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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHEYSSON (France) (*interpretation from French*): My first words are addressed to the delegation of Vanuatu on the occasion of the admission of that country to membership in the Organization. France is tied with the people of Vanuatu in many ways and we therefore welcome this one hundred and fifty-fifth Member of the United Nations into our midst.

2. The Assembly's decision to entrust to you, Sir, the presidency of the thirty-sixth session is one that we find fully justified, and I should like to express to you my delegation's warmest congratulations. You are well aware of the ties that bind our two countries. Your personality and experience in international affairs guarantee that our work will be conducted with all necessary vigour and authority.

3. My next remarks are addressed to you, Mr. Secretary-General. All of us here are familiar with your political acumen and your commitment to international order. We have had many occasions to meet and to become acquainted over the years. To my Government's tribute to your qualities I should like to add my own personal expression of friendship and high esteem.

4. We also know that we can count on the competence and active participation of the Secretariat. We can be sure of its invaluable support, however onerous the tasks imposed by the successful operation of a session such as this. I wish to express my congratulations and thanks to them for this.

5. A radical political change recently occurred in the political life of my country, France. On 10 May, a new President of the Republic was elected. On 21 June, by sweeping a majority of the left into power in a most spectacular way, the people of France reaffirmed their will to turn over a new leaf and to enter a new era. The world of today and of tomorrow is not and cannot be built in the image of the world of yesterday.

6. For many years now, a majority of the States of the world have been heralding in this very forum the new international economic order. This order will not be solely economic nor will it be exclusively international. My country is aware of this change and the Socialist Government of France has embarked upon a definition of this new order, an order which will be more just and more equitable for the least privileged, the weak, those who languish on the periphery of society, those who for too long have been ignored. These people form the most important element of our majority in France; they also form the majority here in this hall. To all of them we wish to propose a future, an ideal consisting of progress and hope.

7. The message of which my Government feels itself to be the bearer therefore transcends our own frontiers. Of course there is no question of proposing to others solutions that must be defined and adopted only by each people according to its own constitutional authority. The right of each people to define its own destiny is sacred. But there are principles and aspirations that our national community intends to assert and defend, and which we believe have universal value, since they will form the international order.

8. After those preliminary remarks, it goes almost without saying that our conduct in its entirety is devoted to man himself. Man is the fundamental value. Man is the starting-point and the ultimate objective of all policies. France denounces all forms of totalitarianism and authoritarianism. We denounce and will fight discrimination in all its forms, whether religious, sexist or racist. France declares war on contempt.

9. Our common fight in this Organization therefore must be waged resolutely to ensure respect and freedom for men. It is inconceivable that a State should base its strength and prosperity on the oppression of its citizens, or, worse still, on the humiliation and rejection of a part of its population who are denied the status of citizenship.

10. Some will object that the Charter of the United Nations, like the rules of international law, prohibits interference in affairs falling within the national jurisdiction of a State. But in this context I should like to make two comments.

11. The first—which hardly needs to be made in this Assembly—is that the very practices of our Organization testify to a significant evolution in this regard: Little by little, massive and flagrant violations of fundamental human rights appear to be falling within the competence of the international community, as one can judge from conventions and other international agreements adopted in recent years at world and regional levels.

12. Who today still doubts that *apartheid* and other manifestations of racism can and should be denounced before the principal United Nations bodies? Who has not welcomed the progress—inadequate as it may be—brought about thanks to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki? With regard to violations less broad in scope, they are, as representatives are aware, the object, particularly within the Commission on Human Rights—whose tenacity we admire—of procedures which are often discreet but which gradually are permitting certain practices to be corrected.

13. I would add that in the field of human rights the actions of international institutions truly complement those of non-governmental organizations. I should like to pay a tribute to them today, as well as to the associations, labour unions, political parties, youth movements, religious groups and, of course, to the mass media, the audio-visual medium in particular, which have helped so much to arouse public opinion and mobilize it in expressing its indignation when shocking situations have arisen that need to be condemned.

14. Human rights are inseparable from the rights of peoples and nations. I have already emphasized the right of each people to decide its own destiny, in total independence, and therefore to choose its political régime, its economic system, its social structures and its friendships; freedom to enter into a network of alliances or to prefer neutrality or non-alignment. France has always been and remains conscious and jealous of its independence. Its geographical situation, its cultural affinities and the fact that the world is, unfortunately, a dangerous place have prompted France to adhere freely to the Atlantic Alliance, to which it brings a loyal contribution in the defence of values that are common to all members of the Alliance—the values of freedom and civilization.

15. However, France reserves the right to make its sovereign judgement of the threats and dangers that could lead to the gravest decisions. It hopes, too, that negotiations between the greatest Powers will make it possible to reduce the growing threats resulting from recent overarmament. Further, it reaffirms its determination to contribute to establishing confidence-building measures from the Urals to the Atlantic. The relations that it has maintained for many years with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies of Eastern Europe allow it to express itself clearly, to let its convictions and worries be known directly, without going through intermediaries, and to contribute in this way to establishing between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe relations promoting the fullest development of all peoples.

16. The right which we claim to determine our own future is something which we believe it is only fair that other States, both small and large, weak and strong, peoples of the South and of the North, should be allowed to possess, too. France will therefore be on the side of those who fight for the recognition of the rights of their people or for the independence of their nation.

17. We have the greatest sympathy for those who, still remaining outside the mainstream of East-West confrontation, wish to escape from spheres of influence. We salute the non-aligned movement and will be happy to lend our support to genuine efforts at non-alignment, whenever that non-alignment is proposed by an authentic member of

that movement. The world is not inexorably condemned to be divided into two enemy camps. The tensions which sometimes exist between neighbours must not be artificially transformed into duels between champions of the East and West. The sole object of a recent Franco-Mexican statement on El Salvador¹ was to serve as a reminder of the need to let each people settle its own affairs by political and democratic processes.

18. Faithful to its principles, France condemns outside interference and therefore denounces all undertakings of force against any people and any State. Violence cannot create right. This elemental truth must not be forgotten, whatever the circumstances, the status or reasons of those who occupy territories against the will of the population that has been invaded and subjugated. Without comparing the occupying Powers, their reasons or their methods, condemnation must be applied equally to the Republic of South Africa, when it sends its tanks into Angola and ignores United Nations resolutions on Namibia; to Viet Nam, when it continues its occupation of Kampuchea; and to the Soviet Union, when it intervenes with its troops in Afghanistan.

19. In the Middle East, it is not through violence—of which our Ambassador to Lebanon, Mr. Louis Delamare, recently became an innocent victim—that peace will finally return to this part of the world, which was the cradle of so many civilizations and which has become the crucible of so much suffering. The people and cultures of this region, who through the centuries have been caught in the web of historical evolution, victims of contempt and hatred, have a right to peace; their States should be able to develop in security; their peoples should be allowed to build their future in justice.

20. Violation of the resolutions of the Organization is not the way to ensure the necessary security for the countries in the Middle East, for all the countries, including Israel. War is not the way for the peoples of this region, all the peoples, including the Palestinian people, to see all their rights recognized, including the right to a homeland and a State.

21. There, as elsewhere in the world, negotiation among all the parties concerned is the only acceptable means of dealing with the reasons that have led one or another of them to act by sword and fire. Negotiation is the golden rule of the Organization. If this rule is broken once, just once, how can its observance be required elsewhere and in all cases?

22. Let those here who are tempted to justify violence in one instance reflect on the fact that one day they may themselves be the victims of some other violence and be destroyed by it. Justice for peoples, security for States, respect for international decisions, negotiation: these are the principles that will guide France in the position it takes on the Middle East and throughout the world.

23. Here then are quite a number of situations characterized by attacks on the principles of self-determination and national sovereignty. All of us together in this room must agree to maintain the necessary pressure. Let us proclaim our willingness to resort to dialogue, to discussion, to objective analysis of the concerns and motivations of all parties. We are convinced that such an approach is

valid in the case of most of the crises that the world community has to face.

24. Let me remind you forcefully that in the case of many of these crises it would be sufficient if the provisions of resolutions already adopted by the United Nations were respected. Think, for example, of southern Lebanon, occupied, torn asunder and removed from the legitimate Lebanese authority; think of Namibia, whose independence and sacred right to sovereignty are endlessly delayed. The time has come solemnly to affirm from this rostrum—and I do so now in the name of France—that every possible means must be brought to bear to ensure that Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 435 (1978) are applied in full without delay. My country is ready to make a contribution to this effort on whatever lines are decided on by this Organization.

25. In certain situations we must go even further, and here again the United Nations has a significant role to play. Once Namibia has finally gained its freedom and independence through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), it must be helped, and probably guaranteed, in its first few years. Angola, which has suffered so much from war, must be assured of all kinds of support during its reconstruction. Kampuchea, already rescued from famine by international efforts, must be able one day to determine its future freely and democratically, and it too, of course, will need guarantees and assurances of every kind. Afghanistan, if it is not to run the risk of interference which has recently been denounced in some quarters, and if it is to put an end to the interference now made evident by the bloodshed of the battlefield, will need some guarantee of the status it seeks. In many quarters, and in the face of threats of quite different kinds, the same idea has been advanced, namely, to accept, acknowledge and guarantee the wishes of a people to be freed from the tensions that surround it and threaten its independence and its desire for non-alignment. France believes that this similarity of ideas about very different areas and situations provides material for consideration and a common approach at the international level.

