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Wednesday, 26 September 1984,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Al-Khalifa
(Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. van den BROEK (Netherlands): At the outset, allow me to say how happy we are to note that the representative of a nation with which the Netherlands maintains very cordial relations occupies the presidency at this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that the wisdom and considerable experience of the United Nations that made him such an effective President of the Economic and Social Council in 1981 will enable Mr. Lusaka to guide the representatives of the 159 nations represented in this Hall painlessly, if not effortlessly, through the months that lie ahead.

2. Allow me also to extend my country's warmest congratulations to the new Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam.

3. Yesterday [6th meeting], my colleague from Ireland, Mr. Barry, addressed the Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its member States. There is therefore no need for me to go over all the ground covered by him in his statement. Let me therefore concentrate on the functioning and future of the Organization to which we continue to attach so much importance. In this context, I should like to make a few remarks on international issues about which we are particularly concerned.

4. The theme for the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is apparently going to be "United Nations for a better world". Would it not be more appropriate to say "We, the United Nations, for a better world"? Surely it is up to us, its Members, to be truly united in our efforts to shape a better world. After all, the Organization is no more than a tool in our hands and the United Nations can hope to be effective only to the extent that its Members allow it to be so. In the words of the Charter, "We the peoples of the United Nations" resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish our common aims and we therefore agreed to establish this international Organization. Its fundamental objectives are to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should be the occasion for a critical

analysis of what we have been able to do in pursuit of those objectives.

5. Having said that, I would not wish to convey the impression that there is little or nothing to be grateful for. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], the Secretary-General rightly points to the credit side of the balance sheet. I recall decolonization, peace-keeping operations, human rights and, last but not least, the large number of occasions on which the Security Council has been able to deal effectively with complicated conflict situations. Furthermore, there is the valuable work of the specialized agencies in the fields of economic development and humanitarian assistance.

6. However, criticism of the United Nations is possibly stronger and more widespread today than at any moment since 1945. I need not enumerate the shortcomings of the Organization, nor would it be very fruitful to try to draw up a catalogue of our failures and disappointments. Most of us are only too familiar with these problems. But what seems to be lacking, in our opinion, is a sense of purpose, the political will to overcome our difficulties by common endeavour. Over the years, this has led to a gradual erosion of confidence in the Organization, which, in turn, has resulted in a retreat from internationalism and multilateralism—a process to which the Secretary-General rightly draws our attention in his report.

7. Indeed, there is growing concern about the effectiveness of the United Nations as a framework for international co-operation, even to the extent that some see only diminishing returns in the search for solutions to the many problems we are facing today. The problem can undoubtedly be attributed in part to factors beyond the control of the United Nations, such as, for instance, the state of bilateral relations between States. The argument cannot stop there, however. The United Nations has an important role to play in the field of international co-operation, and its malfunctioning should be a point of major concern to the world Organization. It would seem to us that a careful examination of what went wrong and of what can be done to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations could have a salutary effect on its future functioning. I am convinced that the United Nations continues to be indispensable and that it can only emerge from a process of self-examination a stronger and healthier organization.

8. A basic prerequisite for the proper functioning of a world body is respect for the principle of universality. Unfortunately, time and again we are confronted with proposals in various organs of the United Nations which run counter to that principle. If Members continue to lay the axe to the tree, the tree will die. Hence my plea to reflect carefully upon the consequences of our actions. Honestly, I fear that in

that case the very future of the United Nations is at stake.

9. In this context, I should like to express regret that the Republic of Korea has not yet been admitted as a full Member. Membership should be open also to North Korea if and when it desires it. Furthermore, we hope that the time is not far off when North Korea and South Korea will be able to sit down at the conference table so as to solve their outstanding differences.

10. At the end of this year, our term as a non-permanent member of the Security Council will come to a close. A thoughtful observer once remarked that

“to be elected to the Council is a privilege, and the general corpus of the United Nations would expect a country elected to [the] Council for two years to be fully and continuously worthy of this privilege”.

I hope that the Netherlands passed the test successfully.

11. Prompted by the Secretary-General's 1982 report on the work of the Organization,¹ the Security Council has made an effort to reflect upon ways and means to enhance its effectiveness. Much to our regret, however, the Council has been unable to formulate any truly meaningful proposals. Needless to say, we, for our part, shall continue to look for opportunities to attain acceptance of at least some of the valuable suggestions contained in the Secretary-General's report. The best hope of restoring the Council's role as an effective instrument of international diplomacy lies in the readiness of Member States to make use extensively, but also constructively, of the procedures set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

12. However, the Security Council is frequently bypassed because of a profound distrust of the objectivity of the United Nations. The Council cannot carry out its mandate without the full political support of the major Powers in particular. This requires the serious engagement of those Powers in the work of the Council. United Nations mediation cannot and should not be the panacea in each and every international conflict. Bilateral and regional arrangements have an important role to play in the search for peaceful solutions to problems between nations. This cannot alter the fact that the Security Council continues to bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, especially in the case of serious conflicts. It should be self-evident that those who fail to abide by Security Council resolutions contribute by their action to the erosion of the authority of the Council. The gravity of this practice would seem to warrant particular attention's being paid to it.

13. The situation in southern Africa remains on the agenda of the Security Council. South Africa's refusal to implement Council resolution 435 (1978), thereby delaying Namibia's independence, is a clear violation of the commitment of Member States to give effect to Council resolutions. We, for our part, continue to favour the imposition of further selective mandatory sanctions against South Africa as long as the South African Government continues to persist in denying the majority of its citizens their fundamental rights.

14. The Netherlands has consistently advocated an extension of the existing mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. In this respect, I should like to remind the Assembly of our efforts to arrive at a ban on arms imports from South Africa.

15. As far as the problems besetting the Middle East are concerned, my colleague from Ireland has set out the position of the 10 member States of the European Community in detail, but I should like to add a word on the United Nations peace-keeping efforts in the Middle East. Shortly, the Security Council will have to consider the possibility of a revitalization of the role of UNIFIL. Withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon will provide the Council with a unique opportunity to re-establish UNIFIL as the guarantor of peace and security in its area of operations. We feel that this opportunity should be exploited to the full.

16. As to the war between Iran and Iraq, we felt encouraged by the acceptance by both sides of United Nations observers to monitor the undertaking of those two countries to refrain from attacks on civilian population centres. The search for peace between Iran and Iraq would be greatly enhanced by the readiness of both parties to make the fullest possible use of the instruments of the United Nations. We, for our part, continue to look with admiration to the Secretary-General's endeavours to try and bring about an end to this conflict.

17. In Central America, the Contadora Group of countries is developing a comprehensive scheme for the establishment of peace and stability in the region. I am heartened by the progress being achieved in finalizing the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562]. When called upon to do so, the United Nations should lend its fullest support to the efforts of the Contadora countries, thereby encouraging the search for regional solutions to regional problems.

18. From the very beginning, nuclear disarmament has figured prominently on the agenda of the General Assembly, and quite rightly so. The destructiveness of these weapons confronts us with unprecedented dilemmas and makes it highly imperative that every effort be made to reduce to a minimum the risk of these weapons being used. Surely, our principal objective remains the achievement of stability at the lowest possible level. This can be achieved only through negotiations. We therefore fully support the appeal made by the President of the United States in his address to the Assembly [4th meeting] regarding the need to broaden the East-West dialogue, which in turn should lead to the resumption of negotiations.

19. An aspect of the present situation which is of particular concern to us in the Netherlands is the unacceptable superiority of the Soviet Union in land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles. We earnestly hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will be able to reach agreement on the substantial reduction—and preferably the complete elimination—of this category of weapons. We attach great importance to the achievement of such an outcome. However, should the Soviet Union continue to expand its SS-20 arsenal, the Netherlands Government would feel obliged to participate in the deployment of such weapons.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.

20. The Conference on Disarmament, meeting at Geneva, embodies the vital interests of the world community as a whole in meaningful and verifiable agreements on lower and safer levels of armaments. Much to our regret, the potential of this negotiating forum is largely wasted by protracted procedural disputes. Bearing in mind the pace of technological

development, early agreement on measures to prevent a destabilizing arms race in outer space should be a priority item on our agenda.

21. Recent events have again demonstrated the necessity of a complete ban on chemical weapons. Progress in the negotiations has been made, but not enough. We will continue to promote a ban on chemical weapons within the framework of the negotiations at Geneva.

22. One area in which the United Nations has made particularly relevant contributions is the promotion of human rights.

23. The United Nations has rightfully become a major source of hope for the individual who suffers from discrimination, persecution and degrading treatment. I observe within the United Nations system a growing preparedness to criticize human rights abuses which still occur in widely divergent geographical and political settings. I add that no State should take cover behind its sovereign rights in order to reject all forms of international scrutiny. At this session, the Assembly will be called upon to act on a proposal to further the cause of human rights and to agree on a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.² The text of this convention, which was drafted by a working group of the Commission on Human Rights which my country had the honour to chair, will hopefully carry the agreement of all Members of the United Nations.

24. Deliberate cruel or inhuman treatment of other human beings exists in forms other than those covered by traditional or more recent human rights instruments. The world continues to be plagued by the mindless, anonymous violence of terrorism. The most recent example of the ruthlessness of which the terrorists are capable was the bombing last week of the United States Embassy building in Beirut. The Netherlands Government strongly condemns such acts of political violence and calls for intensified international action to stop the scourge of terrorism.

25. In recognition of the need of the developing countries for outside assistance, the Netherlands Government announced a week ago that it will continue to devote 1.5 per cent of its national income to development assistance. A substantial part of this aid will be allocated to the multilateral financial institutions. Indeed, compared with the League of Nations, a major achievement of the Charter of the United Nations has been the recognition of the vital role of international economic co-operation.

26. Looking back, one can point to successes as well as to failures. A United Nations development system has emerged. Today's world would be unthinkable without it. But, at the same time, we have to admit that at present there is a stalemate in the ongoing dialogue between North and South. Many of us look at the state of the North-South dialogue with growing impatience. So far, we have failed to see the launching of a new round of global negotiations where basic issues such as energy, food, money and finance, trade and aid would be discussed in an interrelated way. But we should also ask ourselves whether this concept is not overly ambitious and based on an overestimation of the role Governments can play in shaping world economic and social conditions. To support the continuing process of change, it is imperative that we clarify our often differing concep-

tions in a frank and constructive dialogue and that we identify common ground and concrete objectives.

27. First, in its approach to development co-operation, my Government is guided by the concept of differentiation, and we have come to recognize that fundamental differences in economic, social, political and cultural outlook call for a wide variety in our programmes, activities and measures. Secondly, I am increasingly hesitant about the effectiveness of world-wide strategies which tend to overlook the diversity of the problems in the various countries.

28. Negotiations in sectoral conferences are also part of the overall dialogue. An important North-South event of this year, the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Vienna from 2 to 19 August, has been moderately successful. It was possible to agree on a set of resolutions adopted by consensus³ which contain practical measures and concrete steps to boost United Nations activities in the field of industrialization, which is of paramount importance to the third world. However, the successful implementation of the resolutions will depend largely on the readiness of donor countries to provide the agreed additional financial means. We for our part intend to do so.

29. In another field of particular relevance to the third world, that of population, we have seen the successful outcome of the International Conference on Population, held at Mexico City from 6 to 14 August 1984, although it was unfortunately marred by efforts to politicize it.

30. In a period of limited resources, the United Nations, like its Members, should be governed by rules of budgetary restraint and cost-effectiveness. Severe controls on official spending, proper management and a curb on regulatory activities are inevitable so as to secure the future of the Organization. As an important contributor to the United Nations budget and to the budgets of many specialized agencies and voluntary funds, we feel justified in asking the Organization to make as effective use of the available resources as possible. Budgetary restraint and cost-effectiveness are of equal importance.

31. With regard to efforts to control an expanding bureaucracy, I welcome the Secretary-General's statement, in his report on the work of the Organization [see A/39/I], that he will try to improve the efficiency of the Secretariat. We would hope that similar intentions will become manifest in the specialized agencies. UNESCO, of course, is a case in point. Inadequate management and politicization, as well as the pursuance of costly activities which were not supported by all Member States, are largely to blame for the unfortunate derailment of that organization.

32. A point of special concern for my Government is the financing of peace-keeping operations. Owing to the refusal of some important Members to pay their assessed contributions, the accumulated shortfall for UNIFIL will soon reach the figure of \$200 million. At this session of the Assembly, the Netherlands delegation will consider what steps could be taken to redress this situation, which is manifestly unfair to the troop-contributing countries and might in the end jeopardize the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations.

33. Within the framework of the United Nations, we pursue both a political and an economic dialogue.

Over the years, we have created a web of organizations which are all engaged in one way or another in helping developing nations to help themselves. The world as it is today cannot do without this system. At the same time, we, the nations of that world, are responsible for the growing inadequacy of the system. The fortieth anniversary of the United Nations would seem to be an appropriate occasion to reflect upon ways and means to improve its functioning, its decision-making processes and its cost-effectiveness.

