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at 10.25 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

## General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear an address by Mr. Aristides Maria Pereira, President of the Republic of Cape Verde and Chairman of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. PEREIRA (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*):\* I am addressing this illustrious and sovereign General Assembly for the first time on behalf of the heads of State of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel [CILSS]. I do so keenly aware of the importance of the praiseworthy work taken on by all of you, the representatives of States of all continents.

3. If man now has everything that mankind has always dreamed of possessing in order to live in harmony with nature and to merge into a coherent and single whole, he nevertheless also possesses other means of unequalled power, which can reduce everything to ashes and annihilate thousands of years of civilization.

4. That is why so many hopes are placed each year in the General Assembly, which people expect to be a gathering of clear-minded people anxious to preserve the future of nations, united by the same determination to overcome all obstacles to the progress of mankind.

5. Millions of men and women expect of your resolutions and recommendations concrete acts which will help to transform the tears of the victims of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, into smiles of hope, to provide the comforts so long awaited in the refugee camps, to provide the encouragement indispensable for the freedom-fighters, or, to put it in the simplest terms, to provide bread for those who are hungry, and the will to live for those who see death as the best option.

6. I do not think one can live a carefree life when one knows that although world-wide agricultural production today could satisfy the food needs of the people of the Earth, hunger and malnutrition condemn the majority of the inhabitants of the planet to live in sub-human conditions.

7. The truth is that in the era of computers and space exploration, human society has still not proved able to satisfy the most elementary needs of a large majority of its members. Those people who live today in abundance and comfort are forgetting how precarious their situation can be, that sooner or later the consequences of poverty, which is rife in vast regions of the world, will affect them too.

\*Mr. Pereira spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

8. World leaders live with their eyes focused on the year 2000, trying to fathom the enigmas of the next era. But at the same time there is a growing awareness of the risks involved in the fact that humanity has carried with it so many vestiges of the servitude of the past.

9. We live in insecurity and anguish, knowing that a critical limit to tensions has been reached and that every day sees a dramatic reduction in man's ability to control and restrain his own actions, which in most cases are born of attitudes condemned by the conscience of mankind.

10. That is why the 30 million people in the Sahel—whom I have the honour, but above all the responsibility, of representing in this forum—base their hopes on overcoming the scourges that threaten their very existence, that is to say, drought and desertification, in the conviction that it is possible to change the present system of relations between peoples and States and devote the vast energies and resources that man has at his disposal to action that would correct the present dangerous imbalance and increase material and social well-being.

11. We are convinced that there is now an urgent need, in order to preserve the hopes of peace among men and harmony among nations, which constitute the very essence of the Charter of the United Nations, to mobilize without delay all available resources and technologies to face with courage and a sense of responsibility the serious problems affecting mankind, which are a challenge to our consciences. This has been the motivation in discussions at previous sessions and testifies to a profound awareness of these problems within the Assembly. It seems to us, therefore, that we should pursue a thorough analysis of the various aspects of the situation and implement policies which will make it possible to carry out decisions already taken or to be taken.

12. I should like at this time to greet all representatives as the messengers of hope. The world in which we live needs your efforts to spare it further tragedies or even annihilation. We know today from the consensus within the Assembly that the future for which the United Nations is working cannot be based on hatred or injustice or the abdication of our individual and collective responsibilities.

13. It was undoubtedly this understanding that led to the choice of Mr. Jorge Illueca to direct this session. He is a man of dialogue and an expert in the problems of our day, and we have no doubt that he will succeed in conducting the session to a successful conclusion, following in the footsteps of Mr. Imre Hollai, whose human qualities, combined with those of a distinguished diplomat, made it possible for him to carry out so brilliantly the formidable task entrusted to him last year.

14. However, even though it is not in the character of the Sahelian to give way to pessimism, I must say that the present unfavourable factors and the known facts of the world situation give no grounds for much optimism for years to come.

15. We are therefore very pleased to have at the head of the Organization, as Secretary-General, a man who in a short space of time has given proof of his sense of

responsibility and calm determination in the face of the innumerable challenges which have confronted him day by day since he took office. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's efforts to reduce international tension, enhance the credibility of the United Nations system and create conditions which will bring us closer to the fundamental objectives of the Charter encourage our belief that his actions will have positive results and strengthen our hope that, despite the present difficulties and the complexity of the problems besetting the international community, mankind will succeed in overcoming these problems and the world will recover from its sufferings.

16. We are also pleased by the admission of Saint Christopher and Nevis, which has expanded the United Nations family and strengthened our conviction that the struggle of peoples for self-determination and independence is part of the historical evolution of mankind and a legitimate and irrefutable right.

17. Drought and desertification are today among the principal causes of the evils afflicting large areas of our planet. More than one third of the arable land throughout the world is situated in regions of the globe affected by drought. As far as the African continent is concerned, the extent of arid and semi-arid zones is alarming, at present 44 per cent of the land area. Furthermore, low-fertility land in Africa covers 18 per cent of the total surface area. It has been calculated that every year 50,000 to 70,000 square kilometres of arable land are lost to the advancing desert, thus posing a direct threat to the survival of 14 per cent of the world's population, about 628 million people.

18. The United Nations Conference on Desertification, which was held at Nairobi from 29 August to 9 September 1977, produced a plan of action<sup>1</sup> and concluded that, if man is one of the principal agents of desertification, today he possesses the technological means to combat it. In the course of that Conference, the Secretary-General declared that priority should be given to the most vulnerable countries and that internal efforts should be focused more on the population than on the land.

19. If we focus attention on the region which encompasses the members of CILSS—leaving aside for the moment the overall picture—we can see that without the shadow of a doubt this is the most affected zone. The geographical and human area known as the Sahel is at present experiencing difficult and worrying times, brought about by the terrible drought ravaging our countries and the desertification which is inexorably gaining ground despite all the efforts of the Governments and peoples of the region to check the degradation of the Sahel.

20. In the face of this situation, we believe it appropriate to set forth in the Assembly the concern of our countries and to give an account of the efforts we have made to eliminate or at least reduce the causes of this problem. Toughened by the bitterness of the struggle for survival, the Sahelian peoples have learnt to accept only the language of facts when what is at stake is food and the creation of the necessary conditions for a decent life.

21. Situated in the wide belt of the arid and semi-arid zones of the continent, the Sahel covers an area of approximately 146 million hectares. In countries concerned—Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Gambia, Upper Volta and Cape Verde—45 per cent to 66 per cent of their territories is made up of arid and desert zones.

22. A certain number of known factors have combined to bring about accelerated deforestation, an increase in the process of desertification, and hence an imbalance

in the whole ecosystem of the region. For example, if the present rate of exploitation continues, it is calculated that Mauritania's forests will disappear in five to 10 years.

23. In Niger forestry resources will satisfy barely 45 per cent of the energy needs over the next 20 years, if consumption is not reduced. In Mali the situation is similar to that in Niger. In Cape Verde the problem is the same, or worse.

24. If nothing is done to modify the present trends, such as the reduction of the fertility of the soil, increasing desertification and other similar problems—the Sahel will move inexorably towards ecological catastrophe.

25. Since the sixteenth century the Sahelian region has suffered the consequences of more than 20 major droughts, but it was the droughts of the 1960s and 1970s which called mankind's attention to the suffering of the peoples living there. Really tragic circumstances were experienced throughout that period.

26. The great drought which devastated the Sahelian countries in 1972-1973 had tragic features. During those two years harvests shrank by one third on average, and between one third and two thirds of the cattle were lost. The population that survived shows the effects of the chronic malnutrition to which it is subjected.

27. Although the drought has abated somewhat, it has become endemic. Thus, in addition to desertification, the Sahel is confronted with other very serious problems, such as the food and energy crisis, which is becoming more acute with each passing day. Water supply for the population is also a problem, as is water for agricultural purposes, which is indispensable.

28. According to estimates made by the Economic Commission for Africa, the degree of food self-sufficiency, which was of the order of 80 per cent in 1975, will be about 60 per cent in 1990 and only 50 per cent in the year 2000 if the present trends are maintained. From the same source we learn that the cereal deficit will double by 1990, and so will the number of people suffering from malnutrition.

29. To be specific, while between 1973 and 1980 the cereal imports of the eight Sahelian countries were of the order of 800,000 tons a year, they exceeded a million tons in 1982. According to estimates of FAO, consumption may amount to 7 million tons in 1985 and 9 million tons in 1995, with import needs estimated at two or three million tons over the last decade of the century. Indeed, cereal production has shown an increase of 1 per cent a year while the population has increased at a rate of over 2.5 per cent a year. It is estimated that the population of the Sahel, which today numbers about 31 million, will reach about 50 million by the end of the century.

30. We are aware that to meet the growing food shortage, an increase in production is absolutely indispensable, and that is why Sahelians have been devoting substantial efforts to the difficult struggle thus imposed upon them. For this, it is necessary not only to lay down a coherent policy for development but also to find ways of bringing about more active participation on the part of the people, to adapt structures to the needs of development and undertake large-scale action in the fields of training and research.

31. Similarly, the development of rain-watered and irrigated crops must be accompanied by action to protect growing and stored crops.

32. The struggle against pests that damage and destroy crops must also be intensified, side by side with the development of cultivation, and be the subject of joint programmes both nationally and regionally.

33. As water is a rare commodity in the Sahel and the existing supplies are seriously threatened by drought and even by pollution, special attention must be given to the problem of water supply for the people. Of the 70,000 water-supply points which it is estimated will be needed by the year 2000 to ensure the minimum supply of drinking water in accordance with the recommendations of WHO, there existed about 18,000 at the beginning of 1982; that is, only 25 per cent of the needs were covered.

34. Thus it is understandable that our organization, CILSS, should give priority to water supply projects in the Sahel, and we are sure that the international community will once again understand our concerns and thus make it possible to alleviate the burden that the search for this precious liquid represents for Sahelians at present, particularly for the women. The gravity of the situation confronting the Sahelian countries does not admit of partial or improvised solutions. That is why the application of a rural development strategy which would lead to self-sufficiency and food security and the restoration of the ecological balance is a fundamental priority of our regional organization, CILSS, which has since its foundation in 1973 undertaken a series of actions to remedy agricultural deficits, to curb desertification and to create the necessary conditions for integrated development throughout the region.

35. CILSS reflects a profound awareness not only of the dangerous degradation of the environment in the region but also of the need to meet the challenge of nature in a coherent and co-ordinated manner. If the work of CILSS has had repercussions beyond the frontiers of the Sahel, it is because all those who in one way or another are sensitive to the problems of the region have found in it an appropriate framework for demonstrating the human solidarity which today is more necessary than ever.

36. At the time of its foundation 10 years ago at Ouagadougou, our organization was given the task of co-ordinating all activities in the fight against drought and its effects at the subregional level. It was also given the task of making the international community aware of the problems of drought and mobilizing the resources needed to carry out the emergency programme laid down by the States and to finance operations. There was also the task of seeking financing for common programmes.

37. In 1976 CILSS, in co-operation with the Club du Sahel, laid down a development strategy for its member States up to the year 2000, and for the period 1977 to 1982 it worked out a series of integrated projects known as first generation projects. I shall try to retrace the most significant stages covered by CILSS in the course of its existence.