26. I am often surprised to note that in most circles the true dimension of North-South problems is not understood. Some talk of charity for unfortunate starvelings of some devastated country, others demand higher prices for their products or a transfer of some special technology. But how often do you hear it acknowledged, as it has rightly been acknowledged by the members of the Brandt Commission,² that the progress of the North-South dialogue is a prerequisite for world progress and perhaps even for world peace?

27. The South has become part of the life of the North. How much longer will it take for people to understand this? This is an essential aspect of the new age that is upon us whether we like it or not. What position will the South occupy and what part will it play? Those are questions that must be asked.

28. From the political standpoint, I have already mentioned cases where the fundamental principles of the life of our people and our societies are being threatened or violated. Obtaining respect for such principles in southern Africa, the Middle East and Latin America is essential for those who believe in those principles. The French Gov-

ernment considers itself to be one of these countries. I will not return to this point, except to remind you how much our young people, the moving spirit of our societies, are concerned with these problems, with which they are more familiar today, now that the media are telling them what is really taking place in the South, which was not the case a few decades ago.

29. However, solidarity and interdependence transcend the political and moral realm. The world is riven by crisis, causing the number of unemployed to soar and condemning the most unfortunate to despair. Who can claim that this crisis will be set to rights or brought under control solely by the forces and mechanisms of the market place, and solely within the framework of the most advanced economies?

30. Economic revival, which we all need urgently—and this is particularly true of the most underprivileged countries—requires the development of the countries of the South. This is not just a matter of a few hundred million dollars, but of tens of billions of dollars, which must be injected wherever they are most desperately needed and where their effect will be almost immediate in improving purchasing power and, as a result, in expanding markets. Elsewhere I have spoken of a planetary "new deal" in order to recall this obvious truth which President Roosevelt, when confronted with America's great depression, identified in his day.

31. It is important, therefore, for all of us together to tackle the issue of financing development and indeed the issue of the very survival of those who are most deprived. Where can the available resources be found? How can we organize the use of those resources? Where should we channel them? What kind of link should be established between the funds that all those who can should contribute, the lending capacity and administrative supervision of competent institutions, and the rightful concern of lenders and investors to guarantee the security of their investments? A few answers are ready and have been proposed. They must no longer be delayed or distorted. But they will not be enough, so let us strive to see how we can do more and better.

32. Naturally, since the resources to be shared are unfortunately inadequate, our thoughts should turn first to those who are suffering most, sometimes to the point of death. My country was very happy to host in Paris the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

33. My Government notes with satisfaction that commitments were entered into by the international community and we are pleased that the countries of the European Community decided to commit 0.15 per cent of their total gross national product to help the least developed countries. France, for its part, as the President of the Republic has said and I repeat, will attain the United Nations aid target of 0.7 per cent of its gross national product, excluding the French overseas departments, before the end of Mr. Mitterrand's seven-year term. This in fact commits us to doubling in real terms our aid to the developing countries. France's effort will, starting in 1982, give priority to increasing its voluntary contributions on a multi-lateral basis and to aid countries with which it has special ties, particularly in Africa.

34. As we are all aware, it is not enough just to increase financial aid. So I ought to say something now of special aspects that should take priority: food, energy and trade. However, the time allotted for these remarks will not suffice. Allow me to focus on two aspects of the new international order that I believe to be essential.

35. Predictability has now become an essential feature of tomorrow's order. Without it, how can one plan, organize, formulate and invest in a rational manner? But never before in history have the principal factors of economic life been so unpredictable. You only have to think of the prices of basic commodities imported by countries in the South, the prices for raw materials exported by the developing countries, the exchange rates and interest rates that influence all transactions. We are living in a world without order, a chaotic world, an insane world. We the European countries without significant natural resources are suffering along with the countries of the South. In the face of speculation and uncertainty, our interests are those of the South; in this debate, we are with the South.

36. It is important therefore gradually to introduce a system of law in world economic relations. We must seek contracts, treaties and international agreements. One of the innovations of the Lomé Conventions between the European Community and 61 developing countries³ is to make the relations they embody predictable and reliable.

37. Another feature of those Conventions is their comprehensiveness. Even more so at the world level, all of the economic, financial and technological problems should be discussed and negotiated simultaneously and jointly. The foregoing is justification enough. France and its European partners are resolved that global negotiations should be started at the United Nations at the earliest possible time. We shall exert all our influence to see that no further delay is imposed. This is to be confirmed in a month at Cancún, at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development.

38. The global nature of North-South problems seems evident to almost all of us. But have we given sufficient thought to the interaction between those external problems and our domestic problems? The new order will include major structural changes in each of the industrialized countries. The over-all progress made possible by this renewal will be reflected in certain sectors by a decline in activity that will be more than compensated for in other sectors. New directions will be taken, and they will come up against resistance.

39. These things will not be done if in the industrialized countries discussions are limited to diplomats, bankers, administrators and other experts. It is important to involve public opinion, the workers who are directly concerned and the young people whose future is at stake. The media have a key role to play here, and they can do so. There are times when strong feelings are aroused in towns and in the countryside, when the misery and suffering of a downtrodden people give the more fortunate television viewer a moment of discomfort and indignation, or when despair in a crisis becomes unbearable.

40. I have just mentioned the North-South dialogue in its world-wide framework. But we must also consider it in the regional framework.

41. The region is in fact the natural context in which peoples can express their special identity; the similarity of problems, cultural affinities and sometimes even rivalries, as well as common threats, make it possible to multiply ties within a region or subregion. The more highly structured and grouped a region is, the less outside influences come into play there. This is an important way to avoid the contagion of East-West division in areas that are not directly involved. In the economic domain also, the co-operation that is so desirable among the countries of the South can be encouraged in a rational manner, as was so clearly demonstrated at the very interesting High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held recently at Caracas.

42. It is premature to try to take stock of the activities of the major regional organizations because their responsibilities and importance continue to grow. As a Frenchman, however, I am sure I will not surprise the Assembly when I say something about the European Community. It is still far from perfect, but its results are already evident in a number of different areas—agriculture, the monetary system, the Lomé policy, the generalized system of preferences—and its authority is growing rapidly in the world. The French Government is planning to launch soon a number of new and exciting programmes—industrial, social and others—within the Community.

43. In the economic sphere, reference should also be made to the United Nations regional commissions. The role of the Latin American countries as precursors in identifying a regional image and regional pride should be noted. We should mention the various regional groups such as the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN], and quite a number of African regional organizations. I should like to pay a tribute to the most important of them, the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which at its recent Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Nairobi, dealt in a masterly fashion with some of today's most difficult problems. Thanks to the OAU we now have some hope of seeing a united and independent Chad, free from foreign interference, resume its place in Africa's concert of nations. And it is of course thanks to the OAU that we are hoping to see a referendum of self-determination take place soon among the peoples of Western Sahara.

44. The development of regional co-operation has been so convincing in some parts of the world that we are tempted to set new goals. For historical and cultural reasons disputes may exist between neighbours, sometimes going back several centuries. There are many of us in this Assembly who are worried that East-West rivalry may be superimposed on those differences. Mutual distrust between two neighbours may indeed lead to an arms race. The risk then becomes great that they will all come to depend on increasingly sophisticated and therefore more costly arms supplies. What will then remain of self-determination, independence and non-alignment, to which both parties are entitled?

45. Can we not rather imagine that the group of countries most concerned by a confrontation of this kind among two or more neighbours might have the wisdom to limit the effects of the dispute, to establish a regional or subregional system for the evaluation of military forces, and even to conclude a genuine regional agreement on self-limitation of armaments, accompanied, of course, by appropriate means of control and verification?

46. France has been shocked, as have so many others, by the disproportionate efforts that so many third-world countries must devote to arms and defence. We are disturbed by the growing dependence that this evolution inevitably entails, and we fervently hope that the attempts that have already been made to slow this trend will be encouraged by our Organization and supported by world public opinion.

47. Whatever the interests in a regional approach to arms limitation, the effort should, of course, culminate in this Organization. Nothing durable or solid can be built without the endorsement of an institution whose role it is to be universal. There is hardly a domain that is outside its jurisdiction, and the wholly democratic structures it possesses serve to guarantee the value of its decisions. On this rostrum from which I am speaking, every speaker and therefore every country is equal.

48. The fact that emphasis should generally be placed on the unique role of the United Nations in the most dangerous crises is only normal, because one immediately thinks of Cyprus, southern Lebanon, Namibia and also UNHCR, UNICEF and so many other organizations which, in tragic circumstances, have so well demonstrated human solidarity. But we know that the United Nations has other functions and that, in meeting places that figure less often in the major international press, ideas are compared that gradually lead to a consensus that will generate progress. I have in mind also the arms limitation talks, where gains have been made and where decisive steps are still to be taken—among others, the establishment of an international satellite monitoring agency.

49. Other ideas, still more ambitious, direct our attention well beyond the immediate future. Next year the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will give all of us an opportunity to shoulder our responsibilities. My country will play its part, and we will make a loyal and far-reaching contribution to the search for ways of defining conditions for a just and sure limitation of arms.

