



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. INCE (Trinidad and Tobago): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago, congratulate you on your unanimous election to the office of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that your considerable experience and skill will contribute significantly to the successful outcome of the Assembly's work. You are the proud representative of a country with which Trinidad and Tobago enjoys the most cordial relations. I would also like to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Ismat Kittani of Iraq, for his very commendable performance over the past year, as President not only of the thirty-sixth session but also of the second special session on disarmament and the emergency special sessions.

2. Twenty years ago, Trinidad and Tobago, a small newly independent developing country, joined the Organization. We, like many others, were attracted by the system of collective security enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It was this which impelled us to seek entry to the United Nations immediately upon our achievement of independence. We had neither the desire nor the means to embark upon any large-scale expenditure for arms or sophisticated weapons of war in order to make ourselves independently secure. Even those who have embarked upon such a course delude themselves into believing that they can be secure.

3. Today Trinidad and Tobago views with considerable concern the widening gap between the purposes and principles of the Charter and the increasing lawlessness in the world community. This lawlessness is characterized by utter and distressing disregard for human life and suffering and little respect for the dignity of man. History will surely indict the United Nations and its Member States for their chronic inaction in the face of such lawlessness. The Security Council has failed to fulfil its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security and to act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Loss of confidence in the United Nations system brings the world closer to the brink of disaster as nations seek to impose their will on others by force and to ignore decisions of the world body aimed at peacefully resolving international conflicts.

4. The refusal of Member States to renounce the use of force as an instrument of national policy and the refusal to respect the territorial integrity and inde-

pendence of States and to seek the peaceful settlement of disputes have given rise to a growing number of crises which threaten to engulf us all in a conflagration of unprecedented horror and destruction. The Secretary-General, whose skilful and untiring efforts in the cause of peace this past year must not go unrecorded, has warned that this trend "must be reversed before once again we bring upon ourselves a global catastrophe and find ourselves without institutions effective enough to prevent it" [A/37/1, p. 2]. But will his warning be heeded? How can it be, when in the quest for a so-called balance of power nations continue to increase their nuclear arsenals? How can it be, when nations resort to arms and refuse to limit and reduce their weapons of mass destruction—weapons which threaten civilization itself?

5. During the past year a number of old conflicts have continued to fester and pose obstacles to peace. Several new conflicts have arisen which endanger international peace and security. From the South Atlantic to South-East Asia, from Western Sahara to the Middle East and from Africa to Central America, situations of intense conflict have brought disaster and untold suffering to millions of people.

6. A few days ago the world was witness to the most inhuman event in the Palestinian refugee camps of west Beirut. The entry into that part of the city of the Israel Defence Forces for the alleged purpose of preventing further bloodshed was the signal for permitting the unleashing of a reign of primeval terror which has resulted in the slaughter in cold blood of hundreds of unarmed civilians—women, children and the elderly—in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Revulsion at this barbarous act has echoed around the world. It is testimony to the enormity of the crime perpetrated by those who connived in its commission. We would dishonour the memory of the victims of this massacre and betray the people of Lebanon, if we did not provide at this time adequate and effective measures to heal their wounds, promote their unity and restore their national sovereignty. At the very least, we demand the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. The tragedy of Lebanon is inextricably bound up with the problem of the Palestinian people. Trinidad and Tobago reiterates its firm conviction that there cannot be and there will not be a lasting peace in the Middle East until the rights of the Palestinian people are recognized and respected and until the Palestinian people themselves have been allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

Mr. S. Barteka Sakajja (Uganda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

7. The mounting toll of refugees and displaced persons fleeing political strife and economic disorder attest to the increasing inhumanity pervading our world

today. These conflict situations invariably affect people. It is the mass of the people who suffer when the mechanisms contained in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes fail or are ignored, as we see with increasing frequency. The fragile economies of developing countries and the development aspirations of whole generations of people are jeopardized by actual conflict or by the profligate expenditure involved in preparing for conflict. International tension and great-Power rivalry are perhaps the principal cause of the deflection of the world's resources from their correct use—the advancement of the well-being of all mankind.

8. Nowhere is this inhumanity more sickening than in South Africa, where the *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues to defy international world opinion in its brutal repression and oppression of its black majority. The persistent attempts to establish bantustans, the detention and banning of African leaders, and the death of freedom fighters and trade union leaders while in detention, serve only to confirm the need for more stringent action by the United Nations to compel South Africa to comply with its decisions not only with respect to conditions in South Africa itself but also with respect to Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally.

9. We must once more condemn the obstinacy of Pretoria in impeding the achievement of independence by Namibia. We must condemn that régime for its persistent use of Namibian territory for armed attacks on neighbouring States. We rebuke that racist régime for its attempt to set up a puppet Government in Namibia. Above all, we rebuke it for its ruthless exploitation of Namibia's natural and human resources without any real benefit accruing to the indigenous population. It is time for the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which sets the sole framework for the independence of Namibia. It is time to put a stop to the dilatory tactics employed by Pretoria over the past four years to deprive the people of Namibia of their peremptory right to self-determination and independence.

10. We cannot equivocate in our support for the Namibian people in their struggle to free themselves from the oppressive colonial yoke. Trinidad and Tobago's continuing commitment to the process of decolonization has been demonstrated by the leadership role it has taken in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Territories still to be decolonized, many of them small in size and limited in resources, are of particular concern to Trinidad and Tobago since several of them form part of our own Caribbean region. Some of these Territories remain in a state of virtual economic dependency. In these circumstances it is very difficult for them to exercise freely their right to self-determination. The colonial Power therefore has a duty to devote the necessary resources to preparing these Territories for independence. There is ample evidence to show that when the colonial Power wishes to do so it can.

11. If the political picture of the world which I have painted is one beset with problems, the economic one is no less troubled. I do not think that there is now any doubt that today we are experiencing the worst

down-turn in the world economy since the 1930s. What is perhaps even more chilling is that there is little confidence in the prospect of global economic recovery in the short term and even less in the international monetary and financial system. Unemployment, one of the scourges of humanity, has reached unimaginable proportions. We in the developing world have lived with unemployment for decades. Levels of unemployment of 18 per cent and 20 per cent were seen by some economists as normal for developing countries, while for developed countries 2.5 to 3 per cent was considered the norm.

12. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is deeply concerned about the growing levels of unemployment in developed as well as developing countries. It is concerned not only because of the human suffering involved but also because the monetarist prescriptions of certain major countries and financial institutions for dealing with the general economic situation are such that they exacerbate the problem. The high interest rates associated with monetarist policies have added considerably to the already overgrown debt problem of the developing countries and resulted in unpredictable flights of capital.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) resumed the Chair.

13. Recent events have reaffirmed, if that were necessary, just how interdependent the world has become. In the industrialized countries large deficits, tight monetary policies and high levels of inflation have resulted in high and volatile interest rates and a decline in industrial output, which in turn have affected the earnings of developing countries. At the same time the developing countries have faced a marked decline in the level of official development assistance, deteriorating terms of trade, higher prices for imports, including food, and renewed protectionist policies on the part of the developed countries. Constrained by these conditions, developing countries are unable to pay for their imports and service their debts. Indeed, so severe are these constraints that most developing countries are experiencing negative rates of growth.

14. For the Caribbean the past year has been particularly difficult. Not only did the recession continue to decrease the demand for tourism, the primary source of foreign exchange for many countries, but the major exports—sugar, petroleum, bauxite/alumina and bananas—also faced softening or declining markets. For countries which have already been experiencing negative growth rates the net result has been that the economies of these countries are tottering on the brink of bankruptcy. In order to achieve growth rates of 3 to 5 per cent per annum over the next five years, the countries of the Caribbean Community will face an external resource gap of over \$US 3 billion. They will need the support of the multilateral financial institutions if this gap is to be bridged. We therefore view with some concern the decision of the World Bank to adopt a variable interest rate policy and to introduce a front-end lending fee which will make project financing much more difficult and painful. Without lower and more stable interest rates, initiatives designed to encourage investment in the Caribbean will not be meaningful.

15. Trinidad and Tobago believes that there is an urgent need for a significant increase in the level of

World Bank lending. A minimum increase at the rate of 5 per cent in real terms is necessary if the Bank is to meet the requirements of developing countries.