34. It is in this spirit that the Netherlands delegation intends to submit proposals for streamlining the overburdened agenda of various United Nations bodies in an effort to try to revitalize the decision-making process. Surely it is not necessary for every debate to result in yet another resolution. A consensus can only be meaningful to the extent that we have really—and I repeat “really”—harmonized our views. This is not to say that there are no differences in outlook; of course there are. But these should be discussed in the appropriate political forums. Let us try by all means not to paralyse the work of the technical sub-organs of the United Nations system by the introduction of controversial issues which are more often than not extraneous to the work of those particular bodies. More than in the past, the Netherlands delegation will speak out against those practices, because they seriously undermine the proper functioning and possibly even the very future of the Organization.

35. In his report the Secretary-General asks why there has been a retreat from internationalism and multilateralism precisely at a time when actual developments in the world would seem to call for movement in the opposite direction, and he expresses the hope that political scientists and intellectuals the world over, together with world leaders and diplomats, will reflect on this phenomenon. We certainly feel that positive response to the call of the Secretary-General to engage in an exercise in self-examination could be very useful.

36. At the same time, I want to recall the words of my predecessor when he addressed the first session of the General Assembly. He said:

“We are firmly convinced that the success of this Organization is not to be found in a multiplication of machinery, of questionnaires and reports, but in deeds” [41st meeting, p. 825].

And, may I add, deeds of truly international co-operation. Here lies clearly a common task for the Members of the United Nations.

37. Sir Geoffrey HOPE (United Kingdom): First, may I add my voice to the voices of those who have already congratulated you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in conducting its affairs in the months ahead. To the outgoing President, Mr. Illueca, I extend my thanks for the conscientious way in which he discharged his duties. And it is with great pleasure, and some pride, that I congratulate Brunei Darussalam on becoming, on 21 September, the 159th Member of the United Nations.

38. Let me also, at the outset, pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General. His unceasing efforts to bring about the solution of the world's problems continue to win our highest esteem and support.

39. Two years ago, the Secretary-General, in his first report on the work of the Organization,¹ pointed

to a crisis of multilateralism. He suggested that the world was “perilously near to a new international anarchy”. His report this year [4/39/1] shows, with customary perceptiveness and honesty, how little progress we have made towards the objectives he set two years ago. The Secretary-General has told us frankly what we, the Member States, can do—indeed, have to do—to overcome the obstacles that have so far prevented our achieving the vision of a better world which inspired those who drew up the Charter of the United Nations now almost 40 years ago.

40. At Fulton, Missouri, only a year after the birth of the United Nations, Winston Churchill spoke of the political will needed to turn the fledgling Organization into a practical force for peace. He said:

“We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace . . . and not merely a cockpit in a tower of Babel.”

41. Winston Churchill would certainly have endorsed the profoundly practical instinct that is so evident in the Secretary-General's reports. And I, too, strongly support the Secretary-General's latest call [*ibid.*] for us to “ask ourselves what useful steps can be taken in a given situation rather than starting by thinking of all the extraneous reasons why they cannot be taken”.

42. For Churchill's insight is as relevant as ever. Effective international co-operation to tackle the world's problems needs more than polished speeches and well-drafted resolutions. It needs courage and imagination; above all, it needs a steadfast commitment on the basis of universality to take practical action in pursuit of realistic objectives.

43. Nowhere is that more necessary than in our approach to the problems of the world economy. The annual economic summit of the seven major industrialized countries is a good example of the kind of pragmatic approach to problem-solving I have in mind. Last June the United Kingdom hosted in London the tenth such meeting. We were able to reach a large measure of agreement on the essentials for world recovery. At the same time, we took real account of the difficulties which many countries still face. Despite those difficulties, the past 12 months have brought substantial improvements. Two years ago, world trade actually fell. Last year, it grew only 2 per cent. This year, the IMF has forecast growth in world trade of 8.5 per cent.

44. This recovery has not been confined to the industrialized world. For many developing countries, too, the outlook has improved and is improving further. The current account deficit of the non-oil developing countries is this year expected to be less than half its level in 1981. And this year the growth rate for developing countries should reach 3.7 per cent. This significant improvement has not been achieved without hardship.

45. I pay a tribute to the successful adjustment policies pursued by many developing countries, often in the face of real social and political difficulties. These policies need to be sustained and more widely adopted if we are to manage and diminish the problem of international indebtedness, and they need the full support of the industrialized countries. This point has been rightly stressed by the Managing

Director of the International Monetary Fund, Mr. de Larosière. In his words:

“The efforts of developing countries need to be supported by the industrial countries, who have it in their power to create a more robust and dynamic world economy, as well as by concerted action to ensure adequate international financing flows and open trading conditions.”

46. A major cause of the problems of developing countries is the high level of international interest rates. The United States economy has shown how real new employment can be created in a society that is open and willing to face the need for change. But the current size of the United States budget deficit and the high interest rates that go with it still pose a threat to world recovery. We welcome the United States Administration's recognition of the need to tackle the problem. We hope that it will be sustained and carried into action. Lower world interest rates would benefit us all. They would ease the burden of debt repayment. That in turn would allow many countries to increase their imports, and a general increase in trade is in everybody's interest.

47. The world's economic problems can only be solved through co-operation in this spirit of interdependence. Certainly my country is determined to work in close co-operation with debtor nations, case by case, to achieve mutually acceptable solutions to their difficulties. The challenge is to implement practical measures which stand a real chance of success.

48. The British Government has put forward a number of proposals. We discussed them at the London Economic Summit in June. My colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lawson, described them at the IMF meeting in Washington yesterday. He made proposals for the use of multi-year rescheduling, for an enhanced role for the World Bank and its associates, for more private investment in debtor countries and for more stable long-term finance. If carried into practice, these proposals would do much to help the debtor countries. But, without doubt, the greatest contribution would come from sustained and widening recovery.

49. The industrialized countries have a special responsibility for helping to spread this recovery beyond their own frontiers. We must be in earnest in our fight to resist and to reduce protectionism. World trade must be revived through open markets. Here too, given the crucial importance of the dollar exchange rate and so of interest rates, the United States has a unique part to play.

50. We have been disappointed that the resources available to the IDA have not been increased as we hoped. This makes it all the more important to undertake a special effort to help the poorest countries, above all in Africa. We cannot ignore the special conditions that have afflicted much of Africa or the Secretary-General's plea for support. Special measures are needed for special conditions.

51. The truth is that there are no instant solutions. The need is for common determination to work for solid, often unspectacular, progress on all fronts. Solutions to the economic problems I have described need to be rooted firmly in political reality if they are to endure. I am encouraged by the fact that Governments have been willing to identify practical steps that they can and will take together. That is the main

reason why prospects for the world economy are better now than they were a year or two ago.

52. The approach that is working in the economic field applies equally to political relations between States. Here too, there is a need for practical measures to solve real problems. Nowhere is that need more urgent than in East-West relations—not because of what is happening but because of what is not happening, because in this area there has not been anything like the same meeting of minds over the way forward as there has been on economic questions. In his report [*ibid.*], the Secretary-General speaks of “great-Power tension accentuated by a lack of progress in disarmament and arms limitation”. I share his analysis. That is why we need to make a fresh start. President Reagan this week put forward a series of proposals that could lead us in that direction. We must all reject the temptation to identify difficulties with that approach and instead identify the ideas with which we can agree.

53. In the past year, Mr. Gromyko and I have met on no less than four occasions. On each of those occasions, I have been struck not so much by the differences between us—although these are real and substantial—as by the similarity of what we say are the basic aims of our peoples. This similarity of underlying approach is reflected in the desire of both sides to break the spiral of the arms race, in our shared aim of better relations between East and West, and often in apparently similar words and phrases. I found myself in complete agreement with the statement of the high-level Economic Conference of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Moscow in June [*see A/39/323*], that “no world problems—and that includes the historic dispute between socialism and capitalism—can be solved by force of arms”. So what separates us is not so much the words we use as the meaning we attach to them. Our task must be to bridge that gap, to reconcile, in a spirit of mutual understanding, our differing purposes with our underlying interest in our common safety and security.

54. Each side has proclaimed its desire for a more comprehensive dialogue. I refuse to believe that that cannot be achieved. I believe we can find a common way of resolving such issues of supreme importance to us all. In that same speech in Missouri, Churchill called for greater mutual confidence. He said:

“There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships . . .”

Forty years later that remains our hope.

55. During 1984 the West has made far-reaching but practical proposals in every arms control negotiation. At Stockholm we have submitted specific measures which would enhance confidence and security throughout Europe. At Vienna we have made a major new proposal to resolve the long-standing disagreement over the level of Eastern forces. At Geneva, Britain has taken two initiatives on verification of a chemical-weapons ban, while the United States has submitted a new draft treaty.

56. Against that background I deeply regret the Soviet suspension of the nuclear-arms talks. Of all subjects on the East-West agenda, the control and reduction of nuclear weapons is by common consent the most important. And yet it is the one aspect of

arms control which is not at present the subject of negotiation. The United States has offered to resume these talks, anywhere, at any time, without preconditions. The whole world would applaud a positive Soviet response.

57. So, too, on the question of arms control in outer space. On 29 June, the Soviet Government proposed that talks should begin in Vienna in September. It asked for a prompt response. The Americans gave it, constructively and seriously. But so far the Russians seem to have been unable to take "yes" for an answer. Dialogue cannot be a one-way process—still less, negotiations. No one can converse with an empty chair. I hope the Soviet Union will find the political will to take its place at the table. When it does, it will find the West ready and willing to talk.

58. The negotiations on the future of Hong Kong which the British and Chinese Governments have been conducting since 1982 are an excellent illustration of the way in which difficult issues may be resolved. Earlier today, in Beijing, the two Governments initialled a draft agreement on the future of Hong Kong. It is a triumph of good sense. It shows how, in the search for solutions to international problems, agreement is only possible with courage, imagination and political will on all sides. Chairman Deng Xiaoping's idea of "one country, two systems" is an example of such a positive approach. The people of Hong Kong will wish to judge for themselves the outcome of these negotiations. But already I am confident that we have achieved a historic agreement.

59. Britain also has a special relationship with, and a close interest in, the island of Cyprus. I hope that there, too, we may see early progress in the continuing search for a solution. The Secretary-General's current efforts to bring about a resumption of the intercommunal talks must not be allowed to fail. Only thus will a settlement of the wider problem be possible. That is why the British Government supports the Secretary-General in his task. We stand ready to do all we can to assist him.

60. I turn now to three troubled regions of the world where failure to resolve the disputes which divide the parties could have grave consequences.

61. In the Middle East, it is deeply disappointing that once again this year we are no nearer a solution of the Arab-Israeli dispute, but with the arrival of a new Israeli Government there is now an opportunity to turn a new page. The outlines of a just settlement have been clear for many years. It must reconcile Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders and the Palestinians' right to self-determination. But plans or statements of principle from the international community are in themselves of limited value unless the parties to the dispute have the political courage to take the bold steps necessary for peace.

62. Such steps are possible now without anyone's security being endangered. The new Israeli Government could halt the policy of installing illegal settlements in occupied territory. The Arab countries and the Palestinians could formulate a realistic and a common negotiating stand before it is too late. The United States has a unique position of influence with parties on both sides of the dispute. Its role is indispensable. President Reagan reaffirmed on Monday [4th meeting] his commitment to his country's search for a just and lasting peace. I very much

welcome that. As the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community made clear yesterday [5th meeting], we and our European partners stand ready to help and to use our influence to work for the peace which has eluded us all so long.

63. In Lebanon, the efforts of the Lebanese Government to bring peace to that country which has suffered so long deserve the support of all of us. The 10 member countries of the European Community have called consistently for the early withdrawal, in agreement with the Lebanese Government, of all foreign forces. The presidency statement yesterday reiterated that plea. In our view, national reconciliation and withdrawal of those forces should go ahead together. UNIFIL has continued to perform a useful role in southern Lebanon, a role which—as the Secretary-General said in April—could with advantage be enlarged.

64. In the Gulf, we shall continue to support any initiatives which offer hope of an end to the long and tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq. We welcomed the decision to send a United Nations team to investigate allegations that chemical weapons had been used. The British Government condemns unequivocally the use of chemical weapons by anyone. We are encouraged that both sides continue to support the Secretary-General's appeal to avoid attacks on civilian centres of population. We hope that they will take further steps to limit the scope of the conflict and that this will prepare the way for an honourable settlement of the dispute.

65. Southern Africa is another area where failure to make progress towards solving disputes could have consequences far beyond the region itself. The events of the past few weeks have amply demonstrated the wider dangers of the present policies of the South African Government. They underline the urgent need for real progress towards a system of government supported by all South Africans. This can be achieved only by dialogue within South Africa and between South Africa and the world at large.

66. Even so, there has been some progress towards reducing tension in the region. In particular, I welcome the wide-ranging contacts between Mozambique and South Africa following the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [see A/39/159, annex I]. We have also welcomed the agreement between Angola and South Africa, reached at Lusaka on 16 February 1984, on the withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola. We shall continue to work for further steps towards an early settlement of the Namibian question.

67. In Central America, too, there is a need for concerted action if we are to check the trend towards instability and foster social and political development. The roots of the conflict and political turmoil racking the region are indigenous, but the problems have been exploited and exacerbated by those who care little for regional stability and democratic evolution, preferring to pursue their own political objectives.

68. That is why we were encouraged by the democratic elections in El Salvador this year and why we, like our partners in the European Community, strongly support the Contadora initiative. I much look forward to the meeting at San José next weekend between the Foreign Ministers of the 10 member countries of the Community and Spain and

Portugal, and of the Central American and Contadora countries. This will be an important opportunity for us to underline our active interest in promoting and encouraging peace. Our purpose is to make a practical contribution to democracy and development in the region.

