharing.

365. The Danish Government attaches great importance to the involvement of the United Nations in promoting full equality between men and women. The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held next year at Nairobi, will provide an opportunity for reviewing achievements so far and for setting out strategies for the future. Likewise, we welcome the concern of the United Nations, through the International Youth Year, 1985, for the increased participation of young people in the development of society.

366. The international economic situation in the early part of this decade showed a grim picture. It was not until last year that we experienced a first—although fragile—economic upswing in many of the industrialized countries. This year has proved that our cautious optimism then was not wishful thinking. Although the economic growth rates vary considerably among nations, the general trend is a positive one; clearly, economic recovery is now under way.

367. The task before us is to consolidate and strengthen this development. To achieve this goal, we

must also address the serious problems which continue to present obstacles to economic growth in large parts of the world, in particular in many developing countries. It is a shared responsibility that ways be found to promote economic development in the third world and among the large populations who have experienced a reduction of per capita income and for whom the concept of recovery has until now remained an abstract idea.

368. The United Nations is a unique forum for a thorough debate on the increasingly interrelated components of the world economy. It is the Danish Government's hope that this session of the General Assembly will make a real contribution to the achievement of consensus with regard to the ways and means of reaching the goals set out in the Charter of the United Nations in the economic and social areas.

369. In spite of the enormous needs of developing countries, official development assistance has stagnated during the last few years. Certain donor countries have moved closer to or—like Denmark—have exceeded the 0.7 per cent target, but most are still far from reaching it. In the present situation, it is more than ever necessary that donor countries live up to their commitment to expand official development assistance. This would also lead to more equitable international burden-sharing. Particular emphasis should be placed on assistance to the poorest and least developed countries. More development assistance resources should be used for production and employment-generating activities, especially in the agricultural sector.

370. Notwithstanding the amount of foreign assistance, it is a prerequisite for development that the recipient countries pursue effective economic policies aimed at mobilizing domestic resources and channelling them to efficient and productive use. This may not always have been the case. We have seen examples of artificially high exchange rates and distorted price structures within the agricultural field, with negative effects on production and development. It is crucial to the political and practical ability of donor countries to maintain and expand their assistance that development efforts are not hampered by such policies.

371. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*] is one of the most ambitious and comprehensive action plans formulated by the United Nations system. Regrettably, the accomplishments have so far fallen short of the expectations for the decade. We urge all countries to renew their efforts during the final phase of review and appraisal, in order that this may lead to reinforced national and international commitments to achieve the goals of the International Development Strategy.

372. The initiative taken by the Secretary-General on behalf of the African countries has increased the awareness of the donor community concerning the urgent need to assist those countries in alleviating their acute problems. Almost all African countries are suffering, and the situation in many sub-Saharan countries can only be described as disastrous. Emergency measures are necessary as a supplement to longer-term efforts to secure the sound functioning of the African economies.

373. Danish development co-operation with the African countries has always been particularly inten-

sive. In fact, last year no less than 53 per cent of our bilateral development assistance, as well as a considerable portion of our assistance through multilateral and humanitarian organizations, went to African countries. We stand ready further to strengthen our co-operation with those countries.

374. The consistent support of my country for the development activities of the United Nations family is well known. This year the Danish contribution to UNDP will amount to approximately \$40 million, which is considerably more than in 1983. However, similar efforts are necessary on the part of other donors to improve further the financial basis of the Programme and at the same time secure more equitable burden-sharing between donors. It is my hope that such a development will be furthered by the revitalizing process of UNDP, which is now under way.

375. The work of UNICEF is followed with great interest by the Danish public. As a new member of the Executive Board, we hope to contribute constructively to the work of this important body. The child survival revolution launched by UNICEF in 1983 has gained widespread and well-deserved support among potential donor countries, developing countries and international organizations.

376. Finally, a word on an important international conference which took place this year—the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August. That Conference confirmed that the interrelationship between poverty and rapid population growth has gained increased recognition by the international community. My Government is confident that the recommendations of the Conference and the Mexico City Declaration on Population and Development will provide a solid basis for further progress in the implementation of the World Population Plan of Action.<sup>9</sup>

377. In this respect, I find it most important that family planning is now considered a basic human right and that such activities should be pursued with full respect for the free choice of individuals and couples.

378. It is a primary objective of the Danish Government to work for the strengthening of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and to help to create conditions in which the bodies of the Organization may most effectively perform the functions entrusted to them.

