



Friday, 1 October 1982,
at 3.50 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 110

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*)*

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to document A/37/461/Add.1, which contains a letter dated 1 October 1982 from the Secretary-General informing me that the Central African Republic has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

2. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Portugal. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Francisco Pinto Balsemão and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

3. Mr. PINTO BALSEMÃO (Portugal):* Sir, may I start by congratulating you on your election as President of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. At the same time, I would like to convey to you our satisfaction at seeing such an experienced politician occupy this high post. Your merits will most certainly help us to achieve positive results in our endeavours.

4. I would also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, who carried out the duties of the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly with such competence and authority. His contribution deserves our admiration and gratitude.

5. I wish to address a special salute to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and express my satisfaction at seeing in this eminent position such an influential personality, whose human and diplomatic qualities have already been widely demonstrated.

6. The importance and complexity of the questions included in the agenda clearly show that dialogue among peoples is essential to international relations. However, a fruitful dialogue depends on the existence of a climate of international confidence. Confidence is not compatible with persistent acts of disrespect for the provisions enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration

of Human Rights, or with violations of sovereignty, that affect the territorial integrity of nations and disregard the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Confidence also excludes the tendency of certain States to impose on other countries, through the threat or use of force, a certain behaviour or ideological submission, contrary to the deep-rooted feelings of their peoples.

7. The absence of this climate of confidence was evident during the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, undoubtedly one of the most ambitious efforts of the Organization. Disarmament, understood as a balanced and controlled reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons, does not stand as an autonomous category within the framework of the relations among States. However, the increasing tensions in international relations must neither be an excuse nor a justification for the modest results attained. Both the security and the future of humankind require that immediate action be taken on certain aspects of the arms race, in order to deflect it from its present course.

8. Accordingly, the initiation of negotiations at Geneva, between the United States and the USSR, to control and reduce nuclear weapons of intermediate range as well as strategic nuclear weapons, is an encouraging step and responds to many concerns. We hope that important and substantial reductions will follow, mainly with respect to the ground systems which, being the most vulnerable, are the most destabilizing.

9. We also follow with great interest the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. The new proposals recently presented by the West offer a possibility to break the present impasse. We believe they provide a good basis for progress.

10. The implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act would be a decisive element towards international détente. Such détente must be global and indivisible, based on criteria of reciprocity, and must govern relations among countries with different social and political systems as well as among Governments with identical ideological structures. However, the debates at the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in which my Government is so deeply engaged, shows that there, too, the effects of the present crisis of confidence are felt, thus impairing the attainment of positive results whenever a solution for basic problems is at stake.

11. Past and present events in Poland fully illustrate this state of affairs. This is the reason why the Portuguese Government has from the outset openly condemned such events, drawing therefrom the necessary conclusions.

* Resumed from the 1st meeting.

* Mr. Pinto Balsemão spoke in Portuguese. The English text of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

12. The position of Portugal is that the obligations undertaken in this field must be executed in good faith. It is necessary to strive for the fulfilment of the objectives we ourselves have proposed, thus contributing to the full realization of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is not a question of drastically changing international reality. That would be unthinkable. Rather, it is a question of trying to ease tensions and increase confidence in relations among nations and peoples—since these are also mentioned in the Final Act. Such an attitude cannot function in one direction only. It concerns all parties involved and it precludes proclamation of an official doctrine which, depending on the areas concerned and according to one's convenience, interprets coexistence either as co-operation or as intolerant confrontation. Only in this way can détente become a reality, translated into positive acts, and not merely a dialogue of the deaf.

13. The general considerations I have just formulated do not diminish—rather, they emphasize—the importance of regional tensions susceptible of jeopardizing world stability. I shall mention only a few examples. I would like to refer first to the situation in Namibia, where the exercise of the right to self-determination continues to be delayed giving rise to serious risks of conflict in southern Africa. Portugal considers that the independence of Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is essential to the stabilization process in the region.

14. The repeated attacks against the territories of Angola and Mozambique, which Portugal has condemned in a timely and vigorous manner, cannot fail to be seen in this context, hence rendering more urgent a stable solution to the problem. Given the very special ties my country has with Angola and Mozambique Portuguese public opinion follows with deep interest the efforts made towards achieving peace, and the subsequent developments in southern Africa. The interrelationship between these two elements is made clear by the economic pressures to which those two countries and Zimbabwe have been subjected. In this context, we think that the goals being pursued by the Southern African Development Co-ordinations Conference may constitute a very positive contribution to a balanced development of the area.

15. I would like to make it clear that we do not wish any specific role for Portugal and that we put our trust in the efforts of the Secretary-General, and in the diplomatic initiatives and responsible role played by the contact group of five Western States and by the front-line States. However, the evolution of events shows that flexibility and rapid action are essential. Whenever necessary Portugal will be ready to co-operate, if requested. This my Government has already earnestly done.

16. The search for a solution to the Palestinian problem which would result in a global, lasting and just peace in the Middle East is today an essential element of international security. The most recent aspects of the problem emphasize even more strongly the need to respect the principle of self-determination and to consider the just claims of the Palestinian people, who long to create a new independent State.

17. But in the Middle East crisis it is equally necessary to state clearly the need for respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all nations in the area, in particular Lebanon and Israel, as well as the right of their respective peoples to live in peace within duly recognized and guaranteed international boundaries.

18. The Portuguese Government welcomes the most recent initiatives taken by the international community, namely, President Reagan's peace plan and the plan agreed by consensus at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez. Neither of these plans should be considered separately. Both constitute a significant step towards the achievement of peace in the area. The complexity of the Middle East situation is now viewed on a more realistic basis which may lead to the compromise solutions long awaited and much desired by the international community, thus relegating to the realm of the unthinkable such horrifying massacres as those recently inflicted on the defenceless Palestinian refugees.

19. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, which so clearly infringes the juridical rules upon which the United Nations is based, has been repeatedly condemned in the Assembly and still gives rise to harsh criticism against the hegemonic purposes which were behind it.

20. The Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea is yet another source of tension. My Government supports the diplomatic efforts either recommended or already accomplished aimed at finding a peaceful solution to these conflicts.

21. From what has been said it is evident that the consequences of the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination are of great importance within the framework of international relations; therefore it is the duty of the United Nations to enforce the respect for that principle so uncompromisingly proclaimed by Member States and to which the great majority of the countries here represented owe allegiance.

22. It is in this context that the problem of East Timor should be seen. In the light of the principles concerning the rights of peoples, which the Organization is bound to defend, the problem of East Timor and the need for the international community to ensure the exercise of the rights of that Territory's population are for my country matters of high priority and undeniable importance. Portugal, which seven years ago ceased to be able to carry out its responsibilities as administering Power, has repeatedly declared that it makes no claim to the Territory of East Timor, to which my country is linked historically and by bonds of human solidarity that exist to this day. These bonds are reflected in the deep sensitivity with which the Portuguese nation as a whole follows this problem, while it hopes for a solution consistent with international ethics and justice.

23. The Portuguese State has often said that its only goal is the fulfilment of a national and moral duty. Aware of the justice of our cause and certain that we are interpreting the unanimous feeling of the Portuguese State and the Portuguese people, I wish to reaffirm clearly our desire to co-operate actively with the United Nations, using all the mechanisms envisaged in the Charter, so that through an open

dialogue we may all find a solution that truly respects the interests and cultural identity of the people of East Timor and enables them to define their collective destiny.

24. We are going through particularly difficult times, in which the weight of economic problems has a growing influence and obvious repercussions in the political field. The present state of the world economy continues to cause serious concern as we face a sombre reality, marked by persistent inflationary pressures, monetary fluctuations, high interest rates, unemployment and social tensions. The outlook for the near future cannot but be disquieting. The gradual deterioration of the economic situation has affected all countries, regardless of their political, economic or social system, but it is the poorest among us that have been most severely harmed.

25. The experience of the last few years has shown that global interdependence is an inescapable fact and as such requires greater solidarity among nations. This immense task is vital and demands the realistic, co-ordinated and untiring efforts of all members of the international community, without exception.

26. My Government believes in the importance and usefulness of a realistic, productive and action-oriented North-South dialogue. We are facing global problems which demand a global approach and global solutions. We trust therefore that it will be possible to reach agreement on the conditions which would make possible the launching of global negotiations in a spirit guided by common interest and respect for existing organizations. North-South relations are usually reduced to a formal and strict distinction between developed and developing countries, but such a dichotomy is far from the present reality.

27. Portugal, south of the North, is at an intermediate stage of economic and technological development: a donor country within the limits of its capacity, it is simultaneously a recipient of assistance essential to the process of national development in which it is engaged.

28. Being an Atlantic country, an active member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], a European country and a candidate for membership of the European Economic Community, Portugal is in a position in which it can understand not only the needs of the developing countries but also the difficulties facing the more advanced economies. Portugal's membership in the European Community, one of the priorities of our foreign policy, will, we are certain, enable us to reinforce our capacity to understand both sides of the problem and at the same time collaborate actively towards its solution. On the one hand we shall pursue more resolutely Portugal's development process and on the other wider perspectives will be opened for the privileged relations we maintain with many areas of the world other than the Portuguese-speaking African countries and the African continent.

29. My Government is engaged in increasing and diversifying its bilateral aid, but it is equally interested in developing co-operation projects, with the assistance of specialized agencies of the United Nations and with the co-operation of other countries. Aware of our limitations and possibilities, but conscious also

that, besides quantitative aspects, there are also the qualitative ones, we shall strive to achieve these goals.

30. If the role played by small and medium enterprises has become increasingly important within our economy, in the international political system, too, the role of small and medium countries must be acknowledged as increasingly relevant.

31. Indeed, the perception and impact of questions such as the energy crisis, problems of investment and technology and protectionist policies are common to this group of countries and constitute, in their particular case, conditioning factors of a qualitative and not merely quantitative nature. This reality draws a distinction between us and the larger countries. We believe that, with a view to creating a realistic and useful basis for dialogue, it is of the utmost interest that we undertake a common consideration of this issue.

32. Like the others, my country is particularly sensitive to the energy problems that affect our balance of payments in a very negative way, reducing our possibilities of carrying out the measures necessary to pursue our development process. A sustained economic growth depends to a great extent on intensification of productive investments, increased productivity and the maintenance of an open trade system.

33. Although one must admit that the seriousness of the world economic situation has not caused a radical increase of protectionism, I should like to stress the concern of the Portuguese Government regarding some protectionist measures which affect exports from developing countries and from countries in an intermediate stage of development, like Portugal. We hope that during the next ministerial meeting of GATT important decisions will be taken contributing, in a decisive way, to fostering free international trade between all countries and groups of countries.

34. I should also like to refer to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.¹ Last April Portugal voted in favour of the Convention. This decision was taken in the light of our own interests as a coastal State. It also took into account the interests of the international community, which may be greatly affected should an adequate regulation of these matters not be established. This does not mean that my country is satisfied with all the provisions contained in the Convention, namely, those regarding the composition of the International Sea-Bed Authority. In fact the interests of semi-industrialized countries are not taken duly into account, especially in the case of those countries that, like Portugal, have to face serious emigration problems. These considerations do not, however, impair our intention to sign and ratify the Convention, thus contributing towards avoiding chaos in international maritime relations. Accordingly, Portugal calls upon every country to make an additional effort to find a compromise formula which would render the Convention universally acceptable.

35. If, on the one hand, economic matters are intimately linked to political problems, it is also true that from them arise very serious consequences concerning human rights. Thus, when discussing here the best way to achieve the objectives we have pro-

posed for ourselves—namely, the creation of a more equitable international order—we cannot overlook a basic fundamental principle: that the United Nations is, above all, a body at the service of humankind. Beyond the diversity of traditions, cultures and systems, man attains universal value as a subject of rights and fundamental freedoms, through intrinsic dignity. Consequently, in addition to those factors, there is yet another concern: we continue to be faced with the persistence of policies that ignore the essence of human rights and lead to serious violations of such rights, as a result of local conflicts or of situations of instability or intolerance.

36. Of such situations, the system of *apartheid* is a paradigm. This system is condemned by us, as it is our belief that any form of discrimination, besides being unacceptable on an ethical and human plane, is a denial of progress and culture.

37. As I have already stated, there are many areas in the world where the rights to self-determination, free choice of régime, independence and security of States are not respected. When it comes to human rights *stricto sensu*—meaning relations between the Government and individuals—the situations in which human beings are denied their basic rights are regrettably multiplying. I am referring to political repression, racism, foreign domination and poverty. The international community acknowledges the fact that human rights are inseparable from the rights of peoples and of nations and that both are closely related to peace, security and prosperity in the world. In order that international stability may be attained, States must respect the rights of other nations and those of their own citizens. In this context, the United Nations has a dual responsibility: the definition of principles through the enunciation of a code of conduct and supervision of their effective implementation.

38. The Portuguese Government attributes the greatest importance to the achievement of that aim. Accordingly, Portugal has adhered to the main international instruments concerning human rights, the latest one being the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)], to which we acceded on 23 September.

39. The United Nations has created a system and institutions to promote and protect respect for human rights the world over. However, the number of cases that are violations of the moral conscience of nations is regrettably increasing.

40. In this context, we are deeply concerned with the difficult living conditions suffered by the Timorese people as well as with the violations of its cultural identity and its rights, caused by the present situation in the Territory of East Timor. Convergent reports and information reaching us from East Timor leave no doubt about the moral and physical sufferings endured by the people of Timor. The problem of East Timor was only recently discussed at Geneva when the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted resolution 1982/20² on this question, in which it acknowledged the diplomatic efforts made by Portugal to redress the situation in the Territory and called for international co-operation to defend the rights of the Timorese

people. In this context as well, of great significance in the sphere of international morals and law, I wish to reiterate the Portuguese will to co-operate in the settlement within the wide framework of humanitarian questions, of several problems brought about by the situation in East Timor. I wish to reaffirm here that the Portuguese position as to principles and human rights is clear and that it constitutes the pursuit of an ethical and political duty which cannot be overlooked if we do not want to put in jeopardy the values that govern us. Likewise, I reiterate Portugal's firm determination to reach a global solution to this problem within the framework of the Organization, through an open and frank dialogue.

41. The history of the United Nations stands as an example of endeavours to give mankind its full dimension, free from the yoke of political domination, urgent material needs and deadly wars. Many are the difficulties that have been encountered when pursuing these aims. Some achievements have even brought about new and complex problems.

42. To admit that reforms must be introduced in certain structures and habits does not mean that we should question the provisions of the Charter. On the contrary, within the limitations imposed by the framework of international relations, those provisions still offer the best means of overcoming institutional impediments, and are at the same time an irreplaceable frame of reference when it comes to settling certain types of conflicts. The Portuguese Government sincerely believes that the Organization can handle confrontations and pave the way to their settlement by means of dialogue, at the same time and provide the necessary impartiality as a forum for negotiation.

43. If the Organization is affected by some shortcomings, that is not its fault. Those shortcomings—so sharply described in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1]—are caused by those who find them very convenient. That is why, when there is a common will, the United Nations offers the appropriate institutional means for the search for multilateral solutions. It is for the reaffirmation of such goals that all of us gathered here must strive, without any weakening or preconceptions, without any demagoguery or procrastination; the moral force of those who are in the right will always triumph in the end.

44. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank the Prime Minister of the Portuguese Republic for the important statement he has just made.

45. Mr. RAO (India): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are gratified that a representative of Hungary, with which we enjoy close and cordial relations, has been chosen to preside over our deliberations.

46. ... would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the resolute and efficient leadership provided to the Assembly during its thirty-sixth session by your predecessor, Mr. Ismat Kittani.

47. I would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who has won our admiration and acclaim for his efficient stewardship

of the United Nations this year and for his skilful handling of several crisis situations. We wish him greater successes in the future.

48. India approaches the present session of the General Assembly with renewed commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. The efforts of the United Nations to bring these principles into the realm of reality deserve the support of each one of us, for mankind has a great stake in its success. Our endeavour to contribute to its success, therefore, is dictated by our own will to survive and to pursue our path towards progress in a congenial international climate, free from domination and exploitation.

49. Building up self-reliance internally and maintenance of an independent policy externally have been the twin objectives of the Government of India since our independence. Traditions inherited from our ancient past still remain with us, but the leaders of modern India have succeeded in inculcating a spirit of adventure and inquiry in our people, making them receptive to evolving contemporary ideas. In this sense our tradition itself has not remained static; it has enabled change to come about, with stability and continuity being retained all the time. Side by side with the development of a rural economy, which provides sustenance for the majority of the people of India, we have built a modern industrial infrastructure which enables us to keep pace with the spectacular scientific and technological advances taking place in the world. Our mixed economy, in which the public sector occupies the commanding heights but the private sector provides the majority of the means of production, has proved its resilience and strength. Foreign collaboration and technical co-operation have provided an impetus to our development, but both have operated within the framework of our own national priorities, determined by an integrated planning process. The stability that we have acquired through our democratic institutions, which give our people a sense of deep involvement, has proved propitious for our progress.

50. In his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has painted a grim picture of the world that we live in today. Things have come to such a sorry pass that unless they are checked, we will, he feels, approach "a new international anarchy". These are sombre words, coming as they do from the Secretary-General. In his very first address to the General Assembly, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had warned us that it was becoming increasingly apparent that if we did not proceed speedily enough towards a world order, we would be left with no order in the world. If after 37 years of its existence, the Organization is unable to offer anything more than mere palliatives, the time has indeed come for a reassessment, some soul-searching and, above all, concrete remedial action. The Secretary-General's hands need to be strengthened so that he can advise, and if necessary, even prod the Security Council into action, to prevent outbreaks of fresh conflicts. For it is painfully obvious that the Security Council, the discharge of whose responsibilities is predicated on the principle of concurrence among its permanent members, stands paralysed and immobilized because of the inability of the permanent

members to rise above their narrow national objectives to harmonize their positions in the cause of peace.