69. I must now turn to the relationship between my country and Argentina, whose newly elected President addressed the Assembly on Monday [*5th meeting*]. Let me stress again that we welcome wholeheartedly Argentina's return to democratic government. We are ready, from that new basis, to try to work towards more normal relations between us after the tragic events of two years ago. We firmly believe that this would be in the interests of Britain, of Argentina, of all our friends in Latin America and of the Falkland Islanders themselves.

70. Of course Britain and Argentina have different—and deeply held—positions on the question of sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. No one should forget that we were negotiating on that very subject in 1982 when Argentina launched its brutal invasion of the islands. The present Argentine Government was not responsible for that disastrous action, but its consequences cannot just be brushed aside.

71. As I have said, we attach great importance to improving our relations with Argentina, and we have made a genuine and sustained effort to reach agreement with the Argentine Government on a basis for direct talks. It was clear that, if those talks were not to founder at the outset on the very issue that divides us, the question of sovereignty could not be addressed. We therefore needed to find a way of meeting the legitimate requirements of both sides. With the help of the Swiss and Brazilian Governments as protecting Powers and after a great deal of detailed work, a clear and satisfactory basis for talks was achieved and agreed by all.

72. When the talks began at Berne in July, Argentina took a position at variance with this agreed basis. Their representatives insisted that no progress could be made towards normalization without the certainty that a mechanism would be established to permit negotiations over sovereignty. This overturned the very basis on which talks between us had been agreed. The talks therefore came to an end. This was an important opportunity missed. I think that many people will have been disappointed, as I was, that President Alfonsín, in his speech to the Assembly two days ago, presented the same position once again explicitly as a pre-condition of any talks between us.

73. Let me also underline that there is a further fundamental principle involved in this dispute which cannot be overlooked—the principle of self-determination. It is a principle which is jealously guarded by the people of Great Britain and, indeed, by every Member of the United Nations. The Falkland Islanders, like any other people, have the right to self-determination. We had hoped that the new Argentine Government, with its attachment to democracy and human rights, would be ready to recognize this fundamental human right of the Falkland Islanders.

74. Those who call on us to negotiate on the sovereignty of the islands should think what exactly it is that they are asking us to do. For Argentina, such negotiations could only have one outcome: the transfer of sovereignty over the islands irrespective of the wishes of the Falkland Islanders. To ask us to do that is to ask us to overturn the principle of self-

determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

75. We shall continue with the economic and constitutional development of the Falkland Islands. We shall maintain the minimum level of forces required to defend the islands. Let me emphasize those words, "defend the islands". Our military dispositions are designed solely for that purpose.

76. We have sought ways of improving relations with Argentina by tackling practical issues where real progress is possible to the benefit of both sides. It is still my profound belief that, in the difficult circumstances I have described, the only way forward is to find a way of taking such practical steps as will enable confidence to be re-established between our two peoples.

77. The right of peoples to choose their own Government is also at issue in Afghanistan and Cambodia. The outside world has little idea of the suffering which the Afghan people endure. We cannot ignore the harsh realities of the problem, which my Irish colleague, Mr. Barry, has already described [*6th meeting*]. We give our full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General, which are seeking to ensure that the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and successive United Nations resolutions shall be applied to restore an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. This cannot happen until Soviet forces are withdrawn.

78. In Cambodia, the Vietnamese occupying force remains, despite the resolutions passed by an overwhelming majority in recent years calling for a complete withdrawal. The British Government continues to support the Cambodian people's right to determine their own destiny, free from outside interference.

79. The continued division of the Korean peninsula has been a matter of concern much longer than the occupation of Afghanistan and of Cambodia. My visit to Panmunjom earlier this year reminded me of this sad fact. The British Government remains convinced that the suggestions put forward by the Republic of Korea for direct talks between the two sides represent the best prospect for a peaceful solution.

80. There is one final region of the world I should mention, although it is not one much visited by Foreign Ministers. This year is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Antarctic Treaty.⁴ The Treaty is a remarkable example of political foresight. It provides an excellent model of practical co-operation achieved through international agreement. The fact that a further four States have acceded to the Treaty in this anniversary year shows its continuing value. The British Government would not wish to see any development that would undermine this important Treaty.

81. We discuss many global and regional political issues in this Hall. But when we do so it is easy to forget the fundamental reality of the freedom and well-being of the individual. The architects of the Charter of the United Nations were quite clear about this. They set down, as a major purpose of the Organization, to achieve co-operation "in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". The gulf between this intention and the gross abuses of human rights which still occur in so many parts of the world appeals

me. These abuses are sometimes carried out in the name of political, social or religious ideologies, and indeed by some of the leading signatories of the Helsinki Final Act.⁵ Sometimes such abuses result from conditions of anarchy and chaos. My Government deplores them all, wherever they occur and whatever the reason with which their perpetrators may attempt to justify them.

82. A particularly gross form of abuse of the most fundamental human rights of all—the rights to life and liberty—is terrorism. The horrifying events in Beirut last week served as a grim reminder of this growing evil. Terrorist acts may often be the work of small groups of crazed fanatics. But more and more they have had the material backing of a few misguided Governments. As the Secretary-General's report [A/39/I] makes clear, there has been a steady increase in politically motivated violence in all its baleful forms. Few areas of the world have been spared. As so often, it is innocent men and women who pay the price for this assault on the basic values of civilized society. Indiscriminate murder for the furtherance of political ends is wholly unacceptable. We must resist it with every legitimate means available to the international community.

83. The growing involvement in terrorism by Governments and their representatives abroad has brought to light another urgent problem: the abuse of diplomatic immunity. This is something which must deeply concern us all. Many representatives know that my Government is reviewing the working of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.⁶ We are seeking ways to tighten control of unacceptable activities by members of diplomatic missions. The Convention has, generally speaking, performed useful service for over 20 years. Its underlying principles have for centuries stood the test of application between sovereign States of widely differing character. What is lacking is determination on the part of signatory States to apply rigorously enough the safeguards and sanctions it contains. The Declaration on International Terrorism, issued at the London Economic Summit, held from 7 to 9 June 1984 [see A/39/306], and the measures agreed by the European Community at Dublin earlier this month are evidence of how, given the political will, States can swiftly take practical action to deal with international problems.

84. Let me in conclusion return to the theme with which I began. In speaking today of all the global and regional problems which confront us, I have many times referred to the need for realistic solutions and for a practical approach. I do so out of profound personal conviction, a conviction that is continually reinforced by my experience in political life in my own country and in international affairs. Put simply, it is this. None of the disputes and disagreements before us is of its essence insoluble. In many cases, we can already envisage the outline of a solution. In almost every case, what is needed, and what is missing, is political will—above all, the political will to work for practical agreement, to have the courage, imagination and dogged determination to negotiate in a rational and realistic fashion. Often, perhaps in most cases, that will mean the pursuit of limited, but attainable, objectives. Such an approach is a gradual one, demanding the steady creation of confidence between the parties. It will imply the breaking down of issues into manageable proportions, and it will require a spirit of understanding which takes account

of the political and economic realities on both sides of the argument.

85. Such an approach puts a discount on ringing declarations of intent and on uncompromising statements of minimum objectives. But it places a premium on steady, perhaps unspectacular, negotiation, often in private, and when it pays dividends, it pays handsomely. I said earlier that the British and Chinese Governments had initialled a historic agreement on the future of Hong Kong. But it is more than that. The agreement itself and, perhaps even more, the process by which it was achieved are powerful symbols of the way in which seemingly intractable problems can indeed be susceptible to treatment. And that, Mr. President, is the prescription which I end by offering you this afternoon.

86. Mr. ABE (Japan):* On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I wish, Sir, to extend to you my heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, given the wealth of your experience and the wisdom of your views, this session will prove fruitful indeed. Please be assured that the delegation of Japan will spare no effort in co-operating with you as you carry out your important duties.

87. At the same time, I should like to express my deep appreciation to the President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the very capable manner in which he discharged his awesome responsibilities.

88. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General. As we begin this third year under his leadership, I am most encouraged by his determined efforts and capable leadership in the face of the harsh international situation.

89. I am pleased to be able to extend a sincere welcome to Brunei Darussalam as the 159th country to be admitted to United Nations membership. As an Asian country itself, Japan is most happy to welcome this new Member.

90. Nearly 40 years have passed since the end of the Second World War. This has been a period of unprecedented political, economic and social change throughout the world. The scale and gravity of these ever-accelerating changes make it impossible for any one country to respond adequately on its own, yet the urgency of the situation demands that we respond without delay. There is a crying need for fresh perceptions and international co-operation. Nevertheless, the international situation remains tense.

91. East-West relations, especially relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, are languishing, and the arms control and disarmament talks between the two countries are suspended. Regional conflicts and disputes continue to foster instability world-wide.

92. In the world economy, the problems of unemployment and massive governmental deficits remain unsolved and protectionism is firmly entrenched even as the recovery, centred in the industrialized countries, takes hold and gains strength. The developing countries continue to face a myriad of difficulties, as may be seen in their cumulative foreign indebtedness and the critical food situation in Africa.

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

93. At the same time, however, patient co-operative efforts to bring about the relaxation of tensions and economic recovery are continuing here in the United Nations, as well as in multilateral and bilateral forums, and these efforts are gradually gaining momentum.

94. Looking back, Japan's post-war peace and prosperity were considerably facilitated by the prevailing international situation. Today, the changes in the international climate and the growth in the Japanese economy mean that Japan is increasingly expected to fulfil new international responsibilities commensurate with its national strength.

95. Since becoming Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have sought to bring about peace and prosperity in Asia and throughout the world by stepping up Japan's diplomatic efforts to promote disarmament and the relaxation of tensions; seeking to revitalize the economies of the developing countries through economic exchange; strengthening the bonds of co-operation and solidarity within the free world; promoting Japan's relations of friendship and co-operation with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region; and seeking mutual understanding through dialogue with the Eastern bloc. With the international situation becoming increasingly difficult, I am resolved to respond to the hopes which the international community has placed in Japan by developing a creative diplomacy for a more active and more constructive approach in keeping with the five goals just enumerated.

96. From this perspective, I should like to say a few words now on some of the international issues which I regard as especially important and to explain Japan's foreign policy and its efforts on these issues.

97. The first is the creation of a climate conducive to peace. With the world as unstable as it is today, the best and surest way to avert a potentially catastrophic war is to deter expansion and, more important, to prevent escalation of the various regional conflicts that erupt all over the globe, and then to alleviate these conflicts and find some way to resolve the underlying issues.

98. The tense situation surrounding the Iran-Iraq conflict persists. The Secretary-General's initiative last June produced agreement by both sides not to attack civilian population centres.⁷ Believing that such agreements are important steps toward inhibiting further escalation, Japan has the highest regard for the Secretary-General for having taken this initiative, as well as for Iran and Iraq for having acceded to his proposal. However, my Government finds it regrettable that attacks were recently made on industrial and economic facilities in both countries.

99. For the future, the issues before us are, first, how to prevent any escalation of the conflict and then how to build upon present efforts to scale down the conflict further. I hope the Secretary-General will continue to play an active role to that end. I am confident that the steady weight of such efforts goes far towards ensuring the success of the peace process. From this perspective, I would hope very much that the following two points would be promptly settled.

100. The first concerns the issue of chemical weapons. Given the present circumstances, it seems to be essential to reach a clear understanding that there will be no future violations of the 1925 Geneva Protocol⁸ prohibiting the use of chemical weapons.

101. The second concerns the issue of safe navigation in the Gulf. This is important not only to Iran and Iraq but to all countries. Ensuring safe navigation requires that the principle of free navigation be observed in international waters in the Gulf and also that the safe use of ports and harbours be respected. It is of vital importance that the ports and harbours of both countries should not be subject to attacks of any kind. Past United Nations resolutions may provide reference in defining ports and harbours in this connection.

102. I am confident that the settlement of these two points would contribute to the creation of a climate conducive to the just and honourable settlement of this conflict, now in its fifth year, and I strongly hope that these issues will be accorded comprehensive and serious consideration.

103. I have been very much concerned with the situation in this region throughout my tenure as Foreign Minister. I have met with the leaders of both Iran and Iraq several times, developed a sympathetic understanding of their positions and appealed to both sides for an early peace. In consultation with the Secretary-General and all other countries which seek peace in this region, I intend to continue to make every possible effort to create a climate conducive to peace.

104. Turning to Asia, the problem of Kampuchea remains unresolved. Japan has consistently supported a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem based upon the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Kampuchea and the exercise of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. At the same time, Japan believes that it is important to continue to explore various means in search of a clue to the solution of this problem, while maintaining its basic position. From this point of view, I made a three-point proposal centring upon financial support to the dialogue partners at the ministerial meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] at Jakarta in July.

105. To summarize the proposal: the first point concerns financial co-operation for peace-keeping activities in the event of last September's ASEAN appeal being implemented, with the consent of all the countries concerned; the second concerns co-operation, such as providing personnel, if free elections are held throughout the whole of Kampuchean territory under international supervision; and the third concerns Japan's co-operation in the reconstruction of Indo-China after peace has been restored in Kampuchea.