16. With regard to the International Monetary Fund [IMF], Trinidad and Tobago supports the call for a substantial increase in and a redistribution of quotas so as to give developing countries generally and economic groupings and regions a greater say in the operation of IMF.

17. Trinidad and Tobago is disappointed that no consensus has been reached on the allocation of special drawing rights during the present basic period and that as yet, despite the repeated pleas of the developing countries, a direct link between special drawing rights and development finance has not been established.

18. Trinidad and Tobago has sought, within its own modest means, to contribute to the economic progress of the countries in the Caribbean community by making funds available to them through the Caribbean Development Bank and other regional financial institutions, as well as through our own programmes for technical co-operation and assistance. Over the past five years, Trinidad and Tobago has contributed \$5 billion in balance-of-payments support, loans on soft terms, and grants and project assistance to members of the Caribbean Community [CARICOM]. Even in these trying times Trinidad and Tobago maintains its commitment to assist its partners in CARICOM. We hope that other countries, particularly the better endowed ones in our hemisphere, will make good their promises of concrete support for the countries of the Caribbean. In six months it may be too late. We hope, however, that when such assistance is given, it will not have a divisive effect on the region and encourage alienation from principles cherished by all Caribbean peoples.

19. Trinidad and Tobago sees in the present situation a clear and accurate demonstration of the need for systematic transformation and more balanced global management of the international economy. We believe that the credibility, efficacy and relevance of the existing institutional structure and its theoretical and philosophical underpinnings have been called into question. That has rendered the call for the new international economic order more relevant than ever.

20. It is a matter of concern to us that efforts to launch the global round of negotiations on international economic co-operation for development have not met with great success during the past year. No agreement has been reached so far between the Group of 77 and the industrialized countries on procedure, agenda and time-frame for the launching of negotiations to tackle the problems of the world economy simultaneously in a coherent and integrated manner. Instead, developing countries see, with mounting frustration, their interests bypassed or ignored in the GATT negotiations and in deliberations at the World Bank and IMF.

21. To the developing countries here assembled, I launch an appeal to move swiftly to implement the action programme for economic co-operation among developing countries adopted by the Group of 77 at the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries at Caracas in May 1981. Not until our efforts to change our focus

and to reorient our patterns of economic collaboration bear fruit shall we see a more positive response from the developed community.

22. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has noted with satisfaction that after 14 years of protracted dialogue and negotiation, the United Nations has finally adopted the Convention on the Law of the Sea.¹ After much hard work, co-operative effort and give and take, a package deal was reached on 30 April 1982.

23. I must place on record the disappointment of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago that one of the major contributors to that package deal has chosen to opt out of the painstakingly negotiated settlement. The decision of that major contributor to turn its back on a system which would make for a stable order in ocean space is to be regretted. It remains our hope that all States will sign and ratify the Convention to make it universally acceptable.

24. Perhaps it is not inappropriate that I voice the cumulative disappointment of all peoples at the failure to halt the arms race and to reduce armaments of mass destruction. The thousands who have marched in the streets of many cities of the world in order to draw attention to the existing situation and to signify their deep fear of the consequences to themselves and future generations of the arms race and nuclear catastrophe have sent a clear message that the world community cannot afford to ignore. Allow me once again to voice the concern of peoples everywhere for the urgent adoption of measures to alleviate, if not to solve, the current economic crisis, and to remove the hovering spectre of depression.

25. In conclusion, I should like to urge the great Powers not to import into the Caribbean their rivalries, conflicts and tensions. Of our neighbours in the hemisphere, we ask at all costs that they settle their disputes by peaceful means. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, as it has done before, stands ready to assist in finding peaceful and amicable solutions to disputes which threaten to disturb the peace in the Caribbean, and to retard the just aspirations of Caribbean peoples for peace, security and economic well-being.

26. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):* Comrade President, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you very cordially on your election to your high and responsible office. I am particularly happy about that because your country and the country that I represent have close and brotherly ties with each other. I wish you, as well as the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, every success in the performance of your respective duties. At the same time we wish to convey our thanks to the President of the thirty-sixth session, Mr. Kittani, for the great deftness and prudence with which he discharged his responsibilities in an undoubtedly difficult international situation.

27. The present international situation must give the peoples cause for profound concern. Never since the Second World War has peace been threatened more seriously than today.

* Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English text was supplied by the delegation.

28. The policy of confrontation and arms build-up has affected all spheres of life. In many countries, the state of the economy and, consequently, the living conditions for millions of working people, have been rapidly deteriorating, and unemployment and poverty have taken on mass proportions. In situations like that, as history has taught us, there is an increasing temptation to seek a way out of the crises that shake the capitalist system by embarking on military adventurism. It is commonly known by whom wars have been instigated—no matter where and when: by the same forces which today are engaged in an unbridled expansion of military might and the fomenting of conflicts.

29. Sanctions, boycott and trade war not only set the development of international economic relations back dozens of years but also thwart all efforts aimed at restructuring those relations democratically and on the basis of equality. The protagonists of such a policy are out to undermine confidence and destroy all the bridges of co-operation built with great effort as a result of the policy of détente. Worse still, they are sowing distrust, impeding or preventing political dialogue, causing strains in the conduct of international negotiations and disrupting the normal development of international relations.

30. Under the banner of anti-communism they are waging a crusade against all realistically-minded forces in all spheres and by all means. And they stop at nothing to achieve their ends, not even the use of force, prohibited though this is by the Charter of the United Nations.

31. What they are aiming at is hegemony and world domination. And, while both of those goals are illusory, they are fraught with mortal danger, for any attempt to achieve them in practice is bound to push the world closer to the abyss of a nuclear inferno.

32. It stands to reason, therefore, that millions of people in all the continents are joining in the cry for peace and the instant cessation of the maniacal drive for arms. They call for the continuance of détente, based on the beneficial results attained in the 1970s, and they expect the United Nations, too, to meet its great responsibilities in this context by playing its proper part in the preservation of international peace. The German Democratic Republic subscribes to the view that it is necessary "to reinforce the protective and pre-emptive ring of collective security which should be our common shelter and the most important task of the United Nations" [A/37/1, p. 4].

33. The challenge flung down to all peace-loving mankind by those bent on militarization must be answered with firmness and determination. The United Nations has a clear obligation to contribute in all its spheres of activity towards the development of peaceful relationships conducive to the welfare of the peoples. The Organization offers unique opportunities for States to come to terms with one another. It is legitimate to expect all Member States to make use of those opportunities in the spirit of the Charter. Regrettably, those in certain quarters, including permanent members of the Security Council, have, especially in the most recent past, been making attempts to exclude the United Nations from the settlement of acute problems and to shirk their moral

and legal responsibilities under the Charter. The efforts by the Secretary-General to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the Organization on the basis of the Charter are therefore very timely.

34. It is the objective of the German Democratic Republic to help ensure that all the possibilities provided by this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly are used to stem the danger of a nuclear war, end the arms race and achieve agreements on arms limitation and disarmament; to put a stop to ideological subversion and psychological warfare and ensure renewed acceptance of constructive dialogue and peaceful coexistence as the dominant trend in international relations; to defuse international conflicts and settle them in a lasting way, that is, on a just basis and by peaceful means; and to overcome the politics of trade boycott and destruction of treaty relations and promote ties of propitious and mutually advantageous co-operation among peoples.

35. The two mutually opposed trends discernible in international relations today manifested themselves with particular clarity at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

36. The majority of States regard the removal of the danger of nuclear war as the highest priority in international politics. The numerous proposals of the socialist countries are directed precisely towards this goal. The solemn pledge of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is of historic significance. Could a more convincing demonstration of good will and, indeed, determination to establish peace be imagined?

37. It is not sophisticated arguments, but simple yet effective steps such as this that will banish the nightmare of nuclear annihilation. The unilateral undertaking of the Soviet Union testifies to the seriousness and continuity of a policy which it has followed ever since its foundation 60 years ago. It is a policy which is inherent in socialism and which inspires the peoples with hope and confidence at this time of tension also.

38. Together with the overwhelming majority of States and in keeping with the aspirations of all the forces of peace, the German Democratic Republic calls upon the other nuclear-weapon States to make analogous pledges. This would be understood and appreciated everywhere in the world as a sign of genuine readiness to head off the danger of war.

