



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. PUJA (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of the Hungarian delegation, Sir, I offer you heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are pleased at your election to that high post, for it is an expression of international recognition both of socialist Hungary's peace-loving foreign policy and of its activities in the United Nations. It is our sincere hope that under your guidance the General Assembly will carry out the tasks of this session successfully and in a constructive atmosphere.

2. The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is taking place in an international situation full of controversy and fraught with dangers. Since last year, subversive activities threatening peace and security have been stepped up; tension connected with certain specific events continues to grow.

3. The main reason for the deterioration in the international situation is that extremist imperialist circles are striving to upset the balance of power which has emerged between the two world systems. They are striving to attain military supremacy, and to that end have started to arm themselves on an unprecedented scale. They are seeking to establish international conditions in which they can impose their will on other States. I could give many examples of the way in which existing crises have worsened and in which new crises have emerged, aiding and abetting the reactionary forces.

4. The extremist imperialist circles are systematically seeking to impair relations between the socialist and the developed capitalist countries, and to destroy the results which have been achieved in the development of East-West co-operation on the basis of mutual interests. In order to attain their goals, they are exerting growing pressure on the developing countries and on the liberation movements. They have been launching campaigns of slander and propaganda against the socialist and other progressive countries and have been ceaselessly attempting to interfere in their internal affairs on various pretexts.

5. We are convinced that it is in the interest of the peoples of the world to put an end to these processes. It is promising to note that more and more countries and larger and larger masses of the people are opposing the unbridled arms race, the policy of force, sabre-rattling and measures aimed at creating tension.

6. My Government decisively condemns the attacks launched against détente and the attempts that are being made to poison the international atmosphere and to step up the arms race. We consider that our most important foreign policy task in the present situation is to make the greatest contribution we can to the safeguarding of peace throughout the world, to the improvement of the international atmosphere, to the strengthening of international security, to the promotion of the cause of disarmament and to the strengthening of friendship and multilateral co-operation among States and peoples. We constantly advocate this in international forums and in bilateral relations. We consider that every opportunity should be seized to expand international co-operation and that increased efforts should be undertaken to find constructive solutions to the problems that stand in the way. Thus, we attach particular importance to the maintenance of the bilateral relations which have evolved during the past decade on the basis of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Moreover, we deem it necessary to intensify political contacts and dialogue and to broaden economic and other relations which serve our mutual interests.

7. In order to achieve these goals, we must continue to strengthen the role of the United Nations so that it can be more effective in bolstering the cause of peace.

8. The Hungarian People's Republic is a staunch champion of disarmament and of the limitation and reduction of armed forces and armaments. My Government takes an active part in various international disarmament forums and also seeks in its bilateral relations to promote the cause of disarmament. We are convinced that none of the pressing problems of peace can be solved by armaments. Stockpiling weapons will not result in more stable, guaranteed security or peace, even for the countries which possess those weapons.

9. Today's balance of military power in the world is characterized by parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, and between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. There is now approximate parity in both nuclear and conventional weapons. That parity is an historic victory for the countries and peoples which are fighting for socialism, progress and peace; they therefore advocate maintaining it, and strive to ensure that it is maintained at the lowest possible level.

10. Hence the socialist countries, together with other peace-loving countries, in the United Nations and in all other international forums, are making constant efforts to curb the arms race which has reached

senseless proportions and to achieve tangible, substantive results in the field of disarmament. That goal is served by a number of proposals and draft treaties submitted at this session of the General Assembly which prescribe specific commitments.

11. Naturally, given the state of armaments today, peoples of the world and peace-loving Governments are concentrating first and foremost on eliminating the danger of nuclear war. My Government also gives priority importance to nuclear disarmament. We are anxious to see the urgent adoption of measures and the conclusion of international agreements that would reduce the arms race and at the same time be specific steps towards nuclear disarmament.

12. We consider the general and unilateral commitment of the Soviet Union as being a significant contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament, and welcome it, namely, that in no circumstances would it be the first to use nuclear weapons. If all nuclear Powers were to make that commitment, in practice that would mean that the use of the most dangerous weapons of mass destruction would be impossible. Trust amongst States would be significantly increased and we could hope for the success of disarmament talks with justifiable optimism.

13. We regret that the nuclear Powers which have not yet taken this step are adhering to their plans for manufacturing new types of nuclear weapons, and some of them are still continuing to disseminate the absurd doctrine of a limited nuclear war.

14. From the point of view of strengthening universal peace and security, relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are of decisive importance; hence their talks to limit and reduce strategic nuclear weapons, as well as medium-range nuclear missiles, are particularly important. It is urgent that practical agreements be reached as soon as possible in those talks, on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security.

15. In the struggle against armaments an important role would be played by a ban on nuclear-weapon testing in all spheres. Along with many other countries, we were amazed at the recent decision of the United States Administration not to resume the trilateral talks on a general and complete ban on nuclear-weapon testing. We follow with anxiety the fact that there is an increase in the number of individual countries which intend to become nuclear-weapon States. We consider that one of the most pressing tasks which demand tremendous responsibility is the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons. That is why the United Nations should also strive to bring that about.

16. The goal of fostering nuclear disarmament requires that in addition to efforts towards resolving the basic problems, it is necessary to use all other opportunities which directly or at least indirectly could promote a reduction of the nuclear threat. In this respect we believe that further efforts should be made to reduce the deployment of nuclear weapons, to create nuclear-free zones and zones of peace, to guarantee the security of countries which do not possess nuclear weapons and to prevent the accidental use of nuclear weapons.

17. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic express regret that because of the existing unfavourable international situation and the lack of political will among certain influential Powers, the second special session devoted to disarmament did not yield the expected results. However, one should not underestimate the significance of the fact that at that session the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations unanimously expressed their concern at the threat of war. They clearly stated that the elimination of the nuclear threat was the most urgent task of this period.

18. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic constantly devotes great attention to European security and co-operation. Although our country is small, still, as far as we can, we too promote the practical implementation of the recommendations and spirit of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki. Our delegation to the Madrid session of the Conference, which is to resume its follow-up to questions of European security and co-operation next November, will work in the interest of guaranteeing a constructive spirit for the talks and the adoption of a meaningful, balanced and purposeful final document.

19. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is anxious that the Madrid session should conclude its work successfully. We consider it particularly important that that Conference should adopt a decision to convene a European conference on confidence-building, security and disarmament. The delegations of all countries participating in the Madrid Conference should be guided by a will to achieve agreement. The responsibility of the participating countries is particularly great, since the shaping of the international political situation and prospects for disarmament depend to a large extent on how relations evolve among the participating countries and what sort of co-operation will be established among them.

20. The growth of international tension has been fostered also by the fact that in effect no progress has been made in eliminating pockets of tension that have either long existed or recently emerged. Furthermore, in some places the situation continues to worsen, and the prospects for settlement are becoming ever more remote. My Government believes it absolutely urgent to adopt specific steps speedily to eliminate pockets of tension and local conflicts and to resolve controversial issues by peaceful means.

21. It may seem strange that in this context I should also mention Europe. In the past, we used to talk about Europe as a region of peace and tranquillity. However, events that have occurred in recent years—the decision by NATO to station 572 medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the American refusal to ratify the SALT II agreement, the Western plan for a vastly accelerated arms build-up and the inadmissible Western interference in the events in Poland—have increased tension in our continent to a significant degree. We hope that the ongoing Soviet-American talks will ultimately yield results that will foster peaceful co-operation among the European countries.

22. The extremely tense situation in the Middle East that has evolved in recent months has created profound concern. That region has for many years been the source of one of the world's most tragic crises. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and public opinion in our country most vehemently condemn the aggressive expansionist policies of Israel and its barbaric war against the Lebanese and Palestinian Arab peoples which, together with the imperialist manoeuvres designed to achieve a total domination over the Middle East, has created a serious threat to peace and security for the peoples in that region and for the entire world. We express our sympathy for the victims of the terrible tragedy that has occurred in Lebanon, and we continue to support the just struggle of the Arab peoples. Our people learned of the bloody massacre in Beirut with indignation and we vehemently condemn that evil deed. The United Nations should take decisive measures to restrain Israel, which has consistently disregarded Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and which regularly violates the elementary norms of international law.

23. The aggression against Lebanon is a new and premonitory proof of the fact that the policy of separate dealings and the blatant use of military force cannot lead to any real settlement of the Middle East crisis but, on the contrary, will lead to an exacerbation of the situation in that region. The Hungarian Government will continue to advocate a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis and the establishment of lasting peace in the region. It firmly believes that in order to achieve this it is urgent that there be a complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories that have been occupied since 1967, as well as from Lebanon; that there be a guarantee of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to create an independent Palestinian State; and that there be international guarantees for the security and independent existence of all States in the region. It supports the idea of convening an international conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], in order to promote a comprehensive and just settlement. The six-point proposal of the Soviet Union that was put forward by the General Secretary of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev [see A/37/457], meets all those requirements, and we therefore believe it to be acceptable for the resolution of the problem.

24. The development of the international situation has been adversely affected by the baleful influence of circles seeking to maintain and to worsen tension and which continue artificially to support the inclusion of the so-called Afghan and Kampuchean questions on the agenda. With regard to Afghanistan, my Government continues to maintain its firm position that the key question is a cessation of the interference by the forces of international reactionary forces in the internal affairs of that country. We support the proposals of the Government of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union designed to bring about a political solution of the situation prevailing around Afghanistan. We have followed with interest the activities of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General. We

hope that the States directly concerned will find a way to resolve the problem by talks, which must include recognition of the legitimate Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as well as guarantees for the security of that country.

25. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, as is well known, feels solidarity with the countries of Indo-China. It welcomes and supports the proposals of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three Indo-Chinese countries dated July 1982 [see A/37/354], which show that those countries are seeking peace and dialogue on substantive matters, as well as friendship and co-operation with their neighbours. The attempts being made through the vestiges of the former régime, which formed the so-called coalition government, to undermine the legal order of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are doomed to failure. We are convinced that recognition of the existing political realities is the only right way to guarantee peace and stability in that region.

26. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic supports the proposal of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic for the convening of an international conference of the Asian and Pacific countries to discuss questions relating to the conclusion of a convention on the non-use of force and mutual non-aggression.¹ Among the factors hindering an improvement in the international situation we should mention the problems created by the Korean question, which has remained unsettled for so long. My Government continues to support the just struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the cause of a peaceful and democratic unification of the two parts of the country free from outside interference. My Government regards as of particular importance the restitution of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its Government's policy of non-alignment. It supports a peaceful solution to the question of Cyprus through negotiations that would serve the interests of both communities in that State in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, and it supports efforts undertaken in that direction.

27. At this session of the General Assembly, many speakers will undoubtedly express their just concern about the fact that with a view to securing their interests imperialism and neo-colonialism are increasing their pressure on the developing countries and the non-aligned movement, and that they are trying to frustrate the success of the national liberation movement. In this forum, I should like to reaffirm the support of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic for the struggle of peoples for social progress, national independence and self-determination and our opposition to colonial oppression and neo-colonialist aspirations. We are decisively opposed to racial discrimination and condemn the policy of *apartheid*.

28. We feel that the United Nations must adopt more decisive and effective measures than it has done so far to eliminate once and for all the vestiges of colonialism in order to guarantee the rights of all peoples to self-determination.

29. The South Atlantic armed conflict which took place in recent months with regard to the Falkland

(Malvinas) Islands also has shown how many complex and far-reaching international problems can be created by the vestiges of the colonial system and what a serious threat they can constitute for peace. We consider that that problem too should be resolved through negotiation.

30. Notwithstanding the decisions of the United Nations and all efforts made thus far by the progressive forces in the world, the South African racist régime continues to occupy Namibia. The situation which has emerged in southern Africa poses a serious threat to international peace and security. That is why one of the most urgent tasks is to resolve the fate of Namibia, to guarantee the independence of that country. My Government supports the just struggle of the Namibian people which it has been waging, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its sole legitimate representative, against the South African occupiers to win genuine independence for the country. Hungary rejects the Western manoeuvres, the aim of which is to maintain foreign domination, both political and economic, and to preserve the influence of the South African racist Government. We favour the implementation of the United Nations plan. The basis for a negotiated settlement can only be Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which should be implemented without any change or distortion.

31. Nowadays we often receive news about pressures and threats aimed against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and other Latin American countries, about the heroic struggle of the patriots of El Salvador and of actions against the dictatorial régimes in many countries of Latin America. We believe that in this region of the world, too, we should respect the right of peoples to self-determination.