106. While fully aware that there are many difficulties on the road to peace in Kampuchea, Japan hopes that this proposal will be helpful in creating a climate conducive to peace in Indo-China, and we intend to continue our dialogue with the ASEAN countries as well as with the other countries concerned, including Viet Nam.

107. While the tense situation continues in the Korean peninsula, the Korean question should basically be resolved peacefully through direct dialogue between the authorities of both North and South. Japan strongly hopes that substantive dialogue will be resumed between the two sides as soon as possible.

108. Earlier this month, President Chun Doo-Hwan of the Republic of Korea paid an official visit to Japan. On that occasion, Japan reiterated its wel-

come and support for United Nations membership for both North and South Korea, if both sides would consider such membership as one step on the road to reunification of the Korean peninsula, as contributing to the relaxation of tensions and as enhancing the universality of the United Nations. For its part, Japan will continue to co-operate in every way possible to create a climate conducive to the relaxation of tensions in the Korean peninsula.

109. Elsewhere in the world I find it most regrettable that in the past year no concrete progress has been made in resolving the problems in Afghanistan and the Middle East. In Afghanistan, I call upon all parties concerned for a prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops, the restoration of self-determination for the Afghan people and a safe and honourable return for the refugees. On the issue of peace in the Middle East, I again appeal to all the principals involved to make even greater efforts for the attainment of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

110. Despite the implementation of the plan for civil order in Lebanon in July, the United States Embassy annex was brutally bombed just last week. This deplorable incident shows how fragile the peace in Lebanon is. For the sake of stability in Lebanon, I hope that all the parties concerned will redouble their efforts for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and the attainment of national reconciliation.

111. Japan strongly calls upon the Republic of South Africa to abandon its policy of racial discrimination. Likewise, we hope that the issue of Namibian independence will be promptly resolved through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and that the United Nations will exercise its leadership on this issue.

112. In Central America, where tensions continue high, Japan strongly supports the efforts being made by the Contadora Group and other intraregional efforts.

113. The Soviet Union being an important neighbour of Japan, I would like again this year to touch upon relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. I find it most regrettable that the Soviet Union has not only refused to sit down to discuss the still unresolved issue of Japan's Northern Territories, but has even deployed and strengthened its military forces in our Northern Territories in recent years. Japan very much hopes to resolve this territorial issue and conclude a peace treaty with the Soviet Union and hence to promote the establishment of a stable relationship based upon true mutual understanding and trust. We therefore intend to continue to expand and strengthen the dialogue with the Soviet Union, and I hope that the Soviet Union will show a similar willingness.

114. I would next like to speak of the search for long-lasting and structural peace—another priority of Japanese foreign policy.

115. The excessive stockpiles of nuclear weapons existing today threaten the very survival of mankind. We must find some way to eliminate this threat.

116. Last June I attended the Conference on Disarmament, at Geneva, the first Japanese Foreign Minister ever to do so, and appealed to the United States, the Soviet Union and all countries of the world to make serious efforts for disarmament. Especially regarding the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces and the strategic arms reduction talks, which are currently suspended between the

United States and the Soviet Union, I strongly called upon the Soviet Union to fulfil its grave responsibilities as a nuclear super-Power by returning to the negotiating table as soon as possible and without preconditions, both in response to the global popular demand for peace and to maintain and strengthen the régime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*].

117. As a means of advancing the goal of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, I proposed a realistic approach whereby the "threshold" for a nuclear-test ban would be gradually lowered as multilateral capabilities of verification are improved. I very much hope that this proposal will be taken up and discussed in greater detail at next year's meetings of the Conference on Disarmament.

118. In the non-nuclear-weapons field, the world is now more keenly aware than ever before of the need for a ban on chemical weapons.

119. The issue of preventing an arms race in outer space has also become a matter of increasing international concern, and there was recently hope that talks might soon start between the United States and the Soviet Union. These hopes reflected the fervent desire of the people of all countries for the arms control and disarmament negotiations to resume. I earnestly hope that, in response to these wishes, the nuclear disarmament talks will progress and East-West relations will improve.

120. The United Nations, where we are gathered today, is the only institutional foundation for peace agreed upon by the many countries of the world. Having experienced the horror of the Second World War, Japan proclaimed its renunciation of force as a means of settling international disputes and has been working ever since to settle disputes peaceably. Reaffirming this basic policy stance, Japan is resolved to contribute even more actively to the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the preservation and strengthening of peace through the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and other organs of the United Nations.

121. Although some people have recently been critical or scornful of the United Nations, we must never forget that the scale and complexity of the political and economic difficulties facing the global community today are intractable to solution by any one country acting alone and can be resolved only through multilateral co-operation.

122. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], the Secretary-General has written:

"To make the United Nations work better, what is needed, above all, is a determined and persistent effort to strike a balance between national and international interest.

"... therefore, I wish to repeat my call for a multilateral and rational approach to the problems of international peace and development."

I am in complete agreement with the Secretary-General's views, and I intend to continue to seek peace and prosperity for Japan within the context of peace and prosperity for all the world.

123. The United Nations will be 40 years old next year, and I think this is an excellent time for all Member States to give serious consideration to how we can best invigorate the United Nations organization and functions as we look ahead to the twenty-first century. Japan pledges to fulfil its international

responsibilities and to work with other Member countries for the revitalization of this world body.

124. Thirdly, I would like to say a few words about actions which must be taken in order to cope with the new age and which will always be required for the survival and prosperity of mankind.

125. The new nations of Africa, which appeared so youthful and robust in 1960—the “Year of Africa”—face almost unbearable difficulties today. Over 150 million people have been stricken with malnutrition and starvation on the African continent, and more and more unfortunate people are dying every day. This situation is even worse than war—it is an affront to peace. How can we speak of peace while this tragedy continues? I feel it was therefore most timely for the Secretary-General to call early this year for relief for the crisis in Africa. The question before us now is whether or not the world will respond sympathetically to this tragedy, and the very value of the United Nations itself is on the line.

126. This unprecedented crisis does not arise solely from a quirk of nature but is rooted in a variety of structural causes. Accordingly, while the need to relieve starvation is of obvious urgency, it is imperative on a more fundamental level that our reach extend to the complex web of structural factors and that we treat this not with a bewildering array of contradictory policy responses, but with a co-operative and comprehensive solution involving the international community.

127. Allow me to propose that all United Nations agencies be mobilized to draw up a unified plan of action for Africa making effective use of the total range of United Nations capabilities. At the same time, allow me to call upon all United Nations Member States for their support and participation as the Organization moves to implement specific actions in accordance with that plan.

128. As a start, Japan has already pledged over \$100 million in food assistance to Africa this year, and we are engaged in candid discussions with African countries to explore what we can do to help promote food production in the region and co-operate effectively with their nation-building. Over the past 10 years, Japan has achieved dramatic increases in its economic co-operation with the countries of Africa, and we are already the second largest non-regional subscriber to the African Development Fund and the African Development Bank. In the field of technical co-operation as well, over 40 per cent of all Japan Overseas Co-operation Volunteers are sent to Africa, where they promote co-operation at the grass-roots level. Within Japan itself, the month beginning 28 September has been declared the “Month of Africa”, and we intend to publicize African cultural, social and historical traditions so as to enhance further Japanese understanding of Africa’s present plight, to spark a broad-based fund-raising drive and to arouse popular support and co-operation for the countries of Africa.

129. I hope that this session’s debate on the problems of Africa will be an opportunity for bringing our various national efforts together and generating the momentum needed to overcome the crisis on that continent.

130. I should like next to turn my attention to the world economy. Today all countries, industrialized and developing, find their economies irrevocably interdependent. Effective co-operation among coun-

tries is indispensable to resolving the complex difficulties afflicting the world economy.

131. One of the problems demanding effective international co-operation, one of the most important issues facing many of the developing countries today, is that of their cumulative indebtedness. This problem has the potential of wreaking havoc not only on the debtor countries but also on the entire world economy. It is a problem that we ignore at our own peril.

132. Because there is such great diversity in the economies of the debtor countries, it is necessary that the responses be patiently and carefully crafted to meet each situation. Although the determined co-operation of all the parties concerned has averted collapse so far, we are still considerable time and effort away from a fundamental solution. Looking at the essential elements of the problem from a long-term perspective, I believe we need efforts by the debtor countries to adjust their economic structures for expanded exports and co-operative efforts by the creditor countries to maintain the smooth flow of capital to the debtor countries and to improve further their access to the markets of the industrialized countries.

133. I am, however, encouraged by recent developments. With the Latin American countries emphasizing the urgent need for a solution at this year’s meetings of the debtor countries—such as those held at Quito in January and Cartagena in June—the industrialized countries are encouraging multi-year rescheduling for the private-sector debts of countries making effective efforts to help themselves. There is a spirit of co-operation in the air, and Mexico—which I visited just before coming to New York—recently reached a rescheduling agreement that is a model of its kind.

134. Trade expansion is indispensable to any long-term solution of the debt problem and to the sustained development of the world economy. To achieve this we must roll back protectionism and preserve and strengthen the free-trade system. Realizing that, Japan proposed the beginning of preparations for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations last November, and we have been working hard ever since to advance that idea.

135. At the London Economic Summit of industrialized countries, held last June, it was agreed to consult partners in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with a view to deciding at an early date on a new round of negotiations. Japan intends to continue its efforts to commence a new round in which as broad a range of countries as possible—both industrialized and developing—will participate.

136. Because it views official development assistance as an important international responsibility, Japan has been endeavouring, despite its tight fiscal situation, to expand its official development assistance in line with the medium-term target of doubling the total amount of that assistance in five years. Our official development assistance figure for 1983 represented a 24.4 per cent increase over the figure for the previous year.

137. Japan attaches importance to the development of human resources and has made special efforts in the field of technical co-operation with the developing countries. I believe that technical co-operation is in itself a creative process; it promotes technological progress to meet the actual needs of each developing

country in harmony with its traditional way of life, and we intend to continue such technical co-operation. "Human resources development" has long been an important element in Japan's economic and technical co-operation with the ASEAN countries. When the problems of co-operation in the Pacific region were discussed at ASEAN's ministerial meeting in July with the dialogue partners, I emphasized the need for "human resources development", and I am delighted that this was then accepted and thereafter became a major theme for broad regional co-operation in the Pacific.

138. If we are to achieve a much-needed breakthrough in the North-South problem and, in particular, if we are to promote further economic and technical co-operation between North and South, I believe that, in addition to the efforts for the expansion of development assistance and "human resources development", we need what I would call a concerted effort by both North and South based on a new perspective. For example, closer and more substantive dialogue between donor and recipient countries, if it were conducted in a concerted manner by both sides, would greatly enhance effectiveness and efficiency in economic co-operation. At the same time, positive use should be made of the dynamism of the private sector in tackling the difficult problems of development. In technology, as in capital co-operation, efforts to establish a more organic link between government-level co-operation and private-sector co-operation are certainly of increasing importance to both North and South.

139. We all stand today at an important juncture from which, availing ourselves of the wisdom of both North and South, we can embark upon creative efforts based on a new perspective, for the solution of the North-South problem.

140. Where are we to derive the energy needed to create the new world of the twenty-first century? Obviously, it must come from within ourselves. Of all the forms of life on this earth, only man has the power to shape his own destiny. We must draw upon this power today. When one realizes how the mutual stimulation of differing cultures has sparked new possibilities among peoples, propelling history through the ages, it should be clear that, in drawing together all countries, large and small, to argue their cases on an equal basis, the United Nations is indeed a reactor generating new historical forces. Advances in communications and transportation technologies are bringing people in all parts of the world ever closer together, and contacts among different cultures are on the increase. I believe that this wealth of contacts contributes importantly to realizing the potential of all peoples.

141. The world is admittedly faced with great difficulties. It is for us to overcome those difficulties and go on to a new era. Drawing upon the imagination and vitality of all of our peoples, we must harness the forces of human creativity to generate a new era of hope for all mankind.

142. Mr. DIZDAREVIĆ (Yugoslavia): I congratulate you cordially, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I also take great pleasure in pointing out that the relations between Zambia and Yugoslavia, two non-aligned countries, are characterized by sincere friendship and long-lasting fruitful co-operation. I am confident that your vast experience

in the United Nations will greatly contribute to the successful conclusion of the work of this session of the General Assembly.

143. I should like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Mr. Jorge Illueca, of non-aligned and friendly Panama, who guided the deliberations of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly with such authority and wisdom.

144. We highly appreciate the persistent endeavours of the Secretary-General aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations in international relations, as well as his personal involvement in the solution of many important issues.

145. I am also pleased to congratulate Brunei Darussalam on its admission to membership in the United Nations.

146. I regret to say that at this year's session of the General Assembly we cannot but reiterate once again the assessments we have been repeating for a number of years now regarding the grave situation in the world, one which has dangerous implications for the future of mankind. The positive values and achievements built patiently and painstakingly over the years by our joint efforts and endeavours in the struggle for peace, security and equitable international political and economic relations are perhaps more than ever before in jeopardy.

147. No pressing international problem has been solved, or even alleviated, in the period that has elapsed since the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly. One could say that many of these problems have been exacerbated even further. Yet another year has been lost for détente. We are faced with the same phenomena that threaten peace, security, co-operation and development. A new cycle of the arms race is under way, and no one is any longer certain whether this race and the means of destruction it generates can be kept under control. General insecurity and a feeling of growing threat make us increasingly hostage to the fear of self-annihilation.