39. Such action would in fact be decisive in initiating the adoption of joint measures to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. Unfortunately, the necessary readiness is so far lacking. And, while many of the participants in this year's special session on disarmament were trying hard to identify ways of achieving concrete disarmament measures, the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], just as they did in Washington at the time of the first special session on disarmament, decided at their summit in Bonn to strengthen their military potential even further. They are pushing ahead with preparations for the deployment of United States medium-range missiles in Western Europe from 1983 on and speeding up the implementation of their long-term arms programme. The line followed by a number of States at the second special session on disarmament reflected that policy—small wonder, since those who on the Potomac

River are busily adopting plans for the achievement of military superiority can hardly be expected to agree at the same time on the East River to measures to outlaw war.

40. At the present session the General Assembly can draw on a large number of concrete proposals which were put forward by socialist and non-aligned countries at the special session on disarmament. The German Democratic Republic feels that there is a pressing need for the adoption without delay of measures to freeze nuclear weapons, put a comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests and prohibit the neutron weapon.

41. At the same time, it emphasizes that doctrines on the feasibility of fighting, limiting and winning a nuclear war are inhumane and hostile to the very concept of life. Such doctrines are designed to accustom the public to the concept of nuclear war and war generally and to make it seem a legitimate means for achieving political ends.

42. On 8 February of this year it was decided in Washington to escalate further the build-up in the chemical weapons field and to start the manufacture of new systems, such as binary weapons. In the light of this development, an instant and comprehensive ban on all types of chemical weapons is an imperative.

43. The German Democratic Republic advocates the speedy drafting of a relevant convention along the lines of the basic provisions of a convention for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction, proposed by the USSR at the second special session on disarmament.²

44. One point, though, should be stressed here. The heavy responsibility for the preservation of peace forbids such negotiations being abused, for instance as an excuse to escalate the arms drive.

45. In my country, therefore, the public reacted with indignation when it was reported on 20 July of this year that the United States had gone so far as to formalize its decision not to participate any more in the trilateral comprehensive nuclear-weapon test ban talks in Geneva. The German Democratic Republic proposes to the General Assembly at this session to take a step in the direction of spurring progress in the field of disarmament and arms limitation by reaffirming the political and legal duty of States to negotiate on these vital issues for mankind in an honest manner and in good faith. And here I repeat something that has been said before: in our contemporary world, peace requires not lip-service but actions which must be concrete and have the support of all States.

46. The German Democratic Republic is open to, and will back up, any proposals, no matter by whom, provided only that they can help achieve substantive progress.

47. Flourishing international economic co-operation is advantageous for all parties involved. It enhances international security because it is the basis of a shared interest in calm and stable relationships. The start of economic warfare, on the other hand, destroys not only the fabric of international economic co-operation but it destroys the structure of international relations generally. The losers on this policy of sanctions, which

is contrary to international law, are, not least, those who are—more or less compliantly—helping to put it into effect.

48. It is a task for the General Assembly to stimulate constructive co-operation in all areas, to combat neo-colonialist practices and to strengthen the economic independence of States. It is equally necessary to prevent colonialist exploitation, in whatever guise, being used to shift the burdens entailed by the arms build-up and the crises on to the peoples.

49. No forum is more suited than the United Nations, by patient effort and on the basis of equality, to discuss and determine global economic problems affecting the interests of all. Likewise suited for this would be the proposed round of global negotiations on international economic questions.

50. It can, at the same time, be instrumental in the democratization of international economic relations as provided for in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the Assembly in resolution 3281 (XXIX).

51. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the fact that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea this year has been able after nine years of undoubtedly difficult negotiations, to complete and adopt the Convention on the Law of the Sea.

52. The German Democratic Republic regards the earliest possible signing and ratification of the Convention by all States as a duty which should be fulfilled in the interests of stabilizing the rule of law on the oceans as well as for the sake of peaceful co-operation and détente.

53. The consequences of the imperialist arms build-up leave no region of our globe unharmed. In Europe, détente and the proved policy of searching for reasonable compromises are to be replaced by fomentation of tension and expansion of the whole range of means for waging cold war and a shooting war.

54. However, the future of the European peoples, like that of all other peoples, can be made secure only if military confrontation is lessened and the concept of a peaceful synthesis of interests accepted as the rationale of political action.

55. A few weeks from now, the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is to resume its proceedings. The German Democratic Republic believes that it will be both necessary and feasible for that meeting to wind up its work with results that are aimed at preserving and reinforcing the basic elements of European security and co-operation. My country is a reliable partner in the steadfast pursuit of that objective. That is why the German Democratic Republic was quick to express support for the call by the foreign ministers of Europe's neutral and non-aligned States that fresh efforts be made to ensure a successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting.

56. The convening of a conference on confidence-building and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe is still the primary task; in fact, it is a test of the readiness of the participating States to carry on and lend fresh momentum to the process mapped out in the Final Act of Helsinki of 1975. Those who have already shown that they have deserted

the road of Helsinki, no matter under what pretext, and who are bent on increasing the intensity of confrontation still further by provoking a failure of the Madrid meeting, are taking a heavy responsibility upon themselves.

57. The solemn signing of the Helsinki Final Act by the heads of State or Government of the participating countries came after years of negotiations conducted with a great deal of patience. Time and again divergent interests had to be reconciled and mutually acceptable solutions ironed out by way of consensus. Should all this hard work have been in vain, and should this whole process, the fruitfulness of which has been recognized by the peoples, be sacrificed for the selfish interests essentially of just one country?

58. Attempts are being made to give the impression that a conference as authoritative and representative as that of Helsinki was an everyday affair. It is perhaps fit and proper to recall the great input of effort in the 1970s, for especially now in a time of acute international tension much depends on whether, at the dividing line between the two social systems and their military coalitions, peaceful co-operation, in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act, that is co-operation in the interest of life itself, can continue.

59. In this context, the relationship between the two German States, is, no doubt, of significance. By working consistently for normal relations between the two German States, on the basis of the relevant agreements and in strict respect for sovereignty and equality of rights, the German Democratic Republic contributes towards stable security on the European continent.

60. The meeting which the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic had with the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany in December 1981 has confirmed the accuracy of the following conclusions. First, especially in a time of political tension, the conduct of businesslike dialogue, based on the pursuit of a peaceful synthesis of interests, is not only necessary but also feasible. Secondly, if such dialogue is to yield results, it must be based on the principle of sovereign equality and on strict non-interference. Thirdly, if such dialogue is to benefit the people, the interlocutors must focus their efforts on the paramount issue of our time—the guarantee of lasting peace—and, of course, political dialogue presupposes realism and a sense of proportion. Fourthly, and finally, political dialogue also requires the awareness of the parties that good-neighbourly relations cannot prosper in the shadow of new missiles intended for use in a nuclear first strike.

Mr. Bartlett (Jamaica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

61. It would be of great significance for European security—because of the resulting encouragement—if the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe could at last be crowned with success. The German Democratic Republic and the other socialist participants have expressed readiness to reduce their forces in Central Europe and also their respective weaponry, on the basis of reciprocity. The NATO

countries object to that. As has been mentioned here earlier, even unilateral advance concessions like the withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks from the German Democratic Republic have been answered by the other side with a build-up of its military potential and the announcement of plans to move the United States troops in the Federal Republic of Germany still closer to my country's border, that is, to the dividing line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

62. Whether in Vienna, Geneva or elsewhere—the proposals of the Western side are invariably aimed at gaining unilateral military advantages. This approach is a careless one, but ignoring that attitude would be even more careless.

63. The policy of strength and the intensified arms build-up have resulted in an exacerbation of international conflicts and encouraged aggressors to flout the right of peoples of self-determination.

64. In the Middle East, another sovereign country, Lebanon, has become a victim of the aggressor. The Palestinian people and their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], are to be physically destroyed. It would be possible to put a stop to the genocide in Lebanon, to the still continuing systematic extermination of the Palestinian people patterned after the worst Fascist atrocities, quite simply by forcing Israel to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. In actual fact, however, the aggressor is receiving political and military support under an agreement on so-called "strategic" co-operation.