51. Although all of us, being representatives of nation States, believe strongly in the well-known attributes of national sovereignty, it should not be difficult for us to see that the common good of mankind ought to have a certain overriding priority in the scheme of things. In any event, national interest cannot be inimical to the common good of humanity: the two have to go hand in hand and be combined harmoniously, despite some seemingly disadvantageous positions in the short run at the national level.

52. All of us are committed to the goal of general and complete disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. People in every part of the world have become acutely aware that, through no fault of their own, they would perish if strategies of nuclear deterrence were tested out, since they would obviously be tested out on them. They also know only too well that after a nuclear conflict either they would not be living at all, or, if they do live, that life would be so horrible that death would be preferable to it. It is this awareness that has forced multitudes of people, irrespective of colour, creed, religion, nationality or political persuasion, to go out on to the streets to urge sanity in dealing with matters of life and death. Their loud and clear voices signify that there could be no agenda more urgent than that for devising immediate measures for nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war.

53. In response to this overwhelming popular sentiment the world over, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, presented at the special session on disarmament this year a concrete programme of action³ which included the negotiation of a binding convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons, a freeze on the production of nuclear weapons and fissionable material used in the manufacture thereof, the suspension of nuclear-weapon tests, and the resumption of negotiations for concluding a treaty on general and complete disarmament. India submitted a number of proposals and draft resolutions⁴ to facilitate the beginning of a serious nuclear disarmament programme. Yet the opposition of nuclear-weapon States prevented the Assembly at the special session from taking any concrete steps in this regard. The so-called consensus document that finally emerged was so insipid as to be meaningless. In the circumstances, India had no choice but to disassociate itself from the conclusions in the document.

54. The outcome of the special session was perhaps yet another instance of what the Secretary-General describes as the lack of capacity of the Organization to come to terms with the present reality. Nevertheless, we shall not despair, despite the attempts of a few but powerful nations to hold peace hostage to their nuclear arsenals and to their own perceived security interests. There have been, however, some positive albeit feeble indications of late. We welcome the evolution in the attitude of some nuclear-weapon Powers. It is our earnest hope that at this session India's proposals will be considered in all seriousness and that decisions will be taken that will rid the world of weapons of mass destruction.

55. It is gratifying to think that in a world teetering on the brink of nuclear disaster the vast majority of humanity prefers, wisely, to keep out of military alliances devised by great Powers. The non-aligned nations know perfectly well that military alliances and interlocking arrangements do not guarantee peace and stability, but on the contrary, serve as a potential invitation to intervention and involvement in strategic conflicts. The preservation of peace, therefore, is at the core of the philosophy of non-alignment developed by our founding fathers. It becomes more and more relevant with every passing day. Its practice has enabled India, as our Prime Minister pledged at the time of our independence, to look at the rest of the world with clear and friendly eyes: clear since we are not obliged to look through alien glasses of any hue, and friendly since we believe that mutually beneficial relations can be forged on the basis of equality. Non-alignment, which in our lexicon is a synonym for freedom of thought and action, has invested our independence with meaning and content. It has also sharpened our determination to oppose the evils of imperialism, colonialism, racism and all manifestations of foreign domination. The value and relevance of our non-alignment have been demonstrated not only by the increasing number of adherents it has found, but also by the qualitative change that it has helped to bring about in international relations.

56. Despite manifest diversity in political and economic outlook and an understandable preoccupation with regional problems, the essential unity of purpose of non-aligned countries remains intact on matters of vital and crucial global interest and concern. The unique bond among them is the voice of sanity which they have raised with consistency and determination. In turn, this unity has sustained the prestige and influence of the non-aligned movement through the constantly shifting patterns in international relationships. India is honoured that in these difficult times it has been called upon to host the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. While we are naturally grateful for this opportunity, we are mindful of the tremendous responsibility it entails. With utmost sincerity, I promise that India will do all in its power to be worthy of the trust which the movement has reposed in it.

57. Our neighbourhood, the South Asian subcontinent, is currently going through a process of regional co-operation on the basis of mutual benefit. India is gratified at these very desirable developments, which are in consonance with its own efforts over the years to build bridges of understanding among the countries of the region. True, external interference and intervention continue to sow suspicions and inflame passions. An unprecedented build-up of sophisticated arms, unrelated either to reasonable needs or to perceived threats, still points to the continuance of strategic consensus situations so detrimental to regional independence and harmony. Yet one can perhaps hope more than hitherto that the subcontinent will be able to usher in an era of peace which is more comprehensive than the mere absence of war, and encompasses relationships of positive friendship and co-operation.

58. The slender thread which the Secretary-General has found in the search for a political settlement of

the situation in Afghanistan is another development that has been welcomed in our part of the world. There is universal reaffirmation of the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of States, as also of the introduction of foreign troops into any country. Here again, given the prospect of success of the Secretary-General's effort, India feels gratified that its own approach to finding a political solution has been vindicated.

59. We commend the commencement of the Geneva talks and trust that they will pick up momentum hereafter, to enter substantive areas. We feel it is high time they did, and our feeling is in line with what the Afghan people urges.

60. Geographically distant from us but equally close to our hearts are the friendly people of Kampuchea, who are struggling valiantly to remove the ravages caused by a heartless dictatorial régime. The advent of an alliance of convenience, whose real content is too thinly veiled to need any unveiling should not distract our attention. Once the fear of the return of the holocaust is removed and the threat to their territorial integrity and sovereignty is ended, the people of Kampuchea will be willing—nay, eager—to get foreign troops to leave their soil. The expedients improvised for seating the forces without legitimacy in these chambers can hardly help either the process of healing the wounds of Kampuchea or of finding an acceptable political solution. What is needed is the ending of confrontation in South-East Asia, which alone could have a welcome impact on the stability and prosperity of the entire region.

61. The security environment in the Indian Ocean region has further deteriorated because of the increased build-up of the military presence of great Powers, contrary to the wishes of the non-aligned littoral and hinterland States. The implementation of the historic General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, adopted in 1971, has remained a distant dream. Theories of balance and doctrines of deterrence are being advanced in order to justify the introduction of sophisticated weaponry into the area.

62. The Conference on the Indian Ocean, originally scheduled to be held in 1981 in Colombo, is still postponed at the behest of those who are far removed from the area. Simultaneously, efforts are afoot to subvert the fundamental elements of the Declaration set out in the 1971 resolution and to distort its essential framework. We believe that the time has come for the commencement of the process of the elimination of foreign military presence from the Indian Ocean, that the Colombo Conference should be held come what may, in accordance with the new schedule, and that it should address itself to the question in a forthright manner.

63. The shifting of fortunes in the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran and the colossal loss of lives and property have once again highlighted the futility of war as a means of settling disputes. I personally have had the experience of participating in the peace-making effort on the basis of a mandate given to my colleagues from Cuba, Zambia and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and to me at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of

Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi in 1981. My colleagues and I are convinced that, while there can be no victor or vanquished, the damage inflicted on each other by these two neighbours will only weaken their ability to meet the challenges that face them as developing countries.

64. The recent conflagration in West Asia resulting in the virtual destruction of Beirut and the horrid genocide of the Lebanese and Palestinian population have shaken the conscience of mankind to the very core. It was nothing short of a holocaust, imposed, strangely and ironically, by none other than Israel. Ironically, again, the withdrawal of the PLO from Beirut, to save innocent civilians from further suffering and devastation, itself led to the gruesome massacre of Palestinians in Shatila and Sabra. Israel's responsibility, indeed complicity, is self-evident. Those who had undertaken to protect the Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in Beirut in the wake of the PLO's withdrawal must also share the blame for the criminal bloodshed.

65. The dispersal of the heroic Palestinians will neither weaken their will to fight for their inalienable rights nor bring peace to the area. Occupation of the land of its neighbours will not guarantee Israel's security; the effect, if anything, will be just the opposite. A comprehensive solution consisting of Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the establishment of a Palestinian State and mutual guarantees of security among the States of the region must be achieved. There now seems to be greater understanding of the fact that no comprehensive solution will be achieved without the active involvement of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people. In the gory drama in Lebanon, the PLO has demonstrated great heroism and courage. The PLO and other Arab nations have since shown great statesmanship in evolving and adopting the "Fez Charter", the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference [see A/37/696], whose proposals deserve very serious consideration.

66. In recent weeks there have been important proposals made by world leaders. They vary in approach and content, but fundamental to all of them is the recognition that the uprooted people of Palestine should secure their legitimate rights. In this case, as with other problems, the slowing down of the effort to find a solution often results in the creation of vested interests in the continued non-solution of the problem. This leads to prevarication and circumvention and a long stalemate. This has happened in West Asia, with the disastrous consequences which we are now witnessing. Therefore the quest for a comprehensive solution should be pursued relentlessly. Instead of indulging in a fine-print scrutiny of the various plans mooted so far and losing valuable time in endless discussions, immediate steps should be taken at the United Nations to devise a suitable mechanism for finding a permanent solution to the problem of West Asia. This is the very minimum that needs to be done in expiation of the rivers of innocent blood that have been allowed to flow in Lebanon.

67. Racism and colonialism still rage in southern Africa today, with little progress either in the elimination of *apartheid* or in the liberation of Namibia.

The people of South Africa remain in bondage, despite the universal condemnation of the obnoxious discriminatory laws of the Pretoria régime. We have been awaiting the outcome of the contacts being conducted by the five Western States for the implementation of the United Nations plan for free elections in Namibia. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, which negotiated in good faith for a cease-fire and free elections, has reason to apprehend that South Africa and its supporters have been creating an illusion of progress in these talks merely to link up the situation in Namibia with extraneous issues. The international community will, as it must, intensify its demand for punitive action against South Africa under the Charter, if the current efforts for a negotiated settlement fail to achieve results. South Africa's supporters will find it difficult to shield it from the wrath of the world for very long.

68. Several old items on the agenda continue to engage our attention. Thus the situation in Cyprus, unfortunately, still remains frozen. In spite of repeated calls of the movement of non-aligned countries and the support of the international community in general the relevant resolutions of the United Nations have not yet been implemented. We trust that the inter-communal talks will soon bear fruit and the question resolved free from external interference and in accordance with decisions of the United Nations.

69. More recently, despite the efforts of our sagacious Secretary-General, conflict and bloodshed in the South Atlantic could not be averted.

70. In Central America there are dangerous portents of intervention and destabilization. The United Nations cannot remain a mute spectator and must lend support to all efforts for dialogue and negotiation to create mutual confidence and to resolve outstanding disputes.

71. It is with great satisfaction that we note the long and at times difficult negotiations successfully concluded with the adoption of a universal and comprehensive Convention on the Law of the Sea. The Convention is a symbol of shared expectations of the international community and represents a major contribution to world peace and the new international economic order. Later this year, in December, in Jamaica the Final Act will be open for signature. It is our earnest hope that the Convention on the Law of the Sea will be endorsed by all States with prompt signatures and ratifications.

72. International co-operation for development is the topic of our age. We strongly believe that our approach to development and co-operation will have to be informed by certain objective and fundamental considerations. First, the arms race is not compatible with the movement towards a more stable global development and sustainable international order. Secondly, the international community cannot aspire to durable peace so long as a major component of it remains underdeveloped. Thirdly, orderly development and continued progress can take place optimally only in an atmosphere of harmony and co-operation. Fourthly, co-operation demands that the privileges which the developed countries have been enjoying so far should not be turned into rights and

that the concerns of the developing countries be taken into account.

73. Some months ago, in a special session, the General Assembly brought out clearly the close connection between disarmament and development, but failed to draw the requisite conclusions from it.

74. A year ago the two co-Chairmen of the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, which was held at Cancún, referred to the North-South relationship as one of the most serious challenges to be faced in the coming decades by mankind, together with the maintenance of peace. The theme of Cancún was "Co-operation and Development". Regrettably, there was no agreement as to how the real challenge of the North-South relationship was to be met, though, as our Prime Minister observed after the Cancún meeting the door was kept open for dialogue.

75. One can only hope that world statesmen will take an enlightened and long-term view of history. We also need to promote world-wide political understanding, with the involvement of the public, of the connection between the North-South relationship and the maintenance of peace. This would contribute significantly to generating the requisite political will that is sorely needed to overcome the present paralysis in the North-South dialogue.

76. Viewed against this background, it is most disheartening that the adverse effects of the continued deadlock on the negotiating front have been compounded by an actual deterioration in the North-South relationship. As the report of the Committee on Development Planning on its eighteenth session⁵ has illustrated, there is both qualitative and quantitative deterioration in multilateral economic co-operation. Examples of this are increasing protectionism, high interest rates, fast-diminishing concessional assistance, the secular decline in prices of many commodities, difficulties in access to the international capital market and the injection of non-economic factors and political considerations in the functioning of multilateral economic institutions. For the first time since the Second World War, the developing countries, taken as a group, have registered a fall in their per capita output.

77. Two years ago the Assembly adopted the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*]. However, it remains a paper document. There is all round failure on the part of the developed countries to fulfil their commitments. There is no agreement, even on the procedures for the global negotiations that were expected to contribute to the implementation of the Strategy.

78. Recent developments show that while the developing countries do have a conciliatory approach, there is not enough encouraging response from the developed countries. Several of them are not negative, yet there are some that are not even prepared to think in terms of a consensus that can bind the North and the South. They are still to be convinced that comprehensive and global negotiations will in the long run facilitate the emergence of a viable co-operative relationship among the nations of the world. As for the developing countries, they are not interested in a zero-sum game, but in a positive-sum approach. They are

conscious of the fact that the progress in regard to the achievement of the new international economic order is inextricably linked with the world economic recovery programme. Thus, today world economic problems can be solved only by joint actions. There is no alternative for the international community but to move beyond the present stalemate to more fruitful, durable and just international economic relationships.

79. Let me now turn to the current problems arising from the pursuit of anti-inflationary policies, protectionist trends, high interest rates and the drying up of the sources of concessional flows. The anti-inflationary policies that have been adopted by some developed countries are not conducive to growth and employment. Consequently, there has been a decline in the price per unit of exports by developing countries of their raw materials and primary products. The exports of industrial products of developing countries have been adversely affected by growing protectionism. The high interest rates are causing serious problems in regard to debt burden and access to international capital markets. The International Development Association [IDA] is in deep trouble. All this makes the task of developing countries extremely difficult. The situation is particularly grave for oil-importing developing countries in regard to their balance-of-payments position and the development of their energy resources, which require large capital outlay.

80. We should thus lose no time in devising feasible strategies that are complementary to those predicated on global negotiations for restructuring international economic relations. Urgent steps need to be taken for a world economic recovery programme and for building upon the limited gains that have been secured through North-South co-operation. Agreement should be sought wherever possible. Detailed guidelines for further work should be drawn up so as to facilitate thorough discussions and eventual agreement on all connected matters at the sixth session of UNCTAD, where this matter will be high on the agenda.

81. Numerous international conferences have stressed the need for making efforts concurrent with global negotiations in order to achieve progress in areas of critical importance to developing countries such as food, energy, trade and financial flows. The Versailles Economic Summit had outlined certain practical areas for action. We would urge developed countries not to use lack of progress on global negotiations as an alibi for inaction. We expect that they would translate their suggestions into concrete and co-operative programmes of action that would contribute to the development of the developing countries.

82. A broad consensus now exists, and indeed, this was one concrete gain in Cancún—on evolving a strategy to increase food production. We hope that a well-thought-out international programme would emerge in this regard. Efforts must continue to devise a global strategy for food security and for constant updating of measures and actions. It is important to reach agreement on an international wheat trade agreement for stability of supplies and prices.

83. In the field of energy the most important task is to help oil-importing developing countries to exploit

their own energy resources. At the same time, much greater research activities and financial resources are needed for developing alternative sources of energy. Ongoing studies should be completed early in regard to the securing of financing for an increased programme of energy investment through an energy affiliate of the World Bank or a special fund, or other agreed arrangements.

84. A further expansion and liberalization of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] compensatory facility is called for. Indeed, we need to give greater consideration to the establishment of a completely new commodity-related scheme. Predictability in the earnings, supply and demand of commodities is an objective which we should seriously pursue. This calls for adequate and effective price stabilization arrangements.

85. The deterioration in the world trading situation is especially affecting countries with relatively low per capita income. The international trading régime which has emerged neither adheres to the principles and rules envisaged by GATT, nor is it responsive to new circumstances. What is necessary is the most careful consideration of the requirements of an international trading order that will be efficient, equitable and effectively promote the development of developing countries. For this there should be a return to a set of agreed principles in international trading relationships, particularly through practical support for the principles of multilateralism, non-discrimination, non-reciprocity *vis-à-vis* developing countries, transparency and predictability consistent with special and differential treatment to developing countries. Progressive liberalization of the trade in textiles, clothing, the leather industry and other consumer durables is a matter of great importance to the industrial development of developing countries. The developing countries possess comparative advantages in these areas. We expect that the GATT ministerial meeting and the sixth session of UNCTAD would agree on concrete measures in this regard.