379. When, as we hope, Denmark becomes a member of the Security Council beginning on 1 January 1985, we will approach the task humbly and with great respect for the responsibility resting upon us. Our foremost endeavour will be to help to provide the Council with that fundamental authority which can only come from unanimity among all its members.

380. In my previous statements before the General Assembly, I—like most of my colleagues—have included a section on my Government's commitment to the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the great merits of the Organization, which, in its universality, is the unique forum for co-operation among all sovereign States of the world. I have omitted that section this year. In dealing with the many issues of world affairs, I have involuntarily emphasized the role of the United Nations in relation to each of them. Can there be a

more significant and more sincere affirmation of the real relevance of the United Nations?

381. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): I have the honour to convey to you, Sir, and to the representatives present here, the greetings of my Sovereign, King Birendra Bir Bikram Sháh Dev, as well as his best wishes for the success of the current session of the General Assembly.

382. May I also on behalf of my delegation extend our warm felicitations to Mr. Paul Lusaka on his election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are indeed happy to find a man of his eminence and ability guiding the work of this important session. He represents a country which is deeply committed to the principles of non-alignment and has always been in the forefront of defending the cause of international peace and justice. Nepal shares common characteristics and commitments with Zambia. My delegation is therefore confident that the deliberations at this session of the Assembly will be both meaningful and memorable.

383. I would be remiss were I to fail to express our appreciation to Mr. Jorge Illueca, who presided over the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with great distinction.

384. I would also like to take this opportunity to place on record our sincere appreciation of the Secretary-General for his contributions in promoting the cause of international peace and co-operation and also for his efforts to enhance the image and effectiveness of the United Nations.

385. My delegation has the pleasure to welcome among us Brunei Darussalam, a country with which Nepal enjoys a close relationship.

386. Many distinguished speakers who have preceded me have given expression to their concern over the dangers and difficulties that we face today. Indeed, every passing year has been a witness to the drift and deterioration in the international situation. While the world moves from crisis to crisis, the actions of the international community have been more in the nature of belated reactions than of bold initiatives to forestall problems or make better arrangements for the future. The maintenance of international peace and security and the enhancement of global co-operation for the benefit of mankind presuppose a gradual but steady strengthening of an international order. This will require a universal acceptance of the codes of international conduct and a growth in trust and respect between nations.

387. These are the principles on which the United Nations was founded, and these are the principles that we are all committed to uphold. However, the gap between conduct and commitment has led not only to the aggravation of tension and trouble but also has seriously eroded the very effectiveness of the Organization. I sometimes wonder whether we can afford further deviation from the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Man's ingenuity in endlessly refining the supreme weapons of universal annihilation stands in stark contrast to deprivation and destitution of an unimaginable magnitude. A number of key disputes with potential for subverting the fragile structure of world peace continue to go unresolved. While poverty and economic hardship threaten a vast portion of the world's population, efforts to devise global economic remedies remain deadlocked. Violence and terrorism, bred by mass

frustrations, are sapping the failing faith in human life and values.

388. If there was anything of universal significance in the dismal events of the past year it was our need to address ourselves to the most pressing problem of our time, the arms race. Yet we find the momentum in the reverse direction. The strained relations between the two super-Powers have continued to feed on the infinitely ominous tendency to build, refine and stockpile weapons. Their competition in manufacturing and stockpiling weapons of mass destruction has triggered an intense race far in excess of the legitimate need for self-defence among the third world countries. While the arms race has been increasing both in intensity and scope, no progress is recorded in the negotiations with respect to priorities identified in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*]. All the more frustrating is the fact that there appears to be very little prospect of an immediate breakthrough, notwithstanding the technical and legal groundwork laid down years ago. The stalemate in the Conference on Disarmament on such issues as the comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, agreement on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction and on a convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons cannot be explained other than as a result of the lack of political will on the part of the major Powers to come to any agreement.

389. It is true that all nuclear-weapon States have expressed an aversion to using nuclear weapons. However, the very existence of such weapons in the present state of international relations presents an unprecedented threat to human life and civilization. Possession of these weapons confers on the major Powers a responsibility to negotiate ways to reduce and ultimately eliminate these weapons of annihilation.