32. We believe that the non-aligned movement is an important, positive factor in international life. We were concerned that recently imperialist machinations to shatter the movement have been stepped up. We believe that the non-aligned countries can maintain and strengthen the anti-imperialist unity of their movement in this situation too, and can remain true to their well-tested principles.

33. My country is very concerned about the unhampered development of mutually advantageous international economic, trade and financial relations. I must note with regret that the tension in the international situation has long had an unfavourable influence on all fields of international economic, trade, financial and scientific and technological co-operation. We decisively reject the policy of economic sanctions against the socialist countries, the policies of embargo, boycott and discrimination. Such policies have not been successful in the past, and at the present time no one will be able to move the socialist countries away from the path of building a new society and promoting progress. Such attempts can only lead to a worsening of the international atmosphere. All this not only has an unfavourable impact in relations between East and West, but does damage to the interests of the developing world and further delays the establishment of a new, just international economic order, based on democratic principles.

34. My Government believes that the difficulties in international economic co-operation should be eliminated and that countries of the world, both large and small, should equally, without any discrimination, enjoy the mutual advantages which result from the international division of labour.

35. Despite the more tense international situation and the unfavourable political processes taking place in the world, we believe that the possibilities of peaceful development have not yet been exhausted. This view is imposed by common sense and by the interests of the peoples of the world. We are convinced that joint actions by all the political elements and social forces desirous of maintaining peaceful international relations and co-operation among States can, in the final analysis, overcome the determination to seek confrontation. To bring about that end my country is prepared to join with all countries who are conducting a sober, responsible policy. It is in that spirit that our delegation will act at this session of the General Assembly.

36. Mr. ELLEMANN-JENSEN (Denmark): I have the honour of addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its 10 Member States. In this capacity, I take pleasure in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

37. I should further like to express the Community's appreciation to the outgoing President for the leadership he has shown on so many occasions during the past year.

38. The 10 Member States of the European Community also wish to congratulate the new Secretary-General, now attending his first regular session of the Assembly. His tireless efforts in pursuit of peace during his first year in office have already—and justly—brought him world-wide admiration. The Secretary-General's strong commitment to upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations is brilliantly demonstrated in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], which is thoughtful and thought-provoking. We, the countries of the world, would do well to heed his advice that as an important first step we should consciously recommit ourselves to seeking negotiated solutions to the world's many problems by adhering strictly to the Charter of the United Nations.

39. The world today presents a bleak picture. It is becoming increasingly difficult to remain optimistic about the future. Grave conflicts have continued to take place in many parts of the world in the period that has elapsed since the thirty-sixth session. The threat remains that local and regional conflicts will escalate to the global level. The world is in the grip of the worst economic recession in decades. All nations, and in particular the developing countries, risk jeopardizing the hard-won achievements made through international co-operation. Fundamental human rights are being increasingly violated in many parts of the world. This combination of challenges which the international community is facing today calls for determined action and constructive co-operation. The situation requires something more—and something other—than each nation working to solve its own problems. Wisdom and statesmanship are required if

we are to meet these challenges. We must admit that interdependence inescapably characterizes the world today. We must learn, as the Secretary-General so rightly puts it in his report, "to differentiate between short-term advantage and long-term progress, between politically expedient positions and the indispensable objective of creating a civilized and peaceful world order" [*ibid.*, p. 1].

40. The United Nations provides the framework and the forum for accommodating and reconciling our interests if we accept the implications of our interdependence. We must make a determined effort to use the opportunities available to us. We must seek peaceful settlement of the disputes that divide us. We must employ the available international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. And we must devote ourselves to the promotion and protection of human rights throughout the world.

41. The European Community and its 10 member States pledge their full co-operation in achieving these fundamental goals. We believe strongly that we have a role to play and a contribution to make in this great endeavour. We wish to make our contribution in fruitful partnership and collaboration with the other nations of the world. We understand and support their desire to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We also recognize that genuine non-alignment is an important factor in maintaining international stability and can make an important contribution to bringing about political settlements of the conflicts which threaten the world.

42. The European Community also strongly believes that through co-operation and partnership we can come to grips with the problems of inequity which plague the world economy. We shall pursue our efforts in these fields with vigour and look forward to building the partnership based on mutual trust which is necessary to achieve these important goals.

43. Serious setbacks in East-West relations have been a major element in the deteriorating international situation during recent years. The past years have brought new and disturbing violations of the principles on which the United Nations is based. The continued occupation of Afghanistan, with the evident willingness of the Soviet Union to pursue its aims by use of its massive military potential, has contributed to the creation of a climate of distrust and tension.

44. The tragic events in Poland since last December, which have taken place under pressure, have also had a major negative impact on overall East-West relations. These events, taking place in the heart of Europe, cause deep concern among the Ten. The Ten have repeatedly called for the lifting of martial law, the release of those arrested and the restoration of a genuine dialogue with the Church and Solidarity. The Ten will continue to urge the Polish authorities to live up to their declared intentions of re-establishing civil liberties and the process of reform in Poland as rapidly as possible.

45. To halt the present negative trend and develop substantial and balanced East-West relations aimed at genuine détente, the causes underlying the negative developments in East-West relations should be removed in order to restore respect for the principles

of the Charter and the Helsinki Final Act to ensure mutually advantageous co-operation through dialogue and negotiations. We have already shown our readiness to contribute to a positive development of East-West relations and we urge the Soviet Union to demonstrate a similar inclination.

46. There is at present much popular concern about world tension, the use of force by some countries in contravention of the Charter and the imbalance in both nuclear and conventional weapons. This situation creates international mistrust and public anxiety. The latter manifests itself in many ways in States where freedom of expression is guaranteed. The Governments of the Ten recognize and understand these concerns. We have no doubt that similar concern is felt by the peoples of States where, regrettably, open expressions of popular feeling about the build-up of armaments and the consequent burden on already faltering economies have so far been suppressed.

47. A few months ago the Member States met for the second special session devoted to disarmament. Governments and peoples all over the globe had looked forward to this event in the hope that it would lead to a fresh impetus in the process of disarmament and thereby to the reduction of armaments and to huge military expenditures. The results of the session were disappointing. However, the Ten consider it very important that the consensus principle was upheld. Furthermore, the session unconditionally confirmed the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], the first such special session, in 1978. The views presented at that session will form a useful basis for future discussions and negotiations. It is also noteworthy that at the second special session devoted to disarmament the Assembly agreed to continue the process initiated at the first special session.