148. Negotiations and dialogue between the super-Powers and blocs have given way to rivalry and to accusations and counter-accusations. The need to negotiate is far too often approached from the position of gaining advantage and supremacy. The expansion of spheres of interest or influence and growing divisions seem to have become the main preoccupation, instead of efforts to overcome these divisions in the world. Therein lie the root causes that are blocking forums and channels of negotiation and agreement.

149. There are frequent cases of threats to sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity, of interference in the internal affairs and undermining of the internal stability of countries, and of failure to respect the most elementary human right—the right to self-determination and to a free choice of one's own development. Violence and terrorism are continually used as a means of state policy.

150. The crisis in international economic relations is getting worse. The world is facing new forms of economic, financial and technological dependence and neo-colonial exploitation. The position of the developing countries has worsened dramatically, as reflected particularly in the problem of debts. The gap between the developed and the developing, between the rich and the poor, appears to be widening while the readiness of developed countries

to engage in global negotiations and in a joint search for solutions is diminishing.

151. Are we not faced with attempts to block the process of emancipation and democratization of international relations and to contest and repress the principles and practices which have contributed to their positive development? Are we not faced with increased pressures to preserve and expand domination by the rich and the powerful? After a period of relaxation of tensions, greater understanding and upsurge in co-operation, we have found ourselves in a situation reminiscent of the times which, we thought, had been relegated to the past.

152. Is such an international situation actually beneficial to anyone? Do not even the most powerful countries feel more threatened today than at the time when they were negotiating and showing more tolerance for the interests of others? Has the interruption of substantive talks not undermined the positive achievements on which the great Powers themselves have built their mutual relations and respect for a long time? Does the poverty of the majority not threaten the affluence of the minority?

153. If mankind wishes to survive, it can have only one future—a future of peace, co-operation and equality, with the right of all peoples and countries to decide upon their own internal development and foreign policy. Mankind is already well advanced along the road to such a future. However, at present it is faced with efforts to halt such a development. On certain points and on certain issues, this can and does bring about temporary stoppages. If such attempts continue, grave disturbances and disruptions will become inevitable. Is it not obvious from what they have already brought about that these attempts at halting progress in international relations lead to a deterioration of international relations that brings us nearer to serious political, economic and social upheavals with unforeseeable consequences? Is it not obvious that this road could lead to new wars? How many times has it been proved over the past decades since the establishment of the United Nations that peace is indivisible from progress in world relations and that the policy of domination, exploitation and hegemony in international relations constitutes a threat to peace?

154. There is a vast discrepancy between the present unfavourable state of affairs and conditions in the world and the need for and possibility of halting that dangerous and retrogressive trend and turning it towards peace, equitable co-operation and general progress. Peoples throughout the world are opposed to historically outdated concepts aimed at preserving any position of privilege and domination in the world. The policy of non-alignment and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have offered a vision of and a platform for the transformation of the international order in the interest of all the peoples of the world.

155. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, offered the world a comprehensive and concrete programme for overcoming the crisis in international political and economic relations and resolving the problems which create focal-points of crisis, a programme leading to a future in which peace, co-operation and prosperity would prevail. A growing number of proposals aiming at the same objective are being advanced from various

quarters. The world is not short of initiatives designed to correct the present state of affairs. It suffers, however, from a lack of the will to act, especially on the part of those who bear the greatest responsibility for the present situation.

156. The development of international relations and the future of mankind cannot be left to chance, subjected to anyone's selfish interests or, for that matter, entrusted to the wealthiest and most powerful, influential and developed group of countries. The fate of all of us depends on the way in which international relations develop. It is therefore natural that we should all make our contribution to shaping that development.

157. However, the greatest responsibility for overcoming the present extremely dangerous international situation is borne by the great Powers. We are all aware of the impact of their mutual relations on overall international development. Thus the entire international community has the natural right and obligation to assist in and contribute to an improvement in their relations. We therefore request the great Powers to sit down at the negotiating table in order to make the contribution expected of them by means of negotiation and accommodation.

158. We cannot accept the imposition of a cold-war ideology on problems and issues of international and bilateral relations. History abounds in lessons learned at great cost which teach us that it is necessary to live together and co-operate regardless of our differing systems and ideologies. We are aware of the implications of attempts to export and impose systems and ideologies, attempts to interfere with a view to influencing internal social and economic development. We are also aware that in this increasingly interdependent world we exert an influence upon each other through our own values and common achievements, that we enrich each other with progress and achievements that have a genuine value. True values, regardless of who contributes them to the treasury of world progress, know no frontiers and do not need to be exported.

159. I would recall that we have asserted in the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session by a large majority, that:

“No State or group of States has the right to intervene or interfere in any form or for any reason whatsoever in the internal and external affairs of other States.” [*Resolution 36/103, annex, para. 1.*]

The Declaration also states that it is the duty of a State to ensure that its territory is not used in any manner which would violate the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and national unity or disrupt the political, economic or social stability of another State.

160. To what extent are these principles actually observed and applied? Unfortunately, we must say that we still witness frequent and flagrant infringements of them rather than their observance. Observance of these principles is precisely the way to a future of international co-operation, understanding, equality and confidence.

161. With each new weapon we fall behind in the race for peace. Is this not endangering the security and disturbing the tranquillity even of those who see their own security in military superiority? Can the security of some be strengthened by constantly

increasing the insecurity of others? Can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that almost \$1 trillion a year is being spent for armaments while hundreds of millions of people live in poverty and want and thousands of children die of hunger every day?

162. We have not lost hope that we can arrest the march towards the Slough of Despond, from which there is no return.

163. We recall that, together with non-aligned and other countries, we have constantly advocated from this rostrum the adoption of measures conducive to the start of a process of genuine disarmament. We are in favour of the adoption of all proposals aimed at the prevention of nuclear war; a freeze of the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons; the early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty; and the conclusion of an internationally acceptable agreement giving guarantees to non-nuclear States that nuclear weapons will not be used against them and that they will not be threatened with their use. We also support all actions aimed at halting the arms race in outer space and banning the use of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. We particularly support the elaboration and adoption as a matter of urgency of a comprehensive programme of general and complete disarmament. We consider the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones to be a way of creating a world free of the heavy burden of nuclear armament.

164. Use should be made of every opportunity for negotiations and to seek internationally acceptable solutions.

165. I have already pointed out at the beginning of my statement the gravity and dramatic character of the crisis in international economic relations. This situation is fraught with the danger of great political disruptions and explosions. It seems that we have entered a period in which a new wave of neo-colonialism is affecting a large number of countries. The persistence of the developed countries in their domination is bringing about an ever-deeper economic crisis, as a result of which these countries, too, will inevitably suffer great losses and face unforeseeable consequences.

166. How is it possible to seek solutions acceptable for developing countries in conditions of growing protectionism, reduced commodity prices, huge interest rates, foreign exchange fluctuations and diminished inflow of official development assistance, which hardly exceeds half the agreed target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product?

167. Is it possible that the alarming plight of the least developed countries cannot arouse solidarity in the international community? Instead of repeating continually that these are the most seriously affected countries, it is high time to take concrete measures aimed at surmounting this critical state of affairs. The exceptionally difficult economic situation in Africa makes this all the more necessary.

168. The debts of the developing countries are the most alarming reflection of the crisis in economic relations. They threaten seriously the economic development of these countries as well as their political, social and economic stability.

169. Debts exceeding \$800 billion and the burden of debt-servicing intensified by high interest rates for which the developing countries will have to pay over \$75 billion this year alone are unfortunately also

being used as a means of exploitation, pressure and interference in internal affairs and to exhaust the economies of the developing countries.

170. The practice of shifting the entire debt burden on the shoulders of debtor countries alone is unacceptable. The creditors should also have their share in this burden. Urgent solutions for this world problem must be sought through the broadest possible engagement of the international community. It is indispensable to reach global agreements not only to facilitate the terms of repayment and to reduce interest rates, but first and foremost to ensure an accelerated economic development of debtor countries. We fully support the efforts of the 11 Latin American countries which are seeking and offering ways in which to surmount the debt crisis in their own interests as well as in the broadest interest of stability and development of the international community.

171. We expect the international monetary and financial institutions, particularly the ones most directly involved in resolving debt problems, to show greater understanding and respect for the real possibilities of developing countries and to abandon the existing practice which is unacceptable and outdated.

172. The international conference on money and finance for development, whose concept will be presented by the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will be an avenue for seeking solutions to these problems.

173. We still firmly believe that lasting and stable solutions to the development problems inevitably call for profound changes in world economic relations aimed at the establishment of the new international economic order through global negotiations.

174. A way out of the crisis does not lie in confrontation between developed and developing countries. The developed countries are not in favour of this and will not accept it. A way out can be found through dialogue and co-operation which would ensure economic stability and diminish the differences in the levels of development. This is in the interest of the entire international community.

175. Time has shown once again that there can be no just, lasting and comprehensive solution to any of the foci of crisis without observance of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principles of self-determination, sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference, withdrawal of foreign troops from occupied territories and full respect for the right of peoples to choose their own social system as well as the path of their internal development and involvement in international relations.

176. My country has always seen the possibility of achieving solutions based on these principles to such current crisis situations as: the Middle East crisis and the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole and legitimate representative; the final accession to independence by the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its sole and authentic representative; the termination of the war between Iran and Iraq; support for the unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus; the termination of foreign intervention and interference in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Grenada, as well as the elimination of the

crisis situation and tension in Central America and the Caribbean with the full support of the efforts of the Contadora Group.

177. Yugoslavia has been actively participating in all the endeavours aimed at restoring the atmosphere of relaxation of tensions and greater understanding in the Mediterranean, a region fraught with many conflicts. With a view to implementing General Assembly resolution 38/189, adopted by consensus on 20 December 1983, the Mediterranean members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, at their recent ministerial meeting, held at Valletta on 10 and 11 September, have identified their joint position and programme of action aimed at strengthening peace, security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

178. In its entire international activity, Yugoslavia has proceeded from the fact that the United Nations is an irreplaceable forum for safeguarding peace, strengthening security and resolving international problems. We oppose any attempt to undermine the positive results achieved by the United Nations in numerous fields and to exclude the world Organization from the solution of the major problems of the present day.

179. This session of the General Assembly is faced with questions: what are we bringing with us into the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, what have we learned from the experiences gained over the past four decades and what are we expected to do as a result of the great transformations that have taken place in the world and have changed the Organization? Where and how to continue is the question to which an answer should be sought and found precisely on the occasion of this anniversary, and particularly an answer to the question of how to make the United Nations more effective and capable of ensuring respect for and implementation of the principles, norms and decisions that we have adopted and will adopt in the future. This anniversary provides an opportunity for the greatest possible number of heads of State or Government to gather at the United Nations and engage in a useful dialogue on the most important questions related to the functioning of the Organization and to the problems of the present-day world.

180. In the present dangerous international situation, it is difficult to be an optimist, but nor are we pessimists. We do share a common destiny and a common future. We have to defend what we have in common since we made many sacrifices and have invested much effort and hope. Consequently, we should not forsake our common heritage. Furthermore, we must persevere in our effort to make the world of tomorrow better than today's world. Let us therefore respond in thought and action to the message of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983: "The earth belongs to us all—let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man."

181. Mr. MORÁN (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I wish to convey to you my delegation's congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your well-known personal and professional qualities, clearly shown throughout your fruitful work in the United Nations, offer a guarantee that our work will be conducted by firm and expert hands.

I can assure you that in the performance of your task you may count on the sincere co-operation of the delegation of Spain.

182. It gives me special satisfaction to recall the praiseworthy work done by the President of the Assembly's thirty-eighth session, Mr. Jorge Illueca, who occupied the highest position in Panama and also devoted himself to the work of that session.

183. On behalf of my delegation, I, too, wish to give a cordial welcome to the new Member of the Organization, Brunei Darussalam, the admission of which adds to the community of sovereign nations. We wish that nation all the best in its new life as an independent State.

184. We are living through particularly difficult times. We are witnessing a recrudescence of violence and terrorism, an exacerbation of old conflicts, a worsening, for most people, of the economic crisis, in brief, the persistence of a climate of insecurity and international tension.

185. However, we have today institutions and multilateral mechanisms with which, despite their imperfections, we can face these challenges. They are, in fact, the appropriate means for solving global problems, assuming there is the political will to use them correctly. I am referring especially to the United Nations. And in this context, the recent appeal by the Secretary-General for multilateralism could not have been more opportune. My delegation supports that fully.

Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.

186. With idealism, but also with realism, the Government of Spain has inscribed among its priorities for foreign policy the defence of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and I can assure you, Mr. President, that we will do whatever is within our reach to strengthen the Organization.

187. Peace requires security as a prerequisite, but only with justice can it attain its fullness.

188. Spain today has taken on the moral commitment to contribute to the attainment of a safer and more just international order. Because we wish there to be a safer world, we consider it a priority to make considerable strides in the areas of détente and disarmament. We remain convinced, however, that these strides would be short-lived were we not to make efforts at the same time to attain a more just economic and social order.

189. We continue to experience moments of tension in international relations, made worse by the break in the dialogue between the major Powers and by the arms race. Present levels of weapons are dangerous as well as costly. We cannot disregard the general cry, particularly by the young, who call for us to put an end, without further delay, to such shocking escalation.