86. The situation created by the second massive oil price rise is qualitatively different and more acute than that faced by the world community at the time of the first energy crisis less than 10 years ago. The growth momentum of the developing countries was then maintained through flows of international finance on suitable terms to the countries most adversely affected by the crisis and through new modalities of concessional developmental assistance. No similar effort is visible today or even being considered. Instead, private capital and investments are suggested as a solution to the problems of developing countries. While private capital can be useful in certain areas, experience clearly shows that it cannot provide resources for long-term development aiming at social improvement and stability with low or no market profit. It cannot alleviate the balance-of-payments burdens of developing countries. Above all, multilateral aid should not be made conditional on corresponding in-flow of private investment. Similarly, the increasing recourse to exclusive bilateralism continues and must be resisted to the extent such bilateralism tends to obstruct multilateral co-operation and is pursued at the expense of the latter.

87. Thus, the international monetary and financial system is increasingly pushing developing countries towards adjustment policies that seriously undermine their stability. This is happening at a time when the oil-importing developing countries are making efforts against such heavy odds as increasing exports during a time of declining world demand, raising higher and higher resources domestically in order to finance the same volume of imports; and bringing about reduction in already low levels of consumption in order to increase investments and savings. There is a limit to which our countries can be pushed.

88. Co-operation among developing countries is now viewed both as an essential component of the new international economic order and as an important instrument for bringing it about. Three years ago, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana had agreed on policy guidelines for reinforcing the collective self-reliance of developing countries. We note with satisfaction that a process has now been set in motion which is continuously enriching the concept, practice and content of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries.

89. Concomitant support measures by international organizations would be of great help in technical preparations for major South-South undertakings such as, for instance, the establishment of the global system of trade preferences among developing countries and the setting up of a South-South bank. We believe that economic co-operation among developing countries can make a significant contribution to world economic recovery. We trust that the Assembly will give due and favourable consideration to these matters.

90. This is not the moment to think in terms of mutually exclusive alternatives. The present sorry state of affairs can be repaired only by action on all fronts. We need bilateral as well as multilateral co-operation, official development assistance as well as private flows of capital, North-South co-operation as well as South-South co-operation, global negotiations for restructuring international economic relations as well as concurrent efforts for securing progress in sectoral areas. Let us, therefore, not engage in futile debates, but work honestly to secure concrete results. I trust that our deliberations in the Assembly will lead us to this path.

91. The German philosopher Hegel believed that a notable contribution of man to civilization was the creation of the nation-State, which provides the individual with the opportunity of finding the full satisfaction of his needs in co-operation with the community. This Organization, composed of 157 nation States, represents the quintessence of the civilization that mankind has laboured hard over the centuries to build. The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, recently observed:

“One of the most fascinating riddles of history is what makes a group of people share a sense of common destiny. Almost always this is the result of being together in hardship and humiliation; often it comes from being summoned to a heroic effort by a great figure or group of people who inspire them with a vision of truth or glory”.

The community of nations, as practically every distinguished speaker has stressed in the Assembly, is confronted with an economic, political and moral crisis. Such adversity should, instead of dividing us, reinforce our resolve to seek and secure our common destiny. With such a distinguished gathering of leaders from all over the world who have addressed and are going to address the Assembly, we cannot afford to fail in finding that vision of truth and glory. I should like to conclude with the conviction that if we pledge to act together, we will overcome the crisis that faces us today.

92. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. It is my particular pleasure to welcome you, the representative of a neighbouring country with which Yugoslavia has been developing friendly relations and comprehensive good-neighbourly co-operation, to this important and responsible post.

93. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his high personal and statesmanlike qualities, as well as for the selfless efforts he exerted during the short but very dynamic and difficult period since his election. We are very pleased to see the representative of friendly and non-aligned Peru in this high and exceptionally important post. His election also honours the whole Latin American continent, as well as being a recognition of the growing influence of the policy and movement of non-alignment in international relations.

94. I avail myself of this opportunity to point out our particular gratitude and appreciation to the President of the thirty-sixth session Mr. Ismat Kittani, the representative of Iraq, a country with which Yugoslavia has firm friendly ties, for the outstanding efforts, objective attitude and skill with which he guided the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the second special session on disarmament and other meetings of the General Assembly in the course of the past year, which was fraught with numerous problems and difficulties.

Mrs. Astorga (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

95. Although there are certain differences in the assessments of the causes of the present state of affairs in the world, we believe that there is almost no dispute that we are now witnessing one of those crucial turning-points in the history of international relations, when a choice has to be made between a perilous downhill slide caused by the increase of tension, and a halting of this dangerous trend by reversing the developments and directing them towards the renewal of international confidence and responsibility, which have been so badly eroded. This would pave the way for a process of equitable and peaceful negotiation on a number of conflict situations and crises present in the world. There is no doubt that the situation in all spheres of international relations has deteriorated to such an extent that the whole international community is faced with that choice, which is all the more dramatic since there are no signs of improvement. On the contrary, many things are getting out of

control and are acquiring their own momentum which, in turn, produces more tension.

96. There are three phenomena which constitute an inseparable whole and which are the major causes of negative developments. These are the unabated and spiralling arms race, which has acquired unforeseen proportions; the denial to countries and peoples of their right to free social development and self-determination; and increased rivalry, based on positions of strength, in establishing new boundaries of spheres of interest and influence and shifting the existing boundaries. All this is being done in the name of a self-arrogated right to protect social systems, to impose foreign models of development and to declare entire regions as the inviolable zones of security of big Powers. The use of force tends to become a legitimate form of behaviour aimed at imposing the blocs as sole arbiters in international affairs. To this end, bloc policy resorts to the use of the most diverse methods of destabilization, ranging from interference in internal affairs and economic pressure to military intervention and direct aggression.

97. The Secretary-General was, therefore, right when he said in his thought-provoking report on the work of the Organization that "The past year has seen an alarming succession of international crises as well as stalemates on a number of fundamental international issues". This is a grave but regrettably true and irrefutable observation. This situation is less a result of cyclical aggravation than of the profound crisis of the post-war bloc system based on the balance of terror. The entire development of international relations since the Second World War has shown that the historic processes of emancipation and the striving for independent and undisturbed development are deeply rooted and universal. In spite of all attempts to the contrary, the policy of the division of the world into blocs, aimed at controlling those processes and at preserving the system of domination and the policy of rivalry, has failed. This could not be achieved either through the cold war or by limited détente, by outbreaks of situations of conflict and other forms of interventionism or by attempts to crush the resistance of peoples to foreign domination and their will to establish their own national and social identities. In short, the arms race, limited wars and military interventions have not given any substantive advantage to either bloc, nor have they strengthened their internal cohesion. On the contrary, the bloc perception of international relations not only has failed to remove the possibility of global war but has constantly led the world to its brink.

98. The blocs cannot solve in the old way the crises existing both within their own ranks and in international relations and they are not willing to do so on the new basis; they are trying to overcome them at the expense of small, economically and militarily weak countries. All this undoubtedly points to the obsolescence of the existing system of international political and economic relations, which is caught today in a web of mutual contradictions. The blocs are attempting to find a way out by intensifying and expanding their power. They are incapable of comprehending the altered structure of the international community and the growing awareness of nations and peoples, which have never been stronger, better

organized and more committed to changing the existing international relations. Never has the gap been wider between the old relations and the new needs and possibilities for changing the existing state of affairs for the better, nor have the dangers threatening the world ever been so immediate and so far beyond control. There is practically no field in political and economic relations in which serious aggravation of difficulties has not occurred. The relaxation of tensions and the efforts to settle disputes by peaceful means are giving way to increased manifestations of the cold war and the use of force. Major channels of negotiation, whether bilateral or multilateral, have been blocked, and communication for the purpose of negotiation has been reduced to the lowest level. The security and independence of many nations, as well as the most essential conditions of economic development, are threatened daily. The manifestations of such a state of affairs are, unfortunately, very numerous.

99. The arms race, with the unrestrained and uncontrolled growth, quantitative and qualitative, and stockpiling of weapons, constitutes today a most direct threat to world peace and an instrument for preserving the existing inequitable system of international relations. Negotiations on specific aspects of the limitation of the arms race or its control or on disarmament have for years been bogged down, while the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], unanimously adopted at the first special session devoted to disarmament, has not been implemented. At the second special session on disarmament the Assembly was not only unable to do further work on an international strategy for a long-term process of disarmament, but, in a way, took a step backwards. Détente not only failed to become a coherent strategy for peace but, as the transition from cold war to peace, experienced a crisis precisely at the moment when it was about to achieve the most durable results, particularly in Europe.

100. The existing focal points of crisis are constantly becoming linked with new ones in an uninterrupted chain stretching from the Mediterranean, through the region of the Gulf, the Indian Ocean, southern Africa and South America to the Caribbean and Central America.

101. The longstanding practice of tolerating Israel's aggressive policy in the Middle East has brought about a situation which has no precedent in recent history, and for which it would be hard to find a parallel even in the Second World War. Not only does there seem to be no end to the Israeli policy of expansionism and its violation of all the decisions of the United Nations and all the norms of international behaviour, but Israel has resorted to genocide against the Palestinian people and keeps encroaching upon the independence of Lebanon. A premeditated and cold-blooded massacre of helpless Palestinian and Lebanese people is carried out before the eyes of the whole of mankind, which is unable either to prevent the crimes or to punish the perpetrator. It has become obvious that this is a continuous and premeditated policy of aggression against and extermination of the Palestinian people and an attempt to find a "final

solution" to the Middle East crisis without it or against its will. Such a policy is based on the illusion that the Palestinian question can be resolved without fulfilling the aspirations of the Palestinian people, which are, like those of any other nation in the region, to live in peace and security on its own territory and in its own independent State; without recognizing the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and without Israel's withdrawal from all territories occupied in the 1967 war.

102. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, adopted a constructive plan, the implementation of which should be supported by the entire international community. It is encouraging, also, to see a positive development even among those elements that until yesterday supported Israel automatically in all manifestations of its aggressive policy. It is high time to put a stop to this policy of extermination of the Palestinian people and to enable it to exercise its inalienable rights. From the latest developments we should draw the lesson that it is no longer sufficient to express anger, disappointment, abhorrence or guilty conscience and to engage in the rhetorics of propaganda but that it is indispensable instead to take resolute action. No one can avoid responsibility for the latest brutal atrocities in Beirut, least of all those that could have prevented it.

103. In South-East and South-West Asia the state of crisis persists unchanged. The peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea are prevented from exercising their right to a free life and are still subjected to foreign intervention. The international community has, through United Nations resolutions and the positions taken by the conferences of the non-aligned countries, laid down the basis for a peaceful political solution of these problems, which can be achieved only through the withdrawal of foreign troops and the elimination of all forms of outside intervention.

104. In Africa, particularly southern Africa, racist and colonialist strongholds still exist, while attempts are being made to turn that continent into an arena of bloc rivalry. These neo-colonialist tendencies threaten the independence and security of the countries of the continent and obstruct the positive role played by the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. It is high time that the question of Namibia was solved, and the long-expected final agreement on its accession to full independence should be reached at this very session of the General Assembly. We believe that this is indispensable and will be possible if we exert additional efforts and show greater resolve. Success in solving the outstanding problem of Namibia would show that the most complex issues can finally be resolved through negotiations. It would help to reawaken the shaken faith in the United Nations. On the other hand, procrastination would undoubtedly bring the already tense situation in this part of the world to the brink of explosion, with wider international implications. The liberation of Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as well as the creation of conditions enabling the people of Western Sahara to express its will freely within the framework of the right to self-determination, would be of the utmost importance for the strengthening of the independence and the faster economic and social development of all African countries.

105. The people of Korea has not yet exercised its right to unification, in spite of the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which deserves international support.

106. Cyprus remains divided. United Nations efforts based on clearly formulated positions on the establishment of an independent, united and non-aligned Cyprus have yielded no results. We welcome the continuation of the intercommunal talks and hope that they, together with all the other efforts being exerted, will bring about a just and lasting solution.

107. In Central America and in the Caribbean peoples are fighting for their national and social identity and for liberation from all kinds of patronage and foreign interference.

108. The deterioration of the situation in Europe is manifested primarily through the escalation of the arms race, the introduction and deployment of new types of weapons and the obstruction of the channels of economic, cultural and other forms of co-operation among European countries. In addition, European security is directly affected by the situation and security in the broader region of the Mediterranean, including the Middle East, as well as by the relations between blocs in all parts of the world. Therefore, we attach great importance to the resumption of the Madrid follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the successful outcome of which would most certainly have a positive impact on international relations in general.

109. Our efforts in the Mediterranean are directed to transforming this sea and its hinterland from a region of confrontation and constant sabre-rattling into a region of overall co-operation, security and mutual interaction of the cultures of Mediterranean countries and peoples. In a word, our efforts should be directed towards creating the conditions of peace, co-operation and progress for all.

110. The economic situation is becoming ever more critical and a prolonged crisis is permeating all areas of the world economy and international relations. Although no country is immune to certain difficulties, the developing countries, which are victims of both the crisis in the world economy and the inequitable system of international economic relations, are hardest hit by such a situation.

111. The critical situation in the world economy is accompanied by ever more frequent severing of economic ties, retrogression of multilateral economic co-operation and withdrawal into one's own narrow boundaries. International economic co-operation is stagnating and giving way to unilateral and bilateral moves which do not lead to solutions but provoke even sharper conflicts. The causes of the present crisis lie above all in the structure and the existing imbalance and inequality of the current system of international economic relations. That is the source of the constant widening of the economic gap between developed and developing countries, which not only further destabilizes the world economy but also constitutes an increasing danger to peace and security in the world.

112. The greatest responsibility for such a state in the world economy is borne by the industrially most

developed countries. Their extremely restrictive economic and monetary policies have not only led to deep recession and increased unemployment but also hampered economic growth in developing countries, considerably increased their indebtedness and critically aggravated their balance of payments.

113. The present financial crisis which is shaking the world economy and the international financial system is a direct consequence of the longstanding stagnation of the world economy and international economic relations. Many countries, particularly the developing ones, have found themselves in a critical financial situation. The fact that the developed countries show insufficient understanding of the efforts of developing countries to overcome these difficulties seriously threatens the economic growth and development of the latter, and this could have far-reaching political and social consequences.

114. The way out of the present particularly difficult economic situation can be found only in the strengthening of multilateral economic co-operation and the establishment of the new international economic order. The solution of the accumulated economic problems would be in the interest not only of developing countries but also of the entire world economy and of progress in general. In the context of the present situation, which is fraught with a number of problems and uncertainties, global negotiations within the United Nations system and progress in general appear to be the only possible course. The launching of global negotiations has never been so urgent.

115. The general unfavourable development of the situation in the world has blocked the work and the functioning of international organizations and almost all multilateral institutions. Particularly disquieting is the situation in which the United Nations finds itself. The Organization is becoming ever more helpless in its efforts to play the role of an effective guardian of peace, the protector of the independence of countries and peoples and a forum for solving major international issues by promoting co-operation. The impotence of the Security Council was manifested recently in connection with the Lebanese crisis, as in similar cases in the past, owing to the lack of political readiness on the part of the big Powers and the abuse of the right of veto. Victims of aggression can rely less and less on the United Nations for effective support.

116. The constant deterioration of international relations calls for a most urgent global response from the world community. It is becoming ever more obvious that the key issues of the present-day world cannot be dealt with and even less resolved in a bilateral context, between blocs and the big Powers. These issues can be solved only on the basis of equal participation and joint responsibility of all members of the international community in their defence of peace as the common heritage of mankind, and within the framework of a new system of international relations. The movement and policy of non-alignment—which is constantly and actively contributing to the development of a new concept of international community and to the solving of international issues—have always advocated the need for such global responses. Therefore, a strong and independent non-aligned movement, which is constantly limiting the areas of bloc con-

frontation, narrowing the room for the creation of spheres of interest and widening the basis for international co-operation, is essential not only to the non-aligned countries but also the entire international community.

117. The non-aligned countries will urge once again at the current session that the existing tensions be overcome through a dialogue in which all countries would participate on equal terms. Their assessment that peace cannot be built on a balance of terror, the arms race, bloc division, spheres of interest, imposition of foreign will and diktat upon peoples and countries, has been fully confirmed. Not only would such peace be fragile but it would also condemn the world to perpetual instability. Only such peace enabling all countries and peoples to exercise the right to free development and equal security can be stable and lasting. Those positions of the policy and movement of non-alignment are more important and crucial today than ever before.

118. Such a conception of non-alignment is founded on the irrepressible aspiration of peoples to participate in international life freely and on a footing of equality. The validity of such an approach is also confirmed by the fact that the number of non-aligned countries in the world has never been larger, that it constitutes today two thirds of the international community, that they have never been more determined to oppose any policy of force and that resistance to the suppression of freedom and equality has never been more resolute than now. Indeed, owing to non-alignment independence today does not amount to mere balancing between the blocs or to neutrality, but to active involvement in international affairs. That is the basis for our optimism that a way out of the current crisis can be found and that the international community must not be engulfed by desperation.

119. At this session we are confronted with the major and responsible task of opposing energetically any further deterioration of international relations and to begin solving issues on which agreement can already be reached. The dangers are too imminent and the priorities too well-known to allow any hesitation which could have irretrievable and unforeseeable consequences. All the States Members of the United Nations should be actively involved along these lines, regardless of ideological, bloc, regional and other orientations, and irrespective of the level of economic development. Special responsibility is borne by countries which have certain special rights due to their military and economic power. There is a solid basis of common interest for such an effort. Resolute political action should be taken for the purpose of changing the present state of affairs, broadening the foundations of co-operation and returning to détente. That would be beneficial to all countries.

120. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to proceed to broad political negotiations, aimed at halting the arms race and controlling it within the framework of the process leading to general and complete disarmament. Each step toward that end would be welcome; it could be taken without any danger of diminishing security, since the leading nuclear Powers possess a sufficient quantity of weapons for multiple mutual destruction. If this is not done, the race against armaments will be lost. No question of prestige or

illusory political advantage anywhere in the world should prevent talks on the halting of the arms race.

121. Far-reaching decisions on starting the negotiating process on all problems are also necessary, taking into account that they should not infringe upon the legitimate right of all peoples and countries to security and an independent development. Any compromise in this sense would be not only amoral but also destabilizing. Therefore, such negotiations should deal not only with the arms race, because the halting of the arms race, and even the launching of the process of disarmament, in spite of its significance for the problem of world peace or war, could not bring about peace and security for all peoples unless the use of force is restrained.

122. It is an illusion that stability and development can be limited to one part of the world, while other parts remain hunting grounds and spheres of rivalry and exploitation. It is confirmed every day that the big Powers cannot be sole arbiters even in their own backyards. That is why fundamental changes should take place not only in their mutual relations, but also in their relations with the rest of the world, proceeding from the perception that the world has changed, that peace is indivisible, that peoples are not ready to accept positions of passive resignation or to live in permanent political, economic and cultural subjugation.

123. The non-aligned countries have always underlined the particular importance of and the need for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations as an irreplaceable forum for the maintenance of peace and security in the world and for the solving of major international problems. The principles and the goals of the policy of non-alignment are in their essence linked with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, with which they constitute an indivisible whole. For this reason the non-aligned countries are deeply interested in the full implementation of the Charter and of the role of the United Nations that inspired its creation.

124. We believe that it is never redundant to emphasize that all countries in their international behaviour should strictly comply with the obligations they undertook when signing the Charter. We are thinking here above all of non-interference in the internal affairs of State, the absolute inadmissibility of the use of force in international relations, full respect of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, as well as the right of all peoples to decide on their own destiny.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) resumed the Chair.

125. The United Nations should become an instrument which will enable these principles to become everyday practice. The Organization, namely its Member States, must strive for the establishment of a system of collective security which will guarantee freedom and opportunity for independent development to every country. The present very dramatic moment in international relations is the consequence of numerous violations of obligations undertaken on the basis of the Charter and of the non-implementation of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

126. A system of international relations should be established which would fully secure respect for and implementation of decisions adopted by the main United Nations bodies. The primary responsibility for this is borne by the Security Council, which according to the Charter is the principal organ for the maintenance of international peace and security. We consider that particular obligations of the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace, respect for the principles of the Charter and the implementation of the decisions of the United Nations should again be pointed out. As a first step in that direction we should secure at least the full implementation of decisions adopted unanimously in the Security Council.

127. We propose that comprehensive and concrete action be undertaken for the realisation of the effective role of the United Nations in solving major international issues. We consider that there is enough room for the promotion of such a role for the United Nations. Perhaps this is the right time for a comprehensive review of the functioning of the United Nations, namely, of ways of improving its effectiveness. To that end, the experience gathered during almost 40 years of existence and work of the United Nations should be studied. Article 109 of the Charter could serve as the basis for such an endeavour, embracing all efforts of the Member States and the organs of the United Nations. In this way, concrete and practical measures for the future could be elaborated.

128. We believe that a particular role should be played by the Secretary-General, who in his report has pointed to the existing problems and difficulties. We should request him to devote particular attention to the effective functioning of the United Nations and to suggest adequate measures. His efforts can, of course, yield results only to the extent to which he will be given support by the Member States.

129. Let me now add a personal note in this *plaidoyer* on the urgent need to undertake concrete measures to strengthen the role of the United Nations. There are now assembled in this Hall many representatives with considerable experience of the work of the Organization. Speaking for myself, in the many years of my deep and active involvement in the work of the United Nations I have looked to this rostrum where I am now standing from all possible angles in this Hall, from all different vantage points, as a member of a delegation, as a permanent representative and even as President of the General Assembly. We have witnessed here many historic events and heard the addresses of so many statesmen and distinguished figures from all over the world. In all those years I have listened, probably, to more than a thousand speeches and addresses in the general debates of the General Assembly alone. Many representatives gathered here have done the same. Why should we not benefit from our own experience, from the many lessons we have been taught, by advancing many suggestions on how to strengthen the role of the United Nations by improving the organization of the work of the General Assembly and its main bodies, by improving the procedures and effectiveness of the work of this unique world organization?

130. The role of the United Nations and the effectiveness of its work can be strengthened and improved

first of all by influence from outside, with the political willingness of the Member States and their Governments, but it could be strengthened also from inside, with a better atmosphere for work and a more dedicated involvement of all representatives and members of the Secretariat. At this historic moment in international affairs, with aggravations and escalations of all kinds, the time is coming to review again the experiences of the past in the work of the United Nations and to design new moves for strengthening the role and effectiveness of the Organization, which, with its place in the history of mankind, should never be doomed to failure.

131. In conclusion, may I say that we expect the Assembly at this session to contribute to the non-use of force against independent countries and to securing their free national and social development; to render collective resistance to the arms race; to contribute to the establishment of a universal relaxation of tension; to contribute to the launching of global negotiations, for which, in spite of all difficulties and ambiguities, favourable conditions have been created proceeding from the fact that all sectors have publicly acknowledged that global negotiations are a political and an economic necessity of the world today; to give impetus to the resolving of crises, primarily those which involve the liberation of peoples under foreign and colonial domination as well as all other crises where security, territorial integrity, independence and the self-determination of countries and peoples are jeopardized; and to prevent any encroachment upon the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of peoples and to undertake resolute measures against all those who have violated the widely accepted principles and goals of the United Nations as well as the decisions adopted by its bodies.

132. Otherwise, we should find ourselves faced with chaos and world catastrophe. The imposition of the policy of *faits accomplis* as practice in international relations must not be allowed.

133. The delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, together with the delegations of non-aligned countries and all other countries offering their co-operation, will make its full contribution to the achievement of that goal.

134. We are aware that the differences in the perception of the world will remain, that they are constant and ever-enriching elements of its pluralistic nature but, in our opinion, they should not be incompatible with our common interest in maintaining universal peace, which is increasingly becoming the pre-condition for the survival of humanity.

AGENDA ITEM 33

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa
(continued):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

135. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the end of our meeting this morning,

the Assembly will now consider draft resolution A/37/L.2/Rev.1 entitled "Appeal for clemency in favour of South African freedom fighters".

136. The text of operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of the initial version in document A/37/L.2, has been revised by replacing the word "hanging" by "execution".

137. At the same time, I was asked at what point I intended to raise this matter and I answered that it would be between 5 and 6 p.m., which was accepted. Some of the non-aligned countries have also asked me to announce that this is a draft resolution submitted by Cuba not on its own behalf, but on behalf of the non-aligned movement. They have also asked me to announce that this is a purely humanitarian affair.

138. After these announcements, may I ask whether the Assembly is ready to accept this draft resolution without a vote?

139. I understand that the representative of the United States of America wishes to explain her position.

140. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The draft resolution before us was tabled just a few hours ago. At the urging of the sponsors, members of this body have been obliged to take positions on the actual facts of the case in question, which are scarcely known. Moreover, what the United States Government does know about this case suggests that the complicated issues of both law and fact involved here deserve attention. Given the haste with which the sponsors have demanded action, my Government has had no opportunity to address the current status of this case and is not, therefore, in a position to vote on the substance of this draft resolution.

141. We must, however, register our strong objection to the manner in which the issue has been introduced and pressed to a vote. In our view, the procedures employed in the General Assembly this afternoon are directly contrary to the spirit and practice of judicious deliberation, which the United Nations is committed to encouraging. For these reasons, the United States must abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

142. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to introduce a revision to operative paragraph 2 of the text which has been presented on behalf of the non-aligned countries. That is why I have asked to speak, hoping to be given a chance to present a new wording of operative paragraph 2, and thereby win further support for the draft resolution.

143. We are well aware of the fact that the non-aligned countries have introduced this draft resolution, at the request of the group of African States, with a certain amount of urgency. The reason for this urgency is that we are not sure just when the South African authorities are going to carry out the death sentences on the three young members of the African National Congress. That is why we have been anxious for the General Assembly to consider the draft resolution speedily.

144. Now let me turn to the revision which, after consultations with a number of delegations, we should like to make to operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. I shall read the text as it should be revised.

The original is in English, so I shall read this in English. Operative paragraph 2 should now say:

"Recommends the Security Council to direct an appeal for clemency to the South African authorities not to proceed with the execution of the three above-mentioned members of the African National Congress of South Africa;"

[The speaker resumed in Spanish.]

That would be the revised form of operative paragraph 2. We therefore call on all members of the Assembly to consider the new text of operative paragraph 2. As I told you yesterday, Mr. President, on behalf of the non-aligned countries, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries and the African group at the United Nations would like this draft resolution, given its purely humanitarian nature, to be adopted without a vote by the General Assembly.

145. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the Assembly is ready to take action on the draft resolution? The representative of the United States has asked for a vote. A recorded vote has been requested. Is the Assembly ready to vote on this draft resolution, as revised?

146. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): If I understood, the mover of this draft resolution, the representative of Cuba, he revised the draft resolution to read *"Recommends the Security Council..."*. I think he meant *"Recommends to the Security Council..."*. Am I right? Of course, there is a difference in the two meanings. I think he means *"Recommends to the Security Council..."* and I would accordingly further amend the draft resolution.

147. The PRESIDENT: That understanding is correct. I propose that the General Assembly take a decision on draft resolution A/37/L.2/Rev.1, as orally revised. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo,

Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 136 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 37/1).⁶

148. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their vote after the voting.

149. Mr. GOTTRET VALDÉS (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Bolivian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution because, apart from meeting humanitarian needs, it is in keeping with our constant stand against *apartheid*.

150. Mr. GOULDING (United Kingdom): My delegation's motive in voting for the draft resolution was entirely humanitarian. We did not like all the language of the draft resolution or the procedure adopted by its sponsors. It was not clear to my delegation that there was enough urgency in this case to justify interruption of the general debate and departure from the general rule described in rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. Nevertheless, our concern about the humanitarian aspects of this case led us, with some hesitation, to give the sponsors the benefit of the doubt and to cast our vote on the assumption that their motive was only to help save lives.

151. Finally, my delegation is instructed to put it on record that our vote does not imply any comment on the merits of the court proceedings as a result of which the three members of the African National Congress were convicted.

152. Miss DEVER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Belgium voted in favour of the draft resolution. However, I should like to make it clear that we did so for strictly humanitarian reasons, in order to reaffirm the appeal to South Africa to spare the lives of the persons concerned. Our vote can in no way be interpreted as a judgement on the substance of the judicial procedure followed in this specific case. We intend to continue our action to promote peaceful change in South Africa.

153. I should like to express our regret at the procedure that was followed in submitting the draft resolution and at the fact that that procedure did not give us sufficient time to study the text submitted to us. This should in no way constitute a precedent.

154. Mr. van WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): I join those who have expressed regret at the procedure used in the adoption of the resolution. We supported the resolution having in mind its humanitarian objectives, but we cannot endorse all the language of the text. Our vote should not be interpreted as a comment on the substance of the judicial proceedings in this case.

155. Ms. GUELMAN (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation regrets that we were not

present at the time of the vote and wishes it to be noted that we would have voted for the draft resolution had we been here. Uruguay would have cast an affirmative vote because of the very humanitarian content of the draft resolution. In our view such an appeal should be universal. Our position should also be construed in the context of the Uruguayan Government's continuing condemnation of the policies of *apartheid*.

156. Nevertheless, we should have preferred some of the political aspects not to be referred to in the resolution and our position should be interpreted only in the humanitarian context of the matter.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

157. Mr. SAKURAUCHI (Japan):* On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I should like to extend my heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I am confident that with your abundant experience and superior wisdom the current session will be a most fruitful one. Please be assured that the delegation of Japan will spare no effort in co-operating with you as you carry out your important tasks.

158. At the same time, I should like to express our deep appreciation to the President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Kittani, for the effective manner in which he discharged his awesome responsibilities.

159. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. Although it was only a few months ago that he assumed the highest office of the Organization, the leadership that he has demonstrated in dealing with the harsh realities of the international situation has won him our full confidence. It was a great pleasure for me to welcome him to Japan this past summer and have the opportunity candidly to exchange views on the role which the United Nations should play in the maintenance of international peace and security as well as in various fields of international co-operation.

160. In today's international community, with its deepening relationships of interdependence, there is a growing need for nations to co-operate for the attainment of world peace and prosperity. But we cannot fail to notice that tension and distrust continue to persist among nations of the world.

161. In my statement today I should therefore like first to comment on the current international situation and then to present my views on what role the United Nations should play in these circumstances.

162. I believe that one of the major sources of mutual distrust and tension within today's international community is the tendency for one country, as a means of solving international conflicts, to resort to arms and to impose its will on another country by military intervention.

Mr. Herdocia Ortega (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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

163. I shall discuss first of all the situation in Asia, of which Japan is a part. Kampuchea continues to be the victim of foreign military intervention, and its people are still denied the right of self-determination. Consequently, the Kampuchean people are suffering from disease and starvation, and the flow of refugees out of the country has not yet been stemmed. Japan once again strongly urges Viet Nam to end its military intervention in Kampuchea and agree to enter into negotiations, thereby responding to international efforts toward a comprehensive political settlement, which would include the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the holding of free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. Moreover, the United Nations should continue to explore every means of solving the problem of Kampuchea. At the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, Japan suggested that a representative of the Secretary-General be sent to the countries concerned. That suggestion was implemented during the course of this year, and the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea dispatched missions to search for ways of solving the problem. Japan strongly supports such United Nations efforts towards a comprehensive political settlement.

164. I should also like at this time to touch upon the situation in the Korean peninsula, which lies just across the sea from Japan. In that region, too, tensions persist, but last January the Government of the Republic of Korea made a proposal on the unification of the South and the North. I welcome and appreciate that proposal because it outlines a procedure that is of a more concrete and realistic nature than anything that has been proposed so far. It is my hope that efforts towards the realization of a dialogue between the South and the North will continue.

165. The Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan has not yet come to an end, which adds to the sufferings of the Afghan people. The Soviet Union must, above all, face up to the fact that its military activities in Afghanistan seriously damage relations of trust and confidence between East and West, and threaten international peace and security. Japan takes this opportunity to appeal once again, in the strongest terms, to the Soviet Union immediately to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and to restore to the Afghan people its right of self-determination.

166. This past year has witnessed an alarming increase in tensions in the Middle East. While Japan duly appreciates Israel's returning the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt in accordance with the Camp David agreements, it strongly denounces other Israeli actions, such as its annexation of the Golan Heights, the reinforcement of its policy of denying the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and its invasion of Lebanon. In particular, Japan demands that Israel withdraw its forces from Lebanon immediately.

167. Furthermore, the recent massacre of a great number of innocent Palestinian refugees in west Beirut is an extremely outrageous act of violence. Japan registers its indignation at this cruel act. The Government of Japan strongly urges the parties concerned to guarantee the life and security of the civilian population in the area, including the Palestinian inhabitants,

in accordance with the relevant Security Council, and other United Nations, resolutions. In this regard, Japan welcomes the redeployment in Beirut of the multinational force comprising troops from the United States, France and Italy.

168. On the other hand, Japan highly appreciates, as contributing to the stability of Lebanon, the fact that Mr. Amin Gemayel has been inaugurated as President in spite of various difficulties, and it earnestly hopes that Lebanon will be united under its new President to achieve the early restoration of its internal order on the basis of national reconciliation and that it will embark on the reconstruction of the country. Japan is prepared to extend all possible co-operation to that end.

169. The recent developments in Lebanon have strengthened Japan's conviction that it is essential to bring about an early settlement of the Middle East peace problem, the core of which is the Palestinian question. In order to achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, it is necessary that Israeli forces be withdrawn from all the territories occupied in the 1967 war, that the right to exist of all the States concerned be respected, and that negotiations be started among the parties concerned, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It is also necessary that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, particularly the right of self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state, be recognized and respected in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

170. I wish to express my appreciation for the initiative President Reagan took in his Middle East peace proposal of 1 September, which squarely confronts the question of Palestine, the core of the Middle East problem. Shortly after President Reagan made his proposal, the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, adopted its own peace proposal. Japan highly values the fact that Arab countries are united in showing their will for peace. It is our earnest hope that the parties concerned will bear these proposals in mind and will resume efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem.

171. The continued fighting between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq is also a source of grave concern to me. Japan renews its appeal to both countries to cease their fighting without delay and to settle the conflict by peaceful means.

172. Turning our attention now to Eastern Europe, we note that the extraordinary state of affairs in Poland persists. This threatens to endanger the relationship of East-West co-operation and exchange which has been pursued to date and is likely seriously to affect the peace and stability of the world. Japan hopes that the present problems will be resolved by the Polish people themselves and that a genuine national reconciliation will be achieved in the near future.

173. In these international circumstances, Japan is determined to maintain its basic policy of pursuing peace, of refusing to become a military Power and of contributing to the building of world peace and prosperity. In accordance with that policy, Japan

has endeavoured to promote friendly and co-operative relations with other countries throughout the world.