50. Nor do I forget that in many ways this Organization and the specialized agencies play an operational role, whether in terms of technical or humanitarian aid, or in more general regulations. In this regard, I should like to emphasize my country's special interest in the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The convention that that Conference is busy drafting will soon define how these riches of the world should be rationally organized in the future. It will mark extraordinary constitutional progress and will leave its imprint on the history of the world. The United Nations can and should be proud of it. Consequently, and in spite of a few reservations on details, the French delegation believes it essential that the work of the Conference on the Law of the Sea be concluded as soon as possible. We appeal to one and all to cease the manoeuvres which have had the effect of jeopardizing the progress made over so many years of persevering effort.

51. My last remark should confirm what has already become obvious from my observations—namely, France's commitment to the United Nations, from which the world expects so much.

52. Our status as a permanent member of the Security Council, our human and economic resources, the independence of our policy towards all, whether States or great corporations, and our sympathy—although that is too weak

an expression—our feeling of fraternity with the weakest, most deprived peoples, assure us, we believe, of special relations with most of the world. But they also create for us special obligations. At the global level, as indeed in France itself, the Government of which I am a member knows what is expected of it. We are ready.

53. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany): *Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to take this opportunity to convey to you the congratulations of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on your election to this high office. We see in you a man of distinction who, in his long and active involvement in the work of the United Nations, has shown exceptional qualities. We see in you the representative of one of the leading members of the non-aligned movement, a country with which we have had good, long-standing relations.

54. I should also like to express my country's gratitude to the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar. He discharged the duties of his office with a sense of awareness of the new reality of global interdependence. In so doing he was able to count on the full approval and support of the Federal Republic of Germany.

55. At the same time, I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his dedicated work over the past 12 months on behalf of the Organization, and thus also on behalf of peace.

56. On behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany, I extend a warm welcome to Vanuatu as a new Member of the United Nations.

57. For a decade now, the world economy has been in a critical phase of readjustment: inflation, recession and unemployment in the industrialized countries, but, above all, stagnating—indeed, declining—per capita incomes in many developing countries. The want and distress of the poor in the third world are increasing. At the same time, the world population continues to grow rapidly: over the next 20 years it will increase from 4.5 billion to approximately 6.5 billion people. This means that food, clothing and housing, schools and jobs have to be provided for 2 billion people. That is equivalent to the population of 2,000 completely new cities, each with 1 million inhabitants. This shows that mankind as a whole is faced with great and global challenges.

58. Yet—and this is the disturbing part of it—it is not these problems that are the focal point of world politics and of world interests: the headlines of the international press tell us, rather, about an arms race and tensions between nations, about war, civil war and intervention. At a time when global interdependence and global co-operation have become a question of survival, the human race is in danger of once again pitting its strength against itself.

59. Now, at a time when we ought to be concentrating our material as well as our intellectual resources on the task of bringing the world economy out of its structural crisis, on development in the third world and on preserving the conditions of life on our planet, \$500 billion is being wasted on arms. But our children and grandchildren will judge us

*Mr. Genscher spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

solely by whether we have succeeded in setting the world on the road to peace, development and survival, or whether we have declined into confrontation, an arms race and, ultimately, catastrophe.

60. We can preserve world peace and master the great challenges to mankind only if all countries act in accordance with principles that are commensurate with the provisions and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. This calls for renunciation of force, that is to say, renunciation of the use and threat of use of force, since conflicts must be settled by peaceful means; for no aspiration to domination over others, no interference in the internal affairs of other countries and respect for the right of self-determination of all nations; for responsible action with an awareness of global interdependence, using moderation and restraint in pursuing one's own interests; for readiness for dialogue, negotiation and co-operation; for no aspiration to superiority, but rather a desire for balance at the lowest possible level of armaments, adhering to an active policy of preserving peace through co-operation on issues of international security and, in particular, of arms control and disarmament; and, finally, for elimination of the North-South confrontation as part of a policy of world-wide partnership and the safeguarding of peace.

61. In the search for a solution to these global problems, very great importance attaches to the development of East-West relations. At the beginning of the 1970s we all hoped that the efforts increasingly to reduce the differences between East and West and to expand co-operation would prove successful, and considerable progress in the development of East-West relations was indeed achieved in the first half of that decade. But of late the East-West confrontation has intensified yet again. It threatens to push the North-South dialogue to the periphery of world affairs once more. Indeed, the East-West confrontation threatens to spread to the South.

62. That must not be allowed to happen. East and West must do everything possible to pull themselves back onto a course leading to stability in their relations and to co-operation. On no account must East and West allow the third world to become a theatre for the continuation of their conflict. The countries of the South have problems enough and should not also be made the scene of the contest between East and West.

63. Negotiations on arms control and disarmament with the aim of establishing a balance at the lowest possible level are more urgent than ever. There must not be another arms race.

64. In the 1970s the Soviet Union made extraordinary efforts in all fields of armaments. They were not matched by comparable efforts on the part of the West; quite the contrary.

65. The West has noted with great concern how the Soviet Union has not only increased its superiority as regards conventional forces but has at the same time stepped up its medium-range nuclear weapons and given them new quality, in particular with the SS-20 missile and the "Backfire" bomber. Our concern about these developments can only be dispelled if the current and proposed East-West negotiations are successful. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will contribute all it possibly can to the achievement of that aim.

66. We hope that the meeting between Secretary of State Haig and Foreign Minister Gromyko will mark the beginning of a new, constructive phase in the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, which is of such importance for the whole world. The importance and weight of the United States and the Soviet Union give both countries a special responsibility for world peace. Dialogue, negotiation and co-operation between East and West must be intensified and further developed. This also includes the continuation of the SALT process.

67. We also hope that the meeting between the United States Secretary of State and the Soviet Foreign Minister will above all give a signal for the start of negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons. We have advocated such negotiations for quite some time. We have been involved in the preparations for them with our allies, and we will continue to follow them in the future. We want medium-range nuclear missiles on both sides to be limited to equal ceilings at the lowest possible level, and the more the Soviet Union reduces its arms build-up, the lower that level can be. If that arms build-up is eliminated altogether, there will no longer be any need for the West to deploy medium-range weapons as envisaged.

68. The Government and people of the Federal Republic of Germany long for nothing more dearly than a result of that kind, which to us would be the ideal result. But it is not only a question of nuclear weapons. In the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, we are resolutely pursuing the aim of achieving a balance of forces in central Europe by means of mutual reductions, in order to improve military stability and to rid the peoples of central Europe of the fear of possible surprise attack.

69. As a result of the Madrid review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, we want a conference on disarmament in Europe as a forum for agreement on concrete confidence-building measures for the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

70. It is not only East and West that have to tackle the task of arms control and disarmament. That task is universal and applies to all regions and to all countries.

71. The United Nations already proclaimed the 1970s the United Nations Disarmament Decade, but we are all painfully conscious of the scant success of our efforts to stop the world-wide arms spiral.

72. My country has put forward as its contribution to the General Assembly's second special session devoted to disarmament, to be held in 1982, a draft comprehensive programme of disarmament. Its purpose is to facilitate world-wide disarmament negotiations, to describe the conceptual framework for such negotiations, to define the criteria and principles, and thus to carry out important preparatory work for concrete negotiations and results.

73. I wish to mention four principles in particular: balance, openness, verifiability and confidence-building.

74. Disarmament negotiations can only prove successful if they enhance the security of all concerned. Whoever seeks one-sided advantages in disarmament negotiations or tries to hold on to those already gained will create a deadlock. The aim must be balance at the lowest possible level. Superiority

of one side causes instability and this in turn poses a threat to peace. Balance and parity constitute the recognized central principle of the SALT negotiations.

75. But that principle must not be restricted to the SALT process. In their joint declaration of 6 May 1978, General Secretary Brezhnev and Federal Chancellor Schmidt said that "both sides deem it important that no one should seek military superiority and that they proceed on the assumption that approximate equality and parity suffice to safeguard defence".

76. It is now necessary to ensure that in the disarmament negotiations between East and West this principle is translated into practical, concrete policies.

77. Disarmament presupposes transparency of the force relationship. Each side must openly give information about its own force strengths and armaments. Anyone trying to evade this is sowing the seeds of mistrust and casting doubt upon his intentions. The United Nations has elaborated a standardized reporting system with a view to making military budgets comparable. My country, like some other Western and non-aligned countries, has submitted a report on its defence budget in line with that system. All other countries should follow that example.

78. I repeat my proposal that the United Nations should set up two registers: first, one which records how much each industrial country spends per capita on armaments and how much it spends on development assistance; and secondly, another register which lists world-wide exports and imports of weapons. This would be an important first step. The international community cannot look on indifferently as military spending in East and West and in the third world continues to increase while development aid budgets stagnate.

79. The obligations assumed in disarmament negotiations must be verifiable. The verification procedure must in each individual case be tailored to the treaty to which it is to apply. We can do some important preliminary work in that respect in the United Nations if we develop procedures and instruments of verification which have been internationally agreed upon and, where possible, also tried out in practice.

80. Anyone who opposes on-site inspections or refuses to accept verification in other forms will be open to the suspicion of wanting to hide something and deceive others; he will be destroying confidence rather than building it.

81. The Geneva Committee on Disarmament is discussing a comprehensive prohibition of the manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons. Here, too, the most difficult problem still to be solved is that of verification. We hope for an early agreement on the verifiable prohibition of chemical weapons.