65. Intrigues, lies, cynicism, brutality and terror—one would not believe it, but that is what makes up the internal posture of that régime. It is to be welcomed also that among the Israeli people themselves more and more forces are speaking out against this. Israel's leaders and those who support them here also at the United Nations cannot by any means absolve themselves from their guilt.

66. The German Democratic Republic demands the immediate withdrawal of Israel's troops from Lebanon and from all other occupied Arab lands. Its support is for the Palestinian people who, under the leadership of the PLO, are fighting so courageously for self-determination and the establishment of a sovereign State of their own.

67. The latest pertinent proposals of the Soviet Union point out the path towards a lasting solution of the Middle East conflict. They accord with the points considered by the Arab States at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference in Fez to constitute the elements for a comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

68. The time has long been ripe for compelling South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and to cease its aggression against Angola. All relevant decisions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 435 (1978), must be complied with. At the same time, it is necessary—and the majority of States in the Organization will watch carefully—that effective steps be taken against all attempts to despoil the Namibian people of their independence and their right to self-determination by means of neo-colonialist manoeuvres. The German Democratic

Republic is committed to a policy of steadfast solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the Namibian people. As regards the People's Republic of Angola, which is the target of persistent acts of aggression by South Africa, my country is maintaining close links with it in accordance with a treaty of friendship and co-operation.

69. Inside South Africa, the *apartheid* régime is intensifying its terrorism against the majority of the population. *Apartheid* cannot be reformed. In the interests of humanity and peace, its roots must be torn out completely, so that it will disappear for ever. This calls imperatively for the immediate cessation of any kind of support—political, economic or military—extended to the South African régime by some Western countries and transnational corporations.

70. States in the region of the Indian Ocean have been making great efforts to achieve the establishment of a zone of peace in that region. The German Democratic Republic is committed to a policy of promoting those efforts.

71. On the other hand, the expanding imperialist military presence, the greed for bases and the imperialist war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are making the situation still worse. The convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean must not be delayed any further if peace and security in that region are to be strengthened.

72. In South-East Asia every attempt is being made to call in question the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own political status and to choose their own road to development. The methods employed range from direct intervention and economic and political pressure to the setting up of a so-called "coalition Government" outside the country. This contrasts with the constructive proposals which the States of Indo-China have made for strengthening peace and co-operation in South-East Asia and which have our full approval.

73. The German Democratic Republic also supports the proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the solution of the Korean question, including the demand for the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea.

74. In the Caribbean and in Central America, onslaughts by imperialist forces on the freedom and independence of the peoples of that region are on the increase. In particular, a vote in the United States Senate of 11 August 1982, which is designed to open up possibilities for the use of military force against socialist Cuba, a member of the non-aligned movement, has resulted in a dangerous deterioration of the situation in the region and endangers world peace. The German Democratic Republic supports the efforts and constructive proposals by Cuba, Nicaragua and Mexico, made with a view to normalizing the atmosphere in Central America and the Caribbean, and believes that they can lead to a more stable peace and enhanced security.

75. As regards the conflict in the South Atlantic, the German Democratic Republic favours a settlement based on the Charter of the United Nations and the resolution adopted at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana in June 1982 [see A/37/333].

76. The German Democratic Republic reiterates once again from this rostrum that it feels strongly about the need to solve the question of Cyprus in accordance with the Charter and the pertinent United Nations resolutions aimed at maintaining the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. Indispensable prerequisites for such a settlement are the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and the cessation of all kinds of interference in the island country's internal affairs. A representative conference on Cyprus under United Nations auspices could, no doubt, help pave the way to a life in peace for the people of Cyprus.

77. A world in which peoples can live together in peace needs the fostering and propagation of the great humanist ideas of international understanding. But warmongering and hatred against other peoples or races have already reappeared and are once more poisoning the international atmosphere. In fact, as a result of the politics of threats and resort to force, they find ever new breeding ground. If, as the Charter requires, such Fascist and neo-Fascist activities imperilling world peace are to be brought to an end, as they must be in the interest of peace, effective action by both the Organization and its Member States individually is imperative.

78. So it is evident that the present international situation must worry the peoples. The danger of a thermonuclear war which is facing mankind lends ever greater urgency to the task of implementing the Soviet proposal to call a special series of meetings of the Security Council at the highest level.

79. All States will have to make a choice. To opt for the policy of peaceful coexistence is to make a choice for life, for progress and for a peaceful future for man. This policy corresponds to the interests of the people of the German Democratic Republic and they will not deviate from that course. The German Democratic Republic will unswervingly continue the building of a socialist society and make every effort within the framework of the community of socialist States to advance the cause of peace, détente and international co-operation.

80. Mr. PAHR (Austria): It is with great pleasure and satisfaction that I extend to the President of the General Assembly the congratulations of Austria on his election. We welcome him as the representative of a country with which we enjoy close neighbourly human, cultural and historical ties. Our two countries have demonstrated to the world in a clear and tangible manner that friendship and mutual tolerance can transcend ideological and political boundaries.

81. His rich political and diplomatic experience, long involvement with the work of the United Nations and well-known commitment to dialogue and compromise assure us that the General Assembly will be guided in an objective and constructive manner.

82. We should also like to thank his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who presided over the General Assembly with particular tact and skill under most trying circumstances.

83. I further wish to seize this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring work in his high office during a year fraught with tension, crises and conflicts. We are very grateful

for his official visit to our country and for his support of Vienna's status as one of the three main United Nations centres. We sincerely admire the courage and frankness with which he has analysed, in his first report on the work of the Organization, the state of the world and of the United Nations. We agree completely with his conclusion that we are "perilously near to a new international anarchy" [A/37/1, p. 1].

84. The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly has been convened against the background of severe crises in international relations. Rarely before has world peace been threatened from so many sides. The conflicts in the Middle East, the continuing armed interventions in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the crises in Central America and in various parts of Africa, the Falklands and the situation in Poland are only a few examples. The confrontation between East and West continues, the disarmament process and the North-South dialogue are stagnating, human rights violations and acts of terror proliferate and every new day brings more bloodshed and human suffering.

85. How can we break this vicious circle of violence and destruction? Are we really condemned to impotence, passivity and frustration?

86. The difficulty with the present situation lies in the fact that we are faced with three closely related global phenomena: a world political crisis, a world economic crisis and a crisis of international organizations.

87. Today more and more voices speak of the "irrelevance" of the United Nations. They denounce the Organization's inability to live up to its mandate. The public continues to judge the United Nations by its capacity to produce solutions to major conflicts. Too often they overlook the fruitful work done by the United Nations and the specialized agencies in all fields of international co-operation. All important world political issues can be discussed at the United Nations. The United Nations provides the framework for dealing with all major problems of mankind. Furthermore, for smaller States not protected by alliances and dependent upon their own resources for their security, the United Nations, despite all imperfections, remains the only global forum where they can seek and hope to find the support of the international community for their legitimate concerns.

88. The United Nations is no more than the collective will of its Members. It is far from being a world Government. Therefore we must not be more critical of international organizations than we are of States. The responsibility for a solution to the three-fold global crisis lies not so much with international organizations as with each individual State. Finally, political morality must also play a role in world politics. One of the most important missions of the United Nations is to uphold ideas and principles, even when so-called "realities" stand in their way. We therefore firmly support all efforts to strengthen the authority of the United Nations and that of the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the General Assembly.

89. The Secretary-General can count on the full support of Austria in the implementation of his proposals, in particular those concerning the preventive intervention of the Security Council in the early stages of international crises and a more forthright role for the

Secretary-General. We also support his suggestions regarding the strengthening of peace-keeping operations. As a country with traditional ties to the United Nations peace-keeping system—more than 15,000 Austrian soldiers have so far served with the United Nations peace-keeping forces—we have a vital interest in this area.

90. We feel that all the considerations submitted to us by the Secretary-General are of great importance and crucial to the future of the Organization. They should receive high priority and be pursued further, perhaps by a working group. Austria would be very happy to participate in any such endeavour.

91. The maintenance of peace is one of the major aims of our foreign policy. As President Kirchschräger has repeatedly emphasized, peace begins at home. Democracy and tolerance, human rights and social justice, conciliation and renunciation of the use of force are the principles that must be implemented to guarantee domestic peace. The Austrian Federal Government's political programme is based on these principles.