174. From this point of view, Japan sincerely hopes to develop stable relations based on genuine mutual understanding with the Soviet Union, one of its most important neighbours. However, there remains between Japan and the Soviet Union the unsettled problem of the Northern Territories, the reversion of which Japan has consistently demanded from the Soviet Union. It is due to that problem that our two countries have not yet concluded a peace treaty. Moreover, we have been confronted with the extremely regrettable situation of the Soviet Union recently having deployed and strengthened its military forces in the Northern Territories. Measures such as those in no way foster relations of trust between States. The Government of Japan strongly urges the Soviet Union to rectify this situation promptly and to come to the negotiating table with a view to settling the issue of the Northern Territories and thereby to concluding a peace treaty.

175. The mutual distrust and increased tensions which prevail in today's international community contain the danger of luring mankind into catastrophe. And yet the United Nations, which was created to save mankind from such a danger, cannot claim that it has been discharging its tasks to the full.

176. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has deplored this state of affairs, stating that "... we have strayed far from the Charter in recent years.... The Security Council... all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action... and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored.... [The] process of peaceful settlement of disputes... is often brushed aside.... We are perilously near to a new international anarchy".

177. It is precisely times such as these that require a serious re-examination of the ways to build relations of mutual trust between nations and to attain peace and prosperity throughout the world. It is precisely at such times that we must remind ourselves that the Organization was established with the determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which has brought untold sorrow to mankind.

178. I believe that the United Nations must strengthen whatever functions it can fulfil so that mutual distrust will never again be a threat to our future. With that in mind, I should like to stress the following three requirements for developing relations of mutual trust among States through the United Nations: first, the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations should be strengthened; secondly, United Nations functions in the field of disarmament should be enhanced; and, thirdly, the United Nations role in the fields of economic and social development should be reinforced.

179. I should like first to elaborate on the question of strengthening the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations. The primary purpose of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security. However, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, the Organization has not functioned with sufficient effectiveness to that end. If we regard this situation as inevitable and simply dismiss it, the trust that nations place in the Organization will surely be lost and its foundation undermined. Accordingly,

I wish now to raise a few issues regarding the United Nations peace-keeping functions and to express my ideas on how to improve and strengthen those functions.

180. One of these issues relates to the role of the Secretary-General. I should like to urge that, as one of the ways in which the United Nations could function to prevent international conflicts, the Secretary-General, whenever he deems that peace is being threatened, take the initiative and immediately contact the parties concerned in an effort to prevent a worsening of the situation. I believe that all Member States should co-operate so that the authority of the Secretary-General may be utilized to the maximum extent.

181. Moreover, my Government has in the past proposed that the Secretary-General send his representative to investigate the facts in areas of dispute. I should like to stress again that the Secretary-General's authority in this regard should also be fully put to use.

182. In addition, I am convinced that the Secretary-General's authority in the field of mediation and conciliation must be strengthened. In so doing it is essential that parties to a dispute show courage in accepting and co-operating positively with the mediation and conciliation efforts of the Secretary-General or his representative. The Secretary-General has in fact dispatched his representatives to areas of concern in an effort to settle problems relating to, for example, the question of Kampuchea, the situation in Afghanistan and the conflict between Iran and Iraq; and the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General himself in the conflict over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) were particularly valuable. Therefore, although they may not always bring about immediate results, it is important that the Secretary-General's mediation and conciliation efforts be patiently continued. I believe that such efforts will contribute to the restoration and strengthening of relations of trust between parties, which serve as the basis for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

183. A second issue that I wish to raise in connection with the strengthening of the United Nations peace-keeping functions is the role of the Security Council. As we all know, the Security Council is given the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Regrettably, however, the Council has not performed its tasks effectively. I believe it is vital that the members of the Council, responding to the trust placed in them, strive to restore to that organ its functions as originally envisaged. It is particularly important that its permanent members recognize anew the significance of their duties and co-operate among themselves. In his report, to which I have already referred, the Secretary-General also points out that co-operation among the permanent members of the Council is indispensable for its effectiveness, and he makes a special appeal to them to reassess their obligations and responsibilities. I support that appeal, and would also urge the permanent members to consider seriously the need for strengthening the Security Council's functions.

184. Lastly, while the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations have contributed to the quelling of local disputes and the maintenance of cease-fires, there is a definite need to explore ways of enabling

these operations to function in a more effective manner. These peace-keeping operations have been playing an invaluable role; but it cannot be denied that they suffer from the absence of a clear provision in the Charter regarding their activities, which means that they have to be set up each time a conflict occurs. In these times, when conflicts between nations occur frequently, it is necessary to re-examine the peace-keeping operations with a view to enabling them to be deployed with sufficient speed and efficiency.

185. A number of points could be considered, such as a system of prior registration and organization of the personnel, equipment and materials which Member States are ready to contribute to future operations; the holding by the United Nations of study and training exercises relating to peace-keeping operations; and the securing of effective financial backing. In his report the Secretary-General, too, suggests that the Security Council should urgently undertake a study of how to strengthen the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. I earnestly hope that a study on the strengthening of the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations will be made, taking the Secretary-General's suggestions into consideration. Japan, for its part, is ready to co-operate more actively in the strengthening of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

186. With regard to the United Nations peace-keeping functions, I should like to comment on the role played by the Organization in efforts to achieve the independence of Namibia. We note that in spite of the serious efforts of the parties concerned the process of elections under the supervision of the United Nations has not yet commenced. I strongly hope that the parties concerned will continue to work towards the achievement of Namibian independence, and that the decolonization efforts of the United Nations will be successful. Japan reaffirms its readiness to co-operate with UNTAG by providing civilian personnel, as well as in other appropriate ways, once it begins operation.

187. The second area that I should like to discuss with regard to strengthening the role of the United Nations is that of disarmament. Today the heightening of international tensions and of distrust among States is accelerating the arms race, and the expanded arms race in turn adds to the mutual distrust and tension, threatening the very survival of mankind. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the calls of nations, including my own, for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, have reached unprecedented levels.

188. Against this background of increased awareness of disarmament issues throughout the international community, the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second special session devoted to disarmament, was convened last June, with the participation of the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Zenko Suzuki, and many other heads of State or Government. Although it was earnestly hoped that at that special session the Assembly would adopt a document on a comprehensive programme of disarmament, it was regrettably unable to do so. Nevertheless, the special session unanimously reaffirmed the validity of the Final Document in resolution S-10/2, and the conviction was expressed that the deliberations at

the second session would provide a powerful impetus to efforts towards promoting disarmament.

189. Through the deliberations at the second special session on disarmament, we were once again made to feel keenly how difficult it is to promote disarmament under the prevailing tense international situation. At the same time, the special session provided us with the opportunity to strengthen the conviction shared by all Member States that by continuing our disarmament efforts under these circumstances we shall further solidify the foundations of peace and security of the international community. We must not lose the momentum gained at the second special session, but must promote, step by step, international efforts towards achieving disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament.

190. At the 5th meeting of the twelfth special session, Prime Minister Suzuki reiterated Japan's national commitment to peace and its refusal to become a military power, while upholding its three non-nuclear principles of not possessing nuclear weapons, not producing them and not permitting their introduction into Japan. On the basis of this fundamental position, he proposed three principles for the achievement of peace through disarmament: first the promotion of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament; secondly, the utilization of the human and physical resources which would be released by disarmament to alleviate poverty and social instability and, thirdly the strengthening and reinforcement of United Nations peace-keeping functions for the promotion of disarmament. Japan is resolved to continue to play a positive role in the United Nations and in other forums so that these principles can be realized as soon as possible. Japan has emphasized that a comprehensive nuclear test ban and the prohibition of chemical weapons are the most urgent tasks to be pursued by the international community and that they should be realized as soon as possible. Japan is determined to continue to contribute to the promotion of negotiations on these items in the Committee on Disarmament.

191. Moreover, Japan has been undertaking steps to implement the proposals which the Prime Minister made at the special session, particularly the proposal to install in the United Nations documentation and materials concerning Japan's atomic bomb experiences⁷ and to extend co-operation under the United Nations Disarmament Fellowship Programme to enable participants to visit Hiroshima and Nagasaki.⁸ Following up the proposal regarding international efforts to ensure and guarantee the security of nuclear facilities for peaceful purposes, Japan, at the 1983 session of the Committee on Disarmament, submitted an outline of a draft protocol on the prohibition of attacks against nuclear facilities. We are resolved to persevere in these steady efforts for the promotion of disarmament.

192. It goes without saying that progress in nuclear disarmament hinges upon those States which have primary responsibility in this field, namely, the nuclear-weapon States, particularly the two nuclear super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. It should be emphasized once again that bilateral efforts between the United States and the Soviet Union, together with multinational efforts, are absolutely necessary in the promotion of nuclear

disarmament. The people of the entire world, fearful of the danger of nuclear war and earnestly desiring nuclear disarmament, are united in placing their hopes on the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and the strategic arms reduction talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. Japan strongly calls upon both countries to respond to those hopes and to concentrate their efforts to expedite these negotiations so as to produce tangible results as soon as possible.

193. In this connection, I wish to recall that, as part of his official trip to Japan shortly after the second special session devoted to disarmament, the Secretary-General visited Hiroshima, where he reaffirmed his recognition of the earnest hope of the Japanese people that the nuclear holocaust will never be repeated, and expressed renewed determination to strive for nuclear disarmament. I should like to pay a heartfelt tribute to the Secretary-General and to assure him that I fully share his determination.

194. In addition to peace-keeping and disarmament, a third area in which the role of the United Nations should be strengthened is that of economic and social development. The world economy is today facing a serious crisis, one which affects developed and developing countries alike, and there is no prospect that the future will necessarily be any brighter. Developing countries in particular are suffering from a considerable slow-down in their economic growth, a deterioration in their balance of payments and an accumulation of external debt, and it was reported in the United Nations *World Economic Survey, 1981-1982*⁹ this year that the per capita domestic product of these countries as a group recorded negative growth for the first time since the 1950s.

195. This situation must not be allowed to remain as it is. My country, recognizing that the revitalization of the world economy, along with the further development of the developing countries, is essential for the attainment of world peace and prosperity, has actively participated in the North-South dialogue in various United Nations forums, including UNCTAD, and has thus contributed to the establishment of better North-South relations. It will continue to be the policy of my Government to maintain and promote constructive dialogue with the developing countries and further to strengthen co-operation to promote their economic and social development. This policy is embodied in the new medium-term target established last year, under which my Government is endeavouring to expand its official development assistance. My Government is making these efforts despite an extremely stringent budgetary situation, and we would expect that the developing countries would for their part further intensify their development efforts so that official development assistance might be more effectively utilized.

196. The global negotiations on international co-operation for development can be expected to play a very great role in advancing North-South dialogue in the 1980s. Japan realizes the political significance of the global negotiations and sincerely hopes that every arrangement for launching them will be completed as soon as possible. In this regard, my country strongly hopes that, the General Assembly in a spirit of co-operation, will at its current session achieve

concrete results and, to this end, Japan intends to participate actively in consultations with other countries.

197. In addition to efforts to launch the global negotiations, Japan believes that all of us are responsible for assuring the success of the sixth session of UNCTAD to be held next June. The Conference has ambitiously tackled the problem of promoting international economic co-operation at the global level in the fields of trade and development, and since its first session in 1964 it has achieved concrete results. Japan strongly hopes that with such a history and such experience behind it, UNCTAD will at its sixth session seek realistic and workable solutions to the problems of trade and development, which constitute one of the most important issues facing mankind today, I wish to reaffirm Japan's resolve to participate actively in these efforts.

198. I wish also to take this opportunity to appeal strongly to all States to ratify as soon as possible the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities,¹⁰ the greatest achievement of North-South dialogue in the 1970s, so that this agreement will enter into force by the target date, which is the end of next September.

199. The United Nations, in protecting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms and in working to achieve solutions to social problems such as those relating to refugees, women, children, the disabled, the aging, population and the environment, is playing an important role in the world today. Japan is highly gratified that, particularly in recent years, international co-operation in these fields has been consistently productive and has contributed to the improvement and development of the welfare of mankind. We shall contribute actively to such co-operative efforts as we have done in the past.

200. In this connection, I should especially like to pay a tribute to the activities of the various United Nations organs for the relief of refugees. At present, the international community is faced with several refugee problems for which there is no solution yet in sight, in places such as Indo-China, Afghanistan, the Middle East, Poland, Africa and Central America. I recently had the opportunity to visit an Afghan refugee camp in Pakistan. I must say that when I saw how the people there were being obliged to live in a state of deprivation, away from their homeland, I felt real sympathy for them.

201. I strongly urge the United Nations to make further efforts for the relief of refugees. At the same time, I fully realize that in order to achieve a real solution to the refugee problem, it is essential to deal with its root causes. Japan, for its part, has provided considerable financial assistance to United Nations activities for the relief of refugees and will continue to extend the utmost co-operation for this purpose. I should also like to reiterate Japan's continued determination to provide its economic co-operation to countries such as Thailand, which are burdened with a huge influx of refugees, and our intention to continue to accept Indo-Chinese refugees in Japan.

202. In order for the United Nations to carry out thoroughly the functions I have mentioned, it is clearly essential that its financial base be strengthened.

I should therefore like to make a strong appeal to every Member State to meet without fail the payment of its assessments and to increase its voluntary contributions.

203. At the same time, I believe it is absolutely necessary for the United Nations to strive to make its activities more effective and efficient. In order for the United Nations to carry out its functions effectively within the limited resources at its disposal and to retain the confidence of Member States, the Secretariat will have to make every effort to achieve greater efficiency, for example by reviewing its administrative structure and its activities, as well as by redistributing resources from activities of lower priority to those of higher priority. Needless to say, we, the States Members of the United Nations, simply must co-operate to achieve these ends.

204. In today's international community, differences in race, culture or creed often tend to foment mutual distrust, which becomes an obstacle in the process of peace and stability among nations. And yet, today, because the peoples of the world are growing ever more interdependent, no country can enjoy its own peace and prosperity unless the peace and stability of the entire community of nations is secure. The interests of each State are closely linked to those of the whole world. In this sense, today's international community can indeed be characterized as a community sharing the same destiny. We must all realize that each of us belongs to this community and must co-operate for the development of the community as a whole and refrain from pursuing solely the interests of our own country.

205. The United Nations is the only truly global organization we have. Overcoming numerous constraints and difficulties and exercising its greatest wisdom and efforts, mankind has developed the United Nations in order to pursue such co-operation among nations. We, as its Member States, are therefore duty bound to support the Organization and to make maximum use of it as the centre of international co-operation. I appeal to all Member States to build relations of trust with one another with the United Nations at the centre and do their utmost to achieve enduring peace and prosperity for humanity.

206. I wish to conclude my remarks by declaring that Japan, a country whose commitment to supporting and co-operating with the United Nations is a major pillar of its foreign policy, is resolved to make every effort toward attaining that goal.

207. Mr. DHANABALAN (Singapore): I should like to begin by extending my delegation's congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. He has served many years in the Organization. The reputation he has acquired among his peers is that of an extremely able, knowledgeable, affable man of goodwill. I should also like to say a word of thanks to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the excellent job he did.

208. I have read the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization with great admiration. It is refreshingly frank and self-critical. I agree with him that our most urgent goal is to reconstruct the United Nations collective security system. Without such a system, first, Governments will feel it

necessary to arm themselves beyond their means for their own security; secondly, the world community will remain powerless to deal with military adventures such as Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan and Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea; thirdly, local conflicts will threaten to widen and escalate; fourthly, there will be no reliable defence for the small and weak nations; and finally, all our efforts on the economic and social side may well falter.

209. The Secretary-General has made a number of specific recommendations on how to strengthen the United Nations collective security system. The Independent Commission on Security and Disarmament Issues, chaired by Mr. Olof Palme of Sweden, has also made a number of interesting recommendations on the same subject.¹¹ I urge the Security Council to consider these recommendations as soon as possible.

210. Turning to the specific conflicts and situations which threaten international peace and security, the Secretary-General was cautiously optimistic on Namibia. He reports that after many setbacks, we now see some signs of the possibility of a solution. Apart from the solitary exception of Namibia, the past year has witnessed no progress in our efforts to promote negotiated settlements on the conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere.

211. In the conflict in Kampuchea, our various resolutions have not brought about the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. But the unambiguous position of the vast majority of nations, as reflected in the resolution and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea,¹² has denied legitimacy to the aggressor, has stiffened and heartened patriotic resistance to foreign occupation and encouraged the various resistance factions to unite their efforts under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Thus, the aggressor has not been allowed to enjoy the fruits of its actions.

212. The position of my delegation on the other questions on the agenda of this session will be enunciated when these items are considered by the General Assembly.

213. All the conflicts which the Assembly was considering when we last met are still with us today. The new wars in the South Atlantic and Lebanon have shown us how quickly and unexpectedly violence and turmoil can spread. Every day newspaper headlines and the television screen bring the terrible carnage into every home.

214. While these events have captured the attention of the world, an economic crisis, no less lethal in its effects on people, has been spreading through the world. One symptom of this crisis is the debt problem. In recent months the world's headlines have drawn attention to the problem of third-world debt. It is estimated that the third world's debt is more than \$US 500 billion. These debts were not accumulated overnight. The problem has been brewing for some time. It is a combination of the problem of non-oil-producing third world countries trying to adjust to changes in energy costs and the oil-producing third world countries embarking on massive development projects in anticipation of future oil income.