38. The result of the historic decision to establish the organization in 1973, CILSS reflected the combined efforts of member countries to confront the grave situation which threatened to exterminate our peoples. In 1976 the secretariats of CILSS and of the Club du Sahel produced short-term, medium-term and long-term strategies for development based on preliminary FAO studies. From 1977 to 1982 our organization moved towards the initial programming of its work, which could be described as short-term programming. As a result, a number of projects were identified. The third Conference of Heads of State and Government of CILSS, held at Banjul in 1977, made its First-Generation Programme the sole sphere of action for CILSS for the period 1977 to 1982, and thus it became the first joint enterprise by the member countries in their struggle for survival. At its fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government, at Praia in

January 1982, a progress report for the First-Generation Programme was presented. An analysis of the situation demonstrated that the financing obtained was about 60 per cent of the project costs.

39. In the medium-term, for the period 1982 to 1990, we had to reformulate all the policies of CILSS by working out sectoral assessment programmes, which will make it possible to go into further detail on the work of each sector. We might characterize this medium-term period as the second-generation programme, the purpose of which is not only the establishment of a diagnosis of action carried out in the framework of the First-Generation projects but also a reformulation of programmes, with new guidelines which would make possible a transition to a new generation of projects that would no longer be confined to limiting the consequences of the drought but would become a true development project for the Sahel, giving pride of place to water supply.

40. Over the long term CILSS proposes to bring about the full restoration of the Sahelian ecosystem and food self-sufficiency, which are the ultimate objective for which we are mobilizing our joint efforts.

41. Although the international community is continuing to assist our organization, I had to appeal for an increase of their assistance on the occasion of my visit to FAO last November, in the light of the progressive decline of the Sahel and the size of the problems facing Sahelians. Indeed we know that, in spite of joint action on the part of the States in question and considerable external aid, the situation in the Sahel has hardly improved in its fundamental aspects. Climatic vicissitudes and the international situation have something to do with this. The Sahel has made no progress towards food self-sufficiency. Food aid is perpetuating itself. Certain countries are in an alarming economic and financial situation.

42. In my capacity as current Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State of CILSS, I am once again appealing to the international community to increase its help to member States of the CILSS in their development programmes and their campaign against desertification. This help is needed for carrying out development projects already designed and approved by the respective Governments; for executing already designed and approved regional projects to fight desertification; for basic studies needed for learning the potential for development at the national and regional levels; for establishing and/or strengthening research and training institutes at the national and regional levels to find solutions to the limitations of the programmes already mentioned; and for strengthening national and subregional capacity in the planning, management and evaluations of integrated development action.

43. We are aware that food aid is not the solution sought by the people of the Sahel for the problems confronting them, but we should like to reiterate the fact that it is essential to maintain this type of aid, particularly in view of the disappointing rainy season during the present harvest season, which has made it necessary for us to plan for considerable food shortages.

44. Various agencies of the United Nations family have participated in the development efforts of the Sahel. In recent years they have increased their activities, and we are sure that with the support of all, this improvement will become even more tangible.

45. In particular, we must mention the important role played by FAO and UNDP, either directly or through the United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office, in the struggle to achieve the priority targets of CILSS.

46. Permit me, on behalf of the heads of State of the member countries of CILSS, to extend our thanks to all the countries and organizations which have joined us in this titanic struggle against desertification and its consequences.

47. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that the work of CILSS began and is being carried on in a period of international recession, with a strong tendency towards a decline in development assistance.

48. The difficulties of financing the action advocated by CILSS and which various United Nations agencies have undertaken for our benefit are obvious. However, financing such action is urgent, since only the implementation of these programmes will enable us to prevent further catastrophes. Without this action, the Sahelian peasant will have to continue waging a bitter struggle for survival—a struggle in which so many of his predecessors have lost their lives and which is based on empirical methods which, more often than not, only make the situation worse.

49. Desertification knows no frontiers and is a process which feeds on itself. If the international community is not capable of making available to our countries means to enable us to halt its progress, problems will persist without any lasting solution and the granting of aid to ease hunger caused by drought will have to go on, while desertification will continue to extend until all life becomes impossible in the affected regions. If this should happen—we hope that it will not—the very survival of mankind will be at stake. History has examples of civilizations which have disappeared because of such lack of foresight.

50. In making known to the international community our profound desire that it give more attention to the threats hanging over the Sahel and grant assistance to overcome them, we hope that it will adopt, as a basic principle, that such assistance be extended to us on acceptable and tolerable conditions.

51. A Sahelian contribution is necessary, even in a precarious and fragile ecosystem. Sahelians have imposed such a contribution on themselves. Proof of this is the affirmation of our joint political determination and perseverance in efforts even when any investment seems, at first sight, to be useless and doomed to failure. We are fighting tenaciously to create more decent living conditions, investing the bulk of our efforts in the elimination of the scourges which threaten our future.

52. We also think that CILSS stands at a decisive point and that a reorientation of its strategy has become necessary. Its activities must be adapted to new and urgent needs in the region so that it can focus its efforts on well-defined priority areas, thus making a greater contribution to the development of the Sahel.

53. When we speak of the Sahel, we cannot lose sight of the overall context in which we live and in which we are trying to resolve the problems of this region.

54. The current crisis is a structural crisis of a system which has already demonstrated its inadequacy in today's world and its inability to meet the just demands of the peoples. It is not by indefinitely postponing the establishment of a new international economic order that means will be found to overcome that crisis.

55. However, we cannot allow the present difficult situation to discourage us. We believe that the developing peoples and countries must persist in dialogue and consultation, because, in the absence of any alternative other than total failure and collapse, this approach is an historical imperative.

56. The touchstone of our struggle is the full blossoming of our potential for independence, which will make it possible to revive our development efforts on the basis of full use of the productive capacities of our countries. In this context international co-operation is an external complement to the creation of bases for development aimed at satisfying the elementary needs of each community.

57. In Cape Verde we know that, in order to meet the challenges we have consciously set for ourselves, we must rely above all on our own efforts. But as we have developed as a people, we have also learned the value of solidarity among men.

58. We are proud of the fact that although our country is small and has been devastated by drought, the international community has judged us worthy of benefiting from significant assistance. It is thanks to this assistance that drought, which has persisted since the mid-1960s, no longer necessarily means death by starvation in Cape Verde. It is thanks to this assistance that our country has since its independence recorded economic growth indicators which have been encouraging even to the most sceptical among our development partners.

59. However, we must manifest our concern at the increase in disquieting trends in official development assistance, which belie the relative optimism with which two years ago we ended the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

60. For us, development assistance will be attaining its true objectives only if it ceases to be a mere palliative for emergency situations and becomes an actual stimulus and support for the mobilization of internal productive forces. The task is not to maintain artificially a moribund corpse, but to give it the proper treatment so that at the end of a reasonable period of time it can walk on its own feet.

61. Furthermore, there can be no doubt that increasing development assistance is the only path leading to true integration and the expansion of the world market and thus to a reversal of the trends towards recession affecting it at present.

62. The right to peace, security and development is a corollary of the sovereign equality of States. Theoretically, all States are equal. However, even though this principle may be valid juridically speaking, there is no analogy on the sociological level, where differences between States are enormous. There are rich countries and poor countries, countries possessing weapons capable of massive destruction and others that are defenceless, countries highly developed economically, scientifically and technologically and others that have not even reached a stage of economic viability and are struggling for the most elementary survival. The listing of differences could go on indefinitely to lead us to the conclusion that internationally, the prevailing rule is that of unequal development.

63. The non-aligned countries and the developing countries have demonstrated by their actions that countries can enjoy equal sovereignty only if their development is equal.

64. Since peace is an indispensable condition for social progress and economic development, only a climate of détente, disarmament and renunciation of the arms race can be conducive to the rational utilization of their potential on the basis of co-operation from the more favoured countries.

65. The right to a peaceful life is not only an individual right but also a right of peoples which can be achieved only through the institution of a new international



economic and legal order. However, respect for such a right is far from being the rule in the practice of international relations.

66. Over the last 30 years the world has seen more than 150 armed conflicts, most of which have been fought in third world countries. It is not surprising that the violent and systematic denial of the right of peoples to development and to peace and security has been reflected in a series of violations of individual rights, beginning with the most elementary such as the right to life, to the free development of the personality, to food, to education and to work. The individual will never be protected as long as the right of his people to exist is called into question, as well as its right to become free from domination by all means at its disposal—whether it be the case of a colonised people or an occupied country—the right to choose freely the political system to assure its economic and social development, according to the role its has selected for itself, the right to dispose freely of its wealth and natural resources, and the right to eliminate any form of foreign economic exploitation.

67. Traditionally, international law proclaims equality without taking into consideration the profound differences existing among States. From this standpoint, the non-aligned countries have made a decisive contribution to the strengthening of international law and to the defense of sovereign equality, taking into account the facts of international life today.

68. Always, and especially at this time, peace has represented the profound aspirations of all peoples of the world. It is here that the instinct for survival as a human community has prevailed over the forces which are provoking an unbridled arms race, so-called limited wars, the devastation of countries, the annihilation of peoples, destabilization and permanent crisis.

69. The struggle for peace is being waged on several fronts and must always guide the work and actions of governments, both internally and externally. This is why in Cape Verde, a strategically located archipelago at the crossroads of the Atlantic, we proclaim and repeat our firm wish to provide a haven of peace and dialogue and to prevent by all means our country ever becoming a source of tension among nations and peoples.

70. That is why the Government of Cape Verde has based its conduct on the relentless defense of the principles of non-alignment and on the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, on non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, on the search for relations of mutually advantageous co-operation and on the protection of the prerogatives of sovereignty, independence and freedom of thought and action. It is upon the vital necessity of struggling for peace that Cape Verde bases its action as a country which can be useful in the search for means of extinguishing hotbeds of confrontation which still exist on the African continent.

71. The United Nations is more than ever necessary for the international community. It is evident that we are living at a decisive turning point for mankind. On the other hand, we know how delicate are the transition periods, particularly when the world has witnessed an accumulation of an unimaginable potential for destruction which has been building up over the last few decades.

72. Coming generations will judge us on our capacity to manage this transitional phase. The United Nations is therefore increasingly called upon to play the role of guarantor of mankind's ability to cross the frontiers of the new era opened to it by the technological revolution,

on the basis of peaceful relations and lasting co-operation among States.

73. In this context, I cannot conclude my statement without expressing my confidence in the determination of all Member States to continue to support effectively the institutions of the United Nations, and in particular the Secretary-General, in the efforts to promote peace, development and international security.

74. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Cape Verde and Chairman of the Inter-State Council on Drought Control in the Sahel for the important statement he has just made.

75. The Assembly will now hear an address by Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

76. Mr. ORTEGA SAAVEDRA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, please allow me to extend our congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Nicaragua is honoured that a brother Central American occupies this position of high responsibility at such a difficult time for our region and for the world. Your well-known dedication to the United Nations, your solid espousal of the ideals of nationalism, non-alignment and defence of the right of self-determination of peoples that Omar Torrijos Herrera left as a legacy for Panama, Latin America and the world, ensure for us a wise leadership in the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, in which you may always rely on the Nicaraguan delegation's co-operation.

77. We also wish to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis into the United Nations. We are certain that it will contribute to the efforts of the Organization to secure peace.

78. This thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has begun in a climate of world tension similar to others in this century which led to ever more destructive wars, involving irreparable human, material and cultural losses and representing a step backward in the history of human development.

79. Our concern knows no limits, for it is obvious that in a third world conflagration there will be no victors, only the vanquished, including those who seek military hegemony and who fan the flames of war. It is impossible to underestimate the consequences for world peace and security that stem from the proliferation of nuclear weapons since they were first dropped on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

80. The report by the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization reflects this critical international situation that appears to be growing worse.