390. Nepal has always insisted that continuing dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union undertaken in good faith will not only facilitate progress on all aspects of nuclear disarmament but also have a decisive impact on the general climate of international relations. A prolonged stalemate in the negotiations between the two super-Powers could, in addition, have far-reaching implications for the proliferation of nuclear weapons, both vertically and horizontally. It might then be too late for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] to contain the situation any longer.

391. My delegation fully shares the general anxiety posed by nuclear weapons. We would like to stress, however, the need to tackle the problem of the production, refinement, stockpiling and, above all, international transfer of conventional weapons. Inferior to nuclear weapons only in their capacity to bring devastation, these immensely powerful weapons of mass destruction have been a major drain on the limited resources of many developing countries which are trying to outdo each other in acquiring them. These weapons have caused untold suffering in the years since the founding of the United Nations. My delegation welcomes the study on all aspects of the conventional arms race and on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces [*A/39/348*]. We would support any initiative de-

signed to promote security and stability at a lower level of armament.

392. My delegation shares the deep concern at the present prospect of the arms race extending into outer space and reiterates its appeal for negotiations to be initiated without delay and for action to prevent this development.

393. The past years have shown an increasing tendency to resort to arms in response to situations that could or should have been resolved through peaceful means. This has increased the opportunity for powerful foreign forces to intervene in the affairs of smaller nations. The superimposition of East-West tensions on regional conflicts has further complicated the situation.

394. The situation in the Middle East, with all its complexities, continues to command the attention of the international community. The adamant refusal to heed reason and good sense has perpetuated the cycle of mistrust and violence. The national tragedy of Lebanon has only underscored the need to redouble efforts to find a solution to that continuing crisis. A just and lasting peace in that region can be achieved only through a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the problem, such as recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, and Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967.

395. The United Nations is the only universal forum within the framework of which efforts towards a comprehensive peace can properly be pursued. In the past we welcomed partial steps in the hope that they would be a prelude to comprehensive peace and justice. We stand ready to support any initiative that sincerely seeks to address the elements of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace that I have outlined. The United Nations should also take immediate steps to encourage national reconciliation in Lebanon, the withdrawal of all foreign forces and respect for the territorial integrity and legitimate sovereignty of Lebanon.

396. The continuing conflict between two non-aligned countries, Iran and Iraq, is a source of deep concern to the international community. That tragic war has caused immense human suffering and material loss and will have unpredictable consequences in a very sensitive area of the world. Nepal renews its appeal to both Iran and Iraq to agree to an effective cease-fire and seek a negotiated settlement of their dispute.

397. Utter disregard for the basic norms governing relations between States in many parts of the world has been a constant source of tension and a threat to international peace and security. Every State, big or small, powerful or weak, has the inalienable right to choose its own social, economic and political system. This basic and legitimate right of a State and people can be denied only at the cost of the ideals, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Respect for these fundamental principles of inter-State relations enshrined in the Charter is the only effective protection for States against the domineering influence of the big Powers. It is in this perspective that my delegation views the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

398. The situation in Kampuchea remains a matter of grave concern. Despite strenuous efforts by the

United Nations and the International Conference on Kampuchea, peace and stability have not come to that country and the situation remains precarious. Only a just solution of the military and political issues can lead to a comprehensive solution of the Kampuchean problem. My delegation once again reiterates its call for the total withdrawal of foreign forces, which alone can create the conditions in which the Kampuchean people can exercise their right to self-determination.

399. Similarly, developments in Afghanistan have been a cause of great tension and anxiety throughout the world. The General Assembly has more than once pronounced itself unequivocally on the principles involved and the action required. Only adherence to the will of an overwhelming majority of the international community can help facilitate a fair political solution that will ensure that the Afghan people determine their own destiny without intervention or interference from outside. The efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, enjoy the full confidence and support of my delegation.

400. The situation in Central America remains volatile and tense. A feeling of insecurity and fear of destabilization caused by outside forces is fuelling violence and tension in the region. My delegation reiterates its support for Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which reaffirms the right of the States in the region to live in peace and freedom. The efforts of the Contadora Group continue to receive our firm support.

401. The situation in Cyprus has taken an unhappier turn in the recent past. Nepal reiterates its support for the territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and non-aligned character of Cyprus. My delegation believes that intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General offer the best hope for a viable solution of the Cyprus problem, and it renews its support for the recent initiative taken by the Secretary-General in that direction.

402. Nepal remains firm in its view that the aspirations of the Korean people for national reunification must be fulfilled peacefully, without outside interference.