92. Peace at home is the prerequisite for peace among neighbours. At a time when international tension is increasing, Austria attributes particular importance to a good-neighbour policy to improve and deepen relations with its neighbours irrespective of their social and political systems. We hope therefore to contribute also to security and stability in Europe and in the world. Our good-neighbourly relations with Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany, which are all committed to a pluralistic and democratic system, as well as with Yugoslavia and Hungary, have developed along very positive lines. As a result of pragmatic efforts on both sides, there is now also reason to hope for continuous improvement in our relations with Czechoslovakia, which in 1981 were overshadowed by a number of problems.

93. With regard to Italy, our policy of establishing good-neighbourly relations with all countries has been actively supported by the United Nations. General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960 and 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961 on the question of South Tyrol brought about negotiations which in 1969 led to a new framework of autonomy for South Tyrol.

94. Since that time South Tyrol has undoubtedly obtained a significant amount of autonomy. Nevertheless certain problems remain unresolved. Some of these are of particular significance for the preservation of the South Tyrolean ethnic group; in particular, the language question and the autonomous section in Bozen of the Administrative Court. Last year Prime Minister Spadolini gave assurances that have not yet been carried out. The Austrian Federal Government wishes to express its firm expectation that the measures already agreed upon in 1969 and not yet implemented will be carried out as early as possible and in close consultation with the South Tyroleans. We do so in view of the quality of Austro-Italian relations, the positive outcome of my talks with Foreign Minister Colombo on 27 July of this year in Venice and the latest statement of the Italian Government, which has declared its determination to seek solutions accept-

able to the ethnic minorities and to bring the entire matter to an early conclusion. We hope that this will not remain a dead letter and that a settlement will be achieved in the very near future. We cannot ignore the fact that such a settlement has also become urgent considering the increasing anxiety among the South Tyrolean population.

95. Good-neighbourly relations are essential, but they are not enough. We must see the world as a whole. Austria is therefore making every effort to restore the policy which has been described by the term *détente* and was so beneficial to Austria, Europe and the world. Of course, when we speak of *détente* we do not mean a policy of appeasement but rather continuous efforts to achieve a *modus vivendi* for coexistence and co-operation.

96. In this connection the success of the Madrid follow-up conference to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would be of great importance. Austria, together with other neutral and non-aligned countries of Europe, has submitted a substantial and balanced draft final document which provides, *inter alia*, for the convening of a conference on confidence-building and security-building measures in Europe. We believe that a positive result in Madrid on the basis of these proposals would be in the interest not only of *détente* in general but also of Poland, whose people have suffered such deplorable set-backs in their development as a result of the imposition of martial law. Austria understands the difficulty of Poland's problems today. Together we must find a way to revive Poland's economy. Federal Chancellor Kreisky has expressed ideas for comprehensive action by East and West to help Poland overcome its enormous economic difficulties.

97. Efforts to achieve *détente* cannot and must not be limited to one continent, *détente* must be universal. In the age of interdependence and given the global dimensions of international politics, Austria cannot and does not want to content itself with the role of a mere observer of world events. Every country's security depends on the security of others. Security cannot be achieved against one another but only with one another.

98. Austria's position on the Middle East question is well known and has been repeatedly presented in detail before the Assembly. We continue to believe that the core of the problem is a just settlement of the Palestinian question. We see some encouraging signs: the joint declaration of the Arab States in Fez based on the concept of mutual recognition; the statement of President Reagan of the United States; and the growing perception that the Palestinian question demands a just settlement which respects the rights and interests of both sides. Austria welcomes the United States President's initiative as an historic move. It also recognizes the importance of the results of the Fez Summit Conference and Mr. Brezhnev's statement of 15 September 1982 [see A/37/457]. We hope that a negotiating process will now be initiated and will finally lead to a balanced and lasting solution.

99. Austria has followed the tragic events in Lebanon with great concern. We deeply regret and condemn the use of force, which has claimed thousands of human lives. We have strongly condemned the continuing

Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which is causing inconceivable suffering among the civilian population and giving rise to new misery and new streams of refugees. Another proof of the indiscriminate nature of the attacks of the Israeli army in Lebanon is the shelling of the Austrian Embassy, which is located outside military target zones.

100. Austria learned with horror and consternation of the recent massacres of Palestinian men, women and children in the area of Beirut. We are deeply shocked by these atrocities. At the seventh emergency special session on Palestine. Austria had an opportunity to condemn this crime. Nevertheless, I would like to stress once again the necessity and the responsibility of the United Nations to ensure a full investigation and clarification of these criminal acts. In a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council on 21 September,³ I proposed on behalf of the Austrian Government the establishment of an impartial and objective investigation commission. We expect that this proposal, which in the meantime has found general support in the General Assembly in the adoption of resolution ES-7/9, will be implemented as early as possible.

101. Austria feels strong solidarity with Lebanon and its severely tried people. The withdrawal of all foreign troops and the restoration of the full sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country is an absolute necessity. We hope that national reconciliation will be achieved in Lebanon, which will make possible the reconstruction of that war-torn country. We will contribute as much as we can to the attainment of this goal.

102. Austria continues to be concerned about the fate of the Cambodian people, which has suffered both tremendous human rights violations and foreign intervention. As President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, I feel a special responsibility in this regard. I had the opportunity to talk with the parties involved in the conflict and to obtain a first-hand picture of the present situation in Cambodia. I see the initiation of a dialogue between Viet Nam and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] as a positive development. I have always been convinced that the Cambodian problem can be solved only by a dialogue involving all parties. Dialogue is important, but tangible results must follow. The International Conference on Kampuchea has created the framework for a comprehensive political settlement. The Declaration and resolution of the Conference⁴ should be viewed as a package incorporating two key elements: the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia and a guarantee of the Cambodian people's right to self-determination. This implies the possibility freely to elect a Government. Therefore, no faction should receive any advantage in those elections or be placed at any disadvantage, and all outside influences must definitely be excluded. Internationally controlled elections alone must determine the composition of the future Government. This should be the basis for the reconstruction of a free and independent Cambodia, free from outside intervention from any side and assured of its place in a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. I appeal to all parties involved to make every effort to support the goals of the Inter-

national Conference on Kampuchea in order to build a better future for this long-suffering country.

103. Apart from all the political problems of Cambodia, there is another issue of particular concern: the gradual decay of the largest temple city in the world, Angkor Wat. The present political situation must not prevent urgently needed international rescue measures. The splendid structures of Angkor Wat are part of the common heritage of mankind. New ways must be found to rescue them. Granting UNESCO the right to intervene to save endangered cultural monuments would be an appropriate approach. UNESCO's role in protecting the cultural heritage of mankind could be similar to that of the Red Cross in the area of humanitarian protection.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) resumed the Chair.

104. Austria remains convinced that the world economic crisis, which particularly affects the developing countries, can be overcome only by a major co-operative effort by industrial and raw-material-producing States to alleviate poverty in the third world. I am referring here to the proposal made by Federal Chancellor Kreisky at the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held in October 1981 in Cancún. As one of the initiators of that meeting, we hope that agreement can soon be reached to revive the North-South dialogue.

105. Our commitment to human rights needs no reiteration. The figures speak for themselves. In 1981 alone 35,000 refugees came to Austria. This year, 1982, our expenditures on assistance to refugees are expected to amount to about \$100 million. On behalf of the Austrian Federal Government, I should like to thank sincerely those countries which have helped by offering a new home to many of these refugees. Austria will continue to care for people seeking assistance in desperation. Despite economic difficulties, we consider it a moral obligation, an essential element of our humanitarian policy, to continue to offer a haven of freedom and a source of hope.

106. Disarmament is a topic of the greatest interest to the Austrian public and to me personally. Austria, which is constitutionally committed to permanent neutrality, cannot remain indifferent in the face of the accelerating arms race between East and West and in the third world. In 1981 alone military expenditures totalled \$600 billion to \$650 billion. And there is a trend towards these expenditures continuing to increase in the future. We are deeply convinced that this tendency has to be reversed and that the vicious circle of mistrust and arms build-up must be broken. Our goal must be common security, as stated in the Palme report:⁵ "International security must rest on a commitment to joint survival rather than on a threat of mutual destruction."