81. The efforts of peoples in search of justice, freedom and peace clash with those defending monopolistic interests and denying the legitimate aspirations of the peoples. The results of this monopolistic policy are in violation of our peoples' human rights, for while \$800 billion are squandered on weapons and efforts are made to increase their number and especially their degree of sophistication, 46,000 children die each day of hunger, malnutrition and lack of medical attention.

82. Those who dream of breaking the strategic balance and impose an arms race are committing genocide. Those who are using scientific knowledge which is the heritage of all humanity, outdoing the Nazis in the macabre task

of spreading death, now even taking care not to destroy buildings or other physical objects, those whose latest nightmares foresee an arms race in the cosmos: they are committing genocide. Those who remain inflexible in the search for mutual security, stability and world peace are committing genocide. Those who invoke the name of God and human rights in order to justify a climate of cold war, larger budgets for nuclear weapons and more aggression against peoples around the world, they are committing genocide. They are participating in the murder of millions of children who die each year, victims of the economic injustice imposed on the world, but, above all, they are threatening humankind with extinction.

83. Today, when the threat of nuclear war takes on uncontrollable dimensions, it has become an urgent matter to reach realistic agreements in the Geneva framework. Let no more death-bearing missiles be stationed; let the nuclear arsenal be frozen in its development, production, accumulation and deployment; let the nuclear arsenal be reduced and eventually eliminated. Only when disarmament is universal, only when disarmament is complete, can there be international security. Let us station missiles of peace and bury once and for all the missiles of war.

84. In the wake of this policy of arms buildup, an escalation of aggression has been unleashed in different parts of the world, victimizing the peoples of the third world, some of whom have attained their liberation while others are still fighting for it.

85. The racist régime of Pretoria, with the approval and encouragement of the United States Government and other Governments which paradoxically claim to be concerned for human rights, attacks and invades Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Seychelles, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland in an attempt to consolidate and perpetuate *apartheid* and racism. Nicaragua condemns the racist South African régime and voices its solidarity with the front-line States in their decision to support the total liberation of southern Africa.

86. By the same token, we support the struggle of the people of Namibia and their legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and we demand the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), as the Organization of African Unity [OAU] demanded at its most recent summit meeting.

87. We also express our solidarity with the African National Congress, many of whose courageous members have fallen in its just struggle, among them the three South African anti-racist militants, amid the silence of Governments which maintain excellent relations with that régime.

88. Amidst democratic and humanistic postulates, assumed from monopolistic and demagogic positions, the peoples find themselves subjected to colonial and neo-colonial rule imposed by those so-called democracies. Such is the situation of the peoples of the Western Sahara and Puerto Rico, whose inalienable right to self-determination continues to be trampled; of the Palestinian people, whose right to form their own State continues to be denied; of the Korean people still artificially divided; of the Cypriot, Cuban, Argentine and Panamanian peoples, part of whose territories are either occupied by or under the control of foreign Governments; and of the Honduran people, whose sovereignty has been undermined and whose territory has been occupied by the American army.

89. Nicaragua repudiates the situations faced by those territories and therefore supports the struggle of the

Saharan people and their representative, the POLISARIO Front.<sup>2</sup> Nicaragua demands the decolonization of Puerto Rico and regards as unacceptable any measure aimed at changing this sister nation's political status without its consent and explicit participation. Nicaragua reaffirms its support for the Palestinian cause in the just struggle to recover the territory that has been taken away. We also support the holding of an international meeting on Palestine with the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the United States and the Soviet Union. Nicaragua supports the reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area. Nicaragua reaffirms its support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Nicaragua demands the return to Cuba of the occupied territory of Guantánamo, the lifting of the blockade, a halt to the spy flights that violate Cuba's airspace and an end to violations of the territorial waters of this sister nation.

90. Still present on the Latin American scene is the military aggression that was carried out in the Malvinas Islands, which attempted to eternalize colonial domination over that territory, which is part of the Argentine nation. Nicaragua demands the implementation of the decision by the Committee on decolonization on the status of the Malvinas Islands, totally supporting the right to which the Argentine people is entitled.

91. Once more we reiterate our support for the legitimate and just demand by the Republic of Bolivia for the recovery of a direct and useful route to the Pacific Ocean, with full sovereignty over it. We appeal to all States to voice their solidarity with the Bolivian people in this inalienable right.

92. With respect to the tragic and dangerous conflict in Lebanon, the current crisis there is a direct result of the Zionist invasion and the expansionistic and hegemonic ambitions in the area. We appeal for respect of the cease-fire so that progress can be made toward reconciliation among all forces and sectors of that nation, in order to safeguard its sovereignty and end the increasingly direct intervention of the Powers currently involved there.

93. This policy of American military escalation can also be seen in major, ongoing provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Nicaragua denounces and repudiates these actions, while expressing its support to the Libyan people and Government. This aggressive policy is also manifested in South-East Asia, where plans are being hatched against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. Nicaragua confirms its solidarity with the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, and Kampuchea; condemns those destabilizing plans; and welcomes the efforts by the Secretary-General and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to promote unconditional dialogue among the countries of the region.

94. Meanwhile, in Afghanistan the United Nations has also made considerable efforts through its Secretary-General in the search for a political solution to the situation in that region. The Non-Aligned Movement has made similar efforts, issuing appeals that Nicaragua supports.

95. Among the most painful problems in the critical world situation is the war between Iran and Iraq, brother nations and members of the Non-Aligned Movement. We join in the calls for an end to this war so that through negotiations both sides can reach an honourable, just and lasting peace.

96. There should also be dialogue among the parties involved in, and a peaceful solution to, the conflict in Chad, safeguarding the right of the people of Chad to

determine their own future freely. We extend our support to the efforts being made to attain a solution within the framework of anti-colonialist principles and within the OAU.

97. This aggressive and militaristic escalation in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America is also expressed in overt and covert actions promoted by the Government of the United States against the people and Government of Grenada. Nicaragua condemns this policy of destabilization and demands respect for the self-determination of the people and Government of Grenada.

98. This aggressive escalation also aims, through the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], at overthrowing the revolutionary Government of Suriname by encouraging acts of destabilization against it. Nicaragua condemns the aggressive actions of the CIA and supports Suriname's right to determine its own future, free of all foreign interference and pressure.

99. At its Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, the Non-Aligned Movement reaffirmed its support for the social and economic transformations that were begun in the Republic of Chile by President Salvador Allende. Nicaragua, paying homage to President Allende, supports the legitimate aspirations of the Chilean people to a re-establishment of their basic freedoms and human rights, and the policy of non-alignment that President Allende and the Government of Popular Unity defended until the very last moment.

100. After the long struggle led by General Omar Torrijos, the people of Panama achieved the signing of the Torrijos-Carter treaties.<sup>3</sup> There have been attempts to violate and block the implementation of these agreements, and the United States Government also continues to use Panamanian territory, in the so-called Canal Zone, to train soldiers and mercenaries who are later employed against the people of El Salvador and the people of Nicaragua. Further abusing its presence on Panamanian territory, the United States uses the bases of the Southern Command for the trans-shipment of tons of weapons, the transport of American soldiers and for spy-flights of U-2, SR-71 and RC-135 aircraft—all with the intention of strengthening its policy of aggression against the Central American people.

101. Nicaragua demands the full application of the Torrijos-Carter treaties and demands that the Government of the United States stop using Panamanian territory in the so-called Canal Zone for launching aggressive actions against the peoples of Central America.

102. This international situation, which constitutes an ever greater threat to peace, is related directly to the inequality and exploitation suffered by our peoples at the hands of the developed countries with a market economy, which have imposed an unjust international economic order. This economic order has fed the prosperity of those countries and has expanded at the price of our underdevelopment. It is facing a crisis of its own making, the cost of which it is shifting to our nations. This economic order reactivates its economy through restrictive economic adjustments and industrial redeployment which has exacted a high social price from the inhabitants of those countries, with corresponding effects on the economies of our countries. In the last four years this economic order has meant a drop in per capita income of 19 per cent for the countries of the Central American region. This economic order meant a drop in export prices as large as 3.5 per cent in the year 1982 for the developing countries that do not produce oil, while in that same year the industrialized countries' trade relations grew

by 1.5 per cent. This economic order has meant for the non-oil-producing countries of the third world a growing balance-of-payments deficit, which in 1982 reached \$90 billion. This economic order aggravates our countries' foreign debt problem, now reaching \$664 billion. This economic order has established the logic of the minorities; it expresses itself through the stabilization programmes which are imposed on third world countries as a precondition for the renegotiation of their debts. This economic order pursues a strategy that attempts to reduce the public debt, especially in terms of social services and subsidies for production and consumption, freezing salaries and increasing the cost of public services, thus re-introducing the former growth model. This economic order, which encourages, while imposing restrictive measures on our peoples, an economic policy that can only be termed anti-democratic, anti-human and irrational, disproportionately inflates its fiscal deficit in order to produce more and more weapons by investing billions of dollars in the laboratories of death. This economic order, which is irrational and contrary to our peoples' human rights, invests millions in subsidies to farmers so that they produce less in a world that is hungry and that requires more and improved agricultural production. This economic order has restricted our countries' access to financing. The international banks, which in 1980 granted up to \$160 billion in new loans, have reduced new loans to only \$95 billion in 1982.

103. But in the face of this unjust economic order, in the face of this logic of the minorities, the logic of the majority emerges with greater strength, and it demands a reduction in the development gap between the market-economy industrialized countries and the countries of the third world and a renegotiation of the terms of trade in order to establish a new international economic order which would include a strategy for food production aimed at achieving third world self-sufficiency, with the collaboration of the developed countries and the international agencies.

104. The economic needs of the impoverished countries must no longer be manipulated through economic and military blackmail. The international community must reject all forms of discrimination and economic aggression. We repeat that in the face of the strategy of the wealthy lenders, a strategy must be found by the impoverished debtors.

105. We have a duty to our peoples to establish an organization of debtor countries which would enable us to unite in a single forum. In that way we could move towards the formulation of a world economic policy in line with the logic of the majority. The problem of debt is not a unilateral problem, and that is why we must unite our efforts. This struggle must encompass the establishment of fair trade prices and credit at reasonable interest rates sufficient to promote a massive transfer of resources; the opening up of opportunities for development and for fulfilling our obligations with dignity; the attainment of a suitable level of dialogue between the wealthy and the impoverished; the establishment of a permanent means of consultation among debtor nations; and the establishment of a point of reference for the activation of mechanisms of reciprocal assistance and solidarity.

106. In that way we will be taking specific steps in favour of peace and stability without further sacrificing the well-being of our peoples. This requires above all an understanding of the need for a more balanced process of integral development for mankind, and therefore a change in the attitude of the lender nations.

107. The Central American region is not exempt from this upsurge of military, political and economic tensions. Our peoples, historically deprived of the benefits of development, victims of injustice and a lack of freedom, are today assertively demanding these rights. The current struggle of the Central American peoples has its roots in the expansionist policies of the United States of America. In the year 1855 this expansionist policy—under which extensive territory was grabbed from Mexico—brought about a military presence in Nicaragua in William Walker and his mercenaries, who were finally defeated and expelled after a bloody struggle. Since that time the various United States Administrations have endeavoured to stabilize brutal régimes in the region, which were to become their principal instruments of domination. From that time in the history of our peoples there were to be one landing of American soldiers after another and acts of direct intervention by the United States in our lands aimed at propping up tyrannical Governments and drowning the peoples' struggle in blood. That was how the Government of the United States became the best friend of tyrants such as Somoza, Ubico, Carías and Hernández. And that was how the United States Government became the greatest enemy of our peoples. In our region, American democracy has meant hunger and exploitation for the peasants and for the workers, and it has meant fabulous wealth for the exploiting minorities.