403. Despite concerted efforts by the international community, South Africa persists with the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. It also continues to implement its policy of bantustanization, designed to make millions of citizens aliens in their own country. The recent sham reforms to give a semblance of representation to the so-called Coloureds and persons of Indian origin is yet another manoeuvre of the minority racist régime to deny the majority their birthright. South Africa's policies constitute a supreme negation of all that constitutes the guiding principles of the United Nations. My delegation renews its call for effective international measures under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, measures which alone can force the South African régime to respect the will of the international community, thus neutralizing a potential threat to international peace and security.

404. My delegation has repeatedly voiced its total opposition to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. We strongly denounce the prevarications often resorted to by South Africa to delay indefinitely the independence of that Territory, for which the United Nations has the sole responsibility. My

Government reaffirms its support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO. We also renew our appeal to the members of the contact group of five Western States to intensify their efforts for the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which alone constitutes the internationally accepted basis for the solution of the Namibian question.

405. Apart from the specific political and security issues to which I have referred, there are economic problems of an equally great magnitude which confront humanity and which must be taken into account seriously if we are to make progress in the great task of building a reasonably acceptable world order. In spite of attempts to strengthen international co-operation, the world continues to face increasing economic difficulties.

406. In the face of the pressing economic needs of the third world countries, the continued deadlock in the efforts to launch global negotiations is clearly unacceptable. The Group of 77 has been approaching the issue with an open and positive mind, as was evident in the exploratory exchanges during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are dismayed that the London Economic Summit of the industrialized countries, held in June of this year, was conspicuously silent on the issue of global negotiations.

407. Our concern over this continued impasse arises from our conviction that the fundamental problems facing the international community in areas of development and international economic co-operation are global in nature and therefore require a global, integrated approach. Short of this, no measure, no solution, however well-intentioned, can adequately respond to the present crisis.

408. The much-heralded recovery is limited to a few developed market economies. High interest rates, falling prices of primary products, fluctuating exchange rates, an increasing tendency to protectionism, a critical shortfall in resources of international development agencies and the high cost of imports have made the economies of developing countries even more vulnerable. In these circumstances, the negative attitude to the pressing needs of the developing countries is most regrettable.

409. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in 1981, drew the attention of the international community to the plight of that group of countries, whose economies were extremely fragile and faced further deterioration if immediate international action was not forthcoming. The Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, adopted by that Conference,<sup>10</sup> was a firm commitment of the international community to help to develop the infrastructure of the least developed countries and to launch sustained development programmes. A mid-term global review of the implementation of the Programme is to be undertaken in 1985. Looking back, we cannot but express serious concern at the lack of progress in the implementation of special measures envisaged under the Programme. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to remind donor countries of their solemn commitments and urge them to come forward generously to realize the objectives set out in the Programme.

410. As a least developed, as well as a land-locked country, Nepal has a vital stake in the full and

successful implementation of the Programme. We have launched a co-ordinated and programmed effort to achieve the all-round development of our country, but our efforts need a good degree of international support. While we accept primary responsibility for our own national development, international co-operation can go a long way in helping us to help ourselves.

411. International development organizations have a vital role to play in achieving the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. Shortfalls in the critically needed resources allocated voluntarily to those organizations are disturbing. Organizations like UNDP have, over the years, developed a highly refined skill to provide development assistance. Inability to use these valuable tools because of severe resource constraints would indeed be unfortunate. I take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the valuable assistance Nepal has been receiving from various United Nations bodies and agencies.

412. Given the interdependent nature of the world economy, energy, including new and renewable sources of energy, cannot be treated in isolation. It is an issue closely related to international finance and monetary questions and development assistance. Development of a sustainable supply of energy without excessively depleting natural resources is a great challenge to the international community. It was in this spirit that my country welcomed the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy, adopted in 1981,<sup>11</sup> and the subsequent developments leading to identification of priority areas for immediate study and possible implementation.

413. Nepal has based its strategy for national development on an accelerated but prudent exploitation of water resources. However, the magnitude of the task in terms of resources and technology requirements is immense. We appreciate the interest and active participation of friendly countries and multilateral institutions in this undertaking.

414. Because we are aware of the fact that science and technology alone can give us a breakthrough in socio-economic development, the activities at the United Nations in this field are of great interest to us. In the last few years we have made some institutional arrangements to mobilize local talent for national development. My delegation notes with satisfaction the work done by the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development in implementing the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development, adopted in 1979.<sup>12</sup> We look forward to an early settlement of the issue concerning resources for the establishment of a financing system for science and technology.