190. We are absolutely convinced that it is possible to attain balance at a lower level of armaments without endangering the legitimate security interests of each State.

191. We have made various appeals, which we reiterate at this time, for the United States and the Soviet Union to resume their talks as soon as possible. We believe that at these times of mistrust and uncertainty any proposal aimed at restoring effective dialogue should be welcome. It is in this

spirit that the President of the Government of Spain made a statement in support of the so-called initiative of the five continents, begun last May by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania.

192. Some recent indications support our conviction that the doors to dialogue remain open. Today, more than ever, we must expand such avenues of communication towards a rebirth of the spirit and practice of *détente*.

193. But, together with dialogue between the great Powers, all States, whether nuclear or not, are in duty bound to promote the causes of disarmament and *détente*. Spain, within the framework of the Western system of security, of which it is a part, as well as through its participation in the various multilateral forums, will spare no efforts to that end.

194. Within the framework of the United Nations, we hope that the Conference on Disarmament may shortly conclude a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and that it will achieve the results which everyone desires with regard to the prohibition of chemical weapons. In both areas, existing obstacles, including that of verification, should not prove insoluble. At the same time, we hope that the Conference on Disarmament will pay special attention to the risks of militarization of outer space which, were it to become a reality, would be a new and serious factor of instability and insecurity.

195. While arms reduction and control are essential to the maintenance of international security, we cannot forget the decisive importance which confidence-building measures have for the process of disarmament; these measures are aimed at reducing international tension and at strengthening rationality and stability in international relations. Spain is taking an active part in the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, at Stockholm, which followed the Madrid meeting of representatives of the participating States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and trusts that the Stockholm Conference will be able to adopt concrete and effective measures. Our delegation, without giving up any of its basic principles, is willing to analyse and take into account the points of view which may be presented by other groups of countries. In keeping with its position at the Madrid meeting, my country will try to bring about a *rapprochement* among the parties and thus safeguard the basic principles that make for coexistence and co-operation.

196. While we wish to build real and lasting peace, we must also endeavour to eliminate the deep causes of conflicts: injustice and oppression.

197. Torture, arbitrary detention and forced disappearances continue to be current practice in many regions of the world. Political persecution still forces citizens of some countries to go into exile. Racial discrimination afflicts many societies; its most odious and intolerable manifestation is the system of *apartheid*.

198. Despite that painful fact, we cannot disregard the important role played by the United Nations and other international organizations in the definition, recognition, protection and promotion of fundamental rights and freedoms. Owing largely to their activities, more and more States are accepting the obligation to report on the status of human rights

within their borders, are agreeing to recourse by their citizens to multilateral forums and are agreeing to be investigated. But there is still a long way to go towards perfecting and completing present control mechanisms.

199. The Government of Spain, while it continues to develop its constitutional tenets, is willing to continue co-operating with the international system for the defence of human rights. In the framework of the United Nations, we took part this year, for the first time, in the work of the Commission on Human Rights, whose role we regard as of crucial importance.

200. This session of the General Assembly is to consider a draft convention on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, which has been submitted to it by the Commission on Human Rights.² We believe that this draft, to which my Government attaches great importance, is ripe for adoption and that, through a negotiating effort, it will be possible to overcome the difficulties that still remain and to adopt the convention at this session.

201. A stable and peaceful world can only be based on a more just and better balanced economic and social order. The improvement and restructuring of international economic relations constitute one of the great challenges faced by the international community.

202. The international economy is suffering one of its deepest crises. Given the global nature of that crisis, the solutions can only be global too.

203. It is true that the picture for some countries is less disquieting than it was last year, owing, among other things, to the increase of the activities in the sphere of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and to the gradual recovery of international trade. But the effects of the crisis continue to be felt particularly severely and intensely in the less-developed countries.

204. The foreign debt not only is the main hindrance to development for many countries, but also threatens the very survival of the international financial system. Spain is open to any proposals that may include new ideas for solving this difficult problem, without losing sight of the possibilities offered by present avenues for renegotiation, among them the IMF. But we should not forget that we are faced with a question that should not be approached on a strictly financial basis.

205. High interest rates in the United States lead to a massive capital flow into the North American market and press upwards the rates in other countries. That is still another road-block to economic recovery. It hampers international trade and compounds the problems of the debtor countries.

206. Protectionist trends are being reaffirmed in the international market. Thus a vicious circle is created, which prevents developing countries from reconciling economic progress with the servicing of their foreign debt.

207. Many developing countries have had to face an economic crisis while, at the same time, opening new ways to democratic participation by their citizens. It is a tribute to the democratic system that the impact of adjustment measures implemented by those countries has not led in many of them to the social and political turmoil that some had predicted. Nevertheless, maintaining these recession-inducing

policies for too long could lead to a social explosion whose consequences would be felt throughout the international community.

208. As the Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1]:

"If we do not address current economic problems seriously and urgently, we will not be able to confine them to the economic sphere alone. In our world of growing economic interdependence, impoverished people faced perpetually with a variety of overwhelming economic and social crises constitute not only a challenge to international conscience, but a threat to international stability as well."

209. All of us must learn the lesson of this crisis, which is none other than the irreversible economic interdependence of the world and the close interrelationship of economic and political phenomena.

210. Spain, a country that has had to undergo democratic transition and consolidation at a time when adjustments have been required because of the economic crisis, stands in solidarity with the developing countries in the situation they are facing. Thus, my Government has authorized all bilateral and multilateral negotiations designed to alleviate the effects of the crisis on those countries.

211. The United Nations has played an important part in the struggle against underdevelopment through its co-operation programmes for development, emergency aid, training and research, and food aid. We are convinced that in the present circumstances it is called upon to play an even more important part. In this context, the final launching of global negotiations at this session of the General Assembly could be one of the most appropriate means of finding a lasting solution to the present crisis.

212. I have chosen to focus my statement on the three major challenges that the international community faces on its path towards coexistence based on security, respect for human rights, and economic and social development. Now, however, I shall refer to some of the regional problems of special interest to my Government.

213. My country continues to be concerned about developments in Central America, where the living conditions and safety of the citizens continue to deteriorate. We have repeatedly stated that in our view the deep causes of the long-standing crisis in the region are unjust economic and social structures and that the trends we note towards growing militarization merely contribute to a worsening of the situation and could turn the isthmus into an area of endemic confrontation. On the other hand, the tendency to place internal conflicts or differences between States in the context of global confrontation between the major Powers not only is an obstacle to the solution of the present crises and the age-old problems of the countries of Central America, but also threatens world peace.

214. Since the beginning of 1983, Spain has been actively supporting the peace initiative of the countries in the Contadora Group and the tireless efforts made to reach a regional agreement based on the principles of non-intervention, non-interference, non-use of force or the threat of force, and real respect for human rights as enshrined by the United Nations.

215. Spain feels itself closely linked to that region and is especially alive to the aspirations of its inhabitants to peace and well-being. We are pleased, therefore, at the *rapprochement* that seems to be taking place between Western Europe, of which we are a part, and Central America, to which we are joined by fraternal bonds. We believe that Europe should spare no efforts on either the economic or the political level that could contribute to attaining a peace that is possible and a prosperity that is legitimate. In this connection, we regard the initiative taken by President Monge, of Costa Rica, which will bear fruit at the end of this week in the meeting at San José of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five Central American countries, the four countries of the Contadora Group, the 10 countries members of the European Economic Community, and Spain and Portugal, as an extremely important one, and we hope that it will contribute to the attainment of those goals.

216. In the South Atlantic, the future of the Malvinas Islands continues to be a major source of concern for the international community. In addition, it is a source of tension between the United Kingdom and Argentina. We urge those Governments to resolve their sovereignty dispute through negotiation in such a way that the territorial integrity of Argentina may be restored and due account taken of the interests of the population, in keeping with United Nations resolutions.

217. By historical, political and cultural tradition, nothing that occurs in the Mediterranean area can be alien to Spain. My Government watches with special attention the problems and developments in the Maghreb region. We trust that the treaties of fraternity between Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania and the treaty of union between Morocco and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will, instead of creating two opposing axes, result in benefits for an increasingly united and peaceful Maghreb. We continue to believe that such a peace can be achieved only if the Saharan conflict is settled. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] have set forth quite clearly the principles and means by which that can be done. My Government will spare no effort and will co-operate as called upon by the parties concerned or by the United Nations and the OAU whenever such co-operation can contribute towards a just and stable peace in the region.

218. The question of Cyprus continues to be a source of tension in the eastern Mediterranean. We reiterate our appeal for a compromise that can ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and promote peaceful coexistence between the two communities settled there.

219. At the thirty-eighth session [12th meeting], I tried to set forth clearly the position of the Government of Spain with regard to the tragedy of Lebanon, the question of Palestine and the war between Iran and Iraq. I shall not repeat what I said at that time, but I do feel it opportune briefly to mention some of the most recent events there, since they may have a bearing on the evolution of the problems of the Near and Middle East.

220. In Lebanon we have recently witnessed bloody and painful events that have shocked the conscience of mankind. Nevertheless, even amidst so much grief, the spirit of the Lebanese people, reaffirming its independence, sovereignty and identity, has sur-

vived intact. We must welcome the recent efforts towards reconciliation made by the Lebanese themselves, efforts that have been supported by many Arab countries—notably, by the Syrian Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia.

221. The Palestinian people, although increasingly secure in its identity, continues to be deprived of its rights and its homeland. Of late, in addition to the traditional difficulties inherent in so extremely complex a problem as that of the Middle East, a certain climate of confusion and division has come to prevail within the PLO. Only the security created by unity and cohesion can lead to the creation of the conditions necessary for a negotiated, just and lasting solution.

222. Such a solution, we must repeat, can only be based on withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and the security of all States of the region, including Israel. However, it will be difficult to begin to move towards peace if the Israeli Government does not abandon its settlement policy.

223. The war between Iran and Iraq compels us to reissue to its leaders our earlier appeal that they evince the flexibility needed to put an end to a conflict that has for four years now had tragic consequences for the peoples of two friendly countries. We trust that a compromise may be reached that will allow them to coexist in peace and to preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We are aware that the human and material losses caused by the spread of hostilities to the Gulf are not as severe as the death and destruction the belligerents have suffered, but we do ask that the free and peaceful passage of vessels from third countries through those waters be assured.

224. In other geographic areas as well there are problems that continue to be a source of concern to my Government.

225. In keeping with United Nations resolutions on the situation in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, which we have supported, we believe that the withdrawal of foreign troops is a necessary prerequisite for the peoples of those two countries to be able freely to choose the political system best suited to their interests.

226. With regard to the problems in southern Africa, we would cite with hope and interest such accords as the Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness between Mozambique and South Africa, signed at Nkomati on 16 March 1984 [see A/39/159, annex I], and talks such as those that led to the agreement between Angola and South Africa, reached at Lusaka on 16 February 1984. It is still premature to be optimistic. However, those events, as well as the recent meetings between leaders of South Africa and SWAPO, should impel us to encourage a development that could lead to the rapid independence of Namibia through the implementation, without further delay, of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the cessation of all aggression against Angola and other African front-line States.

227. I cannot conclude my statement without making reference to a problem that is of very direct concern to my country. My Government is continuing its efforts to find a solution to the anachronistic situation that exists in Gibraltar, the only colony still extant on the continent of Europe. It is a priority

objective of Spain's foreign policy to achieve the restoration of its territorial integrity through peaceful means and continued dialogue with the United Kingdom. The Government of Spain reiterates its commitment, in the course of such negotiations and in the future, to respect the legitimate interests of the population of Gibraltar.

228. Last April my country was honoured by the visit of the Secretary-General. My Government wishes to express to him once again its gratitude for the quiet and devoted work he has been conducting. His effective guidance of the Secretariat and his perseverance in the quest for solutions to such thorny and delicate problems as those of Cyprus, Afghanistan or the Iran-Iraq conflict are worthy of our praise as well as of our support and encouragement.

229. The forthcoming fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should be for all of us an occasion for profound reflection on the limitations and also on the opportunities that the multilateral system, as enshrined in the Charter, provides us in facing the challenges of an ever-changing world.

230. In the mean time, let us through our efforts at this session of the General Assembly contribute to making progress, albeit by small steps, in the quest for a safer, more prosperous and freer world.

231. Mr. DHANABALAN (Singapore): Allow me to congratulate Mr. Lusaka on his election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His abilities and reputation for integrity and goodwill are widely known, as are also his wide experience of the United Nations and his tireless commitment to the Organization. We shall all be well served by his presidency. I am confident that under his leadership the ability of the Assembly to further the objectives of the United Nations will be enhanced.

232. As we approach the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, the imperative need to strengthen the effectiveness of the Organization and enhance international peace and stability has been underscored by the continuing turbulence in international relations. New conflicts have arisen, while old problems are still unresolved. My delegation finds it difficult to identify any political problems or situations where there are prospects for an early settlement, or even a glimmer of hope that there will be early willingness to enter into negotiations.

233. In the Middle East, the situation remains serious. A resolution of the Palestinian issue is still far off, and the Palestinian people continue to be deprived of a homeland of their own. Lebanon continues to be occupied by foreign forces, and all diplomatic efforts to persuade them to withdraw have proved unsuccessful. The war between Iran and Iraq continues to fester, with no end in sight.