108. The triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution was but the result of this long struggle against American domination, a struggle which began in 1855 against Walker and which culminated on 19 July 1979 with the overthrow of Anastasio Somoza. Our revolution triumphed over this unjust United States policy, and while it is true that in the months immediately following that victory the possibility of new relations with the United States was opened, the entry into office of the new Administration in 1981 cut short this effort. Once more it was the policy of the "big stick", the policy of gunboats, the policy of terror.

109. We could say that from that moment on, from January 1981, the new United States Administration had declared war on the people of Nicaragua. The strategy was clear: military aggression, more economic aggression, more slander campaigns, more attempts to isolate us internationally, all with the goal of destabilizing the Nicaraguan revolution in order to bring about its destruction.

110. Thus they proposed to undermine the struggle of the peoples of the region, and in particular the struggle of the people of El Salvador. Crushing the Nicaraguan revolution—according to the thinking of the United States Administration's strategists—would mean crushing the possibilities for change in Central America and would maintain unchanged the situation of injustice and lack of freedom. They decided, therefore, to carry out a military encirclement of the fighting people of El Salvador, aimed too against the liberated people of Nicaragua. From that time on the American military presence in the region has been on the increase, openly in El Salvador and Honduras and covertly in Costa Rica.

111. Immediately there followed actions by the guards of the Somoza régime. Armed, financed and directed by the United States Government through the CIA and the Pentagon, they began their criminal operations against our people from their bases of operations in Honduran territory.

112. Joining these aggressive actions from Costa Rican territory were foreign mercenaries, counter-revolutionaries of Nicaraguan origin and more Somoza guards. From its military base in the Southern Command in

Panama, the United States began spy-flights over our territory with RC-135, SR-71 and U-2 aircraft. To date, there have been 203 spy-flights and 512 violations of our airspace by Honduran air force planes and by others provided by the CIA to the counter-revolutionaries who have penetrated our territory on supply, reconnaissance and attack missions from their operational bases in Honduras and Costa Rica.

113. In the same period between 1981 and 1983, we have detected on 34 occasions the presence in our territorial waters of United States naval vessels, totalling 56 violations of our territorial waters, 24 from Honduran territory and 32 from Costa Rican territory. These activities are for the infiltration and supplying of counter-revolutionary groups. These activities by the United States Administration, for which \$19 million was initially appropriated, were of a covert nature at the time. In the first months of 1982 the CIA had already designed a plan for military escalation, one that would be put into operation towards the end of that same year.

114. The response of our people was immediate. Between December of 1982 and January of this year these aggressions were defeated. In February the United States carried out joint military manoeuvres with the Honduran army to provide support to the counter-revolutionaries, who had embarked on a new wave of invasions, but they were again defeated.

115. In July and September the Government of the United States undertook new invasion attempts through the CIA, relying on the counter-revolutionaries and the Honduran army. At the same time it continued to conduct joint manoeuvres with the Honduran army in the area bordering on Nicaragua. In this month, September, it began an exercise called "Ahuas Tara II", designed to create a military situation involving the Honduran army in support of the army of El Salvador, on the one hand, and on the other, to threaten our revolution with a show of force in which a blockade and direct aggression are in no way ruled out. These military manoeuvres have been accompanied by naval manoeuvres unprecedented in the region, involving 19 warships with 16,484 troops on board and 5,000 more United States troops operating on Honduran soil.

116. These systematic military aggressions by the United States Government have become increasingly overt, and from 1979 to 1983 they have taken a toll of 717 Nicaraguans killed, including civilians and members of the armed forces. Forty-one of these were teachers and 154 were workers linked to production centres. Furthermore, 529 people—workers, students and technicians—have been kidnapped and 514 have been wounded. In defence of their sovereignty our armed people have annihilated 1,636 counter-revolutionaries and wounded 280. As another consequence of this United States policy we must add the losses our country has suffered from the destruction of ports, damages to production facilities and destruction of construction equipment, health centres, schools and day-care centres, which represent a total of 3 billion córdobas in damages, amounting to one quarter of our annual investments.

117. This month a new form of attack began to be employed in an attempt to "normalize" escalation against Nicaragua. Rocket-equipped planes coming from both Costa Rican and Honduran territory have dropped 500-pound bombs on the Augusto César Sandino International Airport and on schools, houses and fuel tanks in the port of Corinto. These bombings continue. Another part of this new American escalation is the blowing up of an oil-pumping station located two miles



off our shores in the Pacific Ocean, and other criminal actions aimed at seriously affecting our economy.

118. As we have already pointed out, this aggressive activity is part of the increase in the United States military presence in the region, including the establishment of military and naval bases with new airports in Honduras, the organization and direction of the Salvadorian army in its military operations against the Salvadorian patriots and an increase in pressure on the governments of the region to involve them even further in the terrorist actions against Nicaragua.

119. The efforts carried out to contain the aggressive policy of the United States in the region and to promote dialogue and negotiation in pursuit of political solutions have also been significant. This Organization, through the Security Council and the Secretary-General, has watched the situation closely and has been active in these efforts. The countries members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have also assumed a position that clearly condemns the aggressive destabilizing and interventionist policy in the region and have supported efforts to find a political solution. In this peace effort Mexico and France have made a valuable contribution in promoting dialogue. The activity undertaken in the Contadora Group by Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia has been solidly supported by all those genuinely interested in the search for peace. The position assumed by members of the United States Congress and important sectors of the press in the United States, by intellectuals, the religious community and the public at large, is consistent with the desire for peace on the part of the peoples of Central America who reject these aggressive policies.

120. We can say that there is agreement among very different ideological positions throughout the world in condemning the aggressive and bellicose escalation in the Central American region and in demanding that dialogue be the means for resolving these problems. The American Administration, however, tramples on all these efforts, rejecting them in practice, and is swiftly carrying forward its aggressive plans. The American Administration is trying to ignore the defeat its policy has suffered in the region. It has failed in its attempt to destroy the Salvadorian patriots and to send thousands of Somoza mercenaries against the Nicaraguan people. Our people are inflicting more casualties on them every day, and more of them are deserting.

121. Where are the successes of American policy in Central America? Where are its victories in El Salvador? Where are its champions of freedom in Nicaragua? The policy of military attacks and aggression by the United States in the region has already failed, and the only alternative left to the American Administration is greater and ever more direct involvement. This explains the presence of the United States warships, the presence of the United States soldiers, the visit by Mr. Weinberger, the statements by Mr. Ikle, the demands made by Mr. Shultz, Mr. Clark and Mr. Casey and the approval, in spite of a vote in Congress, of a further appropriation of \$19 million to continue the covert operations against Nicaragua.

122. Nicaragua struggled against imperialist domination and the Somoza dictatorship in its search for peace, for justice and for freedom. Nicaragua cultivates and defends this vocation for peace, which is nothing more than the sacred right of our peoples to demand peace, to win peace and to defend it.

123. Yesterday we heard President Reagan state here, [5th meeting] in the United Nations, that in Central America, as in southern Africa, the United States is trying

to be persuasive regarding the need to avoid reliance on the use of force. We also heard him say that the United States was trying to construct a framework for peaceful negotiations, thereby pursuing a policy of keeping the major Powers out of the conflicts of the third world.

124. We must therefore expect a consistent policy in South Africa. We must therefore expect an immediate halt to the aggression in the Central American region. In other words, we must expect the immediate withdrawal of the United States warships from our territorial waters and from the region, the withdrawal of the United States soldiers from the region, the withdrawal of United States Government support for the armed activities of the Somoza guardsmen and the other counter-revolutionary mercenaries and an end to the covert operations.

125. Only concrete steps such as those would prove the existence of a genuine political will to support the peace initiative and of the process of dialogue and negotiations in order to ensure the security of all Central American States and strict implementation of Security Council resolution 530 (1983). Nicaragua believes that so long as those concrete steps are not taken there will be no way to find a solution to the region's crisis. We should like to reaffirm what we have already stated: first, an attempt must be made to win security for those States that feel threatened. Nicaragua is the most threatened and attacked country of our continent, threatened and attacked by an extra regional Power that openly defends such a policy. Therefore, as the military aggression increases, it is our right and sovereign obligation to provide our people with more and better weapons to defend the nation under attack.

126. We reiterate that the United States must withdraw its aggressive forces from the region and desist from its policy of aggression. Agreements must be reached offering security to all States in the region. An end must be put to the participation of Honduras in the aggression against Nicaragua and the people of El Salvador. A solution must be found to the conflict in El Salvador, with the full participation of the Salvadorian patriots. Then we shall be in a position to discuss problems of weapons and advisers.

127. The United States Government has continued to put forward different pretexts for its aggressive policy in the region. It has called Nicaragua a threat because of the alleged arms traffic to El Salvador. On other occasions it has invoked the alleged East-West confrontation under way in the region. It has also voiced concern about the state of democracy in Nicaragua. Most recently, however, it has stated quite clearly that the problem is the very existence of a free Nicaragua.

128. All this indicates the lack of coherence and the instability of American policy, and the United States must be told that it is unable today, as it was unable yesterday, to see the root of the problem: the expansionist policy it first employed in the last century and which it continues to defend today.

129. Nicaragua has won its right to be free and that right must be respected. Nicaragua has defined itself and therefore acts as a non-aligned country, and this too must be respected. Nicaragua is building its democracy, and the sovereign right to choose its own internal system, its own brand of democracy, is a right of our people that cannot be negotiated, cannot be discussed and must be respected.

130. The avoidance of a conflagration in Central America is an obligation that concerns the entire international community, defenders of the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations. In the course of this year

the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting first in an extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of its Co-ordinating Bureau at Managua last January and then at New Delhi in March at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government, has expressed its resolute support for the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problems of our region.

131. The Security Council, in its resolution 530 (1983), also appealed urgently to all States to support the efforts of the Contadora Group to resolve differences by means of frank and constructive dialogue.

132. Despite the appeals and efforts, the situation in Central America is becoming more complicated. The acts of aggression against Nicaragua continue and are stepped up; there are threats, intimidation and intervention; there is an attempt to place the so-called vital interests of a great Power above the delicate efforts being made to achieve peace and coexistence in Central America on the basis of full respect for the sovereignty of all nations in the region.

133. Nicaragua has never attacked any country, but it will defend itself against any act of aggression, regardless of how great and powerful the aggressor may be—and we know that the United States, a military Power, is threatening Nicaragua. Whenever Nicaragua has been attacked and invaded it has defended itself, it has struggled, it has fought, and we Nicaraguans will always be ready to confront, resist and defeat new imperialist intervention.

134. In the face of this situation, the Assembly must give a new momentum and support to peace-making efforts through a new, urgent appeal to all States to refrain from committing acts that worsen the situation in the region. To this end, Nicaragua is asking that the question of Central America—threats to peace, sovereignty, the exercise by the Central American peoples of the right to self-determination and peace initiatives—be considered as an urgent item on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly.

135. This session of the General Assembly brings us together at a time of great suffering for our peoples and of unprecedented threats to the future of mankind.