215. The non-oil-producing third world countries were first hit by high energy prices. They were then hit from another direction as the industrialized countries increased the prices of their products to meet increased energy costs. To add to these difficulties, the recession in the industrialized countries depressed the prices of the primary commodities produced by these third world countries. Squeezed between high costs and falling incomes, these poor countries have had to resort to massive borrowing for consumption and not for investment. It is inconceivable to me how this debt can be repaid or the interest serviced.

216. Default on even a portion of the massive debts that have accumulated could trigger a total collapse of the global financial system, which would, in turn, lead to a deep global recession. The mild panic that seized the financial pundits of the West when they grasped the implications of the situation that they had got themselves into now seems to have been replaced by a mood of superficial confidence, perhaps because no one dares believe otherwise; no one dares say that the emperor has no clothes.

217. Another problem with grave implications is that of starvation. As much as 40 per cent of the world's population suffers from some form of undernourishment. The fate of millions is downright starvation. As the population continues to increase in the poorest regions of the world, more and more people will be forced below the subsistence level of food intake. Undernourishment and starvation are the work not of fate but of human action. They can be prevented. Much of the increasing starvation can be attributed to the failure of national policies. But we are not here to pass judgement on national policies; we are here to see how we as members of an international community can help these nations in their plight. The problem is particularly severe in Africa, where food consumption per person is 10 per cent less today than it was a decade ago.

218. The problems of debt and famine, which I have quoted as examples of the less headline-grabbing problems of the global community, are themselves only symptoms of a far more serious malaise in the international economy.

219. While the problem of global equity remains serious, what we are confronted with today is not simply the failure of the North to respond to the South's call for a more equitable economic relationship but the incipient disintegration of the entire economic system that has sustained both North and South for the past 40 years. The consequences of such a total collapse would far outweigh the present injustices of the system. A renowned professor of the London School of Economics, which is not unsympathetic to the third world, once remarked that the misery of being exploited by capitalists is nothing compared to the misery of not being exploited at all.

220. The liberal trading régime set up after the Second World War and institutionalized in GATT has clearly been unable to cope with the stresses and strains generated by new conditions. The developed countries have been unable to cope with the increasingly sensitive impact that one national economy has on another under conditions of interdependence and they have been unable to restructure their domestic

economies to deal with new patterns of international trade, production and consumption.

221. The result has been increasing protectionism in the form of a complex system of "orderly marketing arrangements", "voluntary export restraints" and a host of other euphemistically named non-tariff barriers designed to circumvent GATT. So prevalent have such practices become that the danger is that exceptions to GATT will become more numerous than instances of compliance. The effect of such protectionism has been to freeze the existing distribution of industrial capability and wealth. One recent study has demonstrated that three quarters of all actions to restrict imports under safeguard, surveillance and anti-dumping provisions dealt with only three product groups: steel, textiles and clothing. Locational advantages in such production have shifted rapidly, and, by and large, the lowest-cost producers are now countries in the third world, which are now being penalized for their success.

222. The problems of debt, famine and protectionism are interrelated. Protectionism freezes existing patterns of international trade in which the developed countries have consistently enjoyed huge trade surpluses *vis-à-vis* the developing countries. Such imbalances require financing and thus necessitate heavy borrowing and a growing debt burden.

223. Protectionism also deliberately restricts levels of food production. In Japan, North America and Europe protectionist agricultural systems have included measures to curtail the production of surpluses of major cereals and some other commodities. The European Economic Community has for two decades subsidized farm production while keeping out cheaper imports. The inevitable surplus stocks lie idle while much of the world starves. The lesson is clear. The liberal trading system, in spite of all its faults, offers the best framework for a more equitable international economic system. It is increasingly clear that more developing countries are becoming competitive in the international market. It is also becoming clear that if the principles of comparative advantage are allowed to operate unhindered, this must result in a correction of the grossly disproportionate consumption of the world's resources by the developed countries. We cannot hope for a more equitable distribution of global income if the liberal trading régime continues to be undermined.

224. To my mind, the basic cause of protectionism is the failure of the developed countries to manage State welfare within national means and to direct economic growth to keep pace with technological changes. Over-expenditure on welfare has resulted in inflexible domestic political structures. Governments of the developed countries have been deprived of the political flexibility needed to make changes in international patterns of trade and production without resort to protectionism.

225. The pressure for protectionism comes from many quarters. It comes from industries in developed countries which have not modernized their production processes and thus find themselves unable to compete with more efficient and lower-cost plants in developing countries. But the political pressures for protectionism also come from trade union movements in the devel-

oped countries, which, acting from a short-sighted desire to protect workers in declining industries, have urged and forced protectionist measures on Governments.

226. They have sought to organize boycotts of third-world products and services under the guise of concern for the health of workers in developing countries or of preventing exploitation of workers in those countries. The charge that exports from developing countries are based on cheap labour is simplistic. It is true that the wages of third-world workers are lower than those of workers in developed countries. But the choice before the workers in the third world is either one meal or starvation. For no third world country with all the inherent drawbacks of its low development status can be competitive if its workers are paid the wages of workers in developed countries. Thus, when union leaders in some developed countries insist that wages and working conditions enjoyed by them must be accorded to workers in the third world countries, they are in fact telling the workers in the third world to starve. There are no welfare benefits and unemployment pay in most third world countries. The irony is that low-cost imports from the third world would certainly benefit the consumer in developed countries by reducing his cost of living.

227. There has been a great change in the attitude of the developed countries towards third-world development. In the immediate post-war years, the developed countries took a very positive view of economic development in the third world. From the late 1940s to the 1960s, they believed that it was in their interest to help in the economic development of the poorer nations of the world. These were decades of generous technical and monetary assistance to help these countries take advantage of the benefits of the free-trade system.

228. Today the attitude of the rich nations to economic development in the third world is a mixture of disillusionment and fear. To be frank, much of the blame for the disillusionment can be laid at the door of developing countries themselves. The launching of over-ambitious and prestigious projects has not encouraged those who are sympathetic to aid programmes. More important, huge arms expenditures in pursuit of ancient conflicts and animosities against neighbours has crippled economic growth in some developing countries. Much emphasis has lately been placed on economic co-operation among developing countries. The most vital form of co-operation among developing countries is co-operation to maintain peace and stability among neighbours.

229. In this respect I should like to point to the regional grouping of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], which has created an area of peace, amity and co-operation among its five members. Its members have therefore been able to derive the maximum benefit from their national economic development policies.

230. While we must not ignore the shortcomings in the third world, it is also true that a number of third world countries, in response to Western exhortations that they should trade rather than depend on aid, have manifested a capacity to compete with the West

in industrial areas involving low technology. The response in the developed world to this modest success at development has not been praise or encouragement. Rather, there have been alarmist calls for protection from entrepreneurs and labour unions in developed countries.

231. The developing countries of the third world are thus caught in a "no-win" situation. If they are unsuccessful in their development efforts, they are condemned for inefficiency, corruption, xenophobia and a host of other evils. If they should succeed, they are penalized for their very success.

232. The slow strangulation of a liberal trading system will increase international tension. The television cameras may not notice the process, but I fear that, if we continue to neglect the problem, we shall have all too much drama. The major developed countries are increasingly divided among themselves. The North and the South will move further apart. Desperation will breed irresponsibility. The benefits of all this will redound to those Powers that profit from and exploit instability and divisions. The result will be an increase in international instability. This threat to the stability of the international system is fundamental. In an interdependent world, autarky is no longer a viable option for any nation. The question that all of us must face is whether we can muster sufficient political will to preserve the integrity of the system before the point of no return is reached.

233. Mr. AGUIRRE LANARI (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to begin by congratulating the President on his election to the high office he has been asked to fill at this session of the General Assembly. His contribution as President of this forum will undoubtedly be invaluable in achieving the success we hope for in the tasks with which we have been entrusted, especially in the fulfilment of the principles and purpose of the Charter.

234. My country would also like to greet, through him, the friendly nation of Hungary, with which we have a very close and productive relationship.

235. Nor can I omit to take this opportunity to recall the outstanding performance of Mr. Kittani of Iraq, and to reaffirm our appreciation of the ability and effectiveness with which he carried out his task at a particularly difficult session of the General Assembly.

236. Finally, before I reach the substance of my statement, I should like, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of a Latin American country, to greet most warmly the first Latin American Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to whom my country is deeply indebted for his earnest efforts during the South Atlantic crisis to reach a solution to the conflict.

237. This year my country had to deal with a grave international crisis rooted in the fact that even today, on the eve of the twenty-first century, there remain forms of colonial domination in the world, despite the efforts of the Organization and of the overwhelming majority of its Member States to eradicate them. The crisis to which I am referring, which resulted in an armed confrontation between Argentina and the United Kingdom, would not have taken place had

colonialism and its vestiges been completely eliminated from the face of the earth.

238. The conflict which took place in the South Atlantic, comprising the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, shows that there is as yet no end to the efforts of the United Kingdom to cling to its colonial possessions and to maintain its privileges, something possible only in an international state of affairs which is based on the existence of unequal relations, supported in the main by the crude domination of force.

239. The Government of the United Kingdom has attempted to obscure the very clear rights of the Republic of Argentina to claim territories of which it was divested by force; but the General Assembly is well aware of the historical background of the matter and the stubborn British attempts to distort it have come to naught.

240. Existing cartographic proofs offered by maps of that time demonstrate that the Malvinas Islands were discovered by Spanish navigators in the first half of the sixteenth century. Then, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were explored by French navigators until 1764, when Louis de Bougainville established the Port Louis settlement, now Soledad Island, a situation which gave rise to a Spanish protest and a subsequent recognition by France of the sovereignty of Spain over these territories. In 1766 Port Egmont was established in the islet of Trinidad, the only territory occupied by the British in the Malvinas Islands, from which they were also expelled by the Buenos Aires Government on 10 June 1770.

241. Subsequently secret diplomatic negotiations led to the precarious restitution of those settlements to the British on condition that at a later date they would have to withdraw from them definitively, a commitment which the United Kingdom fulfilled in 1774. Since then the United Kingdom virtually forgot all about the islands until it took them by force in 1833.

242. In the period between 1767 and 1810, a year when Argentina started on its road to independence, the Malvinas were administered by 20 governors appointed by the Spanish Crown. The Republic of Argentina, having become independent from Spain, then succeeded Spain in all its rights, including the rights of sovereignty over the islands which belonged to Spain. By virtue of this, until 1833, the administration of the Malvinas was exercised by six Argentinian governors, under whose government my country had the peaceful and exclusive occupation of the archipelago, without any discussion by the European powers of our claims, titles and rights to these territories. What must be emphasized, because it is a decisive point, is that the United Kingdom in 1825 recognized that the Republic of Argentina was a sovereign State, and at that time entered into a treaty of friendship, trade and navigation with Argentina and did not then voice any reservation with regard to its alleged rights over the Malvinas Islands or any other adjacent territories. This most clearly demonstrates that the United Kingdom was aware of the fact that it had absolutely no right over the Malvinas Islands and archipelago, whose sovereignty it questions today.

243. On 3 January 1833, eight years after Argentina was recognized as a sovereign State, and after the

signing of the treaty of friendship, trade and navigation, British troops occupied the islands by force, bringing down the Argentinian flag, expelling Argentinian authorities and Argentinian citizens, residents of the area and forcing them to go to Montevideo. The Argentinian population was thus completely replaced by a British military garrison.

244. On 15 and 22 January of that same year, the Government of Argentina sent a protest to the Chargé d'affaires of Great Britain in Buenos Aires, and on 17 June the Argentine Minister, Don Manuel Moreno, voiced the most energetic protest in London. Thus began an uninterrupted series of Argentinian protests against the British occupation and in all cases these were arbitrarily rejected by the Government of the United Kingdom.

245. The Republic of Argentina never agreed to the British occupation, nor did it ever give up its sovereign rights over the territory of which it was divested by force. All this is more than enough to show the inequity of any claims of acquisition by the United Kingdom.

246. Let the Assembly compare the historic and consistent stand of my country with the silence of Great Britain in 1825 and its ominous aggression of 1833.

247. Let us come back now to our times. Following the creation of the United Nations the treatment in the Organization of the item of decolonization brought with it the adoption of the well-known General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which deals with decolonization, as well as resolutions 2065 (XX) and 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49, which is specifically applicable to the case of the Malvinas.

248. It was thus decided, first, that there was recognition of the existence of a dispute over sovereignty between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom, secondly, an invitation to those Governments to continue forthwith negotiations to achieve a peaceful solution of the matter, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter, as well as the interests—not the wishes—of the population of the islands; thirdly, the recognition of the efforts made by the Republic of Argentina to facilitate the decolonization process and to promote the well-being of the population of the islands.

249. Starting in 1966 negotiations began between the two Governments but these negotiations did not lead to any result because of the indifferent attitude and dilatory tactics displayed by the British.

250. Acceptance by the United Kingdom of the invitation to negotiate on the matter of sovereignty, formulated in resolution 2065 (XX), was embodied in the communications of Foreign Ministers Zavala Ortiz and Stewart,¹³ as a result of the visit of the latter to Buenos Aires in 1966. Clearly this acceptance was encouraging for it reflected, apparently, the beginning of a change in the British position, which up to that time had rejected all negotiations on the matter of sovereignty of the archipelago.

251. Later the terms of reference of the negotiation were formally set out in the joint communiqué of 26 April 1977,¹⁴ which stated specifically that it would include the matter of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich

Islands. That agreement between Argentina and the United Kingdom was explicitly recognized in the parallel notes addressed in June 1979¹⁵ by the Permanent Representatives of my country and of the United Kingdom to the Secretary-General, informing him that from 21 to 23 March 1979 the representatives of the Governments of both countries had held the fourth round of negotiations on the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, within the framework established in the aforementioned communiqué of 26 April 1977.

252. Nevertheless, the obligations undertaken by the United Kingdom in those documents and 17 years of negotiations failed to convince the Government of the United Kingdom to deal with the matter of sovereignty fully and in good faith. That was an arbitrary attitude which could not be explained in the light of the clarity of the commitments entered into.

253. On the contrary, my country continued to demonstrate at all times its sincere resolve to settle the dispute. Further proof of that was the letters addressed to the Secretary-General in 1971 by the Permanent Representatives of Argentina and the United Kingdom¹⁶ on opening up communications between continental Argentina and the archipelago, for that statement demonstrated in fact the declared intent of Argentina duly to take into account the interests of the inhabitants of the Malvinas.

254. Thus the supply of fuel, the establishment of regular maritime and air services, free medical attention in hospitals on the continent, the granting of fellowships in educational institutions and the supply of foodstuffs are some of the many indications of the sincere desire of Argentina to continue to improve considerably the standard of living of the inhabitants of the islands, which up to that time had been isolated and had suffered shortages, which Argentina—not the United Kingdom—tried to make good in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Malvinas.

255. One should bear in mind also that along with this, and from the beginning of the negotiations, my country repeatedly offered to grant guarantees and safeguards under the protection of the United Nations in order to preserve the lifestyle of the inhabitants of the Malvinas, as well as their traditions and customs, with the idea of considering their interests, an idea which is contained in General Assembly resolution 2065 (XX).

256. Nevertheless, despite all the efforts of successive Argentine delegations in the rounds of negotiations, which were once again renewed at the last meeting in February 1982, it was not possible to get from the British delegations, which also included islanders, a list of the guarantees and safeguards which they required for the protection of their interests.

257. The positive attitude demonstrated by Argentina in presenting to the United Kingdom in February of this year a new proposal for settling the dispute between the two countries met with complete silence on the part of the British Government. That proposal provided for a machinery to speed negotiations over sovereignty and achieve concrete results in the form of a system of monthly meetings, with a pre-established agenda, the venue of the meetings established in advance, presided over by officials at the highest level.

But, as already stated, in accordance with the usual practice of Britain in matters of negotiation with our country, we were not able to obtain a reply to this reasonable initiative by Argentina, despite the requests made by our Government.

258. We come now to the episode which unleashed the present crisis. Argentina received the British ultimatum to withdraw a group of civilian workers who had landed on South Georgia to fulfil a private contract, which was known to the British authorities, under the threat of the use of force if their demand was not heeded. That intimidation was accompanied by the movement towards that area of various naval units, including nuclear submarines.

259. Thus the bloodless occupation of the Malvinas Islands by Argentina was a justified reaction in the face of the British decision to strengthen its colonial domination over a territory which by law belongs to my country and in flagrant contradiction with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 31/49. I should like to emphasize that the recovery of the islands was achieved without the British suffering a single death or injury due in any way to the intentions of Argentina, a country which preferred to sacrifice many of its own soldiers for the sake of not causing any victims among the British occupying forces or the population.

260. Furthermore, I should like to recall that immediately and without any pre-condition the Republic of Argentina returned all British military personnel, along with their flags, in order to avoid further problems in trying to reach a peaceful solution.

261. The recognition by Argentina of the authority of the Security Council in this dispute was made quite clear in many statements by my Government in favour of an effective and full implementation of Council resolution 502 (1982). In his statement at this session the President of Brazil, stressing the importance of the General Assembly's consideration of the question of the Malvinas, stated that the first step towards a solution must be the full implementation of Security Council resolution 502 (1982), adding: "It is time for those who so vigorously condemn the use of force in the solution of controversies to demonstrate the consistency and sincerity of their designs". [*5th meeting, para. 16.*]

262. My Government spared no effort in order to obtain immediately a negotiated settlement of the crisis, accepting at all times the good offices offered to us; but we wonder about the possibility of arriving at a legitimate agreement when the United Kingdom, seeking no result other than a military victory and the maintenance of the colonial situation, brought its fleet into the South Atlantic unlawfully, invoking Article 51 of the Charter, and arrogated to itself the right to act, no matter what the consequences, by taking all sorts of hostile measures.