234. The armed forces of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are still in illegal occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The nationalist resistance forces, however, have taken a heavy toll of the invaders and, by their vigorous and determined opposition, are ensuring that the occupation forces continue to suffer heavy casualties. We urge the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to heed the calls of the international community to withdraw their occupation forces.

235. The Namibian question is stalemated, owing to the intransigence of South Africa, which continues its illegal occupation of Namibia, in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions. My Govern-

ment believes that the Namibian question should be solved within the framework of United Nations resolutions—in particular, Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

236. In South Africa, the recent elections to fill the mixed race and Indian chambers of the three-chamber Parliament have, as predicted, attracted little support. Only 20 per cent of those eligible to vote for both groups cast their ballots. This attempt by South Africa to dress up a token political voice in the Parliament as progress towards equality has been a resounding failure. South Africa's 20 million black majority are continuing to be deprived of their legitimate rights to be included in the political process and to determine their own future.

237. In addition to these political problems, the African continent is experiencing a serious economic and social crisis. As a result of widespread and prolonged drought, accelerated desertification and the effects of the world recession of the past three years, these problems have threatened the very survival of millions of Africans. The situation requires a concerted effort by the entire international community, working with relevant international organizations, to reverse a potentially catastrophic situation. The Special Memorandum on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis,¹⁰ adopted by the Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa, meeting at Addis Ababa in May of this year, clearly sets out the views and recommendations of the ministers responsible for economic development and planning. These views should be given due attention and proper support in working out programmes and prospects to alleviate the plight of those millions of Africans.

238. This year we welcome Brunei Darussalam into the United Nations. Brunei is the seventh new Member to be admitted in this decade. In the 1970s there were 26 new Members; in the 1960s, there were 43. As more and more States have become independent, the pace of admissions has clearly slowed. Independence for nations is almost universal. To be sure, there are anomalies. The peoples of Palestine and Namibia are still struggling for independence. Cambodia and Afghanistan have become new victims of imperialism. But independence for the majority is part of the new international reality.

239. The experience since independence of most of this majority has not been bright. The future looks no better. The gap between the rich and the poor nations has grown. To the traditional burdens of low technology, weak institutions, disunited peoples and huge populations have been added crippling levels of international debt. They have learned the harsh lesson that freedom from alien domination does not necessarily secure a better life. "Independence" is a misnomer in nations where ordinary people are forced to live on the precarious margin of subsistence, where fratricidal disputes have killed millions and where flood, famine and drought still take thousands of lives.

240. If we want to be honest, we must admit that man-made disasters have taken a greater toll than natural calamities. The withdrawal of colonial authority has opened a Pandora's box of ill-defined boundaries, floating populations, ideological differences, ancient rivalries and vaulting ambitions that have caused a welter of disputes and conflicts among the newly independent.

241. Since the end of the Second World War, there have been more than 100 armed conflicts, including about 40 major wars, which have killed more than 26 million people. Most of these conflicts have been in third-world countries. Such conflicts have been fuelled and complicated by the global contests of the great Powers as well as by the pretensions of smaller Powers.

242. Poverty has made independence a Pyrrhic victory. Without economic development, freedom for many has come to mean no more than having nothing left to lose, political independence reduced to the yearly exercise of the United Nations vote.

243. We are not foredoomed to poverty and conflicts. But the situation will not rectify itself. However justifiable the moral outrage over past wrongs, it is not a sufficient basis for us to build a better life for our peoples. The rich countries, the ex-colonial Powers, are no longer easily moved by our cries. Even the goodwill or guilt that led them to give assistance to the third world has diminished in the light of the recipient countries' failure to help themselves. With the rich countries facing their own economic problems, strong protectionist currents have been generated in those countries, threatening to stifle development in the third-world countries that have achieved some initial success in industrialization.

244. The adoption of thinly disguised protectionist measures, often to protect industries that are inefficient and unproductive by comparison with those in the third world, has exposed the hypocrisy of the rich. The rich seek to assuage their conscience by assurances of concern, but they are obviously not prepared to make any sacrifice in order to enable the third world to succeed. The third world can generate economic growth and development only by production and exports. But the rich are not prepared to trade with the third world on the basis of equity and fair play. They insist on consuming a disproportionate amount of the world's resources by keeping the terms of trade to the disadvantage of the poor.

245. Short-term economic and domestic political interests in the developed countries inevitably take precedence over the long-term interests of all who live in one interdependent world. A classic illustration is the unwillingness of rich countries to adopt policies to reduce rapidly their huge budget deficits which distort international capital flows. At the same time, the poor countries are urged to adopt policies that are tantamount to being asked to commit suicide in order to escape starvation.

246. We have also learned that even appeals to the self-interest of the rich countries is not a successful strategy. That we cannot be consumers of their products unless our production is purchased by them is self-evident. Unless we earn, we cannot buy. The prosperity of the North depends on the viability of the South. But while the poor are sometimes recognized as important consumers, the economic nexus between production and consumption is in itself not enough to ensure a flow of capital and technology from the rich countries.

247. Technological developments have also whittled down the importance of cheap and abundant labour in the competitiveness of production. Production know-how is poised on the brink of new breakthroughs in areas such as robotics and biotechnology of which only the more mature economies of

the North can take full advantage. Products of the new technology also threaten to displace the primary products of third-world countries. The flow of investment from rich to poor is, for these reasons, now less attractive than it used to be. Changing patterns of trade and comparative advantage between the developed countries themselves have made it more expedient for the rich to invest in each other's markets in order to secure access. All these factors mean that the gap between the rich and the poor nations will widen rather than narrow.

248. In order to do anything about this trend, we must face certain realities. The great economic Powers will continue to determine the direction of the international economy. Political independence has not changed the power relationship between big and small, rich and poor. This reality has to be accepted as the starting-point for any action. The world will not change simply because it is unfair. The dilemma which all of us face is how the weak and poor can muster the means of reshaping this international order.

249. There have been, in my opinion, two general approaches by the poorer countries for breaking out of this cycle of weakness and poverty. The first has been reliance on expanding the network of international organizations, a notion inspired by the big Powers themselves when they created the United Nations system after the Second World War. Since the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Geneva in 1964, we have had five sessions of the Conference, the most recent at Belgrade last year. Over the same period, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries also held their own meetings on economic issues at Dakar, Lima, New Delhi and elsewhere. We have made attempts at United Nations-sponsored global negotiations between North and South on a new international economic order. This year the General Assembly will again adopt resolutions on economic issues. The record of such attempts, with few exceptions, is a failure.

250. A second approach is ideological. There are those who contend that the root cause of the impoverished state of the majority is not merely the structure of the international system, but rather the fact that it is a neo-colonialist and capitalist international system with an exploitative centre sucking wealth from an exploited periphery. Revolution, according to this viewpoint, will set us free. This is a fallacy. The belief that the common interests of the working class would transcend national boundaries and that class struggle could replace the struggle between States and consequently lead to an era of harmony and co-operation has proved to be obviously false.

251. As the peoples of Cambodia and so many other countries have found to their cost, there is no superior virtue in one kind of ideological system or another. Starvation, misery and poverty do not discriminate on the basis of ideology or recognize the class principle. Socialists exploit each other too. The socialist international system is also divided into an exploited periphery and an exploitative centre. All third-world countries, regardless of social system or political belief, must recognize this fact. Not to do so is to invite exploitation by what is just another kind of imperialism. Ideology, no more than moral outrage or wishful thinking, cannot alter the political structure or exorcise economic realities.

252. This is not a philosophy of despair. Realism for the small and the weak does not only consist of accepting constraints but also of recognizing opportunities. We have to accept the existing structure of the international economic and political system. But that structure is a dynamic one in a state of constant evolution. Looking back, it is evident to me that the small and the weak have succeeded when they have had the will, ability and flexibility to take advantage of opportunities thrown up by the changing pattern of relations between the strong. We have to learn to use the existing structure of the international economic system and to change it in order to break the vicious cycle of poverty and to secure a better life for our peoples.

253. How can this be done? Large international organizations that mobilize third-world countries, such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, can provide the political strength to achieve tangible results if skilfully guided. Together the third world can do what none of its members has the strength to do individually. But, for the most part, both the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77 encompass too many diverse and conflicting interests and irrelevant objectives to act decisively or be constructive. To overcome the weaknesses of such large groupings, we should first organize ourselves into smaller regional groups which share more similar characteristics and common interests. We must create many smaller areas of security and common action on the larger international scene. Such regional groupings can serve as building blocks that would provide a firm foundation for larger international organizations and thus enable those organizations to play a more effective role in furthering the interests of the third world.

254. Secondly, we should not allow the progress of our peoples to be hostage to the vanities of nationalism, the blindness of xenophobia or the seductions of ideology. We have to dare to plug into the international economic system, because that system is the only source of the capital, technology and management skills that we need to pull ourselves out of poverty. We must admit what we do not know, not in a spirit of submission or dependence, but in order to become independent and meet the challenges of a competitive and evolving international economic system. We must participate in that system, learn its rules and use its rules to our best advantage. We can do this without undue risk only if we are first united.

255. The approach I have described is not an academic one. I know this approach can work because it has already worked. The organization to which my country belongs, ASEAN, is in many ways a microcosm of the diversity of the third world. It would be difficult to find a more disparate group than Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. We are divided by religion, by system of government, by history, by culture, by ethnicity and by language. In the post-war period, all the present members of ASEAN have, at one time or another, been engaged in conflicts and disputes with each other. But we have been able to put the past behind us. Historical rivalries have been set aside. Instead, we have emphasized a positive vision of our common future. We have learned to accept each other as equals on the basis of our real differences as well as our common interests. We do not live in fear of one another.

256. The largest member of ASEAN, Indonesia, has played a special role in this respect. Indonesia has not tried to impose its views on the organization, but has worked with all members on the basis of equality and mutual consultation. We have all adopted export-oriented economic policies essentially based on market forces. We have not been too proud to learn from others and to allow a relatively free inflow of private capital, know-how and personnel. We have not allowed destructive ambitions or sterile ideology to divert us from what we regard to be our common interests.

257. Perhaps most important of all, we have not allowed ASEAN to become a crutch for any of us. Ultimately we all recognize that it is national action that determines national well-being. The basis of collective resilience is national resilience. We do not look to ASEAN as the panacea for our individual problems. The unity and collective action of ASEAN provide a framework within which each member can determine its own future. The stability of relations among member countries of ASEAN provides an environment of confidence that is conducive to development.

258. The hard economic reality is that the way to get ahead is to be more efficient, more competitive and more productive, and thus to enhance the competitiveness of our products on the world market.

259. By combining and directing efforts towards trying to shape as open and as liberal an international economic order as possible, ASEAN's collective economic diplomacy has influenced the political and economic policy decisions in the industrial centres of the North which affect our interests. We would not have been able to do this if we had acted alone.

260. The self-confidence that we have created through collective and pragmatic action has enabled us to resist external pressures, to take our future into our own hands and actively try to influence the environment around us. We have changed the structure of international politics in South-East Asia. We have gained a measure of control over forces that will influence our future. This is the broader significance of the actions we have taken on the Cambodian issue, in our economic relations with the developed countries and the major Powers and on a host of other issues.

261. I have dwelt at some length on the experience of my country and our partners in ASEAN not in a spirit of arrogance or because I believe that our experience is unique. Indeed, I have used ASEAN as an example of what the third world could do, precisely because I do not believe our experience is unique. We have done what some have done and what the majority of the international community can also do, if only they can summon up the will to do it.

262. Mr. HARALAMBOPOULOS (Greece): Let me first of all extend to Mr. Lusaka our warmest congratulations on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. At a time when international problems are becoming increasingly acute, his outstanding qualities, great experience and long and distinguished record within the United Nations are the best guarantees that he will carry out his heavy responsibilities with ability and success.

263. I would also like to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Illueca, an old and devoted friend of

my country, for his excellent performance during the last 12 months.

264. The Secretary-General also deserves our congratulations and gratitude for his unflinching devotion to duty and his noteworthy initiatives in the service of peace and of the good functioning of the United Nations.

265. Lastly, I would like to welcome the latest Member of the United Nations, Brunei Darussalam, and to wish its people and Government happiness and success.

266. The President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, Mr. Peter Barry, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, has already presented to the Assembly [6th meeting] with eloquence and clarity the position of the 10 member States of the Community on the main questions we face today. I will therefore focus my statement on certain specific subjects to which my country attaches particular importance.

267. The Greek Government shares the general concern over the threats to and violations of peace. We have no illusions as to the possibilities of a small country to influence world developments of such magnitude. We believe, however, that every country, no matter what its potential, bears a major responsibility in fostering an international awareness of the need for peace, especially in an age when the nuclear-arms race has assumed alarming proportions. It is in this context that Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu has participated in the common appeal contained in the Joint Declaration of the Presidents of Argentina, Mexico and the United Republic of Tanzania and the Prime Ministers of India and Sweden [A/39/277] to freeze the production and development of nuclear weapons.

268. The Greek Government, however, did not limit itself to an appeal to the super-Powers. It seeks firmly and consistently to create, together with Greece's neighbouring countries, a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans. In order to promote the establishment of such a zone, a first conference of experts of the Balkan countries was convened at Athens in January and February 1984. My Government attaches great significance to those efforts and intends to pursue them persistently. It is particularly pleased to see that the inter-Balkan dialogue, which aims at further developing the existing friendly and good-neighbourly relations among Balkan peoples, has been enriched with the security factor. My Government is also firmly convinced that the second meeting of experts due to be held at Bucharest will give new impetus to this worthy endeavour.