415. The continued deadlock in the North-South dialogue has reinforced the importance and urgency of South-South co-operation. My delegation expresses satisfaction at the achievements of the follow-up of the Caracas Programme of Action adopted by the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas in May 1981.<sup>13</sup>

416. Nepal firmly believes that the strengthening of South-South co-operation is an essential ingredient of international co-operation and development. As a

part of this process, the seven countries of South Asia are engaged in a programme of regional co-operation. We have already covered important ground at the conceptual stage, and an integrated programme of action has been adopted. The second South Asian Regional Co-operation Meeting of Foreign Ministers, held at Male on 10 and 11 July of this year, gave clear guidelines for the systematic implementation of the programme of action, launched in a spirit of mutual understanding for mutual benefit.

417. This brief survey of a few of the important issues facing us brings me back to the idea with which I opened my statement. The ideal world order which the Charter of the United Nations visualizes, viewed against ever-increasing and complicated problems, appears Utopian. It is, however, preferable to a course of events which, if allowed to grow unchecked, would lead to a world conflagration.

418. While the reality around us is bleak, we at least have some instruments to deal with it. The process of decolonization, except for Namibia, is almost complete. Human rights and human dignity have become important factors in international affairs; science and technology offer great prospects for attacking poverty and inequality on a global scale; and, above all, the United Nations offers a unique mechanism to deal with threats to international peace and security. The frequent side-tracking of the decisions of the Security Council and its failure to develop an effective common approach to potential threats to international peace and security have eroded respect for the Security Council and for the United Nations in general. If things are allowed to go on in this way, we face the danger of accepting difficulties without trying to solve them, with possible catastrophic results.

419. This places enormous responsibilities on each of the States Members of the United Nations. A rededication to the commitments undertaken under the Charter must mean a clear realization of the demand for cohesion and co-operation in facing threats—political, security and economic. International peace and security and international co-operation for global development are issues which override ideological interests. Given the sincere co-operation of all, the mechanisms provided in the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, for social justice and for economic development are as valid today as they were at the time of their formulation.

420. Nepal has abiding faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations. We stand ready to contribute in whatever way we can to strengthening this international instrument of peace and development. The present state of international relations and the crisis in the world economy have only reinforced our belief in the indivisibility of peace and development. This perception has led us to support the establishment of zones of peace in the Indian Ocean, South-East Asia and any other region or country. We likewise support the recent initiatives of ASEAN to make South-East Asia a nuclear-weapon-free zone. It has been our considered view that each initiative of this nature, be it the creation of a zone of peace or of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, will help to reduce tension and institutionalize peace, with a positive and salutary effect on peace, stability and development.

421. Inspired by a desire further to strengthen peaceful and co-operative relations with all countries and in response to our national needs and aspirations, King Birendra has proposed that Nepal be declared a zone of peace. This proposal embodies our firm resolution to meet challenges of development in an atmosphere of stability and security, while contributing to the cause of peace and stability in our neighbourhood and beyond. This proposal reflects our traditional ethos and embraces the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the purposes of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. I take this opportunity to thank all those countries which have supported our proposal.

422. In conclusion, I wish to emphasize once again the gravity of the present international situation. The tendency to replace co-operation by confrontation, conciliation by conflict, mutual understanding by discord and accommodation by imposition cannot be allowed to grow unchecked. With its near universal membership and well-established principles, the United Nations continues to be our best hope for saving ourselves and succeeding generations from the scourge of war. What is needed is our will to use this machinery and effort to make it more effective. Nepal is ready to support any initiative in that direction.

*The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.*

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

<sup>3</sup>E/CN.4/1984/72.

<sup>4</sup>Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

<sup>5</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, First Committee, 2052nd meeting and ibid., First Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

<sup>6</sup>A/AC.105/337, annex IV, sect. C, document A/AC.105/C.2/L.147.

<sup>7</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15830.

<sup>8</sup>See *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A, para. 5.

<sup>9</sup>See *Report of the International Conference on Population, 1984* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.XIII.8), chap. I.

<sup>10</sup>See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

<sup>11</sup>See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

<sup>12</sup>See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

<sup>13</sup>See A/36/333 and corr. 1.