82. Real disarmament can be achieved only through mutual confidence among States. Concrete confidence-building measures are therefore indispensable for successful disarmament. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, makes provision for initial confidence-building measures. The proposed conference on disarmament in Europe could be a new qualitative step in the process of confidence-building. Confidence-building measures can also be conducive to stability and arms limitation in the third world. It

was with that in mind that, during the thirty-fourth session, we launched an initiative⁵ with a view to giving a global dimension to efforts to achieve confidence-building measures.

83. We hope that the Secretary-General's study now before us [A/36/474 and Corr. 1] will generate effective impulses for concrete measures to speed up the confidence-building process all over the world. We need a code of confidence-building.

84. Those four principles for disarmament negotiations—balance, openness, verifiability and confidence-building—are four prerequisites for success. They can serve as four cornerstones for the construction of a comprehensive security partnership around the world.

85. The foremost objective of my country's foreign policy is actively to safeguard peace. We want peace and freedom. But to us, peace means more than the mere avoidance of war. We want a world of co-operation based on partnership among nations.

86. Together with other European democracies we have formed the European Community in order to shape our common future together. By developing the European Community into a European union, we shall be able to work even more effectively as a force for peace and progress in Europe and in the world.

87. We have united with our European allies and the United States of America and Canada in the North Atlantic Alliance. That alliance rests on the common values of freedom, human dignity and self-determination. Its sole purpose is to preserve common security and safeguard peace. It derives its strength from the friendship and trust between Europeans and Americans.

88. On the basis of the European Community and the North Atlantic Alliance we, the Federal Republic of Germany, have, by means of our *Ostpolitik*, made an important contribution to the stabilization of peace in Europe. We shall continue that realistic policy of dialogue, of reducing tensions and of strengthening co-operation.

89. The line that divides East and West also divides the German nation. Consequently, no one is more severely affected by any deterioration of the East-West relationship than the Germans; no one has a more direct interest in improving East-West relations. There must be no relapse into the cold war.

90. The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany of concluding treaties with its neighbours in the East—the Moscow Treaty, the Warsaw Treaty, the treaty with Czechoslovakia and the Basic Treaty with the German Democratic Republic—are testimony to our long-term policy of co-operation and détente. We abide by those treaties. It is our wish that General Secretary Brezhnev's visit to Bonn in November will strengthen our bilateral relations and will favourably influence East-West relations as a whole.

91. The developments in Poland are of particular importance for the situation in Europe and in the world. It is up to Poland alone to determine its path. We expect all other signatories of the Final Act of Helsinki, like ourselves, to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic.

92. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany reaffirms its conviction that the two German States bear special responsibility for peace in Europe. Never again must war originate on German soil, as stated by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Chairman of the German Democratic Republic State Council, Erich Honecker.

93. Especially in the present difficult phase of East-West relations, the following must be axiomatic to both German States: we must carefully preserve what we have achieved between us and what we have contributed to peace in Europe over the past decade; in our mutual relationship and in relations with all our neighbours we must exercise restraint and consideration; the German-German relationship must never be an additional cause of strain on the East-West relationship; we must continue the dialogue at all levels without any preconditions; it must be our common goal to achieve the largest measure of progress in implementing all parts of the Final Act of Helsinki.

94. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany intends to promote co-operation between the two German States, and we want to provide more opportunities for contacts between Germans on both sides. Those and other improvements which make life easier for the Germans in their mutual relationship are not only a dictate of humanity but are an indispensable contribution to peace and co-operation in Europe.

95. Our aim is and will remain to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will recover its unity in free self-determination. The wall which divides the Germans will not prove durable. The will of the people is not to preserve, still less to deepen, the division between them, but to remove it.

96. The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin⁶ has helped to calm the situation in and around Berlin. That must remain so. Each side must realize that the Agreement can produce a stabilizing effect on Berlin and favourably influence East-West relations only if all sides strictly observe and fully implement it.

97. Another impressive testimony to United States solidarity with Berlin was the visit by the American Secretary of State Mr. Haig on 13 September 1981.

98. As in our bilateral policy, we are also striving within the multilateral framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to improve East-West relations in Europe. The Final Act of Helsinki is a document which manifests the will for co-operation in Europe, and it should be consistently implemented by all signatories to make Europe a region of lasting peace based on respect for human rights.

99. We are acutely aware how much still remains to be done in that respect. Together with our Western partners, we are making every effort to ensure that the follow-up to the Conference, in Madrid, will produce a final document which, in all fields covered by the Final Act, will bring progress for co-operation among the countries of Europe and make for better relations among their citizens.

100. The process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe must be continued. It is the great hope of many people, not only in Europe. The Madrid Conference must issue a concrete mandate for a con-

ference on disarmament in Europe if it is to meet the need for security in Europe.

101. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany also wishes to contribute to peace and the peaceful settlement of conflicts outside Europe. The agenda for this session of the General Assembly includes items on four major international conflicts: the Middle East, southern Africa, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

102. At the previous meeting, the President of the European Community also spoke on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany. Following his statement, let me say that we have a vital interest of our own in lasting, comprehensive and equitable peace in the Middle East. Israel's right to live within secure and recognized boundaries is just as indispensable for such peace as is recognition of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. The efforts to achieve a comprehensive, lasting and equitable peace settlement must be intensified. The starting point for this must be the renunciation of force by all sides.

103. It is with a sense of concern for world peace and deep sympathy for the suffering of the people that we watch events in Lebanon. All efforts undertaken by the Lebanese Government to bring about national conciliation and to restore Lebanon's sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity have our full support.

104. In the context of the initiative of the five Western States, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is emphatic that Namibia should at long last gain independence through free elections on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This must happen in 1982. The independence of Namibia must not be delayed any longer. We acknowledge the constructive contributions of the OAU towards a settlement of the Namibia question. The remnants of colonialism and racism in southern Africa must be eliminated.

105. We condemn South Africa's intervention in Angola; the Republic of South Africa has taken a grave responsibility upon itself.

106. My country stands side by side with the non-aligned and Islamic countries in an effort to terminate the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and to achieve a political solution which will restore to that sorely tried people self-determination and independence and re-establish Afghanistan's status as a genuinely non-aligned State. The European Council has proposed a conference on Afghanistan with the aim of achieving that goal in two phases. The continuing occupation of Afghanistan is a heavy strain on international relations.

107. The Federal Republic of Germany actively supports the efforts of the international community, and especially the ASEAN countries, to restore the political independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea.

108. We are following with concern developments in Central America where, in El Salvador, and also elsewhere, the use of force and bloodshed are on the increase. The people of that region must be enabled to determine their own destiny free from direct or indirect intervention from outside.

109. All democratic forces in those countries should act in awareness of their common responsibility and dissociate themselves from the forces of violence. Like the whole of the third world, like the whole of Latin America, Central America, too, must be kept out of the East-West conflict. Political and social reforms must create a more equitable and stable order, and with it the conditions which will allow Central America to become a region of peace. The European Community can be a good partner to such a Central America.

110. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly included in its agenda a new item entitled "International co-operation to avert new flows of refugees". In resolution 35/124, it expressed the conviction that the refugee issue is no longer a humanitarian one only, but also affects world peace. As the resolution stated, the flows of hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of refugees "jeopardize the stability of entire regions and thus endanger international peace and security".

111. We, the Federal Republic of Germany, favour general guidelines for the conduct of States, as well as practical measures which will make it possible to prevent any fresh flows of refugees, and we propose that this be discussed by an *ad hoc* committee.

112. The General Assembly is commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade in 1961. The non-aligned countries constitute a powerful movement in the world of today, but their goal has not yet been fully attained.

113. Colonialism is almost everywhere a thing of the past, but the independence that has been gained by former colonies is threatened by attempts to dominate them in other ways. In 1979, in fact, the world witnessed an ideologically motivated attempt to make the non-aligned movement itself, as it was called, the "natural ally" of one of the two systems of the North. That attempt failed. It had to fail, because the wheel of history cannot be turned back. There is no longer any future in hegemonic aspirations, nor in interventions in the internal affairs of other countries, but they can still be a threat to peaceful relations between nations.

114. With its model of a pluralistic world of nations who have chosen their own destiny, the non-aligned movement is a force working for the cause of progress. It is at the same time a force working for the cause of peace and stability because today both these aims can be achieved only within an international order in which nations co-operate with one another in partnership and on the basis of free self-determination and equality. The Federal Republic of Germany stands side by side with the non-aligned countries in the pursuit of this goal.

115. The desire for independence also manifests itself in the regional groupings which are being formed and are growing in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

116. After the European Community, there is now another association, ASEAN, which has already developed extensively. A powerful influence for peace and stability in Asia emanates from that organization.

117. Regional co-operation is also progressing elsewhere in the third world. Co-operation among the Gulf States, the groupings that have been formed in Latin America, and those already established or to be established in Africa, which were all moulded into a grand design by the Conference of Lusaka,⁷ are proof of this. These groupings also provide small and medium-sized countries with an opportunity to shape their independence and their future together.

118. Together with the other members of the European Community, we promote this development towards plurality and partnership based on equality. Stable economic and social development in the third world is indispensable for lasting international peace.