263. The generous offer made by the Secretary-General on 2 May this year, to be considered by both Governments, did not achieve the solution called for by the serious crisis.

264. The Government of Argentina from the very outset had full confidence in the role which the Organization, and especially the Secretary-General,

could play in these grave circumstances, to help with the maintenance of international peace and security and to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism in the world; but the United Kingdom adopted an extremely rigid position with regard to the ideas which were being discussed, an attitude that was closely related to the increase of its military potential in the area.

265. Later came Security Council resolution 505 (1982), and a British veto on a draft resolution¹⁷ in the Security Council¹⁸ which, if adopted, would have made possible an immediate cease-fire, thus avoiding loss of life on both sides. This was the clearest proof of the lack of political will on the part of the United Kingdom to find a peaceful negotiated solution. The only thing which the British Government was interested in was a success by its punitive fleet, to consolidate its imperialist presence in the South Atlantic and improve its damaged domestic political situation. The facts show that from the very beginning military action was the only solution which the Conservative Government of the United Kingdom seriously considered.

266. I am revealing no secret when I say that the British Empire only reluctantly gave up its colonies. Many of the nations represented here have at one time in their history been colonies of the United Kingdom and know that their present situation as sovereign States is not due to any gracious concession on the part of that Power, agreeing in a gesture of generosity to grant them independence. On the contrary, every case of liberation was the result of a very difficult and cruel struggle by the oppressed peoples, or of the final inability of the United Kingdom to continue exercising its control over those people in the face of the irresistible force of the great movement of history leading to decolonization, generated essentially by the United Nations.

267. The United Kingdom, which today attempts to act as the champion of self-determination, is precisely the colonial Power *par excellence* which in many cases raised all kinds of obstacles when the United Nations tried to assist the just process which made it possible to liquidate most of its Empire.

268. Thus, in the specific case of the Malvinas Islands, the practice of the United Kingdom thus far has been to pretend to fulfil the requirements established in the resolutions of the General Assembly, requiring it to negotiate in the dispute over sovereignty, while in reality sabotaging any serious attempt to make progress on that important problem. It proceeded throughout with no sense of haste or urgency, while striving only to protect its special private interests, and the monopolistic exploitation of its colony.

269. The United Kingdom has proclaimed that Argentina resorted to action in the midst of the negotiations about the islands. No statement could be more false. That process has been frustrated precisely by the dilatory tactics and delays used time and again by the British Government, quite apart from its complete failure to reply to the last proposal made by Argentina in February 1982.

270. Moreover, I wish to state categorically that throughout the 17 years of fruitless negotiations imposed upon the United Kingdom by the will of the

General Assembly in 1965 in its resolution 2065 (XX), the administering colonial Power of our Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands never gave any indication of trying in good faith to reach a solution to the dispute over sovereignty which exists between that country and Argentina, refusing to discuss the only subject that justified those negotiations and made them necessary: precisely the question of sovereignty.

271. Among the basic principles which it sets forth for the fulfilment of the purposes of the United Nations, the Charter, in Article 2, paragraph 2, states that "All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter". But the attitude of the United Kingdom constitutes a flagrant violation of this commitment to which it subscribed when it signed the constitutional statute of the Organization, and its actions and omissions have shown how little importance it attaches to the resolutions of one of the basic pillars of the relations in the international community.

272. Furthermore, if any doubt remained, the attitude of the present Government of the United Kingdom is full confirmation that its objective has always been to continue its usurpation of the Islands and to accept only those superficial changes which serve to conceal the true colonial nature of its domination over them.

273. And if the existence of colonies is an affront to the dignity of the peoples and a shameful blot on the name of an international community which claims to be civilized, even more shameful is the attempt to invoke the principles of decolonization to prolong the life of the ill-omened remnants of an era that fortunately has come to an end. The Government of the United Kingdom is trying to whitewash the guilt of its unlawful occupation by invoking the right to self-determination of the inhabitants of the Islands. In so doing, it is attempting to justify their plundering by invoking the principles that are generally accepted in the United Nations in the hope that the nations represented here will forget all the times when these principles were ignored or denied by the same United Kingdom which now invokes them.

274. For if the United Kingdom states that it is a nation which respects the right of self-determination, we are faced with a true historic paradox. How are we then to explain the struggle for independence and national sovereignty of India under Gandhi's leadership, human symbol of anti-colonialism, peace and justice in our century? How can we forget the wars of liberation in Africa against British imperialism ever since the end of the Second World War? How can we explain the subjugation and domination suffered by the peoples of Asia at the zenith of the United Kingdom's imperial expansion? Could we perchance forget that the United Kingdom not only violated the true self-determination of the peoples, but it also made illegal use of force, violating the most elementary rules and principles of international law and ethics? Why did the United Kingdom, claiming to be such a staunch defender of the self-determination of peoples, displace by force the population of the island of Diego García, to make over that territory for the establishment of a military base in the Indian Ocean?

Could it be perhaps because they were not white, but blacks and people of mixed blood?

275. Obviously, it is no mere historical coincidence that some of the major leaders of the developing world and champions in our day of the freedom and independence of peoples—men such as Nehru, Nasser, Kenyatta, Nyerere and Archbishop Makarios, among others—had to confront at various times in their political struggles the colonial or neo-colonial domination of British imperialism.

276. These facts show that when the United Kingdom claims to be defending the right to self-determination of peoples, that is not only a way of concealing the truth about the nature of its illegal colonial possession of the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and South Sandwich, but also a cynical attempt to adjust its position to the world of today, in order to perpetuate its last ties of political and economic domination; in other words, its intent is to seem to change things so that they can remain the same. The right to self-determination is basically a collective right, recognized for all peoples, nations and States. That right assumes a legitimate relationship between those who are to benefit and the territory to be decolonized, but the territorial link cannot be of any type, because the right to self-determination can never be used as an instrument to split up a territory.

277. For example, the settlements established by Israel in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories—in contradiction of the rights of the countries and populations affected, and of the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and in flagrant violation of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly—are a clear example of a policy infringing the right of territorial integrity. The international community has rightly condemned such policies, since the perpetuation of these illegal situations at the expense of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinian people year after year has become a constant source of tension and violence, endangering not only the Middle East but international peace and security.

278. Therefore, recognition of the right to self-determination of a population implanted by force, after the forced expulsion of those who were legitimately living in the area earlier, is a mockery of the efforts of the Organization to put an end to colonialism, and can lead only to the renewal of colonialism in the guise of a settlement freely consented to. The relationship between those who claim freely to exercise the right to self-determination and the territory in which they live must come from a justifiable situation that existed before the occupation.

279. The clear and naked truth is that the United Kingdom has established a colony in part of Argentine territory, and the definitive solution must be the restitution of that territory to its legitimate owner, in keeping with the right of territorial integrity, which clearly applies to this case, in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV). Otherwise, I must give warning that to legitimize the illicit origin of British possession would be to establish a dangerous precedent for legitimizing future seizures of territory, based on the

use of force, yet subject, it would be claimed, to legitimization by the passage of time.

280. The recent crisis in the South Atlantic prompted the Government of the United Kingdom not only to seek to consolidate its colonial domination, this time quite openly, over the Malvinas Islands and their dependencies, but also in violation of General Assembly resolutions, to establish an extra-continental military base on the islands, with nuclear submarines and nuclear weapons in the area.

281. This provocative attitude has clearly introduced a focus of continuing tension into the South Atlantic, which is unacceptable both to the Republic of Argentina and to Latin America. We must therefore put an end to that state of affairs. There has been a *de facto* end to the hostilities in the area, as everyone knows, and my Government does not intend to take the initiative in changing that situation. But following the cease-fire the United Kingdom carried out an armed attack on the Argentine scientific station "Corbeta Uruguay", established six years earlier in the South Sandwich Islands, imprisoning the staff, who were carrying out work of a strictly peaceful nature. That unjustifiable act of aggression was recently condemned by the Second World Conference on Cultural Policies, convened in Mexico by UNESCO.

282. Furthermore, my country has many times brought to the attention of the Organization acts of harassment by British vessels and aircraft against Argentine fishermen, even outside the exclusion zone which the United Kingdom continues to impose around the islands for Argentine civil and military vessels and aircraft. Although technically limited to an area of 150 nautical miles, this illegal and arbitrary measure has in fact been extended by the British Government to waters outside the area, where Argentine fishing vessels are constantly subject to intimidation. This is a serious matter that should be of great concern to us, since we all recall how during the recent conflict a British nuclear submarine did not hesitate to torpedo and sink the Argentine Republic navy cruiser *General Belgrano*, which was sailing outside the exclusion zone established and defined by the United Kingdom Government itself—a completely illegitimate and brutal action which was no source of pride for British public opinion or any of its allies.

283. The facts that I have just described, as well as the stand taken so far by the British Government, opposed to any genuine negotiation, show clearly the need for the international community, through a decision by the General Assembly, to support the Latin American initiative to resolve the present situation and the dispute over sovereignty between Argentina and the United Kingdom by substantive negotiations carried out in good faith.

284. Latin America is today writing a page in its history marked by its spiritual unity and its heroic role, reaffirmed recently by the Panama Canal issue, and today by the Malvinas question.

285. This unity will be demonstrated in the forthcoming meetings of Latin American heads of State proposed by Uruguay, Panama and Colombia, in all of which my country will take part. It will also be demonstrated next year at a meeting, convened by Venezuela in Caracas, of heads of State and other

representatives of their peoples to commemorate the bicentenary of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, who conceived of our continent as a federation of nations striving, through the strength of their common ideals and determination, to bring about a world of justice and freedom. With this dream, to which our Liberator, José de San Martín, made his outstanding contribution, were associated all the national heroes of Latin America, with a slogan that we have not forgotten, and are determined not to forget, calling for respect by the international community for our demands, today and for ever.

286. Latin America, united today by the Malvinas, and tomorrow by whatever other equally just cause may affect any of the countries comprising it, calls for a response that will meet its legitimate demands.

287. Latin America shall not be a breeding-ground for colonial adventures. The countries of the hemisphere fought hard to win their independence and therefore have a long tradition of rejection of colonialism. Those ideals of the founding heroes of the Latin American homeland inspire the actions of the Governments of the region, with whose decisive assistance and support the first decolonization initiatives prospered in the United Nations. It is in that spirit that Latin America has demonstrated its wholehearted support for the fraternal initiative taken by Mexico, which calls for consideration of the question of the Malvinas Islands during the current session of the General Assembly.

288. I emphasize with pride and appreciation that the question of the Malvinas Islands is no longer in the Organization the private cause of my country but has become the cause of Latin America, as happened also in the case of Panama. In their letter to the Secretary-General, the Latin American nations made the following points, among others:

“The persistence of this colonial situation in America and the dispute between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning sovereignty over the Islands, on which the General Assembly has expressed itself in resolutions 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49, have led to serious armed conflict in the South Atlantic and constitute a situation that affects the Latin American region in particular.

“The countries of America, which are peace-loving and anxious for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, consider that the negotiations between the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland should be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.” [See A/37/193.]

289. That initiative earned the gratitude of all the Argentine people, for which the cause of the Malvinas is a national goal which takes precedence over partisan differences and binds together citizens of all sectors.

290. We extend the same gratitude to the non-aligned movement, which in its successive statements has categorically endorsed Argentina's claims.

291. I wish to express similar appreciation to all countries which have extended to us their support and have recognized the legitimacy of our claims.

292. The events in the South Atlantic have taught us some hard but useful lessons, which will have an impact on our future as a region and hence on our international relations. We have felt the warmth of solidarity and the bitterness of frustration, depending on the reaction to the legitimate claim of our peoples.

293. We shall never forget those who acted as our friends. As to those who did not so act, we shall re-examine in the future their earlier positions, bearing in mind the circumstances of that time, which for many were unclear or distorted. But the positions they are taking now, will have to stand up to the closest scrutiny by the Argentine people and by all those who agree with the very clear principles which the international community has committed itself to defend. Their conduct will be judged not by Governments, which are temporary things, but by peoples, which are permanent. History, which is incorruptible, will be a court of last resort. The Argentinians and all Latin Americans are convinced that it will be our ally, not to be suborned.

294. We firmly believe that negotiations in good faith between the parties provide the only possible path to peace. Hence we are prepared to heed the call of the General Assembly to begin negotiations to find a peaceful solution to the dispute over sovereignty which will take into account the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, in whom my country has sincere confidence.

295. Argentina has never expanded its territory through the use of force. On the contrary, it has traditionally resorted to peaceful methods and negotiations to resolve its territorial disputes. In this spirit our country is committed to the peaceful settlement of its territorial dispute with the Republic of Chile in the southern part of the country, with the invaluable participation of His Holiness Pope John Paul II as mediator. The people and Government of Argentina wish to express here their deepest gratitude to His Holiness for his tireless mediating activities and his guidance of the negotiations with the Republic of Chile. Great importance has been attached by the Holy See to these activities, which resulted in the agreement signed on 15 September last at Vatican City. That agreement is an unequivocal confirmation of the complete confidence which the two countries have placed in the Supreme Pontiff and in his judgement as to the best way to settle the dispute. For our part, we reaffirm our belief that through mediation we will reach a final agreement acceptable to both parties which will put an end to the dispute once and for all, thus consolidating the traditional links between the two peoples.

296. The world situation is so serious, and the situation as regards the Organization's ability to fulfil its purpose of maintaining peace and acting as a useful forum for negotiation among its Member States has become so difficult, that the Secretary-General felt compelled in writing his exemplary report to abandon the usual practice of reviewing the broad range of issues involved in the work of the United Nations and to concentrate on the central, vital problem of the chances of achieving the aims which 37 years ago prompted the creation of the United Nations, after

the six years of agony and destruction of the Second World War.

297. In the year since the last regular session of the General Assembly the deteriorating trend of international relations has been confirmed. The tensions stemming from the traditional confrontation between the super-Powers have been aggravated by fighting resulting from long-standing conflicts which remain unresolved as a result of the lack of political will or an intransigent refusal to confront the problems intelligently and in a forward-looking way.

298. Thus the lack of trust between antagonistic blocs or States at the international level provides the political opportunity for serious regional crises, and the military pacts among the great Powers encourage their allies, whether or not they are in the right, in exaggerated confrontations or punitive operations reminiscent of the nineteenth century, although they use the ultra-sophisticated arsenals of the late twentieth century.

299. Furthermore, the developed nations, are entrenching themselves in positions of privilege and when they agree to a dialogue with other States which are not members of their club they do so only on their own terms. Fear of change makes them more inflexible and the climate of international tension, instead of making them outward-looking as regards the rest of the world, makes them turn inward, which is a futile flight from the collective responsibilities they should shoulder. Those nations close their ranks to defend the advantages they gained in the past, although the injustice of these is obvious. This is all clear evidence of a process of international political involution which augurs ill for the future.

300. We cannot but affirm emphatically here that if there remains any chance of justice and right prevailing, it can only be within the framework of the Organization, which has the necessary ways and means to assist nations in conflict, provided those nations are really ready for dialogue and negotiations to settle their disputes. Hence, the international community must turn towards the United Nations in search of a reply and for attitudes which encourage the preservation of world peace.

301. We all know that one traditional way is through disarmament but, unfortunately, the present session is taking place in the shadow of the failure of a few months ago of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The international community had great hopes in that session, which it expected would consolidate and develop the achievements made in the four years since the first such special session.

302. But the time is coming when all the countries, and in the first place the great Powers, will be unable to ignore the fundamental dilemma any longer: they must either make sincere and serious efforts to bring under control the massive increase in weapons, in particular nuclear weapons, or we shall be embarking upon an uncontrollable escalation of which we shall be the prisoners and probably the victims.

303. The recent events in Lebanon constitute a further tragic manifestation of the permanent threat stemming from the perpetuation of unjust and serious

situations not resolved by the international system, which has once again failed in its primary task, established under the Charter—namely, that of maintaining international peace and security. Too many years have passed during which the people of Lebanon have had to suffer as a result of successive violations of their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty. This unjust situation has been compounded in recent weeks by the barbarous acts perpetrated in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. This provoked the unanimous condemnation of the international community, in which my Government joined first with a communiqué issued in Buenos Aires and then by our vote at the seventh emergency special session, on Palestine. There can be no doubt of the responsibility of the Israeli Government which invaded the city of Beirut in violation of the agreement reached and on the pretext of preventing chaos.

304. The Government and people of Argentina are convinced that a just and lasting solution of the question of the Middle East can be achieved, as my country has argued repeatedly in recent years, only if there is recognition of and respect for the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence and to establish their own sovereign State; acceptance of the right of Israel and all countries of the region to live in peace within internationally recognized borders; Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and, in addition, recognition of a special régime for the Holy City of Jerusalem, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

305. Many other situations are subjects of grave concern to us. The persistence of the hateful *apartheid* régime in South Africa and the unjustifiable delay in the inexorable process of independence for Namibia, the decolonization of which must not be further postponed, are just two of these. South Africa cannot continue to resort to new and arbitrary excuses to preserve a shameful and unjust *status quo* the purpose of which is to deny the Namibian people the true exercise of their right to self-determination and national independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and with full respect for its territorial integrity. The international community must use its best efforts to put an end to this colonial situation, which is marked by economic exploitation and racial discrimination. The people of Namibia must be assisted in their just struggle to put an end to South African domination, which flies in the face of the most elementary principles of justice and equity accepted by the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

306. Another grave situation which for reasons of regional brotherhood concerns us profoundly is the instability and violence prevailing in Central America, which prompted the promising initiative of an offer of good offices by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, with a view to reducing tension and ensuring peace. Of course, my Government has already expressed its full support for those efforts.