48. The member States of the European Community will make every endeavour to help accomplish this important task. They will continue to support all constructive proposals which lead to reductions in armaments and to the banning of certain types of weapons, and which enhance confidence and assure the security of all nations. In this respect the Ten strongly support efforts of a substantial and realistic nature made in the sole negotiating body, the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, and in other forums.

49. The Ten welcome the negotiations initiated this summer between the United States and the Soviet Union on mutual reductions of nuclear strategic arms. These negotiations will undoubtedly be difficult. We hope, however, that they will result in an early agreement on substantial reductions of these weapons.

50. We welcome also the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on intermediate-range nuclear forces, negotiations which are taking place within the framework of the strategic arms reduction talks. It is well known that these weapons are of special concern to us. We hope that the negotiations will lead to concrete results in the near future.

51. Parallel with arms control and disarmament in the nuclear field, substantial reductions in the conventional field must be pursued vigorously

52. As regards central Europe, efforts to establish a real balance at a lower level of forces between East and West have been pursued in Vienna since 1973, but progress has been slow. However, the Ten note that in the view of Western participants the prospects of an agreement have increased following the presentation of new and concrete proposals in Vienna. Their implementation would lead to significant reductions and thereby contribute to a more stable relationship between East and West and to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

53. Furthermore, the Ten have declared themselves in favour of a conference on disarmament in Europe on the basis of a precise mandate to negotiate in a first stage militarily significant, binding and verifiable confidence-building and security-building measures applicable to the whole of Europe.

54. Efforts at improving East-West relations should not be restricted to arms control. There is an equally great need for a comprehensive East-West dialogue on other subjects, both political and economic. The process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is a most important channel for this dialogue. The Ten sincerely hope that it will be possible, when the Madrid follow-up meeting within the CSCE process reconvenes in November of this year, to reach agreement on a balanced and substantial concluding document. Such a document should mark tangible progress within the human dimension of the Conference and contain a precise mandate for a conference on disarmament in Europe. In the opinion of the Ten the draft submitted by the neutral and non-aligned countries remains a good starting-point for the negotiating process in Madrid.

55. Since the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and following events in Lebanon, which are only the latest element in a chain of violence and counter-violence in the area, the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated further. During the last few months problems relating to that situation have occupied the Security Council repeatedly, as well as the General Assembly. The danger to international peace must be evident to all of us.

56. The Ten recall their vigorous condemnation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. We are horrified by the terrible suffering and damage which have been inflicted upon Lebanon and its civil population. A large number of innocent men, women and children have been killed or wounded. Many thousands have been made homeless. We are especially shocked and revolted by the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Beirut. The Ten have strongly condemned this criminal act. An authoritative inquiry into the circumstances of this incident is clearly necessary.

57. The Ten reaffirm their solidarity with a friendly country whose population has suffered so cruelly and whose fragile stability is dangerously threatened. They are confident that the Lebanese people will be able to bring about national reconciliation. The presence of certain of their members in the multinational force established at the request of the Lebanese Government in line with the objectives of relevant Security Council resolutions bears witness to the attachment of the Ten to the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government. They renew

their offer to assist in the relief and reconstruction of the country.

Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

58. The Ten reaffirm their attachment to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon, which are indispensable to peace in the region.

59. In the view of the Ten, the establishment of a durable peace in Lebanon requires the complete and prompt withdrawal of Israeli forces from that country, as well as the departure of all foreign forces, except those which may be authorized by the Government of Lebanon. The Ten will support any efforts to that end.

60. The events in Lebanon confirm that the need for a negotiated, comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is more pressing than ever. They furthermore confirm that there can be no real peace or stability in the region unless the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people also are recognized. Thus we do not believe it is either wise or just for Israel to seek to deny another people the right it claims for itself.

61. The Ten remain convinced that two essential principles must be accepted and reconciled: the right to existence and security for all the States and justice for all the peoples. Our commitment to the right of Israel to live in security and peace is fundamental and unwavering; so also is our commitment to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that this implies. This approach is well reflected in the Franco-Egyptian initiative which is now before the Security Council.²

62. The Ten are encouraged that these principles and the need to reconcile them are commanding increasing acceptance as the basis for a comprehensive, just and durable settlement.

63. We welcome the new American initiative contained in President Reagan's speech on 1 September 1982. It offers an important opportunity for peaceful progress on the Palestinian question and a step towards the reconciliation of the parties' conflicting aspirations.

64. All parties should seize the present opportunity to initiate a process of mutual *rapprochement* leading towards a comprehensive peace settlement. In this connection, we emphasize the importance of the Final Declaration adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, which was held at Fez on 9 September [see A/37/696], which we see as an expression of the unanimous will of the participants, including the PLO, to work for the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East encompassing all States in the area, including Israel. We call now for a similar expression of a will for peace on the part of Israel.

65. The Ten underline their continuing concern at Israeli policies in the occupied territories. We reiterate that the Israeli decisions concerning east Jerusalem and the Golan Heights are contrary to international law and therefore invalid in our eyes. Similarly, we regard the continuing programme of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza as illegal and a major obstacle to peace efforts and to the creation of a climate of confidence between the parties.

66. The Ten wish to see the Palestinian people in a position to pursue their demands by political means

and by negotiation. The Ten believe that for negotiations to succeed the Palestinian people must be able to commit themselves to them and thus to be represented in them. Consequently, the position of the Ten remains that the PLO must be associated with the negotiations.

67. The Ten will continue to be active in pursuing their efforts to promote a peace settlement along these lines. We clearly recognize that it must be for the parties directly concerned to negotiate a lasting settlement themselves. The Ten will maintain and expand their contacts with all parties to help improve conditions for such negotiations.

68. The Ten, as stated in their previous declarations, continue to be gravely concerned at the conflict between Iraq and Iran, which has now lasted for two years and caused a large number of casualties as well as considerable material destruction. We call urgently for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in accordance with the principles adopted by the international community, such as those defined by the Security Council in its resolutions 479 (1980) of 28 September 1980 and 514 (1982) of 12 July 1982.

69. The Ten have stated their policy on the Cyprus problem on many occasions. We have consistently supported the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a lasting solution. Under his auspices the inter-communal talks have been established on a regular basis. As has been stated by the Secretary-General, this does not mean that the well-known major substantive elements of the Cyprus problem are about to be resolved. It is our sincere wish that the necessary good will be shown so that progress can be made towards a just and lasting solution to this grave problem, a solution that will effectively maintain the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

70. The countries in the African continent are still faced with the difficult task of settling internal and external conflicts by peaceful means. The Ten support Africa's quest for peaceful development. Confident that the difficulties at present confronting the Organization of African Unity [OAU] will be overcome, we hope that that organization will be able to continue to fulfil its unique role as a forum for concerted action to secure peace in the African continent.