119. The common goal of the industrial and developing countries in the 1970s was to accelerate growth in the developing countries in the context of constant global economic growth, but it did not turn out that way. Today, at the beginning of the Third United Nations Development Decade, the growth of per capita incomes has stopped in many oil-importing countries of the third world. Indeed, real per capita incomes in most of the poorest countries are even declining. We view with concern this crisis of development.

120. We also view with concern the fact that the North-South dialogue has lost momentum. In spite of the progress achieved in many individual areas, it is marking time on the major issues. That is why we look towards the forthcoming International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held at Cancún. An important idea of the Brandt Commission becomes a reality. The great opportunity afforded by this unprecedented Cancún meeting must be seized. We want it to generate a new resolve to settle the urgent problems of the world economy and development by means of solidarity and global co-operation. Lastly, we want it to pave the way for the beginning at long last of global negotiations. We want to work for a global energy strategy which will create security among both producers and consumers. We want to work for a global food strategy in order to guarantee food security and thus eliminate hunger.

121. The outcome of the twelfth session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, to be held in 1982, will be crucial. Its importance for the future of the North-South dialogue can hardly be overestimated because, as the Secretary-General has emphasized, it is a question of whether we in the United Nations are capable of negotiating solutions for global problems which strike a fair balance between the elementary and basic interests of all nations and at the same time serve the world as a whole.

122. A return to world economic growth and development calls, first and foremost, for energetic efforts on the part of all countries. The industrial countries must break the back of inflation and thus restore the basis for constant growth and the elimination of unemployment. The nations of the third world, on the other hand, must adopt development strategies that involve the masses of the poor in the growth process. Labour-intensive agricultural production and industries, coupled with an effective population policy, must form the nucleus of development plans. But if they are to be successful, the efforts of the developing countries themselves need adequate support from

outside. All countries in a position to do so should contribute their share. The Communist industrial countries must no longer shirk their duty to help the nations of the third world in a spirit of solidarity.

123. The Federal Republic of Germany gives high priority to co-operation in the field of development. This means, first, that in spite of our own economic difficulties we shall not relax our efforts to provide financial and technical assistance. Even our budget for 1982, which is one of self-restraint for our citizens, allows our development aid to grow at a greater rate than that of the budget as a whole. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany welcomes the programme of action adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held recently in Paris, because these countries are the ones that depend most on official development aid.

124. Secondly, we are still strongly in favour of markets in industrial countries being kept open and widened to take in the exports of developing countries. There must be no lapse into protectionism. We do not try to solve our problem of unemployment by erecting trade barriers, but by promoting structural change with the necessary supporting social measures. Only with free world trade can North and South advance.

125. Thirdly, to many developing countries, exports of raw materials are still the main source of foreign exchange. These countries in particular are suffering as a result of the decline in the growth of the world economy, a situation which has lasted for several years now and which has checked demand for raw materials and caused prices to drop. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany attaches great importance to the problems confronting commodity-exporting developing countries. We have just decided to make a substantial voluntary contribution to the Second Account of the Common Fund for Commodities.

126. Fourthly, the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy has, for the first time, made energy issues a subject of negotiations within a global framework. We must continue along this path. The steep, abrupt increase in the price of energy has placed a heavy burden on the industrial countries. To the oil-importing developing countries, it has become a question of their very existence. We need partnership and co-operation between the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], industrial countries and oil-importing developing countries. This is the only way the world can come through the transition to the post-oil era intact. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany also advocates the establishment of a World Bank affiliate for energy which could help considerably to resolve the energy problems of the third world.

127. We must not allow national egoism to gain the upper hand in the process of North-South co-operation. We are called upon to play our part—the industrial countries of the West and of the East and the developing countries. The North-South problem is not merely the global social issue; it is a task of world peace which we shall have to accomplish if we want to ensure the survival of mankind.

128. To the Federal Republic of Germany, respect for and protection of the dignity and the rights of man are

fundamental to all policies. Efforts to secure the exercise of human rights throughout the world are therefore one of the central elements of our participation in the work of the United Nations. We deem it the responsibility of the Organization to raise its voice whenever fundamental human rights are violated, irrespective of where and by whom.

129. The United Nations has created procedures and institutions to foster respect for human rights all over the globe. These procedures are still relatively weak, but they are having a growing effect. It is important to continue this work with determination and to develop further the possibilities open to the United Nations for protecting human rights. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany continues to support the idea of an international court of human rights.

130. We have noted with satisfaction that our initiative regarding a convention on the ultimate abolition of the death penalty⁸ has met with a favourable response from many countries. The draft convention takes the form of a second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This form should make for constructive discussion leading to progress in this field.

131. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is aware that other legal traditions, religious convictions and historical experiences have led many countries to take a different view of the death penalty. But no one can overlook the frequent abuses of the death penalty in the world of today and the growing incidence of executions without regard for the due process of law. Equally depressing is the fact that people are still subjected to torture. This makes the struggle to abolish the death penalty and torture more urgent than ever.

132. Mankind has reached the highest point to date in its level of knowledge and in its capabilities. It can use that knowledge and those capabilities to resolve the problems vital to its survival, but it can also use them to destroy the earth's civilization and, perhaps, even the human species.

133. Only if we act in awareness of our responsibility for the safeguarding of peace and respect for the dignity of man, and only if we act with the desire for global solidarity, will we find the way to a good future. This is the foremost task of the Organization. The Federal Republic of Germany reaffirms its trust in the United Nations.

134. Mr. COLOMBO (Italy):* Mr. President, first of all, I should like to convey to you the warmest congratulations, on behalf of the Italian Government and on my own behalf, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is for us a source of deep satisfaction that this honour has been conferred upon the representative of a country with which Italy maintains relations of close friendship and fruitful co-operation. Your long experience in the activities of the United Nations and the eminent qualities you have displayed in the service of your country are guarantees of the balanced and efficient guidance of the work of the Assembly.

* Mr. Colombo spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

135. I should like to take this opportunity to express to your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, our deep appreciation of the important contribution he made throughout the past year to the affirmation of the ideals of the United Nations and to the search for a solution to some of the most urgent problems which the Organization has to tackle. It is a particular pleasure for me now to wish him every success in his forthcoming post as Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to my own country, Italy.

136. I also wish to reaffirm my Government's deep respect and full support for the praiseworthy actions undertaken by the Secretary-General in the interests of peace and of the settlement through negotiation of some of the most complex problems of our time, in a particularly delicate phase of the international situation.

137. Finally, I wish to convey a warm welcome to the delegation of the Republic of Vanuatu, whose country, in keeping with the universal vocation of the United Nations, has just been admitted as the one hundred and fifty-fifth Member of the United Nations.

138. It is not without emotion that I address the General Assembly, which represents the community of peoples of the earth, while thinking of the complexity and dramatic nature of the problems which make the state of international relations uncertain and precarious.

139. Besieged as we are these days by problems that are all apparently urgent and critical, we run the risk, in the tumult of our everyday lives, of failing to grasp the full significance of events. I believe that this Hall, in which nearly all the nations of the world are represented, is the most appropriate place for trying to work out a synthesis designed not only to provide a better understanding of the course of contemporary history but, above all, to make more effective and incisive the contribution that all of us, as Governments, are called upon to make in order to create the conditions for a better future for mankind.

140. That is why I feel it necessary to take an over-all view of the individual problems which face us, reducing them basically to two common denominators, namely, the East-West relationship and the North-South relationship. These relationships, while maintaining their own individuality and special characteristics, are not really separate but affect and influence each other.

141. We must bear in mind this close interrelationship. It would be unrealistic to ignore the fact that the slowing down in the East-West negotiation process has brought about a situation of general insecurity and has exercised a negative influence on the orderly development of international relations. At the same time, we are convinced that a fairer distribution of world resources, through a transfer of wealth from the more prosperous to the less favoured countries, would help to reduce the tensions which exist in so many parts of the world, to promote stability in the more afflicted areas and, indirectly, also to improve the state of East-West relations.

142. Closely connected with the East-West relationship and the North-South relationship are the specific roles which Italy, taking into account its international position, its vocation and traditions and its geographical location, can and intends to play in order to make a positive contri-

bution of its own to the cause of security and peace in the world.

143. That contribution is reflected in Italy's membership in the Atlantic Alliance. That Alliance, because of its defensive character, has proved to be an essential prerequisite to security, peace and détente in Europe and therefore to world equilibrium. In this context must be viewed the resolute participation of Italy in the construction of the European Community, which, as it develops, is increasingly aimed at ensuring security and peace. Italy is convinced that the building and strengthening of the European Community is necessary. In its growth it will consolidate and ensure the strengthening of co-operation on our continent, a more fruitful opening, on a basis of equality, towards the States of other geographical areas, and a reaffirmation of the fundamental importance of human rights. Therefore we are convinced that the process of European integration must now acquire a new momentum, overcome the obstacles arising from the current prevalence of economic interests and seek, in a political union, the path to a more effective contribution to the evolution of the contemporary world towards a better equilibrium and hence towards peace. The voice of Europe must not be underestimated in a process of stabilization and peace that will be truly consistent and constant.

144. Italy, precisely because it is an expression of the civilization of the Mediterranean, has always been especially aware of the problems and crises of that area, which, in its turn, remains central to world balance. In that region old tensions seem to become more entrenched while new tensions are making the old ones more threatening, thus imposing on all the countries concerned a common responsibility to eliminate the sources of danger.