136. There is still time to avoid a catastrophe. We must speak with one voice and be resolved, but above all, we must take action to denounce and expose the irrational positions that have been taken and to strengthen the rational ones. This is no time for us to ignore the situation; this is no time for timid, vacillating positions. There is a risk of confronting more difficult situations, but what is at stake goes beyond specific interests. It is the obligation of all, particularly those of us that have no nuclear weapons nor economic power, to demand peace and fight for peace with all the moral force of our peoples.

137. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the Co-ordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua for the important statement he has just made.

138. Mr. HARALAMBOPOULOS (Greece): Mr. President, I have the honour of addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its 10 member States. It is with particular pleasure that I congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Assembly. For many years you have distinguished yourself at the service of both your country and the international community, thus earning general esteem and respect. I am sure that you will carry out your duties with efficiency, objectivity and dexterity, thus contributing to the success of an Assembly which meets at a critical

juncture. I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the European Community to the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the great skill with which he has guided the deliberations of this body over the past 12 months.

139. We also wish to commend the Secretary-General for his intellectual and moral probity, the high concept he has of his mission and his dedication to peace and to the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

140. Finally, let me extend our warmest congratulations to the new Member of the Organization, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

141. The European Community was born of the desire of several States, cherishing the same democratic values, to base their relationship on new forms of solidarity, in order to face challenges which would have been difficult to take up in isolation. This is why the 10 countries for which I speak today are fully committed to respect for the Charter and view the United Nations as a vehicle for creating a better and safer world. Through regular consultation on international problems and constant efforts to define a common policy, the 10 countries, as individual States and as a Community, intend to continue to strengthen their co-operation with the United Nations and the Secretary-General.

142. At the thirty-seventh session, speaking from this rostrum on behalf of the Community [8th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark painted the situation prevailing in the world in sombre colours. At the start of the thirty-eighth session it must be admitted that this assessment unfortunately remains valid.

143. How, it might be asked, could the situation basically improve as long as Member States continue to violate the most fundamental principles of the Charter and to ignore the repeated appeals addressed to them by the Organization to refrain from the use or threat of use of force and to put an immediate end to the conflict in which they are engaged? It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that none of the old conflicts has been resolved and that ominous signs of new tensions are looming on the horizon.

144. Relations between East and West have been gravely affected these past years by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the situation in Poland, as well as by the continued Soviet military buildup. A further cause of aggravation has been the shooting down of the Korean airliner by a Soviet fighter. The European Community deeply deplores this act, which resulted in the loss of many innocent human lives. The 10 members have asked that the appropriate international organs undertake a thorough investigation of the circumstances of the incident. They welcome the decisions of the ICAO Council adopted at Montreal on 16 September. They support the proposals submitted to ICAO for ensuring greater safety of civilian aircraft in future, including the prohibition of the use of armed force.

145. Our countries, peoples and Governments are ready to improve relations with the Soviet Union and its allies, provided they abide by internationally accepted standards of behaviour, so that international confidence can be restored. Only then could there be a better understanding among the European peoples and an atmosphere conducive to the consolidation of peace and stability on our continent.

146. It is in this light that we have viewed and continue to view the situation in Poland. The Community has taken note of the measures adopted by the Polish Government on 22 July 1983, some of which go in the right direction while others provide the authorities with the

legal means to suppress possible dissident activities more effectively. In a spirit of friendship towards the Polish people, the Community hopes that these steps will be followed by further measures leading to reconciliation, dialogue and reform, in accordance with the aspirations of all the national and social elements of the population.

147. The successful conclusion of the negotiations at Madrid of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is a cause of satisfaction to the members of the European Community. Our approach at the Conference was guided by the endeavour to promote respect for the Helsinki Final Act,<sup>4</sup> to ensure its full implementation and to pursue the aims of the Conference process through dialogue and co-operation. The presence of all our foreign ministers at Madrid bore testimony to this commitment. Although the Concluding Document does not represent the maximum that could have been achieved, it was substantial and balanced. We attach as great an importance to the human dimension of that document as to its provisions concerning the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe.

148. That brings me to the wider issue of disarmament. It is an issue of the utmost importance to the Community and of increasing concern to public opinion, since it affects the survival of mankind. It is also a very complex problem. Experience has shown how difficult it is to achieve disarmament in an atmosphere of distrust, fear and prejudice. To preserve peace it is necessary not only to reduce armaments but to remove the causes of conflict as well.

149. This applies as much to Europe as to other parts of the world. The 10 countries of the European Community are making every effort to reduce the level of military forces in Europe while maintaining undiminished security for all States. Hence the importance they attach to the full range of ongoing or scheduled negotiations, particularly the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union at Geneva on strategic and intermediate nuclear forces. Given the size of the nuclear arsenal of these two countries, it is generally recognized that progress on nuclear disarmament is closely related to their agreeing on substantial and verifiable reductions.

150. The European Community, therefore, gives full support to both the strategic arms reduction talks and the intermediate nuclear forces negotiations. It is our sincere wish that it will prove possible for the two major nuclear Powers to come to an agreement in the near future. The objective of such an agreement should be to strike a balance at the lowest possible level.

151. While nuclear arms control negotiations are taking place in order to halt the vertical proliferation, the maintenance and strengthening of the present non-proliferation régime, which so far has been successful in halting the further spread of nuclear weapons, is a very significant element in the disarmament equation.

152. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that the control of nuclear forces is only one side of the coin. It is of the utmost importance to reduce the level of conventional armaments. The spectre of nuclear annihilation should not lead us to underestimate the terrible casualties and material destruction which these weapons can cause. Since 1945 this has been borne out by more than 100 conventional wars.

153. That is one of the reasons why we look forward to the conference on disarmament in Europe, soon to be convened at Stockholm. Its first stage will be devoted to the negotiation and adoption of confidence- and security-building measures which will be militarily significant, binding, verifiable and applicable to the whole of Europe.

The members of the European Community reiterate their conviction that the building of confidence among States not only in Europe but world-wide plays a significant role in facilitating progress in arms control and disarmament. 154. At the same time, those members of the Community participating in the negotiations at Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions remain firmly committed to reaching an effective agreement which would genuinely enhance stability and strengthen security in Europe and pave the way to other important developments in the field of disarmament.

155. The Community also stands fully behind every substantial and realistic effort made at Geneva by the sole multilateral negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament. The members of the Community therefore strongly plead for the intensification of current negotiations in the Committee. They underline the importance of early progress towards a comprehensive and reliably verifiable ban on all chemical weapons, in order to eliminate this whole category of weapons. They also support the examination by the Committee on Disarmament of questions related to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

156. Finally, the European Community considers the United Nations to be an essential and most valuable forum for discussion at world level of disarmament and arms control matters. It believes that the dialogue aimed at security and peace for all peoples must be pursued vigorously.

157. Before concluding my remarks on this vital issue I would like to stress our firm conviction that, in parallel with disarmament efforts, all States, big and small, powerful and weak, nuclear and non-nuclear, should adhere to the provisions of the Charter and of international law in general, to ensure the renunciation of force and the threat of force and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. In this context we consider the adoption by the General Assembly last year of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes [*see resolution 37/10*] to be a positive step. The European Community hopes the goals of the Declaration, vitally important to international peace, may be achieved through the joint efforts of all Members of the Organization.

158. In the Middle East the consequences of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which the 10 members of the European Community have vigorously condemned, are still with us. The country has found itself in the throes of a conflict which could have led to its disintegration. The civilian population has suffered greatly in the cross-fire of the warring factions and by the intervention of foreign elements. The members of the Community, who have always supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the authority of its Government, welcome the cease-fire which was put into effect yesterday. They hope that the dialogue about to be initiated will lead to national reconciliation and ensure the unity of the country. They also stress the need for early progress towards the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces with the exception of those whose presence might be required by the Lebanese Government. They are ready to work for these objectives, jointly and individually.

159. A direct consequence of the stalemate in Lebanon is that no progress has been made towards the solution of the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. It is the view of the European Community that peace will not prevail unless the security and legitimate interests of all States and peoples are taken into account. To be more specific, a lasting peace can be built only on the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to a secure existence and

on justice for all peoples, including recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that this implies.

160. A way to peace was indicated by President Reagan's initiative of 1 September 1982,<sup>5</sup> and the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, demonstrated a readiness for it. The Community appeals to all the parties in the conflict to move forward from a readiness for peace, which all of them have expressed in the past, towards mutual recognition as partners in genuine negotiations on the basis, *inter alia*, of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). These negotiations will have to embrace all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian people, and the PLO will have to be associated with them. The threat or use of force must be renounced by all.

161. In the interest of the search for peace, the European Community asks Israel to abandon its policy of gradual annexation and of unilaterally creating new facts in the occupied territories, in particular its settlement policy, which is contrary to international law and a major and growing obstacle to peace efforts.

162. For their part, the members of the Community are closely associated with such efforts, as demonstrated by, among other things, their continuing support of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations and the multinational forces. Having a deep interest in the future of the area, they intend to maintain their contacts with all parties and to use their influence to encourage movements towards compromise and negotiated solutions.

163. Another aggravating factor in the Middle East is the continuing war between Iran and Iraq. The members of the Community strongly deplore the lack of progress towards the solution of this conflict, which constitutes a serious threat to the stability of the region and to international security and entails heavy suffering for the two peoples involved. They appeal urgently to the two belligerents to spare the civilian population and to abide by all international conventions applicable in time of war. In this respect they welcome the report of the United Nations mission<sup>6</sup> which visited areas subjected to attacks. On the other hand, the Community deeply regrets that none of the peace initiatives undertaken hitherto has succeeded in bringing the fighting to an end. It takes this opportunity to call once more for a cease-fire, the cessation of all military operations and the withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized frontiers, and for a just and honourable settlement, negotiated in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council and acceptable to both parties. The members of the Community confirm their readiness, if requested by both parties, to participate in the efforts aimed at restoring peace in the area.

*Mr. Stručka (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

164. If in the Middle East the situation has deteriorated over the past 12 months, little or no progress has been registered on a number of other international problems.

165. In Afghanistan the Soviet occupation continues in spite of the successive resolutions adopted by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations. The European Community remains deeply concerned by this continuing violation of the independence of a traditionally neutral and non-aligned country. Its members condemn the attacks on Afghan civilians by Soviet forces and remain gravely concerned at the plight of the Afghan refugees who have been driven from their homeland as a direct result of these actions. These persons represent the largest concentration of refugees in the world, and their suffering must not be forgotten.

166. The members of the European Community stress the urgent need for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a negotiated settlement which will permit Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status to be restored, allow the Afghan people to exercise fully their right to self-determination and enable the Afghan refugees to return home in safety and honour. They follow with great interest the indirect contacts between Pakistan and Afghanistan, held under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to finding a solution in accordance with the Assembly's resolutions. While recalling their proposal in June 1981, the Community members are prepared to support any constructive initiative aimed at a satisfactory political solution. But the key requirement of any such solution remains the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

167. Kampuchea was invaded five years ago and is still occupied by Vietnamese troops, which not only suppress all resistance but also attack the camps of refugees and displaced persons with increasing frequency and intensity. All efforts to end this occupation, with all its consequences for the present and the future, have foundered on the refusal of Viet Nam to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The European Community wishes to congratulate the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations on their initiative concerning the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea. It considers that the Declaration adopted by the Conference,<sup>7</sup> with whose principles it agrees, constitutes a very good basis for a genuine political settlement. The Declaration calls, as we all know, for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, recognition of the right of the Kampucheans to determine their own destiny through free elections supervised by the United Nations, respect for the independence, neutrality and non-aligned status of Kampuchea and a commitment by all States not to interfere in its internal affairs. The European Community regards the establishment of the coalition of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk a significant step.