269. But nuclear disarmament is only one side of the coin. Conventional weapons have acquired such destructive capabilities that had they been reached during the last war one wonders where humanity would be today. In assessing the importance of conventional disarmament, we should also bear in mind that the imbalances in this field are one of the important reasons why many countries had to resort to nuclear weapons in order either to defend themselves or to gain supremacy.

270. On the other hand, since military build-ups are caused by suspicion and a feeling of insecurity, it is evident that to break this vicious circle all the countries of the world, whether or not they belong to military alliances, should work consistently to promote détente and understanding among them. The

need for universal support of all peace initiatives, whatever their provenance, can hardly be over-emphasized.

271. While on the subject of world peace, I should like to pay a tribute to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which, despite the Cassandras who so often predict its extinction, thrives and perseveres in its efforts to instil moderation in a world of confrontation.

272. Another main goal of Greek foreign policy is the consolidation of peace and the promotion of co-operation in the Mediterranean. While not sparing any effort to achieve that goal, we must recognize that developments often seem to move in the opposite direction. The areas of tension in the Mediterranean have not disappeared. Foreign armies continue to occupy territories which do not belong to them, while trying to hide the face of the conqueror behind the mask of the protector. It is a matter of gratification that the international community has the capacity to see through such attempts at deception.

273. One typical problem the solution of which is very much hampered by outside interference is that of Cyprus. I would very much have preferred if circumstances were such that I did not need to raise this question once again. After all, the subject has, for a number of years, been on the agenda of the United Nations, which through its various organs has repeatedly reiterated the unequivocal position of the international community in this respect. However, in spite of the fact that the United Nations, time and again, has pointed the way to a proper solution, the sovereignty of the independent Republic of Cyprus is still being violated by the continued occupation of a large part of its territory by armed forces of Turkey. I cannot but once again draw the Assembly's attention to the fact that its numerous resolutions, as well as those of the Security Council, have not been implemented by Turkey.

274. The Secretary-General recently took new steps to find a fair and viable solution to the Cyprus problem, in accordance with his good offices mission, which was most recently reaffirmed by the Security Council in its resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984).

275. Greece—which maintains a special relationship with the Republic of Cyprus, mainly because of the century-old ethnic and cultural bonds between Greeks and Greek Cypriots—is following with great attention the evolution of this initiative. My Government has repeatedly stated that it is lending the Secretary-General its full support. We wish him every success in his difficult task. The Government of Cyprus has responded most positively in all phases of his initiative. A new round of talks between the two communities of the Republic of Cyprus will begin on 15 October. Our wish is that the Turkish side will respond in that forthcoming round of talks as positively as the Greek Cypriot side, so that progress can be achieved in this international dispute so fraught with danger.

276. The occupation of Cyprus is, however, not the only violation of international law and order in the eastern Mediterranean. The failure as yet to find a solution to the Middle East problem, which in the past so often threatened peace, even today causes dangerous tensions in that sensitive area, which is of particular importance to my country—not only because of its geographical proximity but also because

of the traditional ties of friendship that we maintain with the Arab world.

277. The elements of the problem are of course well known. My Government's position, which has often been stated in the past and remains unchanged, is also well known. We consider that a basic precondition for the achievement of a peaceful settlement is the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967—contrary, of course, to the wish of the international community as repeatedly expressed in numerous United Nations resolutions. We support the Palestinians' right to self-determination, which includes the right to have their own independent State. We believe that the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, has a significant role to play as a full member in the peace negotiations, which should be undertaken with the participation of all the interested parties.

278. My Government attaches particular importance to the safety of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and to respect for their human rights, which have so often been violated over the past 17 years. At the same time, we believe that actions which would result in changing the legal status, the geographical or natural conditions, and the demographic composition of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, should be abandoned and all unilateral measures and *faits accomplis* revoked, because they are contrary to international law and are a major obstacle to peace efforts. Together with the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, we support, without reservation, Israel's right to a secure existence within internationally recognized borders.

279. The situation in Lebanon is an important element of the Middle East problem. Recent developments in that war-torn country may permit some optimism as regards its future. In particular, the Government of National Unity has clearly shown its firm willingness to restore the national consensus. We earnestly hope that that fundamental endeavour will be successful.

280. My Government supports all developments which would guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the restoration of the authority of its Government over the whole of the Lebanese territory. In that connection, Israel should, without further delay, withdraw its occupation troops from southern Lebanon.

281. The Greek Government deeply regrets the prolongation of the war between Iran and Iraq. We are particularly concerned because hostilities have spread in such a way as to cause heavy human suffering and material damage for both countries and to endanger significantly the interests of third countries not involved in the conflict, especially owing to the erection of obstacles to free navigation through the Gulf. Greece appeals once more to both parties to cease hostilities and to start negotiations for a just and honourable settlement.

282. Another cause of concern to my Government in Asia is the continuing occupation of Afghanistan and of Kampuchea. We stress the urgent need for the withdrawal of foreign troops from those two countries and for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, as well as for a negotiated settlement, which would permit Afghanistan and Kampuchea to regain their independence and non-aligned status and at the same time would allow the

Afghans and the Kampucheans freely to choose their social and economic system and their form of government.

283. In South America, there was a very significant development at the end of last year: the restoration of democracy in Argentina. We think that the international community should give President Alfonsín and his Government the support they need to consolidate the rule of law and to overcome the serious economic difficulties inherited from the military dictatorship, and we hope that the example of Argentina will be followed by other countries in that region which are governed by authoritarian and often tyrannical régimes. We are, in particular, worried about the total lack of progress towards the restoration of democracy in Chile, a country which, before the military *coup* of 1973, enjoyed one of the most genuinely democratic régimes in Latin America. My Government vigorously condemns the unrelenting violation of human rights and the repression in Chile and grants its unequivocal support to the political forces which struggle for the return of their country to democracy.

284. The situation in Central America, on the other hand, continues to be very serious. It is our firm conviction that the problems of the area cannot be solved by military means, but only through a political solution stemming from the region itself, without outside interference. Needless to say, we attach the utmost importance to strict respect for human rights and to the establishment of democratic conditions wherever such conditions do not exist. We should like also to underline the importance of the various initiatives undertaken by the Contadora Group, including the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [see A/39/562], which has been approved by the countries of the region and which, if faithfully implemented, could constitute a great step towards the settlement of the crisis in Central America.

285. Next year we shall celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Over the past years, the membership of the Organization has more than trebled as, one after another, various dependent Territories have won their independence. In certain cases, the transition was achieved through comparatively peaceful means. In other cases, the natural desire of the people to obtain their human and political rights was fulfilled only after harsh and bloody struggle. It is our sincere hope that the few Territories remaining under colonial rule will attain independence as soon as possible through peaceful means.

286. I should like to refer more particularly to the problem of Namibia, since the United Nations is actively involved in the efforts for its solution. South Africa continues to keep Namibia under its domination, despite the repeated and unanimous calls of the General Assembly. Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which was accepted by the parties, provides both the framework and the necessary mechanisms for allowing the people of Namibia to gain their independence and to decide on their future through free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. If that resolution has not been implemented so far, the responsibility does not lie solely with South Africa. In the last analysis, it is up to us all to see to it that the will of the international community is not indefinitely ignored with impunity by the Pretoria Government.

287. But South Africa's wrongdoing is not limited to its illegal occupation of Namibia. It also persists in maintaining the inhuman system of *apartheid*, which has given rise to universal indignation and condemnation. Discrimination, racial or otherwise, is unacceptable, in whatever guise it may appear. It is, however, even more unacceptable when it is made an official way of life, depriving the overwhelming majority of a people of its most elementary human and political rights. Equally reprehensible are efforts to perpetuate *apartheid*, either through attempts to create fictional political entities or through granting limited rights to sections of the majority, with the ultimate aim of splitting it. We condemn the homelands policy and the resulting fragmentation of the black population of South Africa.

288. I conclude my reference to Africa by stressing the constructive role played by the OAU in promoting co-operation among African countries and in consolidating the national identity of its member States in the economic and political spheres. That organization has proved to be a very important factor for political stability and progress in Africa, and for world peace.

289. One of the main gains in the area of human rights is the agreement on a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, which has been submitted to the Assembly for approval.² Greece, which actively participated in drawing up this draft convention, welcomes the success of the efforts of the Commission on Human Rights and considers the adoption of the convention to be an important step against the practice of torture. We sincerely hope that it will be fully respected by all and that it will not remain a simple declaration of intent.

290. Speaking more generally about human rights, I should like to stress that our vigilance for their respect should not be governed by expediency. We would, indeed, be rendering a dismal service to the victims if we were to adopt a double standard and limit our interest and our concern to countries or areas where this is politically convenient to each of us.

291. The North-South dialogue has unfortunately not justified the expectations of those who had hoped that it would lead to a more equitable economic order. The difficult international economic situation and the slow rhythm of recovery of most developed economies are probably the main reason for this. In spite of recent efforts, it has not yet been possible to launch global negotiations.

292. Our common efforts should continue until this aim has been achieved. It is evident, however, that the developed countries have a major role to play. For its part, my Government will do all it can to contribute to this.

293. Greek foreign policy as regards relations with other countries, and the international situation in general, has always been characterized by the strictest respect for international law and treaties. The Charter of the United Nations, which is the corner-stone of our policy, is perhaps the finest code of conduct ever devised to govern relations between States. One of its basic principles is the renunciation of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Greek Government is deeply attached to this principle. If only it could be universally accepted, most if not all

of the major problems that beset humanity today could find their solution in dialogue and negotiation.

294. Unfortunately this is not the case. That is why the United Nations is accused by many of failure and inadequacy—even bankruptcy.

295. Greece is fully aware that the Organization has not been able to fulfil all the expectations of the peoples of the earth and that it has failed to satisfy their deep need for peace, freedom and security, especially after the tragic experiences of the Second World War. We are not prepared, however, to go along with unqualified condemnations and sweeping judgements. As no chain is stronger than its weakest link, so the United Nations cannot be more effective than its own Members allow it to be. My Government therefore firmly believes that, as the fortieth anniversary of this international Organization approaches, our common aim should be to find ways of strengthening it rather than reasons to criticize it; to seek means of enforcing the implementation of its principles, instead of attempting to ignore them; in short, to work together with good will in order to make it possible for the United Nations to carry out the task that was entrusted to it by its founding Members.

296. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Argentina in exercise of his right of reply.

297. Mr. BARBOSA (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Argentine delegation has listened carefully to the comments made by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom on the question of the Malvinas Islands in the course of his address to the General Assembly this afternoon.

298. In exercising my right of reply, I wish to make the following comments. Sir Geoffrey said that the present Argentine Government is not responsible for the warlike episode of 1982 but that the consequences of that episode cannot be set aside. My delegation would like to know what the Secretary of State means by this statement. Does it mean that there is an intention on the part of the United Kingdom to overcome these consequences or does it rather show an intention to go more deeply into the consequences? If the true intention of the Government of the United Kingdom were to try to overcome these consequences, why then does it refuse to negotiate on what constitutes the very marrow of the origin of the situation?

299. The overall process which led to a meeting between the two parties at Berne last July was based on the idea of establishing between them an informal political dialogue with an open agenda. This seemed to be the best way to overcome the contradiction between stated opposing positions. The Argentine representatives found themselves faced with an unexpected rigidity on the part of the British delegation which did not reflect the spirit of an informal dialogue mutually agreed to through both protecting Powers—Brazil and Switzerland. The intention

therefore was to hold a dialogue with a view to reaching agreement on a framework for negotiation—a dialogue with an open agenda and following a realistic procedure which would include a discussion of all—I repeat, all—the problems that separated the parties.

300. It was obvious that the question of sovereignty could not be ignored for reasons of logic, for political reasons and because of the need for elementary realism. By denying or refusing to include this issue in the agenda, it is the British party which in fact tried to impose conditions on these conversations.

301. The only tangible result of the Berne meeting is the British refusal to even discuss a method whereby the issue of sovereignty could be discussed in the future. Bearing in mind that it is precisely such negotiation which is called for in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, what appeared very clear is the British intention not to abide by this appeal of the international community.

302. As to the principle of self-determination, which has been referred to by the United Kingdom Secretary of State, we should ask him, with whom does such a decision lie? Does it fall to the handful of British residents that live there in Argentine territory, occupied by them? They replace the Argentine population which was expelled, and in their case, without any consultation. The General Assembly has already voiced its views on this and it has been embodied in various resolutions.

303. My delegation would like once again to state very clearly that Argentina seeks and wishes to negotiate. It is the only way to resolve the dispute. It is in fact a duty imposed upon us by the Charter of the United Nations and it has been repeatedly stated by the Organization. But if they are to be real negotiations, then these real negotiations must include the very centre-piece of the issue, which is the matter of sovereignty.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.

²E/CN.4/1984/72.

³See ID/CONF.5/46 and Corr. 1, chap. II, sect. B.

⁴United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778.

⁵Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

⁶United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, No. 7310.

⁷See *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1984*, p. 11.

⁸Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925. (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.)

⁹A/38/132 and Corr. 1 and 2, annex, chap. II, para. 13.

¹⁰E/1984/110, annex.