145. As regards relations between East and West, with all their historical and political complexities, Italy is following a policy which reflects responsibility and firmness but also an effective desire for dialogue. This has been our attitude in the consultations held with the Western nations with which we are linked in a defensive alliance, as well as in our contacts with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe.

146. The cardinal points of the Italian position are well known. They are based on the search for a balance of forces, linked with a gradual reduction of those forces to the lowest possible levels, and on the commitment to negotiations without pre-conditions, but founded upon mutual recognition of the essential requirements of security and peace. We also believe that a policy of détente cannot be conducted within watertight compartments, but requires a renunciation of adventurist policies and the adoption of coherent and responsible ones, simultaneously and in all geographical regions. The degree of interdependence of our world is so great that we cannot hope to be able to guarantee oases of peace and stability while elsewhere tensions increase and the basic rights of nations and States are violated.

147. Concerning tactical nuclear forces, a particularly serious imbalance has occurred in the very heart of Europe, an area where the concentration of military forces is extremely high. This imbalance must therefore be corrected through the adoption of the necessary decisions and the active use of negotiation. Accordingly, Italy has worked with its allies and with the potential negotiators to bring closer the prospect of negotiations and is now awaiting the initiation of

talks, to which we will be ready, as in the past, to make a constructive contribution.

148. To be realistic a disarmament policy must be aimed at a global balance, not just a regional one. For this reason, Italy has consistently stressed the validity of the SALT process, which, in our view, remains a basic point of reference in the field of disarmament.

149. At this point I should like to stress that every result achieved in the field of disarmament can have positive repercussions on development aid.

150. For its part, Italy has helped, in a spirit of responsibility and moderation, to keep open the prospects for an inter-European dialogue, and it intends to accord the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe the importance that it deserves. Throughout the course of the Madrid negotiations we have refused to abandon the hope of achieving substantial and balanced results, including the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe. Moreover, we have agreed that next autumn a further attempt should be made in that direction. It is in the interests of all that that attempt should yield the hoped-for results.

151. A great European country, Poland, has experienced in recent months and is experiencing at present difficulties deriving from its internal evolution. We fervently hope that this country may carry out its chosen action with full respect for the inherent values of its culture and its sovereignty.

152. Here I should like to point out that the major failures of the United Nations, when they have occurred, are to be attributed to the lack, at the world level, of the political will for peace and progress based on a careful, balanced and realistic assessment of regional conflicts within a global perspective.

153. I said earlier that the precarious nature of the East-West relationship, because of the indivisible nature of security and hence of peace, has had inevitable repercussions on existing world tensions and that, conversely, the elimination of those tensions becomes an important means of reducing the difficulties which stand in the way of the stabilization of East-West relations.

154. For their part, the 10 members of the European Community have tried and are still trying to contribute to this stabilizing action by proposing formulas aimed at removing the various causes of tension and restoring peace to suffering peoples, thus contributing to stabilization.

155. In the Assembly, at the eighth meeting, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Lord Carrington, described the European Community's position on the major sources of conflict and tension. I take this opportunity to give Italy's full support to the views that he voiced.

156. For its part, the Italian Government notes with deep concern that more than 18 months have elapsed since Afghanistan was invaded by Soviet forces, in flagrant violation of international norms and the Charter of the United Nations. In the meantime, no attention has been paid to the requests and appeals made by the overwhelming majority of the members of this Assembly, the members of the non-aligned movement, to which we give great importance, the

countries of the Organization or the Islamic Conference and those of the European Community that those troops, whose presence constitutes the only real interference in the area, should be withdrawn and that the Afghan people should be given back the right to determine freely their own future and recover the traditional position of their country as an independent and non-aligned State. I am confident that the Assembly will at this session reaffirm the position previously adopted on this question.

157. There is another case of military occupation—the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia—that violates the basic principles of coexistence among peoples. The appeals made by the United Nations and by the non-aligned movement for a solution based on those principles have so far remained unheeded. The Italian Government feels that the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York last July, should be given credit for having worked out a balanced and constructive basis for negotiation. My government hopes that Viet Nam will recognize the serious and reasonable nature of the proposals put forward by the Conference and decide to take part in its future deliberations, thus fulfilling its obligations to the United Nations and contributing to the cause of stability in South-East Asia.

158. I turn now to the African continent and I should like, first of all, to express the full solidarity of the Italian Government with the Angolan Government, victim of recent bloody aggression by South African forces. Violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of the Organization, from whatever source, must give rise to the strongest condemnation by the international community.

159. Once more, the aggression against Angola was launched from Namibian territory, which is still subject to an illegal régime of occupation. This cannot but further emphasize the urgent need to solve a problem which has been dragging on for years, that of the independence of Namibia. Italy maintains that it must be solved without recourse to force, but rather by political means and through negotiations, on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Hence, the Italian Government addresses the most urgent appeal to all the parties directly concerned, including the countries belonging to the Western contact group, to make every constructive effort to ensure that Namibia rapidly achieves its independence and can occupy at our next session, as a sovereign State, the place to which it is entitled in our Assembly and in the international community.

160. The accession of Namibia to independence would favour the development of the entire region, increase the stability of all the countries concerned—and primarily Angola—and eliminate every justification for the presence of non-African troops in the region.

161. Still dealing with the problems of southern Africa, we must note with regret the absence of any significant progress towards the abolition of *apartheid* in South Africa, an iniquitous system which constitutes an intolerable insult to human dignity and which my Government firmly condemns, as reflected in our scrupulous observance of the military embargo decreed by the Security Council.

162. With regard to the other African crises, Italy considers that the OAU is the forum best qualified to promote the stability of the continent and to settle its disputes without dangerous external interference.

163. We are strengthened in this conviction by the recent favourable development in the dispute over the Western Sahara where, under the auspices of the OAU, the basis for an acceptable solution has been laid down. We hope that similar progress will soon be achieved in Chad with the deployment of the inter-African force which is to replace, under the auspices of the OAU, the foreign military contingent now present in that country in a different capacity.

164. Turning finally to the problems of the Horn of Africa, while we note with satisfaction the signs of improvement in the relations between Kenya and Somalia, we are bound to express our deep concern at the continuing tension between Somalia and Ethiopia, two countries with which Italy is linked by ancient historical and cultural ties. Within the limits of its possibilities and with respect for the independence of both countries, Italy awaits with interest and is ready to contribute to every effort which may help to produce a just solution of this crisis and which will allow the peoples of the Horn of Africa to end the present dangerous spiral of confrontation and concentrate their energies on the fight against their common enemy, namely, underdevelopment.

165. I would like to express in this Hall my gratification at the recent return of some countries of the Latin American continent to democratic normality and at the trends in that direction which may be noted in certain countries. Italy hopes that such trends will be further intensified and will yield concrete results, because it is convinced that a substantial affirmation of the principle of the respect of the popular will and of the ideals of pluralism and democracy can only strengthen the cause of peace on the continent, particularly in Central America, and prevent the resurgence of fratricidal struggles such as those which, linked to the pressure of external destabilizing factors, are tearing apart the people of El Salvador.

166. At the beginning of my statement I observed that the Government of Italy devotes particular attention to the problems of the Mediterranean.

167. If the objective to be pursued is that of the security of the area, its attainment requires the solution of the various crises that afflict the region, and, above all, the establishment of peace in the Middle East. This area has too great a need for peace and justice for us to sit back and conclude, with facile pessimism, that we have exhausted the possibilities for seeking a political solution. On the contrary, we feel that important and positive factors are emerging which, together with the effort the European Community is making, gives us reason to believe that today in the Middle East the starting point is no longer zero. Italy will continue to support any progress towards a political settlement of these disputes and remains committed to the contribution which the Ten feel able usefully to offer. May I add, in this respect, that we have noted with interest the proposals put forward by Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia⁹ because they reveal the readiness of that country for a negotiated solution of the Middle East problem and because there is an interesting principle implicit in them.

168. Our action is based on certain essential principles which may be summed up as follows: the right to existence and the right to security of Israel, a great people to whom mankind owes a considerable cultural debt, are for us facts which we cannot renounce; we recognize as well the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and, if it so

decides, to the creation of a State entity. This leads us to the conclusion that whatever the operational modalities of the implementation of a peace process, such a process must pass through a compulsory and fundamental stage, namely, mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians. In this respect, we feel that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which we recognize as a significant political force of the Palestinian people, should be given an opportunity to prove its readiness to contribute to a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

169. Crises such as that in the Middle East require realism, but also courage and hope. We must encourage moves towards détente by both parties so as to prepare the ground for direct dialogue since, in this case also, any lasting solution finally depends on the will of all directly concerned parties.

170. The best proof of the validity of this approach has been provided by the truce and cessation of hostilities in southern Lebanon, achieved through diplomatic efforts that Italy fully supported. That development has opened the way to the beginning of a pacification process in that long-suffering country. It is now more than ever necessary to guarantee, with the help of all countries, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, thus averting a recurrence of the sufferings endured in the past by that defenceless people. Italy is co-operating in the pursuit of that objective by its participation in the peace mission of the United Nations in southern Lebanon, which we hope will be allowed to play an increasing role in that country.

171. A speedy cessation of the hostilities between Iran and Iraq would put an end to the material and human losses involved and thus remove a serious obstacle to the peaceful progress of those peoples.