168. In Korea the stalemate persists, 30 years after the armistice agreement was signed. The European Community believes that the peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiations based on the 1972 South-North Joint Communiqué.<sup>8</sup>

169. The situation in Cyprus constitutes a potential danger to the peace and stability of the whole area. The members of the Community reaffirm their position as reflected in General Assembly resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 3395 (XXX), which call for respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. They hope that no action running counter to these principles will be undertaken. They have consistently supported the efforts of the Secretary-General, under whose auspices intercommunal talks were established on a regular basis. They welcome his renewed personal involvement in the search for a just and viable solution.

170. In southern Africa Namibia continues to be illegally occupied by South Africa in defiance of international law and United Nations resolutions. The European Community has firmly and repeatedly expressed its conviction that the people of Namibia must be allowed to determine their own future through free and fair elections held under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We reiterate this conviction today and express our full support for the efforts of the contact group, thanks to which a settlement has been within reach for some time now. We also wish to express appreciation for the efforts of the front-line States.



171. The Community members also thank the Secretary-General for his efforts in fulfilling his mandate under Security Council resolution 532 (1983) and will continue to support his contacts with the parties. They urge all parties concerned to facilitate the conclusion of the negotiations without further delay and to refrain from any action which could endanger an agreement.

172. I might add that the problem of Namibia should be viewed strictly as a problem of decolonization—in fact, of eradicating the last remaining vestige of colonialism in Africa. The people of Namibia must be given an opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination without delay. Their independence has been denied them for far too long and should not be delayed further because of extraneous problems.

173. In South Africa itself the country's black majority unfortunately continues to be the victim of blatant oppression. The European Community wishes to reiterate its unequivocal and vigorous condemnation and rejection of the system of institutionalized racial discrimination known as *apartheid* and its determination to use its collective weight, as in the past, to influence South Africa, in order to help put an end to that inhuman system and establish a society in which everybody without exception will enjoy equality, freedom and justice. The Community remains concerned about many aspects of South African policies. In particular, it has condemned the homeland policy and the violation of human rights resulting from bannings and other similar measures.

174. In other parts of Africa internal strife is sometimes an obstacle in the long and difficult road to economic and social development. Such strife is too often exacerbated by outside factors.

175. One such case is Chad. The 10 members of the European Community are gravely concerned by the outside intervention to which this country has fallen victim, and the consequences of that intervention. They firmly support its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and are against any kind of interference in its internal affairs. They believe this problem is an African affair and, consequently, should be settled by the Africans themselves, in order to avoid an escalation of the conflict into an international crisis. They underline the role which the OAU could play in restoring peace. This, of course, should not preclude similar action by the competent organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council, and by the Secretary-General.

176. As I have mentioned the OAU, I should like to pay a tribute to that organization, which is celebrating this year its twentieth anniversary. In the course of the past 20 years it has proved to be a very important factor for political stability and progress in Africa and for world peace.

177. The 10 countries of the European Community are historically linked by close human, economic and cultural ties with Latin America. I wish to stress the importance we attach to further promoting these ties. A few months ago we celebrated the bicentenary of the birth of Simón Bolívar. We pay a tribute to that great man and his struggle for the independence and freedom of the Latin American peoples. We also welcome the growing trend towards democracy in the continent, while deploring the continuing and grave abuses of human rights and restrictions of political freedom in certain countries.

178. I should now like to turn to the serious situation in Central America, which could have repercussions extending well beyond the region itself. The endemic social inequalities, injustice and economic underdevelopment are at the root of the present crisis, which is aggravated by outside interference. In some countries violence

and the violation of human rights have become facts of everyday life. Last June, at Stuttgart, the 10 heads of State or Government clearly stated the principles for remedying this situation [see A/38/297]. They include those of non-interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the establishment of democratic conditions and the strict observance of human rights. The European Community is convinced that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by military means but only through a political settlement springing from the region itself. The Community is prepared to contribute in whatever way it can to this end. It fully supports the Contadora initiative. It notes that the Cancún Declaration of 17 July [A/38/303] contains many useful suggestions. It also recalls the endorsement of the efforts of the Contadora Group by Security Council resolution 530 (1983), which was adopted unanimously.

179. The protection of human rights is a cause to which the European Community is deeply committed, because respect for those rights lies at the very foundation of all truly democratic societies, which are the best guarantee of international peace and stability. We must acknowledge that during recent decades nations with different traditions, ideologies, cultures and political systems have moved towards the adoption of common standards, as well as of appropriate, although not altogether adequate, procedures for putting these standards into effect.

180. It is, however, a matter of deep regret to the European Community that the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 35 years after its adoption, is far from satisfactory. The number of serious and massive violations of these rights in various parts of the world is growing. Many countries seem to have made arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, torture, disappearances, killings and political executions an integral part of their political system. Human beings are persecuted solely on ideological, religious or racial grounds, or even simply because they have the courage to defend the cause of human rights. Large numbers of political prisoners, including trade union activists, remain under detention and are denied respect of their status, as well as their right to defence. Others are denied the right to leave their country or to return to it. Faced with such serious abuses, the United Nations has a duty to secure compliance with the obligations of the Universal Declaration and to react promptly to all violations of human rights. The Community stands ready to approach the Governments of the countries where violations of this kind occur, in order to try to alleviate the human suffering.

181. All States should adhere to and implement legally binding international instruments on human rights and take appropriate measures for their enforcement. The members of the Community are taking an active part in the elaboration of new such instruments and, in particular, the draft convention against torture.

182. Moreover, it is their view that, together with civil and political rights, social and economic rights need to be guaranteed as essential elements of an integral system for protection of the individual.

183. A major event this year has been the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi last March. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, with some 100 members, has become a powerful influence in international affairs. This is fully recognized by the Community, which appreciates the important role the Movement plays.

184. One of the main preoccupations of the third world is the present economic crisis and the measures that

should be taken with urgency to help developing countries overcome the difficult, and in some cases desperate, situations they find themselves in.

185. The world economy is at a critical juncture. There are some signs of recovery in a number of major industrialized countries, most notably the United States of America and Japan, whereas in Europe the prospects are less certain.

186. More specifically, unemployment remains high and is increasing, its effects being felt mostly by young and urban workers. The uncertainty of the future and the prospect of high public deficits are among the elements which maintain real interest rates at high levels, thus diverting resources from productive investment to financial management. This reduces the prospects for a synchronized upturn in economic activity and an investment-led and sustainable recovery. Exchange rates continue to be volatile, and this increases uncertainty and limits the room for a consistent economic policy.

187. The global recession has left its mark on developing countries. Their debt has increased sharply, their development efforts have been undermined and their capacity to participate fully in the international economic system has been impaired. They face a severe reduction of their imports and are confronted with sluggish markets for their exports, unfavourable terms of trade and sharply higher debt servicing costs.

188. It is with a clear understanding of these realities and a sense of deep commitment to the need for co-ordination and co-operation that the Community has participated during the past year in international negotiations with all its partners. The difficulties we have been experiencing over the past few years have made clear to all of us the extent to which our economies are interdependent. The ministerial meeting in May 1983 of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development highlighted this point very clearly. It recognized the powerful economic links between all parts of the world, which imply a collective responsibility to shape policies so as to strengthen the international trading and monetary and financial systems and to recreate the conditions for sustainable non-inflationary growth. The Williamsburg Summit of Industrialized Nations in May 1983 adopted the same approach in recognizing that "we must act together and that we must pursue a balanced set of policies that take into account and exploit relationships between growth, trade and finance in order that recovery may spread to all countries, developed and developing countries alike".

189. The open world trading system embodied in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has served the world economy well during more than three decades. Therefore it ought to be preserved and further strengthened. At the ministerial meeting of the Parties to the Agreement in November 1982, the European Community reaffirmed its commitment to resist protectionist pressures in the formulation and implementation of trade policy, a commitment which was further reinforced by consensus at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. In this context, it has always been a principle of the Community that differential and more favourable treatment should be extended to less developed countries.

190. The major event in the North-South dialogue this year has been the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which the Community approached with a positive, constructive and pragmatic attitude, recognizing that the economic crisis threatens the smooth and effective functioning of the

multilateral economic system as well as world prosperity. At Belgrade the Community, aware that there is a growing interdependence between developing and developed countries, declared that "there can be no lasting recovery without resumption of the development process and that there can be no new impetus to the development process without real recovery". In our view, and despite the occasional disappointments and frustrations, the outcome of this Conference was important. We agreed on quite a number of resolutions, which were adopted by consensus and which cover substantial issues of common interest. We succeeded—which is politically most important—in keeping the lines of communication open and the international dialogue alive.

191. In the field of commodities the Community throughout has supported the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities.<sup>9</sup> We therefore welcome the recent increase in the number of signatures and ratifications, which we hope will lead to its early entry into force. At the sixth session of the Conference we also took an active part in the important decision to start work on compensatory financing of export earnings shortfalls.

192. In the field of trade the Community supported the adoption of resolution 159 (VI),<sup>10</sup> which highlighted the importance of the open trading system, and agreed to follow policies that would facilitate structural adjustment based on a dynamic pattern of comparative advantage. Increased trade is especially vital for the developing countries. The generalized system of preferences scheme has improved access to the Community's markets for all of them. The Community will—as was stated at the sixth session of the Conference—maintain and further develop its generalized system of preferences scheme until at least 1990.

193. On monetary and financial affairs, the sixth session of the Conference adopted several resolutions. The Community joined in the consensus on resolution 161 (VI) on the crucial issue of the external debt of the developing countries. We declared that we were ready to consider appropriate measures to alleviate the servicing of the debts of developing countries on a case-by-case basis and within the existing institutions. The Community supported the renewed commitment to official development assistance targets, especially *vis-à-vis* the least developed countries. We advocated the rapid replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association to a substantial level, and we consider that an adequate level of funding of the development financial institutions is essential. The Community also recognizes the importance of an adequate supply of liquidity for world economic growth. We stressed at Belgrade that a financially strong IMF is in the interest of all, in order that that institution may fulfil its role in meeting its members' financing and adjustment needs.

194. As I said before, the sixth session of the Conference was the major event this year in North-South relations, but the global dialogue between industrialized and developing countries is an ongoing process. It is based on the recognition of increasing links between the different economic sectors such as growth, trade, finance, development and the fight against the hunger in the world. In this spirit we continue to support the launching of global negotiations to cover all major issues in the field of the world economy. We hope that it will be possible to reach an early agreement on launching such negotiations. In this respect we have noted with interest the declarations of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi [A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2] and of the Group of 77 at Buenos Aires<sup>11</sup> earlier this year. In this context I

would recall that the Community has over a long period developed an active partnership with the countries in the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States, and we shall soon be entering into negotiations for a new convention.

195. Another basic feature of the development policy of the Community is to pay special attention to the specific and urgent needs of the least developed countries.

196. Finally I should like to refer briefly to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which was opened for signature in December last year. The Community and its member States believe that this Convention constitutes a major effort in the codification and progressive development of international law in various fields. This Convention has so far been signed by five member States of the Community. Some concern persists with respect to the deep-sea-bed-mining régime of the Convention; it should be dealt with in such a manner as to make the Convention universally acceptable. In fact, we attach great importance to the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. I hope the Convention will become a useful instrument for the promotion of co-operation and stable relations between all countries in this field.