107. If we agree that military strength is no way to guarantee genuine and lasting security, the alternative can only be closer international co-operation. Co-operation creates confidence and mutual dependence, and both, in turn, strengthen security. Developments in Western Europe since the Second World War are proof of that fact. Traditional enemies have been brought together into a comprehensive system of co-operation which transcends the economic sphere and creates manifold ties between peoples. As a con-

sequence of Western European co-operation, shaped around institutions such as the European Community and the Council of Europe, war among these nations has become inconceivable today.

108. The Final Act of Helsinki constitutes a new basis for co-operation and peaceful coexistence. The historical experience of one continent is not necessarily transferable to others, but I am convinced that the methods and instruments of co-operation developed in Europe could serve as models for other regions also.

109. Another threatening feature of the present arms race is the fact that it is no longer confined to earth alone; it is increasingly being carried into outer space. During the last decade more than 1,700 military satellites have been put into orbit. At least three quarters of all the satellites in space are being used for military purposes. In view of the growing concern of the international community, the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space UNISPACE 82, which took place under my chairmanship in Vienna in August, recommended that the General Assembly and the Committee on Disarmament give high priority to measures for the prevention of an arms race in space.⁶

110. I appeal to all States to conclude agreements aimed at banning all weapons from outer space. I have already presented Austria's position on all major aspects of this vital issue at the twelfth special session [4th meeting], the second special session on disarmament. Today I wish to emphasize just one point which, in our view, can be of great significance for the reduction of mistrust, namely, the development of internationally recognized mechanisms for the objective establishment and evaluation of the state of armaments at the regional, interregional and global levels. Austria has submitted a memorandum on this matter to all Member States.⁷ I should like to ask delegations to work with us on the further development and elaboration of this proposal.

111. Let us be frank: the second special session on disarmament was a failure. We note this with great disappointment. However, the dangerous world situation, the commitment to the survival of all and the increased awareness of world public opinion force us to continue our efforts to achieve disarmament as a matter of absolute priority. The goal of these efforts must remain a genuine balance at the lowest level, taking into account all weapon systems and regions. In this connection we welcome the resumption of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic arms reductions.

112. World crisis, the absence of peace and justice and the progressive militarization of international relations are the breeding ground for new violence and terrorism. Terrorism, which we condemn most firmly and for which there is no justification, must be repressed but it must also be prevented. We must strike at the roots of terrorism. Wherever human rights are constantly violated, wherever social injustice is perpetuated and wherever political convictions cannot be expressed in a democratic manner, the seeds of violence will grow. Violence breeds violence and injustice breeds injustice.

113. What can we do to prevent it? Every citizen and every Government in the world bears direct responsibility for peace at home and abroad. Our good example is the prerequisite for peaceful coexistence between individuals and peoples and for fruitful co-operation. It is only through co-operation that we shall be able to meet the great challenges of our time: peace, disarmament, respect for human rights, development, social justice and the elimination of violence and terrorism. We welcome all activities, and particularly those of the peace movements which aim to translate into reality the principles and goals of the Charter.

114. Pope John Paul II in his address at the 17th meeting of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly said: "I would like to express the wish that, in view of its universal character, the United Nations will never cease to be the forum, the high tribunal, from which all man's problems are appraised in trust and justice." In the spirit of that statement, I should like to express my earnest hope that the United Nations, to which there is no alternative, will play an ever more important role in achieving a just and lasting system of world peace.

115. Mr. CAID ESSEBSI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the General Assembly in having unanimously decided to entrust you with the task of guiding its work has thereby paid a resounding tribute to you personally and to your country. It is Tunisia's agreeable duty to join in this tribute from this rostrum. At the same time, the General Assembly has conferred upon you a particularly heavy and delicate responsibility. Fully cognizant of the very exceptional gravity of the questions to be debated at this session, Tunisia is convinced that you will whole-heartedly guide our work with all the competence and devotion and all the effectiveness and objectivity of which we know you are capable. In expressing its warm congratulations to you, my delegation would like to assure you of its complete co-operation.

116. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay to your predecessor, Mr. Ismat Kittani, the tribute he deserves for the skill, objectivity and courtesy which he displayed with admirable consistency throughout the past year. His presidency will remain a matter of pride for his country, as well as all the other Arab, Moslem and non-aligned countries.

117. The year that has just elapsed has shown us once again that developments in the international situation since the previous session have not registered any appreciable progress. What is more, the conditions under which the present session is being held are marked by an even greater and more disturbing gravity.

118. One need only observe the current pervasive disorder in international relations to realize the risks the world is running. Whether it be the persistence of hotbeds of tension which we have not managed to put out or the emergence of new conflicts which we have not been able to prevent, whether it be the growing imbalance in international economic relations and their disastrous consequences for the third-world countries, whether it be, finally, the problems of security and the all-out arms race, inevitably we are

faced with a turn of events extremely difficult to control.

119. When the elementary principles of international law are daily trampled underfoot throughout the world, when clear-cut acts of aggression are committed with impunity and in defiance of unanimously admitted standards, when genocide is premeditated and confessed openly without the guilty party being energetically and immediately thwarted in its dark designs and when international peace and security are so sorely undermined without the Security Council shouldering its primary responsibility in timely and appropriate fashion, we are entitled to feel doubts, indeed anguish, about the effectiveness and viability of the international order we have today.

120. Given that international relations are based more and more on the principle of interdependence and that the conflicts and crises which affect one group of parties automatically have an impact on the interests of other parties, we are forced to the conclusion that we stand together. We are at one concerning how we wish to build the world for ourselves and for future generations. We are at one concerning the consequences of any serious decision which various parties may take unilaterally. It is here in this Hall, and nowhere else, it is within the Organization that this solidarity must be expressed and made real, and it is on the basis of the principles of the Charter that the unity of our goals and the unity of our action can be shown.

121. This is to assume that the Organization is strong and respected, that it can be the conscience of the world and at the same time a recourse for those among us who are victims of any violation whatsoever of the principles to which we adhere. In a word, it is to assume that the Organization is able to say what is right and to see that right is respected.

122. But what in fact do we see? Each time there is a flagrant violation of the Charter, the Security Council, to which the Member States have entrusted the main responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, can only discuss the question. However, we must note that the veto, which has been used and abused more and more in recent times, all too often puts a stop to all discussion and thus to any action by the Council. When it is not the veto which obstructs the Council, it is the party complained of, which, with disturbing calmness and awareness of impunity, immediately rejects the resolution which has been adopted and declares null and void any initiative by the Council. In the words of the Secretary-General, we are "perilously near to a new international anarchy".

123. In this situation, which is more and more dangerous for international relations, Tunisia has never missed an opportunity, especially of late during its term as a member of the Security Council, as well as in the General Assembly—of showing its concern and calling for widespread awareness of that danger. My country, which has always given its full and unreserved support to all United Nations efforts to carry out its mission for international peace and security and to establish a better balance in economic relations, recognizes that the United Nations has played an extremely important role, particularly in facilitating the irre-

versible process of decolonization and in clearly stating the relationship between the process of decolonization and the process of development. My country considers, indeed, that the Organization is the unique and irreplaceable international forum for negotiation and, when necessary, for decision. This explains our fear and concern when we see the state of semi-paralysis in which the United Nations finds itself. It also explains our great satisfaction in seeing our own concerns reflected in the report on the work of the Organization submitted by the Secretary-General.

124. It is happy and comforting to know that less than a year after taking office the Secretary-General has officially pointed out, with remarkable clarity and authority, the dangers which threaten the United Nations, and at the same time the world. It is equally comforting that the Secretary-General has taken care to put forward specific suggestions and proposals for retrieving, before it is too late, a situation which if left alone would inevitably lead to the decline of the Organization.

125. Aware of the consistent position taken by Tunisia in this connection, a position which we had the opportunity of stating again during his recent visit to us, the Secretary-General will not be surprised to hear Tunisia confirm to him from this rostrum its total confidence, as well as its support for any action to strengthen the Organization and defend its high and noble goals, because in my country legality is a watchword, and international legality is conceived of as an intangible principle which must necessarily underlie the conduct of international relations.