172. In addition to the crisis in the Middle East, recently in the Mediterranean region there have been signs of a disquieting restlessness which seems to make even less attainable the dialogue and co-operation that we would like to see built up in the area. During this delicate phase we must appeal to all concerned to show a sense of responsibility, to maintain attitudes compatible with the goals of peaceful coexistence and to renounce claims that conflict with international norms.

173. It was in the context of a policy aimed at further increasing the stability of the central Mediterranean region that the Italian initiative was taken with regard to the declaration of neutrality issued by Malta, which can only prove to be a useful instrument in favour of peace and progress. In order to help strengthen this new status, when registering its agreements with Malta in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Italy requested the Secretary-General [see A/36/348, annex] to draw the attention of Member States to that part of the Italian declaration in which all the States concerned were invited—and I repeat that invitation now—to take note of Malta's declared neutrality.

174. Another Mediterranean island, Cyprus, has unfortunately been experiencing a difficult situation for many years. However, the negotiations between the two communities, which the United Nations can use its authority effectively to encourage, now have a greater chance of leading to a solution to the problem. Again, for its part, Italy has done and will do everything possible to assist those negotiations.

175. It is an essential function of the United Nations to monitor the imbalances in the armaments sector, both conventional and nuclear, and the increasing spread of weapons of all types among the less developed countries.

176. The Italian Government attaches particular importance to the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament to be held in 1982, which will offer a unique opportunity to review the results so far achieved and to outline the programmes to be followed in the future.

177. Unfortunately, it must be said that the Committee on Disarmament, at Geneva, has not yet been able fully to carry out the tasks entrusted to it by this Assembly. At the same time an increasing need is felt within the Committee to avoid abstract generalizations so that negotiating activities can concentrate primarily on subjects that offer realistic possibilities of agreement. Accordingly, Italy continues to demand a ban on chemical weapons and the destruction of stockpiles thereof in order to avert the serious threat posed by the proliferation of these weapons, which are indeed weapons of mass destruction.

178. In the nuclear field, Italy, which is a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, views with sympathy the demands of certain non-aligned countries for security guarantees on the non-use of nuclear weapons by the nuclear-weapon States. Italy is making a direct contribution to their efforts in its capacity as chairman of the pertinent *Ad Hoc* Working Group at Geneva.

179. In the field of conventional weapons, while understanding the security requirements of many countries regarding the protection of their independence and territorial integrity, we feel that the Assembly must none the less redouble its efforts to regulate such weapons.

180. Still on the subject of disarmament, Italy has for some years put forward proposals aimed at limiting the potentially destabilizing aspects of an arms race in space and has consistently affirmed the need to continue to work on a global programme of disarmament as an appropriate basis on which to ensure the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

181. As regards the important work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, Italy is firmly convinced that the exploitation of the mineral resources of the sea-bed must benefit all mankind.

182. During the past year, in spite of the difficulties arising from the present crisis, international economic co-operation has made modest but significant advances. An authoritative and inspired voice, that of Pope John Paul II, has recently been raised in the context of that comprehensive review, the encyclical *Laborem Exercens*, to encourage that co-operation. It recommends a profoundly innovative vision of labour problems as well as a new relationship between institutions and labour. I believe that all men of good will should carefully study those lofty pronouncements.

183. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy has given positive indications as to the road we should follow in order over the long term to solve the energy problems of the non-oil-producing developing countries. As for the short and medium terms, these problems could be tackled effectively if we could finally

reach a consensus on the establishment of an energy affiliate of the World Bank, a proposal that Italy has supported on numerous occasions.

184. The recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries was also successful in adopting the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries. That programme will now constitute the basic reference point for the initiatives of the international community. I should like to stress that these are countries to which Italy is already devoting a substantial percentage of its official development aid and for which it plans in the future to develop a more effective and differentiated policy of co-operation which will allow us to achieve the target amounts set in that programme.

185. Italy is also playing an active role in the field of science and technology for development. As I had occasion to stress to a delegation of ministers from developing countries with whom I recently met in Rome, we hope that the United Nations Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development, to which Italy has made a substantial contribution, will have sufficient resources to achieve its objectives.

186. In the trade sector, we are convinced of the need, reaffirmed by the seven main industrialized countries at their meeting in Ottawa, for a vigorous joint effort to fight against the resurgence of the spectre of protectionism and to keep open the system of world trade. Next year, the GATT Ministerial Conference, welcomed by the Ottawa summit, will provide us with a valuable opportunity to consider in depth the obstacles which already impede the orderly development of international trade, as well as those which threaten to arise. But the most serious challenge concerns the launching of global negotiations, since it affects the very negotiating ability of the international community.

187. The Italian Government maintains that the problems of the North-South dialogue can only be tackled within the framework of the global negotiations which this Assembly will be called upon finally to launch after appropriate and careful preparation. Moreover, our awareness of the urgency of these questions has led us to take an initiative designed to help in the solution of the tragic problem of world hunger.

188. After having substantially increased in recent years its contribution to the major organizations and programmes of the United Nations operating in the agricultural and food sector, Italy, true to its civil and Christian traditions which other cultures reflect as well, has just suggested the organization of an operational meeting for the purpose of achieving, through the action of the United Nations specialized agencies located in Rome, certain concrete objectives to be given immediate effect relating to the struggle against hunger and malnutrition and co-operation in the field of agriculture and food production. This initiative, which was put forward by Italy at Ottawa and approved in the final communiqué of that meeting,¹⁰ has been endorsed by the countries of the European Community and is now in the course of preparation and development. We trust that that initiative, besides offering prompt solutions to the international scourge of malnutrition, will help to strengthen confidence in the possibility of advancing along the path of economic growth

through co-operation, which is one of the basic aims of the United Nations.

189. In concluding my statement, I should like to refer to the important dual responsibility of the United Nations in the field of human rights: the definition of principles and related standards of conduct, and vigilance as to their effective implementation.

190. As regards the first objective, the Organization has already achieved substantial and indisputable results. But in the matter of vigilance and respect for the norms and principles adopted by the Organization, the United Nations has not shown appreciable progress. Policies which disregard the essence of human rights have continued to be practised, and we are still faced with extensive violations of human rights as a result of local conflicts or situations of instability or intolerance. Italy is ready to cooperate fully in this respect with the world Organization, convinced as we are that wherever the value and dignity of the human person is at stake no obstacle must be allowed to stand in our way. Only thus can we give effectiveness and incisiveness to United Nations action in the field of the international protection of human rights. This is perhaps one of the most difficult challenges that the United Nations will face in the years to come.

191. As we tackle the specific objectives facing this Assembly in the political and economic fields and discuss the best means of achieving those goals, we must not lose sight of the basic consideration that this Organization is, first and foremost, the supreme body at the service of mankind. Beyond the diversities of tradition and culture, man is in effect the subject of rights and freedoms, who through dignity attains a universal value. The mission of the United Nations thus becomes universal only to the extent to which the Organization proves capable of promoting and protecting these rights and freedoms.

192. Mr. VRHOVEC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, may I congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I recall with satisfaction that relations between Yugoslavia and Iraq are distinguished by warm friendship and co-operation. We are confident that your vast experience and well-known devotion to the cause of the United Nations will contribute meaningfully to our fruitful deliberations.

193. It gives me great pleasure to welcome the admission of the Republic of Vanuatu, which has recently gained its independence, to membership in the Organization. Thus a new step has been taken towards complete decolonization, the achievement of which is one of the most noble goals of the United Nations.

194. Rarely has there been such concordance in our assessment that the state of international affairs today is very grave and disturbing. During the past year new crises have arisen and the tension between the great Powers has increased. The situation is acquiring dangerous proportions, affecting negatively the international climate as a whole.

195. The relaxation of tensions, negotiation and co-operation based on respect for mutual and common interests are giving way to an ever wider and more frequent use of force, which is being imposed as a rule of international

conduct. The right of peoples to determine their own destiny is being denied. New forms of political and economic domination are threatening to become a chronic illness of international relations.

196. The world community is again at the crossroads. Peace, security and development are becoming ever more uncertain, as they were in the darkest days of the cold war. It is more than clear that the old order of privileges, monopolies and inequalities, based on the division of the world into blocs, cannot meet the requirements of our time. Not only has it proved its impotence, but it also carries risks for the future of the international community. However, I should like to point out that the peoples have never opposed the policy of force and foreign domination more resolutely than now. Aspirations to independence and equality, as well as the demands for substantial changes in the international order, are an encouraging feature of our time.

197. If we want to end the present stalemate and ensure lasting peace and progress for mankind, we must search for appropriate answers to the burning questions with which we are faced.

198. It is our belief that those answers are contained within the alternative offered to the world by the policy of non-alignment. Twenty years of the policy of non-alignment and its role in the international scene have irrefutably confirmed this. The full affirmation of non-alignment as an independent and positive political force has not been due to its military and economic power, but to its moral values. This policy truly reflects the hopes and needs of mankind. Owing to this, and to its comprehensive programme of new international relations, it has won followers on all continents and has become a universal policy serving the interests of the entire international community.

199. No global strategy can yield positive results in the search for a way out of the present situation if it rejects or ignores this programme. We hold that that has been confirmed by life itself.