197. The international economic climate is still far from satisfactory, but history teaches us that times of crisis can be turned into times of fresh and constructive initiatives. The economic crisis still confronting most of us presents a challenge: to promote international co-operation; to promote social welfare; to improve living conditions in the world; and to re-establish confidence in the working of our international system by adapting to changing realities, accommodating diversity and promoting common aspirations.

198. We sincerely believe that, despite the occasional disappointment and frustration at the lack of a consensus, we have succeeded in keeping the lines of communication open and the international dialogue alive. There are clearly differences in experiences, in perceptions of the problems and in proposals for their effective solution. However, it is only through a process of continuous and frank exchange of views that we can better define and come to accept our common interests as well as our differences. We in the Community are hopeful that the international dialogue will lead to a better economic environment in the future.

199. In the midst of a world torn by discord and fraught with fear, the Secretary-General was led to sound the alarm with the report he submitted last year to the Assembly. I wish to assure him that the members of the European Community have given both that report and the one this year all the attention they deserve. They share his concern that the United Nations system of collective security often has not been used effectively and that the provisions of the Charter have frequently been disregarded. At the same time, the members of the European Community share the view that this weakness is not a result of institutional or structural deficiencies but a consequence of a lack of political will of the parties involved in disputes and confrontations.

200. While fully aware of the previous and ongoing discussions about the need to strengthen the United Nations, we believe that the political impulse of the report should be sustained. We share the view of the Secretary-General that his report should not be dealt with bureaucratically or as a matter of routine. The large echo this report received, going far beyond the usual reaction,

testifies to the soundness and correctness of its analyses and observations. As a partial remedy to the present disquieting situation, the Secretary-General has suggested a series of practical measures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the Organization in preventing conflicts. It is encouraging that these suggestions have been thoroughly examined and discussed by the Security Council, which is the organ primarily responsible for ensuring peace and security.

201. We, members of the European Community, believe that the principles of the Charter, which gives expression to the universality of the Organization, provide the framework for the peaceful settlement of disputes all over the world. It is in this positive spirit that we have already initiated a dialogue with several third countries and some regional organizations or groups. They are ready to extend this dialogue to include any new partners who would wish to join in it. The principles which are the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations cannot continue to be violated with impunity without leading to the further decline of the Organization, which would become totally irrelevant. Unchecked by the constraints of law, the world would become increasingly torn by violence and wars until the ultimate nuclear catastrophe became inevitable. It is our most pressing duty to do whatever lies in our power to prevent such an appalling development, by reversing the present trend. We therefore appeal to all Members of the Organization, without exception, to comply and ensure compliance with the obligations freely undertaken under the Charter. What is at stake is more than the survival of the United Nations; it is the survival of mankind itself.

202. I wish now, in my capacity as Foreign Minister of Greece, to come back to the problem of Cyprus. In 1974, as is well known to all the Members of the Organization, Turkish armed forces invaded the Republic of Cyprus. This flagrant violation of all norms of international law brought with it death and destruction, and as a result 200,000 Greek Cypriots live as refugees in their own country, while the fate of some 1,600 missing persons is still unknown, for lack of co-operation by the occupying authorities. It is, therefore, obvious that the continuing presence of the forces of occupation in the island renders a political solution almost impossible.

203. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council, in a series of resolutions adopted either unanimously or by an overwhelming majority, have set out the principles which should govern any settlement, if we want it to be just and viable. These principles are: the withdrawal of foreign troops; respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; and the return of the refugees to their homes. Clearly, the meaning of these resolutions is that the problem should be settled by the two communities without outside interference. It is in this light that the Greek Government views the latest effort of the Secretary-General to explore new possibilities for an arrangement that would be mutually acceptable. We hold Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar in high esteem. Apart from his other outstanding qualities, he has a deep knowledge of the problem, a problem to which he has devoted tireless efforts in the past. He is, therefore, the person most qualified to help the two communities in their endeavours. We wish him every success.

204. Cyprus may be a small country, but the issues at stake are big. If the international community cannot show that it has the power to enforce the principles of the Charter in such a blatant case of their violation, then it will have failed in its task very sadly indeed.

205. Mr. TINDEMANS (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): While I regret that the hour is late, I should like to discuss in depth a few questions which I believe should be a matter of particular concern for the General Assembly.

206. The first among them, I think, is undoubtedly the question raised by the report submitted to the Assembly by the Secretary-General. Once again, he has had the courage to denounce, sincerely and straightforwardly, the weaknesses of the Organization and to suggest how they might be remedied.

207. The proliferation of crises, the constant deterioration of the international situation, and the aggravation of tensions, particularly between the super-Powers, and their impact on regional conflicts—which are becoming ever more frequent and ever more serious—are all giving rise in every one of our countries to a growing malaise. Our populations are beginning to wonder with anxiety about what uncontrollable situation, what possibly irreparable catastrophe, we are leading them to. At the same time they cannot fail to notice that the machinery designed to restore peace and security is not working. Thus, public opinion in our countries is quite naturally asking, “Why is the United Nations not taking action? What purpose does it serve?”

208. If we do not succeed in changing this situation, we shall have to be careful lest the growing disillusionment of our peoples turns from today’s scepticism into indifference, or even hostility, towards international organizations in general and towards this Organization in the first place. The existence of the United Nations, founded as it is on the multilateral approach to international relations, is, however, becoming more and more indispensable.

209. Yet it is that approach which is now being called into question. Multilateralism is in a state of crisis, and the Secretary-General, in last year’s report as well as in the one just submitted, has made a perfect diagnosis of the reasons why this is so.

210. This serious crisis, which could be fatal for international society, has manifested itself in many areas. In particular, it affects what is done—or rather what is not done—in one area to which we attach the highest priority: that of disarmament. In all branches of the Organization concerned with disarmament—whether the First Committee, the Disarmament Commission or, above all, the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva—debates are marked by sterile confrontation, as a result of which each party finds itself back at the starting-point with nothing—or at most very little—concrete having been accomplished.

211. Certainly, there is no lack of proposals. But what is missing is a translation of those proposals into specific measures able to create that degree of mutual trust without which disarmament is really impossible. It is for this reason that Belgium attaches such importance to the possibility of verification of the conventions whose conclusion we are considering; the means of verification must become more stringent as the matter to be supervised becomes more important.

212. Last year’s appeal by the Secretary-General met with the widest possible response, and this led to the unanimous adoption of resolution 37/67, whereby the General Assembly gave him its total support and invited him to continue his efforts towards strengthening the authority which the United Nations should be able to exercise.

213. At the thirty-seventh session, from this very rostrum [16th meeting], I referred to the importance which

should be attached to the preventive role assigned by the Charter to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General.

214. The considerable activities undertaken by the Secretary-General throughout the past year and his determination to be present, either personally or through his closest colleagues, at the centre of all potential and existing conflicts are a demonstration of his determination actively to play his vital role and are an exhortation to States in their turn to shoulder their own responsibilities.

215. As for the Security Council, its President has summed up the present state of its work on this question. He has confirmed that the Charter provides the Organization with all the means necessary for carrying out its mandate. This, however, will be possible only to the extent that Member States, especially those to which the Charter entrusts a special share of those responsibilities—the members of the Security Council—are willing to make use of those means.

216. For its part, the Belgian Government supports all efforts and proposals aimed at strengthening the application of the principles laid down in the Charter which do not entail amendment or modification of that document. Specifically, we believe that the study of measures for the prevention of threats to the peace deserves priority attention. Preventive action should be taken essentially within the Security Council, for example through periodic meetings to review flash-points and tensions in the world, through regular reports by the Secretary-General on the situation, through fact-finding missions, and through strengthening the means by which the United Nations can act in cases of conflict. The Secretary-General himself has suggested this, in his speech at the Dag Hammarskjöld Scholarship Fund luncheon on 15 September, in which he pleaded for a “re-evaluation of United Nations peace-keeping”.

217. The suggestions I have just made are far from being exhaustive or exclusive. They are meant first of all to show that the Charter has provided the means necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security and that it contains a multitude of means and procedures which make it possible to achieve that fundamental purpose. My remarks are also intended to stress that this whole arsenal of means at our disposal is of no use if Member States do not have the determination and the sincere desire to have them put into effect and if they are not ready to subordinate national selfishness to the needs of the common interest. In this respect, special responsibility obviously lies with the most influential Members, and particularly with the permanent members of the Security Council.

218. The crisis of multilateralism has erupted on both the regional and the world levels. The former has become, to an increasing degree, an inevitable complement of the latter.

219. In realizing its calling for universality, the Organization has brought together an ever-growing number of States which do not constitute a homogeneous cultural unit. Quite the contrary, the traditions and values to which they are devoted offer quite varied shades of opinion that are sometimes quite considerable. Hence, the difficulty for the Organization to define, in many respects, what a French scholar recently called “a universal law which each can recognize because each recognizes himself in it”.

220. It is in this perspective that Belgium has several times suggested from this rostrum—as it did last year—that the United Nations might adopt a regional approach in such areas as disarmament, the promotion of human



rights or in the economic field, and that this be done, if necessary, in co-operation with the multilateral institutions of the regions concerned.

221. We must restore the spirit of multilateralism to its full vigour at both the world and regional levels and thereby ensure a close connection between them.

222. With regard to the region to which my country belongs, I would favour the European Communities' taking this course. Having overcome the crisis with which they are confronted and which their member States are facing at this very moment, they could for the benefit of all play a larger part in solving the world crisis that weighs on all our economies and create conditions enabling the North-South dialogue to be pursued in a more determined manner than hitherto.

223. In the same spirit I wish to stress the great importance Belgium attaches to the negotiations at Vienna on mutual and balanced reduction of armed forces in central Europe, as well as the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe that will soon be convened, first at Helsinki and later at Stockholm.

224. It goes without saying that the Geneva negotiations, whether on Euromissiles or on strategic arms, although held within a different context, are also the focus and concern of my Government, affecting as they do the very existence of our peoples.

225. In the context of this regional concern I have just touched upon, my country attaches an equal importance to developments in the various regions of the world. The African continent nevertheless commands in Belgium a particular, if not exclusive, attention. That is why last February the Belgian Government approved a fairly lengthy document that attempted to define as systematically, coherently and exhaustively as possible the objectives, principles and means of implementing policies my country wishes to pursue with regard to Africa.

226. Among the guiding principles of Belgium's proposed African policy, I should like to mention the following:

"Belgium genuinely wishes to forestall anything that could contribute to the division and weakening of the African continent . . . This means that it must try to promote inter-African co-operation and that it must conduct an active policy, not only towards Africa as a whole, but also towards inter-African organizations, whether they be continental or regional or whether they cover economic, political, cultural or other areas."

The same document goes on to state in particular, with regard to the OAU:

"We cannot . . . but acknowledge that it has played a positive and undoubtedly irreplaceable role for the African continent . . . If the Organization of African Unity were to disappear or become powerless because of the crisis affecting it today, that would represent a severe blow for each country belonging to it and for the whole of Africa."

227. Thus, my country has followed with genuine anxiety the crises that have affected the activities of that organization to the extent that on two occasions they have actually prevented it from convening its summit meeting, thereby appearing to threaten its very existence. It was with genuine satisfaction that Belgium saw the heads of State and Government overcome the conflicts and differences of opinion among themselves and meet last June at Addis Ababa in an attempt to make negotiation prevail over confrontation.

228. The tragedy Chad is experiencing today and the terrible problem that crisis is inflicting upon the OAU demonstrate how difficult it remains to achieve this goal.