71. The Ten express their deep concern over the renewed tension prevailing since early July on the Ethiopian-Somali border. The Ten, who are committed to respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries of the region, make an urgent appeal to the interested Governments to refrain from any actions contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and to work for the restoration of peace within the Horn of Africa.

72. In southern Africa, independence for Namibia and an end to racial discrimination are still to be achieved. The Ten have repeatedly and firmly expressed their conviction that the people of Namibia must be permitted to determine their own future through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

73. We reiterate this conviction today with a feeling that prospects for a settlement are now better than

ever before. Encouraged by recent progress in the negotiations, we now believe that implementation of the United Nations plan is within reach.

74. The Ten reaffirm their support for all parties who have striven in recent months to bring about the achievement of independence, peace and prosperity for Namibia. They commend the five Western States for their untiring efforts to seek a speedy solution in accordance with resolution 435 (1978). The Ten urge all parties concerned to facilitate the conclusion of the negotiations without further delay and to refrain from any action which could endanger the agreement reached. The recent South African incursions into Angola cannot but complicate the ongoing negotiations. The Ten have condemned these violations of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

75. Now is the time for statesmanship and courage. Namibia remains the primary responsibility of the United Nations and the world community would react strongly to attempts to delay Namibia's independence.

76. Within South Africa itself, the situation continues to be marked by increased restrictions on and oppression of the country's black majority. The Ten deeply deplore this. They reiterate their clear condemnation and rejection of this system of institutionalized racial discrimination.

77. Noting recent developments within South Africa, the Ten remain convinced of the urgent need for meeting the political as well as the social and economic aspirations of all South Africans. An early abolition of the *apartheid* system is essential. The Ten will continue a critical dialogue with South Africa to encourage peaceful change in the country. They will also continue to use the collective weight of the European community to influence South Africa to end the system of *apartheid* and establish a society with freedom and justice for all.

78. The Soviet military occupation since 1979 of Afghanistan, a formerly non-aligned and independent country, remains a source of grave concern to the whole world and continues seriously to affect the stability of the region.

79. More than 20 per cent of the Afghan population have had to flee their home country. This exodus continues and tens of thousands of additional refugees are reaching the camps each month. Unbroken resistance in Afghanistan clearly shows that the Afghan people reject the political system forced upon them and vigorously refuse to be governed by a régime imposed by a foreign Power.

80. The Ten strongly urge consideration of the European Council proposal of 30 June 1981³ for a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. They continue to believe that only a settlement which is ultimately endorsed by the Afghan people and which takes fully into account their fundamental right to self-determination will be able to bring lasting peace and stability to the area. The European Council proposal seeks to bring about the cessation of external intervention and the establishment of safeguards to prevent such interventions in the future and takes into full account the legitimate interests of the countries in the area.

81. The Ten take note with interest of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative aiming at a political solution. Any solution should be reached among all parties concerned, should be based upon the principles of the United Nations resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly and should include the withdrawal of foreign troops. The principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and of refraining from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity of any State are at the very basis of international relations.

82. Kampuchea has also been invaded and occupied by a foreign Power. All efforts to bring about a solution to the Kampuchean problem have foundered so far on the refusal of Viet Nam to accept the relevant United Nations resolutions as the basis for a genuine political settlement.

83. However, the Ten note with interest new developments which could contribute towards a comprehensive political solution. Resistance forces have come together and announced the formation of a coalition. There have also been contacts recently between Viet Nam and other Governments of the region.

84. The Ten are prepared to support any initiative which aims at establishing a truly representative Government in a neutral and independent Kampuchea. It is high time that the suffering of the Kampuchean people ceased and that they regained their right to self-determination without disruption, intimidation or coercion. It should not be impossible to find a solution which accommodates the legitimate concerns of all interested parties, including Viet Nam.

85. Almost 30 years after the armistice agreement, the unresolved Korean question still constitutes an abnormal and potentially dangerous situation in the region. The Ten believe that a peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiations based on the communiqué of 1972⁴ between the south and the north in Korea.

86. The Ten wish to reaffirm the importance which they attach to the consolidation of good relations with all the countries of Latin America. Our histories have been closely interwoven over the centuries. We enjoy strong cultural, commercial and family ties. We share many of the same values. For all these reasons, we intend, both collectively and as individual States, to develop and strengthen still further our relations with the States of both Central and South America.

87. We therefore deplore the recent grave events in the South Atlantic, in which force was used against a member of the Ten, contrary to the principles of the Charter—especially that of the peaceful settlement of disputes—and in defiance of the Security Council. These events serve to underline the importance of those principles, and of respect for them, and the dangers which flow from their violation or neglect.

88. With particular reference to Central America, the Ten have frequently expressed their serious concern about growing tension in that region. They are convinced that grave economic and social problems in the region have caused an unstable situation which is aggravated by foreign political interference and arms supply. The increasing use of violence and the

recurring violations of human rights further jeopardize this already precarious situation. The Ten are convinced that only the implementation of a political dialogue and negotiations with the participation of all democratic forces will bring about a peaceful settlement. Necessary political solutions should be sought and found by the parties to the conflicts themselves. In this context, the Ten have taken note with interest of the proposals made by a number of countries of the region. They are furthermore actively considering how to help to improve the economic situation of the countries in Central America.

89. On the threshold of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we must unfortunately face the fact that Member States are not living up to their obligations under the Charter to co-operate at the United Nations in the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. On the contrary, human rights are being violated in many parts of the world, and the violations seem to increase rather than diminish in number. Often, it is the most fundamental of human rights—the integrity of the individual—which is being violated.

90. Arbitrary killings or politically motivated executions occur on a large scale in many countries. The minimal guarantees of due process of law are not respected. Disappearances and torture have become an appalling part of daily life in an increasing number of countries. Large numbers of political prisoners, including trade union activists, still remain locked away. Human beings are persecuted solely on ideological and religious grounds. In certain countries, individuals or groups are persecuted simply because they have the courage to defend the cause of human rights. Whenever such abuses occur, the international community has a particular obligation to intervene actively.