307. I know that it is not original to refer to the crisis in international economic relations or to emphasize that the high cost is being borne by the developing countries. However, despite the attempts

made by those countries to ensure the establishment of more just economic and political relations which ensure a proper place and equitable participation in the international sphere, some developed countries are working to prevent this through economic policies that undermine multilateral co-operation in general and co-operation for development in particular.

308. There has been a resurgence of protectionism in the major decision-making centres, accentuating further the economic and social difficulties on the periphery. Selective and discriminatory policies have been established, based on concepts of so-called graduation, which establish arbitrary and harmful differences for developing countries. By increasing emphasis on bilateralism in international economic relations there has been an erosion of the multilateral framework of international co-operation.

309. As if all this did not constitute a sufficiently discouraging picture, we now see a tendency for certain developed countries to use economic means for political ends, by trying to bring pressure to bear on developing countries to subordinate the exercise of their sovereign rights.

310. The non-aligned movement has emphatically condemned such behaviour and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], adopted by the General Assembly in 1974, is also emphatic on this point.

311. Within the Latin American framework, at the regional level, it was understood from the outset, as confirmed by decisions 112 and 113 of the eighth meeting of the Permanent Council of the Latin American Economic System, that Latin America must reduce its vulnerability to the concerted pressures of the developed world.

312. Nevertheless, in the midst of this disturbing picture there are on the horizon some positive facts, such as those originating in the Group of 77 and the recent statements made in the Economic and Social Council by some industrialized countries, which lead us to hope that global negotiations can begin shortly in an attempt to revitalize the North-South dialogue.

313. As regards co-operation among developing countries, the recent meeting in Manila showed the realities and potential of this broad range of co-operation and solidarity.

314. I cannot conclude my statement without saying that my country accepts the existence of this real and regrettable world political panorama because it is a matter of plain fact. However, we also believe in the absolute need to overcome this grave situation, because we are sure that the instinct of self-preservation will compel all the peoples in the world to unite their efforts to change this picture of real and potential conflicts. But we also firmly believe that that primary objective cannot be attained through vague declarations and pious words, but only through specific action and a healthy political determination, which, by establishing good faith in international relations and encouraging progress and wealth, will make possible the emergence of new protagonists on the world scene. There must be new presences capable of restoring a balance threatened today by the magnificent development of some nations at the expense of the stagnation or the slow development of others.

315. I should like to conclude my statement by referring once again to the Malvinas question, which is so vitally important to my country. The world knows Argentina's devotion to peace and that we have lived through more than a century without any periods of war. If a peaceful people felt it necessary to take up arms to defend its cause, in an unequal battle, it was solely as the result of the justice of that cause. Our forces consisted entirely of Argentinians who were fulfilling their patriotic duty. In our struggle we did not turn to foreigners boastful of their bloodthirsty ferocity closely tied to the degrading exchange of money.

316. Our martyrs, sacrificed in the desolate lands and frigid waters of the South Atlantic, will be constant witnesses to Argentina's unwavering sovereignty over the Malvinas, a cause whose defense brooks neither concessions nor hesitation. The hours of sacrifice of our combatants, as well as the blood and the lives laid down by so many of them, were not in vain. The cry that went up then and that will lead us steadfast to our goal will not fade from the conscience of mankind.

317. Mr. FAHNBULLEH (Liberia): At a time when mankind is frantically searching for solutions to the problems of wars, disasters, hunger, poverty, violence and racism, it is indeed heartening that this body can meet and, with collective determination, join the crusade in the search for a nobler and dignified destiny for the human race. The task of saving mankind from wars and destruction is the collective responsibility of the world's peoples, but the role of individuals in the acceleration of this process must not be overlooked.

318. In this regard, I should like on behalf of the Government and people of Liberia to extend to the new President of the General Assembly my warmest congratulations on his election to his high office. We are confident that his long years of experience in diplomacy will enable him to discharge, with the utmost sincerity, the responsibilities entrusted to him.

319. I should also like to take this opportunity to offer thanks to his able and dynamic predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who guided the General Assembly through the thirty-sixth regular session and the second special session on disarmament with the utmost dedication and efficiency.

320. We wish at this time to make special reference to the remarkable performance of the Secretary-General, who, after only nine months in office, has convinced us beyond all reasonable doubt that our choice was a good one. We ask him to continue to discharge his duty with the courage and convictions of his conscience. His first report on the work of the Organization outlines effectively the major problems and weaknesses of the Organization. We endorse the recommendations in his report and are convinced that, if implemented, they could strengthen the Organization and restore to it the role envisaged for it in the Charter.

321. We must pay homage, finally, to that great statesman of tolerance, integrity and devotion, the former Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim. His contribution to the progress of mankind will forever be stamped upon the minds of all those who fight for peace, justice and human decency. He came to us as a

son of Europe. He left as a son of mankind, respected, admired and trusted—beautiful accolades for a man of peace.

322. The challenge facing humanity is to refine the negative instincts of man, those which allow for the domination of others, for the destruction of other peoples' cultures and values and for the development of those mental aberrations such as racial superiority, parochial and aggressive nationalisms and individual and national acquisitiveness with the attributes of exploitation, poverty and stagnation on the one hand, and affluence and indifference to human sufferings on the other. The refinement of man's negative instincts will allow for the common understanding of human problems and make more meaningful the search for fraternal relations between peoples.

323. The task of human refinement must begin at the national level, for it is at this level that the consequences of negative instincts are most profound. Classes and groups which have no respect for the rights of their own people will have no regard for the rights of other peoples. It thus becomes necessary for the national entity to purge itself of the unsavoury attributes of man's inhumanity to man in order to join the search for international harmony and morality.

324. My country, in answering the challenge which history has posed to us as a people, took the path of revolution to resolve the contradictions in our society and awakened the consciousness of our people to begin the frontal assault on the citadels of privilege, ethnic arrogance and elitism. We are proud to say to the world, to all men of conscience and decency, that through the struggle of our people and with the blood of our martyrs we destroyed an oligarchy which was brutal, arrogant and insensitive to the needs and aspirations of the vast majority of our people, as all oligarchies are. It is our God-given right to destroy the shackles of servitude and allow our people to begin the process of making their own history.

325. Here in this public forum, we pay homage to the memory of our martyrs, especially to the hundreds killed on 14 April 1979, when the former régime unleashed a reign of terror on our defenceless people who had raised their voices to question the right of that oligarchy to increase the price of the staple food for its own profits. Eternal glory to our martyrs!

326. When people make revolution and advance society a step further, they are morally responsible to show that they are more refined, more decent and more dignified than those they overthrew. This is the only way that one can give credence to the historical movement. In keeping with our commitment to build a society where men will live as brothers and be responsible for the welfare of each and all, we decided to rehabilitate all those who had in the past participated in the maltreatment of the people or condoned with their silence the injustices in society. In this regard, my Government has released all political prisoners and thus stands as one of the few countries in the world without a single political prisoner. Also, to ease the burden of adjustment in the new society, we have returned confiscated properties to former political prisoners.

327. As a further testimony to my Government's commitment to respect the aspirations of the people,

our head of State, Commander-in-Chief Samuel Doe has proclaimed 12 April 1985—the fifth anniversary of our revolution—as the date for the return of our country to a democratically elected civilian Government. In keeping with this commitment, the Constitutional Committee appointed on the first anniversary of the revolution is completing the final draft of a new Constitution and drawing up the modalities for elections. This is the state of affairs in my country 29 months after our revolution.

328. I shall now make some remarks about the international situation. It is indeed a sad commentary on the state of world affairs that the opening of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and the first observance of International Day of Peace on 21 September 1982 should have taken place amid the ghastly spectres of the Beirut massacre and the continued war between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq.

329. Elsewhere, the international situation remains fraught with tension. There seems to be a gradual decline in the use and effectiveness of multilateral institutions and international organizations. Alliances and intergovernmental organizations that offered hope for a stable world order in the period after the Second World War are being threatened with disintegration at the very core.

330. The non-aligned movement, which emerged to dismantle the exploitative colonial system and did indeed provide an alternative to East-West confrontational politics for the developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the immediate post-war era, has failed to convene the Conference of Heads of State or Government on schedule for the first time in its 21-year history because of the conflict in the Gulf region.

331. Similarly, the OAU, which has served as the motivating force in accelerating the African liberation struggle and the search for African solutions to African problems, has not been successful in convening the Assembly of Heads of State and Government this year because of the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to the OAU. However, we are pleased to note that efforts are being made to resolve the issue. My Government has undertaken the responsibility of consulting with other African Governments on ways to end the division within our organization.

332. Recently, our head of State sent a team of emissaries to seven West African countries to deliver messages relating to the current problem within the OAU. We are certain that in the end African maturity will prevail and the OAU will survive, strengthened in its principles and rededicated to the total liberation and unity of the African continent.

333. Meanwhile, in the international system, many States Members of the United Nations are increasingly resorting to unilateral action, often bypassing the United Nations without regard to their obligations under the Charter. Resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly adopted through painstaking efforts and sometimes by consensus are being ignored by Member States under the pretext of preserving national identity and security.

334. With respect to the global economic situation, indications are that the world economy is experiencing greater instability than at any time since the Great Depression. The developed market economies are characterized by slow growth, persistent inflation, high unemployment, prolonged monetary instability, intensified protectionist pressures, structural maladjustments and uncertain long-term growth prospects.

335. For their part, many developing countries continue to experience very low or even negative per capita growth, with severe constraints placed on their development efforts by maladjustment in international economic relations, natural conditions and high energy costs.

336. Also, falling prices for commodities which are their major sources of income have impeded their ability to meet interest payments on loans, let alone repay the loans. Moreover, higher interest rates for new debts and reduced access to external borrowing have all contributed to the economic difficulties of the developing countries, thus augmenting the poverty and deprivation of their peoples.

337. The optimism generated by the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún in October 1981, has yet to produce progress towards a movement in the global round of negotiations on international economic issues.

338. These trends point to a disquieting situation in the international system. For the weakening or collapse of multilateral institutions and regional organizations and the vicious cycle of poverty, with its attributes of dependence and underdevelopment, would serve to remove heretofore effective platforms upon which small developing nations exercised moral strength and courage for collective bargaining and security.

339. The potential to unleash greater horrors and sufferings upon mankind must be checked by the determined and honest efforts of the international community to reverse the present drift towards economic and political catastrophe. My Government therefore calls on all Member States of this world body to rededicate themselves to the principles and spirit of the Charter. The desperate reality of the international situation requires a resolution of the apparent contradiction between the professed aspirations of the United Nations and the unwillingness on the part of Member States to support those aspirations. A new global initiative is needed to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes in order to save the world from the ravages of war and prevent future horrors of death and destruction such as those the world has witnessed recently.

340. I turn now to the subject of southern Africa. In a world of conflicts and mistrust, it is reassuring to note the willingness to press ahead with negotiations on the part of the parties to the Namibian question. In this connection, I wish to state emphatically that my Government continues to view Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as the basis for a solution to the Namibian conflict. We welcome the initiatives of the contact group of five Western States and the African front-line States, and Nigeria, to help overcome obstacles in the path of the implementation of the resolution for the independence of Namibia. We should

add that the independence of that African Territory cannot be delayed indefinitely.

341. Also, we should like to caution against linking a settlement of the Namibian question to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Any attempt to do that is morally wrong and dangerous, as the freedom of one people cannot be held hostage to the alteration of the sovereign decision of another people.

342. Today, millions of Africans continue to languish under the despicable system of *apartheid* in South Africa. My Government considers the perpetuation of this oppressive system as an intolerable affront to the dignity of the black race. We therefore urge the international community and men of conscience everywhere to lend every conceivable support to the total elimination of *apartheid* in all its inhuman forms. In this regard, we welcome the launching of 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa in order to make world public opinion more aware of the grave situation in that part of Africa and also to win maximum international support for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist Republic, as laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter.

343. On the subject of the Middle East, the horrifying scenes of slaughter in Beirut should once more serve as a reminder to the international community never to allow historical sympathies to render us impotent in confronting contemporary aggression. The international outrage and revulsion generated by the massacre should convince those who are determined and consistent in committing such atrocities to abandon the notion that brute force is the only way to achieve peace and security. The senselessness of the massacre can serve only to intensify the cycle of violence, suspicion and bitterness.

344. My Government is convinced that the dispersal of the Palestinians or the resort to exterminating them cannot provide a solution to the problems of the Middle East. Only a recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to a State of their own will lead to a lasting peace in that region. Additionally, there must be a return to the pre-1967 borders and all States in the region must be willing to recognize the right of each and all to live in peace within secure boundaries.

345. In this regard, my Government supports initiatives aimed at the restoration of the sovereignty of Lebanon and calls for the urgent reconstruction of that war-torn country.

346. Turning to the Kampuchean question, my Government believes that no effective solution to the problems in that troubled country can be achieved without a just and lasting political settlement. Such a political settlement should provide for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and the non-aligned status of that country.

347. Some of the problems that cloud the international horizon are rooted in the past. The Korean question, which for many years has been a focus of the concern of the Organization, remains unresolved and explosive. The postponement of its solution could lead to a renewal of hostilities on the Korean peninsula.

and threaten international peace and security. In accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the joint communiqué of 1972,¹⁹ issued by the two Korean parties, my Government urges that they both demonstrate their willingness to settle the Korean question by peaceful means.

348. The successful conclusion of the negotiations and the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea¹ represent a major step forward in our attempts to establish order in the seas. The Convention is based on the concept that the resources of the sea-bed are the common heritage of mankind. One significant outcome of the negotiations is a set of treaty provisions for States to co-operate regionally and globally to protect and preserve the marine environment. This part of the Convention is consistent with the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.²⁰ We express our thanks to all of those who laboured tirelessly to bring these negotiations to fruition. My Government, therefore, urges all Member States to sign and ratify the Convention, which will be opened for signature as of 6 December 1982, in Jamaica.

349. The post-war period has witnessed an unabated acceleration of the arms race. This race has consumed an increasing proportion of the world resources as well as a greater percentage of internationally traded goods and services. This situation has contributed to a significant diversion of global resources from productive to non-productive sectors. Statistics show that in a world where expenditures on armaments amount to about \$700 billion annually there are 870 million adults who cannot read and write; 500 million people who have no jobs or are less than fully employed; 130 million children who are unable to attend primary school; 450 million people who suffer from hunger or malnutrition; an annual infant mortality rate of 12 million babies who die before their first birthday; 2 billion people who do not have safe water to drink; and 250 million people who live in urban slums or shantytowns. Serious efforts and concrete actions towards disarmament could release vast resources for the constructive cause of human development and the establishment of a more equitable international economic order.

350. It is against that background that my Government expresses regret at the disappointing results of the second special session on disarmament. We call upon the world community not to relent in the pursuit of the objectives of general and complete disarmament, for on this hinges the survival of mankind.

351. On the subject of international economic co-operation, reports show that the fundamental problem facing the international community is to restore the growth momentum in the world economy and achieve the growth targets in the developing countries as set forth in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. The realization of those objectives requires that urgent and prompt attention be given to the critical problems confronting the developing countries, such as unequal exchange on international commodity markets, finance, food and energy.

352. There is a need for greater South-South co-operation within the framework of the Caracas Programme of Action²¹ in order to break the cycle of dependence, poverty and underdevelopment. The developing countries must undertake concerted efforts within the context of collective self-reliance to halt the misery of their peoples, since experience has shown that the survival of a people must begin with their own efforts.

353. We are convinced that in a world of growing expectation and increasing communications between nations and social groups, a lack of response to the pressing demand for more understanding, tolerance and selflessness can become a real source of conflict at both the national and the international levels. We are in an interdependent world and must collectively face the challenge to remove people from the edge of survival and ward off catastrophe.

354. The state of the world today calls for the utmost tolerance and understanding among men. We have the moral responsibility to save our world from the misery and destruction which twice in the past have brought human society to the brink of extinction. We therefore declare from this rostrum, before the entire world, that the children of tomorrow deserve a better world order, free from the suspicion, violence and hatred of today. They must be able to live in a world where men will be responsive to the needs of other men and where the enlightened consciousness of the people will usher in the brotherhood of mankind. This, and only this, can save humanity from the ravages of war.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

² See E/CN.4/1983/4-E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/43, chap. XXI.

³ See A/S-12/AC.1/22.

⁴ See A/S-12/AC.1/13, A/S-12/L.1 and Corr.1, L.2 and Corr.1, L.4 and L.6.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1982, Supplement No. 5*.

⁶ The delegations of the United Arab Emirates, Uruguay and Vanuatu subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

⁷ See A/S-12/AC.1/44 and Corr.1.

⁸ See A/S-12/AC.1/42 and Corr.1.

⁹ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.II.C.1.

¹⁰ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8 and Corr.1.

¹¹ The report of the Commission, entitled "Common Security—a programme for disarmament", was issued as document A/CN.10/38. See also A/CN.10/51.

¹² *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.

¹³ See A/C.4/682 and 683.

¹⁴ See A/32/110 and 111.

¹⁵ See A/34/342 and 343.

¹⁶ See A/8368 and A/8369.

¹⁷ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982*, document S/15156/Rev.2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Thirty-seventh Year, 2373rd meeting.

¹⁹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

²⁰ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. I.

²¹ Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.