229. Belgium profoundly believes that the best way to solve disputes between African nations lies in their co-operation within the OAU, and we hope that that organization will be able to meet the challenge and to obtain the agreement of all its members to respect the legitimacy, that is to say, the African legitimacy, of its decisions.

230. One of the principal dramas in the world today is that lived daily by thousands of refugees throughout the world. Together with other regions—such as South-East Asia—Africa, where ethnic groups often spill across borders, is especially affected by this plague. The flow of refugees and the displacement of populations are particularly acute problems in Africa. Such movement endangers the economic and social structures of many States. It also frequently disrupts good-neighbourly relations between countries.

231. The first International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held in 1980, made it possible to undertake a preliminary study—obviously incomplete—of all aspects of this vast problem. The second conference, to be held next July at Geneva, should provide an opportunity to go beyond emergency planning and mere survival and to conceive lasting solutions.

232. This is yet another area in which the regional and subregional approach is of particular value, because it makes it possible to take into account the specific nature of problems that do not occur in the same guise in all parts of the world. In Africa, for example, refugees do not as a rule wander beyond the territory neighbouring their home country.

233. Hence, co-operation among neighbouring countries is the best way to create conditions for a satisfactory and long-term settlement of the problem, either through repatriation to the home country or through integration into the host country. In this respect, development projects designed to strengthen the infrastructure of host countries are of particular importance.

234. We believe that the second conference could provide an opportunity for the African Governments, regional and subregional African organizations and international organizations involved, as well as for the countries granting aid, to revise their assistance programmes in order better to include the integration of refugees and their participation in the economies of host countries within the overall framework of development plans.

235. Belgium, for its part, is willing to participate actively in the Conference and in the follow-up it entails, either directly or through the European Communities whose action in this respect may easily find a solid basis in the Lomé Convention and within the specific guidelines for co-operation with third world countries not associated with the Communities.

236. Finally, the situation in southern Africa remains a serious source of disorder in our already much troubled world.

237. Whether the problem is Namibia, the questions raised by the policy of separate development—that is, *apartheid*—of South Africa, or the development of the situation in what are known as the front-line States, we find ourselves faced with various elements of the same problem, which must be settled as soon as possible.

238. Belgium, whose active participation in the United Nations Council for Namibia demonstrates how seriously it takes this problem, nevertheless does not claim to be able to suggest from this rostrum even a partial solution.

None the less, my country appeals to South Africa, that African country recognized as such in the continent, at last to respond to the appeal made to it in Lusaka more than 15 years ago and to have faith in the generosity which is one of the main characteristics of the African people and which prompted the great poet Léopold Sédar Senghor to say: "Those peoples of fire, when they have freed their hands, have inscribed fraternity on the first page of their history".

239. At the same time, my country intends to increase its aid to the States of southern Africa, particularly through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, as a contribution to their harmonious development.

240. Belgium—for its own part and with its nine partners in the European Communities—will contribute, if that is the desire of the countries and inter-State organizations of the continent, to the development of an African continent that is genuinely African, free and stable. That means an Africa that has found its own answers to its own problems and thus freed itself from extraneous ideological or political struggles for influence; an Africa which has overcome the aftermath of colonization of which the former colonizers retain no memory, so that their future relations may be free of all ambiguities; an Africa sufficiently stable, internally and regionally, to prevent or limit civil conflicts and conflicts between States.

241. It is a fact that the necessity for Belgium to pursue an African policy worthy of the name cannot be and indeed is not independent of our relations with the countries of the so-called third world as a whole. Certainly Africa is closer to us in terms of geography, history and our knowledge of it. But Africa is only one part of the world, and Belgium must remain open to the entire world, and as far as development co-operation is concerned it must be able to respond also as far as possible to appeals from countries in other continents.

242. Our policy must take account of all our relations with all the countries of the South. In spite of their different situations and their sometimes divergent interests, those countries are united in a vast movement of political solidarity, in a group that exerts economic pressure on the more developed countries and, finally, in diplomatic negotiating power. We cannot ignore this fact. What we rightly or wrongly call the North-South dialogue, regardless of its vicissitudes and implications, will remain for a long time to come one of the elements of international political and economic relations.

243. In the mean time, a certain number of difficult problems which weigh heavily on national economies are of world-wide dimensions, such as the problems of a secure food supply, of energy, of prices of the most important raw materials for third world countries and of indebtedness, which has assumed such great proportions.

244. Bilateral relations between Western and developing countries alone can provide but partial solutions to those problems. They must therefore be considered and negotiated at world level, which is where they arise.

245. That is why Belgium, together with its European partners, responded positively to the idea launched at the United Nations of holding global negotiations in various fields of international co-operation. That is why Belgium still hopes that a basis of agreement can be found for launching those negotiations, on condition—as foreseen by the United Nations—that this exercise takes place in a spirit of common interest, mutual advantage and responsibility on the part of all the parties.

246. In this respect, the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade last June, was the major event in the North-South dialogue in the past year. Of course, it did not succeed in achieving all its ambitious objectives. Nevertheless, there was agreement on certain points. Limited though they were, those results should encourage us to continue the dialogue, especially at a time when signs of improvement in the world economic situation seem to be emerging. Belgium is convinced that the combined effort of all the competent international organizations and all participating States should make it possible to achieve at least a certain number of concrete results: the stabilization of markets and export earnings for primary products, the preservation of an open international trade system, the restoration of a stable monetary and financial system and, finally, the maintenance of and if possible an increase in official aid and bank loans.

247. This is the only possible way for us to take common action to ensure balanced world economic development, which is an essential guarantee of peace and understanding among nations.

248. The picture of the international situation which I have felt compelled to sketch is, unfortunately, not a cheerful one. Nevertheless, one positive event that gives rise to real hope has left its mark on the past year and deserves to be highlighted. I mean the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which took place at New Delhi last March. The basic principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which are fully in keeping with the ideals of peace of the United Nations, were given new life there. The non-aligned countries have spared no effort in attempting to resolve their disputes by peaceful means and to draw up common proposals to meet the unprecedented challenge of the global economic crisis. My country welcomes the response to this summit meeting throughout the world and wishes to convey to its president, the Prime Minister of India, the great interest and sympathy that not only the conclusions of the Conference but also the very important statements which she personally made on that occasion have aroused in Belgium. Faithful to its own ideals, which have existed since its creation and which were laid down by its founding fathers, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, India and its Prime Minister have gone back to the sources of true non-alignment, thus enhancing the prestige of the Movement.

249. Another event which could also have been a ray of sunshine through the clouds of the troubled international situation we are now witnessing was the closure at the beginning of this month of the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Co-operation and Security in Europe. The meeting was held in circumstances made extremely difficult by the continuance and even intensification of the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, which we condemn, and by the course of events in Poland, where it has not yet been possible to bring about the national consensus which alone can enable all the spiritual and social forces of the country to participate in its rebuilding in an appropriate climate of freedom. Nevertheless, after three years of debate the participating States found it possible to agree on a concluding document which, although it contains serious flaws which my country deplores, particularly in the human rights field, can be considered sufficiently substantial and balanced.

250. Other meetings are to follow with a view to restoring in East-West relations a climate propitious to understanding, moderation, willingness to respect regional and world equilibrium, and a desire to make serious progress

in controlling, reducing and stopping armaments, without which peace is under constant threat.

251. The 35 countries concerned should, therefore, have every reason to celebrate with some satisfaction the end of their work at Madrid, had it not been darkened by an unspeakable act, that of the shooting down in cold blood, by a Soviet military aircraft, of a civilian airliner of the Korean Air Lines, carrying 269 passengers, men, women and children. Today there is very ready condemnation, at least in words, of the first use of force. If there is a case in which it would have been possible to live up to such a commitment, not only in words but also in deeds, it was precisely that of the 269 unarmed civilians brutally shot down by a blind force which knows that its weapons cannot be resisted. In another forum, efforts are being made to devise new measures to prevent such a tragedy from occurring again. It must be hoped that such measures will in fact be applied. I cannot confine myself to merely condemning from this rostrum an act which cost the lives of 269 innocent people. I also vigorously deplore the blow dealt by this act to international confidence, without which détente and peace are impossible. I wish to reiterate the sincerest condolences of the Belgian Government to the Government of the Republic of Korea, a friendly Government whose tireless efforts to bring about a peaceful and democratic reunification of the Korean peninsula, as well as the reuniting of families divided for more than 30 years now by the Korean tragedy, we very much appreciate.

252. Never has the need for a stable and secure organization of international society been so keenly felt, and never has a more turbulent world made it more difficult to achieve this goal. If, like Paul Valéry, we take a look at the world today, we can really only find grounds for frustration and anxiety. It is enough to pronounce names such as Middle East, Lebanon, Iran and Iraq, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Horn of Africa, Chad, southern Africa, Central America, Chile, Cyprus—and others which I am not even mentioning—to appreciate the number of conflicts which today bedevil relations between States.

253. Here and there, brave men and nations are trying to work out the elements of a peaceful solution. In this respect, I would like to salute the efforts of the Contadora Group and also to express the hope that national reconciliation will make it possible for Lebanon, through its legitimate Government, to bring about a national reconciliation, which would allow that country, finally freed from foreign occupation, to enjoy the peace which it so very much wants.

254. I would also like to repeat Belgium's profound conviction that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without recognition of the existence and security of all States in the region, including Israel, and the legitimate aspirations of all its peoples, particularly the Palestinian people.

255. I belong to that generation which witnessed the birth of the nuclear age, which is the anxious if not horrified witness of its proliferation and which has never really adjusted to the idea of living with the fear caused by its existence. I am among those who are struggling for

the control and reduction of these terrible arms of destruction. However, almost 40 years of experience have taught me a certain number of facts. Nuclear power and the weapons to which it gave birth are a product of the human genius. Those who, like me, have gone through the experience of what was once called the race for the first bomb between the Allies and the Nazis, will never forget it; what was at stake in that race was the very survival of our free world. One can aspire, as I myself do, together with so many other men of goodwill and peace, to the elimination of the atomic weapon, and indeed all other means of destruction. However, one must be aware, as I am, that such elimination is not possible. Indeed, history teaches us that all scientific and technological progress can be simultaneously detrimental and beneficial, but that it is always irreversible. What we must do and what we can do is to create conditions whereby only the beneficial aspects of progress can be developed.

256. Humanity is constantly endangered by tensions born of egoism, jealousy, narrow nationalism, violations of fundamental human rights, and rejection of an international order based on the rule of law. The real problems lie in underdevelopment, hunger and inhuman conditions, for which a final solution must be found.

257. Only the creation of an international legal order can provide the framework within which tensions will dissipate, conditions for control, limitation and reduction of armaments will be created, and creative forces will emerge which will help us overcome the crisis of our times. The achievement of such an order depends on us alone, and in particular on the Organization. Let us have the courage to denounce those forces which are opposed to this and let us undertake to contribute to the building of that order. This is a commitment which Belgium solemnly enters into here and now.

*The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Report of the United Nations Conference on Desertification, Nairobi, 29 August-9 September 1977 (A/CONF.74/36), chap. I.

<sup>2</sup>Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>3</sup>Panama Canal Treaty and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed on 7 September 1977.

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

<sup>5</sup>See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1982, vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

<sup>6</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15834.

<sup>7</sup>Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

<sup>8</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

<sup>9</sup>United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.

<sup>10</sup>See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, Report and Annexes (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), part one, sect. A.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. I, annex VI.