91. To maintain its credibility, the United Nations must react promptly and adequately to all serious violations of human rights, no matter where they occur. Countries of the European Community have taken concrete initiatives with that aim. Let me draw the Assembly's attention to the establishment of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture and the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on summary and arbitrary executions.

92. The Ten's firm commitment to ensure universal respect for human rights is rooted in our common democratic ideals and standards. The individual must be protected from possible infringement by the State of his or her rights. Political suppression is as incompatible with human dignity as are social discrimination, economic exploitation and sheer deprivation. Social and economic rights, as well as civil and political rights, need to be guaranteed as essential parts of an integral whole.

93. The Ten share a basic conviction that every human being is entitled to have his fundamental human rights recognized and respected in any country, irrespective of social or political system. Those rights must be safeguarded by the adherence of all States to common standards and legally binding instruments

as well as by appropriate measures for their international monitoring.

94. The world economy is at present facing its deepest recession since the Second World War. The world-wide recession has affected almost all countries, developed as well as developing, especially the least developed. The annual growth rate has fallen to only 1 per cent on a world basis. Inflation, interest rates and unemployment continue to be serious problems. At the same time, the world recession has once again clearly demonstrated the economic interdependence between all countries and all parts of the world. It has made it clear that economic growth in both developed and developing countries is the key to sustained progress in the world economy. Indeed, we are convinced that sustained growth in the developing countries will lead to stability and prosperity for the developing and developed countries alike. In order to achieve world growth, it is, however, necessary to work together and through increased international co-operation to promote the recovery of the world economy.

95. The open world trade system embodied in GATT has served the world economy well. It ought therefore to be preserved and further strengthened. It is the experience of the Community that the dismantling of trade barriers has been one of the most important engines of economic growth. We therefore hope that the GATT Ministerial Meeting to be held in November will reaffirm adherence to international trade rules, strengthen resistance to protectionist pressures and promote an even greater participation by developing countries in world trade and in the international trading system.

96. Increased trade is especially vital for the developing countries, and improved conditions for North-South trade should be a priority item at the GATT Ministerial Meeting. In this context, the Community recognizes the need for fair and stable prices for commodity producers. Implementation of the Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities⁵ and extension of commodity agreements could constitute an important step forward in that direction. In this context, we also look forward to having a constructive discussion of the overall perspectives in trade and development at the sixth session of UNCTAD next year.

97. Through the Second Lomé Convention of October 1979 the European Community has already for its part secured additional benefits for the trade of African, Caribbean and Pacific States with the Community. It has also contributed to the economic and social development of those States through increased amounts of aid. Moreover, access to the Community markets for all developing countries has been improved through the generalized system of preferences and other instruments of the European Community.

98. It is of great importance that the goals set forth in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56*] be implemented. The targets for official development assistance and the endeavours to fulfil them despite economic difficulties are an integral part of this strategy. Although faced with budgetary difficulties, the member States of the Community remain

committed to the target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product. We urge others to use their best endeavours to achieve this goal. The stagnation in the volume of development assistance to the developing countries and to the multilateral financing institutions has given rise to growing concern within the Community. We feel that it is especially important to safeguard the multilateral institutions at a time when developing countries are faced with such enormous difficulties. We are willing—and we appeal to others to do likewise—to participate in all efforts to that effect.

99. We welcome the solution found in Toronto to the problem of the financing of the Sixth Replenishment of the International Development Association (IDA VI). The countries of the Community were instrumental in achieving this solution. We also regard the consensus to seek agreement by April on the Eighth Quota Revision of the International Monetary Fund [*IMF*] as an important step forward. In this context, the Community believes that *IMF* must play an increasing role as the world's primary monetary institution. Furthermore, we consider that non-concessional flows play their role in promoting economic development in developing countries.

100. The need for specific efforts to find solutions to the grave problem of hunger in the world has been recognized by a number of important international meetings. The International Meeting on Economic Co-operation and Development, which was held at Cancún last October, provided an important political impetus in this area. The Rome meeting of WFP last April brought together the entire donor community for a thorough consideration of new lines of action in this field. The ministerial meeting of the World Food Council in June this year adopted a number of pertinent conclusions and recommendations, which we supported and fully subscribe to.

101. The Council rightly put particular emphasis on the urgent need to deal effectively with the food problems of many African countries. The Community and its member States are particularly sensitive to the hunger problem. We have in the past year both as a Community and individually taken a number of concrete steps. The Community approved last autumn a plan of action to combat hunger in the world which includes, *inter alia*, the allocation of exceptional food aid for the least developed countries, which has enabled the international emergency food reserve to achieve its target for the first time. Another important field of action to which we are committed is our assistance to national food strategies in developing countries.

102. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris, made a valuable contribution to attract the attention of the international community to the plight of these countries. The Community and its member States took an active part in the elaboration and adoption of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s,⁶ and remain committed to its goals, including the 0.15 per cent target for official development assistance to the least developed countries, as defined at the Paris Conference. This target has already been achieved by some European Community countries. At present, no less than 70 per cent of all bilateral official development assistance

commitments from industrialized countries to the least developed countries come from the Community and its member States.

103. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy was a major effort by the international community to find global solutions to the energy problems, notably the very severe problems of the developing countries. We support the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy⁷ and will continue to make a constructive contribution to its implementation. The Interim Committee on New and Renewable Sources of Energy made some progress in this direction at its meeting in Rome in June. We will participate constructively in the efforts at this session of the General Assembly to tackle the issues still outstanding, in particular those concerning the financial and institutional follow-up to the Nairobi Conference. Finally, the Community reiterates its call for early progress on the proposal to establish an energy affiliate in the World Bank which would contribute to increasing the financial resources available to developing countries at the multilateral level.

104. But in our concern for the state of the world economy we must bear in mind the problems raised by the continuing deterioration of the environment and the depletion of natural resources. The Community therefore associates itself with the concerns expressed at the special session of the Governing Council of UNEP, which was held at Nairobi in May, on the need for the wise management and preservation of the global environment and natural resources as a condition for sustainable development. It will continue its efforts in support of these essential objectives.