126. It is to international legality that Tunisia and its President have appealed each time some conflict in the world has had to be resolved. Recent events in the crucible of the Middle East have brought to the forefront the constant concern of President Bourguiba to endow his thinking and his actions with the necessary legitimacy, on the basis of the sacrosanct principle of legality.

127. What has been called the Bourguiba Plan for a just solution to the Palestinian problem is based in fact on a return to and use of the international legal principles defined as early as 1947 which, regardless of their imperfections, could not be rejected by anyone, least of all by those whose birth and very existence depend on them—but those are the very people who today show the most complete scorn for international law, the principles of the Charter and the entire Organization, adopting an attitude of defiance and arrogance and ignoring the decisions and recommendations of the international community.

128. The General Assembly is beginning its work at a time when the entire world has just witnessed a frightful massacre carried out in cold blood in Palestinian refugee camps by armed bands trained and financed by Tel Aviv, in the presence and with the complicity of the Israeli occupation forces which had encircled the Sabra and Shatila camps. The wave of shock at this hateful crime has led to consternation, horror and outrage throughout the world. There is not the slightest doubt that by moving into west Beirut, in violation of the agreements reached through the intermediary of the Habib mission, the Israeli leaders bear the whole responsibility for this crime against

humanity. Under the pretext of protecting the civilian population of Beirut, they in fact allowed their legion of mercenaries to do the dirty work. This tragedy, unprecedented in the recent history of mankind, is the logical consequence of the paranoia characteristic of those in power in Israel, who consider each Palestinian a potential terrorist and, as such, an absolute evil which must be rooted out and exterminated. Is not a former Prime Minister of Israel alleged to have admitted to that sense of fear at the birth of each Palestinian child?

129. What can only be called the hasty retreat of the multinational forces of separation in leaving the refugee camps without protection, despite the fears expressed in the first place by the Palestinian leaders, was evidence of that criminal design. This appalling slaughter, among the victims of which were thousands of women, children and the elderly, is the result of this diabolical war launched by the Israeli Government on 6 June. In fact since that time, the Israeli Army, with considerable manpower and material of a very sophisticated kind, has invaded more than half of Lebanon, causing immense destruction and particularly heavy human losses among the Lebanese and Palestinian populations, estimated by UNICEF to be 30,000 dead and wounded in Beirut alone.

130. Under the false pretext of ensuring the security of its northern frontiers, where a ceasefire has been in force since July 1981, Israel has put into operation the "final phase"—in accordance with its strategy—of its plan to annihilate the Palestinian resistance centred on the PLO, leading to the elimination of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, by terrorization and the destruction of their shelters.

131. In the past, the Tel Aviv authorities tried in vain to establish a tame new administration to carry out in Israeli-style autonomy in the occupied territories on the West Bank and in Gaza, once the democratically elected municipal councils had been dissolved and replaced by "village leagues" which are armed groups that bring about "Israeli order" in the expectation that a quisling will emerge to serve as a likely negotiator.

132. Neither the systematic repression of the occupied territories, nor the use of sophisticated military arsenals, including phosphorous and fragmentation bombs as well as implosion bombs, or the terrible bombardment of west Beirut, has succeeded in overcoming the determination of the Palestinians to fight to defend their legitimate cause, as President Reagan himself recognized in his statement on 1 September.

133. For 60 years, the Palestinian people, faced with Zionist designs on their country, have never ceased to fight. In spite of the ups and downs of an unequal struggle and the fact that on three occasions since 1948 the Palestinians have been dispersed, Palestinian nationalism has emerged strengthened from each test, because never in the long history of colonialism has brute force succeeded in overcoming the determination of peoples who fight for liberation. The Palestinian people, driven from their homeland and pursued with hatred and tenacity in exile, have paid heavily for their recognition of their inalienable

right to self-determination and the establishment of their own State.

134. By subjecting an entire country to fire and bloodshed, by massacring savagely and indiscriminately thousands and thousands of innocent people, by depriving blockaded populations of any sanitary or humanitarian aid, by creating finally even more victims, including victims among their own ranks, which has never happened before in the confrontations in that region, was Israel really, in those conditions, responding to its need for security, or did it use its military power to ensure its supremacy?

135. If we are to believe *Time* magazine of 20 September 1982, Israel is the fourth largest military power in the world. In those conditions, how can they use vulnerability and insecurity as pretexts when what is involved is the appeasement of dominating and expansionist instincts? What is involved is an attempt to establish its own order in Lebanon, which is an independent and sovereign country. It is a question of stripping an entire people, the Palestinians, of its rights to self-determination and to a State, and of discrediting its unique and sole representative, the PLO.

136. That is what really lies behind the notion of security invoked each time by Israel; it is nothing but a code name to camouflage dark designs. Do we have to emphasize that security is the constant concern of all peoples in the region? It is also a condition necessary to their development. Security cannot be conceived of as being the supremacy of one State over others, implying a right to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, nor could security be considered as a means of legitimizing the subjugation of peoples.

137. One reality emerges clearly from all those events: that of an imperative need to end the tragedy of the Middle East. Any further delay would risk jeopardizing forever peace and security in that region and in the world. To that end, the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples, with a single voice—through their leaders who met at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez—have shown their determination to achieve a just, overall and lasting solution of the problems.

138. Two basic principles were clearly defined: first, the withdrawal by the Israelis from all Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and then the recognition of the absolute right of the Palestinians to self-determination and to the establishment of their own State under the leadership of the PLO. It also involves the right of all the peoples of the region to live in peace under the guarantee of the Security Council, which has that role in accordance with the Charter.

139. That plan, which has the merit of international legality and takes into account all the recent public peace initiatives—in particular that by President Reagan in which we noted with satisfaction a more correct appreciation of the realities of our region—for the first time presents a specific means of implementing a lasting world solution.

140. However, whereas the peace efforts of the Arab countries arouse interest and even support among many countries, the Tel Aviv authorities, by

the use of arrogance and defiance as an overriding weapon, remain hidebound in their complete and total refusal: “no” to the Fez Arab peace plans [see A/37/696]; “no” to the self-determination of the Palestinian people and the creation of their State; “no” to the existence of the PLO, although it is recognized by 117 States; “no” to the Venice Declaration;⁸ “no” to the Franco-Egyptian plan;⁹ “no” to the Brezhnev plan [see A/37/457]; and “no” to the Reagan plan of 1 September. The entire world is in the wrong; Israel alone is in the right.

141. At the Fez Summit Conference an historic turning point was reached by Arab countries, opening up new prospects towards a lasting peace. It is the duty of the Organization and of the Security Council in the first instance to assume their responsibilities, to end this infernal cycle of brute force which can only exacerbate passions, feed the extremists, create radical attitudes and deal a fatal blow to the hopes for peace of the peoples of that region.

142. It is comforting to see the action taken by the advocates of peace in the Middle East, including Israel itself, growing continuously. Everything must be done to ensure that the Fez message of peace does not become one more lost opportunity.

143. If we are appealing today more than ever for respect for international legality, it is because in this period of disturbance and disorder in which we live legality is the only way for us to speak a common language. It constitutes for us all the law which each must respect.

144. It is this legality which we wish to see respected in Namibia and elsewhere. It is the illegal occupation of Namibia that we have always denounced with all our strength. It is recognition of the legitimate rights of the fraternal Namibian people, represented by SWAPO, that we demand. It is the rapid and definitive solution of the anachronistic problem of Namibia in application of the relevant United Nations resolutions that is our deepest aspiration. It is our desire to see with us as soon as possible here in the United Nations a free and independent Namibia that we are expressing today, at a time when hope of a solution is dawning.

145. It is in that same spirit that we denounce most forcefully once again today the inhuman practice of *apartheid*, which the segregationist and racist Pretoria régime has made into a system.

146. We appeal to the conscience of the international community so that without further delay that aberration of our time may be ended, as mankind approaches the end of the twentieth century. It is a political, economic and social problem, but it is also and above all as we see it a problem of civilization. To the people of South Africa, to its leaders, represented by the African National Congress, who are steadfastly struggling for the sake of civilization, we reaffirm our esteem and our active solidarity.

147. Other equally grave hotbeds of tension continue to disturb the African continent. The conflict in Western Sahara that still disturbs the northern part of the continent, the conflict in the Horn of Africa, the problems of refugees, and displaced persons, the problems of drought and hunger, make it necessary for the Africans themselves to redouble their efforts and

draw on their traditional wisdom to find settlement procedures that are acceptable to all and thus to strengthen the ranks of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which has throughout its history played a particularly positive and indeed irreplaceable role.