200. Lasting peace and security can be achieved only through universal détente that takes into account the interests of all States and enables them to participate on an equal footing in the solving of vital international problems. In other words, détente cannot exist only between the super-Powers and their respective military and political alliances, although it would be inconceivable without their participation and responsibilities. World relations cannot be reduced to their mutual relations.

201. The policy of relaxation of tensions must be clearly directed towards the elimination of all hotbeds of crisis, military interventions and interferences in the internal affairs of States. It must seek the peaceful settlement of disputes, progress in the field of disarmament, and the bridging of the gap between developed and developing countries.

202. It is important to note that Europe has not been able to avoid the general worsening of the international situation either, which has had adverse effects upon co-operation and security on our continent. We attach great significance to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference,

as it is a positive programme for life in Europe. There must be constant efforts to implement its provisions.

203. At the Madrid review session of the Conference, Yugoslavia, with other neutral and non-aligned countries of Europe, searched for means of mutual co-operation beneficial to all. Because of bloc rivalries that could not be achieved, but the hope remains for success when the Madrid meeting resumes its work. We believe it would have a positive impact on the general situation in the world.

204. My country's dedication to the spirit of Helsinki is a logical result of its foreign policy of non-alignment. In this regard, we also attach the greatest importance to the promotion of good relations with all neighbouring countries.

205. Non-interference in internal affairs, and unconditional respect for sovereignty, the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity are cornerstones of this policy. We also consider full recognition of the rights of national minorities to be an important element of mutual confidence and good-neighbourly relations. In our view, these principles must be consistently respected in relations among all States, particularly between neighbouring States. They should, of course, be applied on a basis of reciprocity.

206. Such a practice prevails today in the Balkan region. The importance of this positive process can best be understood if we recall that not so long ago this area was often referred to as a grey zone between existing power blocs.

Mr. Hodoul (Seychelles), Vice-President, took the Chair.

207. With regard to the major problems facing the world today, we are of the opinion that their solutions must be sought primarily within the framework of the United Nations. However, there are tendencies to exclude the United Nations from that process, allegedly for the sake of greater effectiveness. We consider that to be completely unacceptable.

208. Undoubtedly, the solving of major problems with the participation of a large number of countries is, like any other democratic process, neither easy nor simple. But it is the only lasting and effective way to reach solutions that will be in accordance with the interests of the world community as a whole. With that in mind, the Yugoslav delegation will again do its utmost to contribute to the success of this session of the General Assembly.

209. We consider the question of disarmament to be of great urgency. The unprecedented escalation of the arms race has become a dominant phenomenon of our time. Disarmament negotiations have so far failed to produce even a minimal result. Region after region is being covered with medium-range and long-range missile systems. Enormous financial resources are wasted for such purposes. They already equal annually the total debts of all the developing countries. This has the gravest consequences for international relations. In order to curtail that race, it is essential that this session ensure successful preparations for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

210. Today, nobody can deny that peace, security and the progress of mankind are closely linked to the state of the international economy. True, scientific and technological achievements are supposed to promote faster economic and social progress. Yet there is more hunger today in the world than ever before. The most recent data, as well as the many international meetings held this year, have clearly confirmed this. A quarter of the total population of the developing countries is exposed to permanent starvation, while another quarter suffers from malnutrition.

211. Still, efforts to establish the new international economic order have so far not produced even initial results. The global negotiations are not yet off the ground. We believe that at this session the necessary political will should be demonstrated to launch those negotiations and thus to pave the way for international co-operation. Progress achieved in this regard would greatly contribute to the creation of a favourable climate for dealing with the acute issues confronting the world. We will welcome any positive demonstration of goodwill and readiness to contribute to that end.

212. It is important that at this session the Assembly devote the greatest attention to the final elaboration and adoption of the proposed Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States." That would greatly increase the readiness of nations to resist the use of force in international relations.

213. The security of the Mediterranean is of the utmost importance not only to the littoral countries, but also to all of Europe as well as to the Middle East. Current developments in the Mediterranean give us cause for great concern. We are witnessing intensified bloc rivalry, a concentration of armaments and the increased presence of foreign fleets. This calls for constant effort on our part to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and international co-operation.

214. Hotbeds of crisis have year after year been high on the agenda of General Assembly sessions. Again we note with concern that those crises are not being settled; on the contrary, they are flaring up. That is due to the continued violation of the basic right of nations to independence and to free choice as regards their own internal development.

215. We believe that it is clear to everyone today that there is no way out of the Middle East crisis without the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since 1967 and without a solution of the Palestinian question with the participation, on an equal footing, of the PLO. Any just, lasting and comprehensive settlement must include the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to its own State, as well as the recognition of the right of all countries and peoples of that region to live in peace and security.

216. Needless to say, partial solutions to the Middle East crisis can be neither just nor realistic. In spite of that, there has been no progress since the last session. The situation has deteriorated, particularly because of the repeated aggression carried out by Israel against Lebanon, which threatens to escalate the war even further.

217. With all these circumstances in mind, we are deeply concerned by the protracted conflict between Iran

and Iraq. We strongly believe that that conflict should be resolved by peaceful means, with full respect for the principles of the Charter and the policy of non-alignment.

218. The crisis in southern Africa is becoming increasingly dangerous. Despite the endeavours of the great majority of Member States, the United Nations has regrettably not succeeded in achieving independence for Namibia. The aggressive policy of South Africa against Namibia and other front-line States is transforming the whole of southern Africa into a powder keg, with global implications. The latest brazen aggression against Angola is yet another grave warning in that respect.

219. It is really the crucial moment for justice and political realism to prevail; now is the time to cease any kind of support for and to stop tolerating provocations by the racist régime of Pretoria against its neighbouring African States. Such dangerous playing with fire can produce far-reaching consequences.

220. It seems proper to recall the positive contribution made by the non-aligned movement to eradicate finally the last vestiges of colonialism and racism on African soil. Those include efforts exerted at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries on the Question of Namibia, held at Algiers, at the Security Council and, later, at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly. By their efforts, the non-aligned countries have searched for a just solution and have sounded a warning which should not remain unheeded. We also believe that the five-member contact group, which had presented a plan for Namibia, should itself firmly resist Pretoria's blackmail. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) should unambiguously be reaffirmed as the only possible basis for the urgent and just achievement of independence by Namibia, with the full participation of the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Only thus can peace be brought to the peoples of southern Africa and independence and non-alignment in that part of the African continent be strengthened.

221. Remaining colonial problems, anywhere in the world, should be eliminated, since they constitute an unacceptable anachronism. We are also of the opinion that the necessary conditions must urgently be created to enable all peoples whose right to self-determination is still denied to decide freely their own destiny.

222. We support all efforts in that direction. This applies equally to the right of the people of Western Sahara and to the search for a just solution based on the decision of the OAU [see A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res. 103 (XVIII)].

223. We also favour continuation of the dialogue on the peaceful reunification of Korea, which corresponds to the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people. We fully support the constructive initiatives by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the solution of that question.

224. Regarding the crises in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, we continue to support a peaceful political solution, which should be found on the basis of General Assembly resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the elimination of foreign interference and

full respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of those countries.

225. As far as Cyprus is concerned, we envisage a settlement through the continuation of intercommunal talks and within the provisions of General Assembly resolution 32/15 confirming the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. Yugoslavia has always supported national liberation struggles and the right of peoples to freedom and independence. Those inalienable rights must not be denied to any nation, anywhere on earth, from Africa and Europe to Asia and Latin America, and Central America.

226. The current session of the General Assembly will consider a number of issues of vital importance for mankind and for peace in the world.

227. The accumulation of international problems and the exacerbated relations between great Powers threaten to instigate confrontation instead of the constructive co-operation we would like to see at this session. We are afraid that such tendencies would deepen the already existing atmosphere of mistrust and thereby create new difficulties.

228. So far, on several occasions in critical situations, the United Nations has made a very significant contribution to the consideration of complex international issues and to the lessening of tension in international relations. If all of us here, regardless of which groupings of countries we belong to, exert a joint effort and unite our political will, we could again succeed.

229. Such an effort certainly calls for a high sense of responsibility, especially on the part of the great Powers. We must demonstrate our common readiness to meet new challenges and to search together for solutions which would not favour selfish interests but would reaffirm the lofty principles of the Charter, on the basis of which we have joined together in the Organization.

230. Thus we would, despite all the existing difficulties, open new avenues into the future, to a world of co-operation and peaceful coexistence, to economic prosperity and independence and to a life in peace and security.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14659, annex.

² Independent commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt.

³ Signed on 28 February 1975 and 31 October 1979. For the text of the first Convention, see A/AC.176/7, and for the text of the second, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

⁴ See CD/228, Appendix II/Vol. III, document CD/205-CD/CPD/WP.52.

⁵ Adopted as resolution 34/87 B.

⁶ Signed in Berlin on 3 September 1971, by France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. For the text, see United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 880, No. 12621, p. 124.

⁷ Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference, held at Lusaka on 1 April 1980.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 65, document A/35/742, para. 20.

⁹ Expounded in a radio interview broadcast by Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcription of the interview, see Foreign

Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MEA-81-153, of 10 August 1981, vol. V, No. 153.

¹⁰ See U.S. Department of State *Bulletin*, vol. 81, No. 2053 (August 1981), p. 8.

¹¹ Subsequently adopted as resolution 36/103.