105. We must bring about—as the European Community has advocated for several years—a more action-oriented and concrete course for the North-South dialogue. The Community welcomed the initial proposal to launch global negotiations covering all major issues in the world economic area. We have all worked hard ever since to establish the necessary basis for the negotiations. We therefore welcomed the developing countries' latest draft resolution, and we support the response to it from the Versailles Economic Summit. The four proposed amendments from that Summit should be considered as clarifications which fully respect the equilibrium and the spirit of the developing countries' draft resolution. We appeal to all Member States to support these amendments in order to grasp this opportunity to reach agreement on the launching of the global negotiations at this session. If we fail to do so, the moment for decision—and perhaps a golden opportunity—could well slip through our hands.

106. The gloomy picture that I have just described must not lead us to despair. On the contrary, we must find new strength and double our efforts to reverse these deplorable trends. The countries of the European Community are ready to bear their share of this heavy burden, and pledge their full co-operation in all efforts to bring about a strong and sustained momentum towards the solution of these fundamental problems.

107. The forum for such efforts already exists here in the United Nations. Its universality is one of its most precious assets and should not be challenged.

The principles that we should set as goals for our efforts are already defined in Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations.

108. Let us use the United Nations and the specialized agencies in accordance with the purposes for which they have been created. Let us not divert their functioning in pursuit of short-term propaganda gains.

109. Let us reaffirm indeed our commitment to the Charter. Let us not dilute it by initiatives that draw selectively on its provisions.

110. Let us demonstrate that we have the will and the vision to be united in the face of the challenges before us.

111. I have finished my statement on behalf of the European Community and its 10 member States. I shall refrain from making a speech on behalf of the Government of Denmark. I should like to conclude with the following words by the Danish poet and philosopher Piet Hein:

“If we want peace,
“the things we must
“accomplish to preserve it
“are, first,
“to win each other's trust,
“and, second,
“to deserve it.”

112. Mr. GHALI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gave me great pleasure to see Mr. Imre Hollai elected President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. On behalf of my Government and my people, I convey congratulations and best wishes also to the great Hungarian people and the friendly Hungarian Government, of which he is such a worthy representative.

113. I should like also to pay a tribute to Mr. Ismat Kittani for the skilful and exemplary manner in which he conducted the affairs of the thirty-sixth session.

114. The President's inaugural statement was an eloquent compendium of the events that had occurred in the year since we met in this Hall at the beginning of the thirty-sixth session. They were truly momentous events which cast a heavy shadow of gloom over the international scene. They are fraught with grave dangers both for the issues of war and peace and for the issue of development.

115. Two years ago, Egypt urged that we pause for serious reflection. Members will recall that in our statement at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly we gave the following warning:

“The recent alarming developments that have challenged the Charter and the international order that we have subscribed to... since 1945 have... created a perilous situation of political upheaval sometimes bordering on chaos...” [16th meeting, para. 41.]

And we noted that, in our opinion:

“... the time is ripe to undertake an objective appraisal of the existing political order and, in particular, of the role of the existing international machinery. Accordingly, the Government of Egypt... [proposes] the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to take up this whole matter.” [Ibid., para. 51.]

116. We raised this matter and submitted it for the Assembly's consideration at the thirty-fifth session. If anything, the developments that we have all witnessed since that time should confirm the seriousness of our proposal. In this context, I feel it is most appropriate to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. His report on the work of the Organization has provided a valuable analysis of the international situation and of the role of the United Nations in the international system. I support all the proposals made in his report.

117. It is high time that we tackle effectively and with firmness and fairness the various problems that beset us. Foremost among those problems are the issues of war and peace. In the past year alone we have witnessed the invasion of Lebanon, the destruction of Beirut, the Falklands (Malvinas) war, the continuing Iran-Iraq war, the situation in Afghanistan, the grave situation in Kampuchea, the precarious situation in Korea, the impasse in the problem of Cyprus and grave possibilities in Central America, Africa and the Middle East.

118. The problems we are facing are not confined to those political areas; they are interlocked with economic, social and cultural problems as well as with human rights issues. A number of special sessions of the Assembly have been held to examine various problems and issues, such as the Palestinian problem, the question of Namibia, the situation in Afghanistan, the new international economic order and the problem of disarmament. But what has been the outcome of those sessions? The resolutions that were adopted have not been implemented. They remain dead letters, thus contributing to the further weakening of the United Nations and bringing into sharper focus the paralysis of the international system. This state of affairs is not consonant with aspirations to peace, progress and justice. The present political order, with its principles and conventions, was established solely in order to guarantee the attainment and enjoyment of those goals. The persistence of present conditions can lead only to a serious disintegration of the fabric of international relations.

119. Against the backdrop of these developments, the Egyptian Government reiterates its proposal for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to assess the situation and the role of the Organization in general and so that all Member States can take part in a detailed discussion of the issue. Essentially, we urge the General Assembly to focus on and intensify discussion of the entire international order, the suitability of the present political system, the role of the United Nations and, in particular, the system of collective security—as the delegation of Sierra Leone rightly said in connection with the discussion on the inclusion of that question in the agenda of the present session.

120. All these matters are of paramount importance for all the peoples of the world and consequently they must be debated by their representatives on a basis of equality. The Security Council would then be asked to consider the situation in the light of the General Assembly's findings. The system of periodic meetings provided for in Article 28 of the Charter would probably constitute an appropriate starting-point for the fulfilment by the Council of its responsi-

bilities in this respect. The Secretary-General has an essential role to play in this regard, but he has to be provided with the necessary resources and with the means to help move the world to a new phase of constructive action aimed at achieving more stable conditions.

121. The international economic situation is a cause for alarm and profound concern because of adverse economic conditions confronting both developing and developed nations, with the impact on the third world even more painful. Third world countries have frequently asked for a review of the existing pattern in international economic relations so that economic life can be based on justice and partnership. All of us are required to redouble our efforts and muster the political will to bring about an economic order that is both effective and just.

122. Our alarm is due to the absence of any encouraging signs in the international economic climate and the tendency among some countries to solve their economic problems in isolation. This development is likely to increase the existing discrepancies. Relevant to this issue are the claims made by some industrialized countries that call into question the efficiency of economic aid through international organizations. This is one of the major reasons for the acute crisis facing UNDP, which is suffering a serious depletion of financial resources because of the decrease in the voluntary contributions of the donor countries, a situation that has led to a 40 per cent reduction in country programmes for developing nations. This is bound to have an adverse effect on the economic and social development programmes of those countries, not to mention the negative effects in discrediting the concept of co-operation and interdependence, the mainstay of the United Nations.