148. The OAU, to which nearly one third of the Members of the United Nations belong and which is pursuing at the regional level the same objectives as the United Nations has demonstrated that it is able to contribute substantially to the work of the Organization, which is universal in its calling.

149. As regards the situation in Asia, in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, no notable progress has been recorded in the past year towards the solutions advocated by the General Assembly. Foreign forces are still occupying the territories of those two countries. The Afghan and Kampuchean peoples are still being prevented from exercising their right freely to decide on their own system of government. International legality and the principles of the Charter continue to be disregarded. It is time that the peoples of those two countries, like other peoples, at last had the right to speak.

150. The particularly sensitive Gulf region, because of the unjustified persistence of the war between Iraq and Iran, two fraternal neighbouring countries which should enjoy understanding and co-operation, continues to constitute a source of major concern to us and to all who desire stability and equilibrium in that region. We have noted with great interest the constructive attitude taken by one of the parties and we ask that international legality be respected, here as elsewhere, and that Security Council resolutions 479 (1980) and 514 (1982) be fully implemented.

151. The use of force, regardless of its immediate results, can never bring about peace and security. It is through the peaceful settlement of disputes that the objective of genuine peace can be achieved. It is through dialogue and negotiation that just and lasting solutions can be found. This will always be our preferred course of action. We support this same course of action for the settlement of disputes that have lasted some time now, as well as for those that have emerged more recently, such as the conflict that broke out in the South Atlantic over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and which, because it grew out of all proportion, seriously disturbed the world.

152. We appeal to the United Kingdom and the Republic of Argentina, two friends of Tunisia, to resume, on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the dialogue which was interrupted, using once again the good offices of the Secretary-General, whose commendable efforts in that matter, had they not been hindered, would have spared many lives and thus enhanced the role of the United Nations.

153. In this general context of disorder, tension and confrontation the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held from 7 June to 10 July last. My country had hoped that that session would bring about a general awareness of the danger of widespread conflagration which haunts the world. It had hoped that the international community would take appropriate measures to prevent war and to arrive at an agreement which would prohibit

for ever the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons, an agreement on which the fate of all mankind depends.

154. Our disappointment and our frustration were great when our efforts failed. The necessary political will for such an agreement was lacking, particularly on the part of those with the largest arsenals of weapons of destruction. Could it have been otherwise, when the biggest Powers seek only to ensure their own security without much concern for international peace and security?

155. We venture to hope that at this session those who in the past were not ready will have decided to make the necessary efforts to join their will to that of the great majority expressed here, especially through the non-aligned countries, and thus make it possible to prevent a nuclear disaster, achieve general and complete disarmament and focus exclusively on economic and social development in peace and security.

156. The international economic situation continues to stagnate in crisis and is cause for the most serious concern. Year after year we witness a worsening of the already very precarious conditions of two thirds of mankind. The facts are there, shameful, distressing.

157. In 1980 nearly 800 million human beings had an annual per capita income of less than \$150 and they continue to live in miserable conditions of absolute poverty. If nothing is done to remedy this situation their numbers will increase in absolute figures by approximately 30 per cent and will reach the figure of 1 billion by the year 2000.

158. In a world economy characterized by uncertainty and instability and affected by destabilizing and disturbing phenomena which seriously obstruct its growth rate in the short and medium term, the prospects for the developing world are grim indeed.

159. The sacrifices and efforts made by the developing countries, moreover, no longer receive the back-up and support that are needed from a developed world which is becoming increasingly egocentric. In fact, official development assistance from member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development decreased by 6 per cent in 1981. Furthermore, the excessive indebtedness of the majority of developing countries has passed the critical threshold, and may at any time plunge many of these countries into bankruptcy. In addition, the proliferation and strengthening of protectionist measures in the developed countries may stifle, if they have not already done so, the emerging industries of the developing countries.

160. In brief, in their economic and social development efforts the developing countries are facing serious obstacles: a deficit in the balance of payments, a deterioration in the terms of trade, a decrease in the volume of their exports, higher debt-servicing costs, over-indebtedness and galloping imported inflation. The steady deterioration of the economic conditions of the developing countries does not seem to be of much concern to the industrialized countries, which, claiming domestic economic difficulties, obstruct change and oppose reform.

161. Urgent change is none the less greatly needed in order to restructure international economic relations on the basis of justice, equity and sovereign equality, in accordance with the objectives of the new international economic order. To that end the members of the Group of 77 have proposed a new approach in a suitable framework. They are prepared to undertake, through global negotiations, an egalitarian, universal and dynamic dialogue, in order to study in a democratic forum, that of the General Assembly, the major problems in the way of international economic co-operation. Instead of seizing the opportunity to engage in genuine, constructive and comprehensive negotiations, our partners from the developed countries seem more concerned to safeguard and protect the excessive advantages inherited from an unjust economic order.

162. We are very disturbed at the lack of the sincere political will to launch the global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. We believe it is high time for the international community to reach agreement in this respect.

163. It is encouraging to see in the communiqué issued after the Versailles Economic Summit in June that the growth of the developing countries and the strengthening of constructive relations with them are vital to the political and economic prosperity of the world. Paradoxically, however, we are witnessing an erosion of the spirit of international co-operation. In recent years the developing countries have faced the rejection of dialogue by their industrialized partners from the north.

164. Our disappointment and our frustrations are increasing. Never before has international co-operation met so many obstacles, so often been deadlocked. We are even witnessing a calling into question of mutually accepted commitments to increase considerably the financial resources of UNDP. The deterioration of the financial situation of UNDP is a source of concern and anxiety for all the developing countries. Such deterioration may not only hinder the implementation of those countries' projects and programmes but even endanger the very principle of multilateral co-operation, which is urgently necessary for the international community, and in particular for developing countries.

165. It is essential, bearing in mind how far we are from attaining the objectives that we have set through our agreements, to redouble our efforts to give UNDP the financial means that it needs to enable it to support and aid the developing countries on a foreseeable, secure and continuing basis in their economic and social development efforts.

166. This attitude of rejection and obstruction on the part of certain developed countries is undeniably harmful to both the credibility and the ideals of the United Nations. It could destroy the rare achievements of multilateral co-operation, the results of so many years of effort.

167. We for our part will continue to believe in the virtues of dialogue and agreement, a democratic, comprehensive, global dialogue for the consideration of questions and for decision-making. In this respect, we

are pleased that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has arrived at a convention which, despite the dissatisfaction that it may have provoked in certain quarters, none the less constitutes the embodiment of the law. We strongly hope that the results of 10 years of painstaking efforts and intense negotiations will soon be formally adopted by the entire international community.

168. The agenda of the thirty-seventh session, on only a few items of which I have touched, clearly demonstrates the seriousness of our responsibilities and the importance of the task before us, an enormous and most exhilarating task if we are truly to find solutions to the problems of our day and prepare a better future for ourselves and our children. We must, first and foremost, rid ourselves of the spectre of war and the threat of a nuclear holocaust, for which some with thoughtless equanimity are preparing.

169. It is urgently necessary to put an end to so-called localized wars and other regional conflicts which, like the one in the Middle East, spread and grow sharper day by day, bearing the constant danger of an overall conflagration.

170. We must take fully into account our complementarity and our interdependence in order to prepare at last a new international order suited to our time. We must ensure strict respect for the principles embodied in the Charter and make this forum the primary place for agreement and negotiation, which alone can enable us to find comprehensive and generally acceptable solutions to our problems.

171. By adopting that course of action we defend the aims and objectives of the Organization and disprove the forecasts of its critics by strengthening its effectiveness, its prestige and its credibility. This is the course that Tunisia intends resolutely to pursue.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

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

² See A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.

³ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15416.

⁴ *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.

⁵ "Common Security—a programme for disarmament", by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the chairmanship of Olof Palme. See A/CN.10/38 and A/CN.10/51.

⁶ See *Report of the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Vienna, 9-21 August 1982* (A/CONF.101/10 and Corr.1 and 2), chap. III, sect. F.

⁷ See A/S-12/AC.1/59.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14009.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.