123. Some of the issues discussed within the framework of the North-South dialogue have assumed special significance and urgency; we must therefore act vigorously in dealing with them and seeking the necessary solutions. In addition to those issues is the question of global negotiations for restructuring the international economic order. Consultations over those negotiations have now entered their third year, but we are still going through a vicious circle of suggestions and counter-suggestions, a circle that has not yet been broken.

124. Nevertheless, we are still hopeful that the parties can find a common ground to permit the realization of this objective, provided that the political will emerges among some parties to forge ahead towards genuine reform of the international economic order.

125. The Group of 77 has made strenuous efforts to get the North-South global negotiations going, and to make the negotiations comprehensive as well as complementary. This goal, regrettably, has not been realized because of the rigid position taken by some industrialized countries. We see no alternative to stepped-up efforts to induce more flexibility among the industrialized nations in their attitude towards the problems of the developing nations. The international community is increasingly convinced of the need to review and change the current pattern of international economic relations and to establish it on a basis of equity, partnership and international interdependence.

126. The developing nations have spared no effort in providing an impetus to economic co-operation among themselves and in establishing the principle of individual and collective self-reliance. The Caracas Programme of Action⁸ is undoubtedly a positive step towards more balanced economic relations between North and South. A general review of the meetings that have taken place from the time of the Caracas meeting, in May 1981, to the Manila meeting, in August of this year, sheds some light on the efforts made and the genuine desire on the part of the developing nations, despite their limited resources, to ensure the success of the Caracas Programme of Action, and to ensure both sound implementation and continuing economic co-operation among themselves.

127. Egypt is very interested in extending its economic relations with developing nations. We believe in such co-operation, especially technical co-operation. Technical and expertise exchange programmes have been instituted, together with the provision of scholarships and training for students and trainees from various developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

128. As a non-aligned and non-nuclear country with a keen interest in international security and development, Egypt has a well-established position based on full support of and effective participation in all efforts and measures leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

129. The convening of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament this year was an event of tremendous significance to which mankind pinned its hopes for peace. Thus, our disappointment was all the greater because at that session the Assembly failed to agree on a comprehensive programme for disarmament within a specific time-frame, including specific and effective measures to halt the arms race, nuclear and conventional. By that failure an excellent opportunity was missed for realizing the goal of disarmament and thereby guaranteeing a safe and peaceful world.

130. The failure of that session, however, should not lead us to give up hope. Armed with a persistent political will, we the Governments and peoples should be able to proceed towards narrowing the gap between the various positions. And here we would like to underline that the nuclear Powers, especially the super-Powers, have a special responsibility, emanating from their international obligations to ensure world peace and security, over and above the collective responsibility of all States in this regard.

131. Egypt will work tirelessly in contributing to the achievement of peace all over the world, and especially in the Middle East. In that connection, Egypt has launched an initiative for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and has been pursuing means to implement it for the last eight years.

132. The declaration of the Middle East as a nuclear-weapon-free zone would be a major element in lessening tension and eliminating instability in the area. Appropriate measures would be needed to determine the best approach to that goal.

133. Egypt has suggested that the Secretary-General send a special representative to meet the parties con-

cerned in the area to explore their views on means of achieving this goal. That proposal still constitutes for us an important step in this direction. The establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East would undoubtedly contribute to the security of the Mediterranean and would enhance African security as it relates to the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa and to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

134. More than a year after its accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Egypt reaffirms its dedication and commitment to ensuring international respect for the objectives of the Treaty, believing that it can contribute to the search for an effective system of non-proliferation and to ensuring the right of all States to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. In this connection, we strongly support the position of the non-aligned countries in insisting on iron-clad guarantees of the protection of the security of non-nuclear countries. In addition, nuclear Powers must give assurances to those countries that nuclear weapons will not be used against them. Now that non-nuclear countries signatories to the Treaty have fulfilled their obligations, Egypt stresses the need for nuclear Powers to abide by their commitments under the Treaty.

135. It is abundantly clear that the international situation, because of the conflicts with which it is plagued or because of wars actually being waged, demonstrates that no partial approach of dealing with a single problem in isolation from others—whether it be disarmament, the new economic order or collective security—will provide an effective remedy for the problems connected with the international political system. This leads me to reiterate our earlier proposal on the convening of a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of a thorough review of the entire international political system and the role of the United Nations. This would help us to fulfil our responsibility to establish an international political system that is more just and more secure.

136. As an African country, Egypt is passing through the same crucial stage as the rest of Africa. We see attempts to circumvent the United Nations plan for Namibia, the persistence of *apartheid* in South Africa, the grave situation in the Horn of Africa and disagreement over the question of Western Sahara. Moreover, the pursuit of certain reckless policies poses a threat to the unity of Africa and to the territorial integrity of its States and the security of its peoples. We are aware of the predicament with which the OAU has been faced, ever since the thirty-eighth session of the Council of Ministers, which was held in February in Addis Ababa, in connection with the question of the membership of Western Sahara. That question has given rise to disagreement within the ranks of the OAU, threatening its very survival. However, impelled by our deep conviction and belief in African unity and by our interest in the continuing viability of the OAU, we in Egypt have adopted a firm position, namely, that differences, no matter how deep and extensive, can be solved in a spirit of reconciliation, in the true African tradition. We in Egypt are confident of the ability of Africa to exercise African wisdom and to resolve those differences that arose last February and interrupted the work of the OAU at a time when the

need for co-ordinated and collective action, though the African organization was more pressing than ever before.

137. Foremost among African problems is the situation in southern Africa, where South Africa continues to defy the international community by intensifying its policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, which have been condemned by all mankind, irrespective of creed, ideology or religion. Egypt strongly supports all international resolutions calling for sanctions against South Africa until it desists from the policies that flout the elementary principles of human rights. Furthermore, Egypt urges all States to participate effectively in the application of such sanctions.

138. We condemn the racist policies of South Africa and its colonialist policy in Namibia. Although four years have passed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which sets forth the United Nations plan for the peaceful settlement of the matter, the region has not yet achieved its independence, because of the intransigence of the colonialist racist Pretoria régime.

139. We are all only too aware of the lengths to which SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, has gone in its efforts to adopt a reasonable attitude and to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem. We are all familiar with the manoeuvres of South Africa designed to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and to set up a quisling régime there.

140. SWAPO and the African States have experienced the bitterness of frustration created by such endless manoeuvres. The latest of those manoeuvres occurred only a few weeks ago. After the Western contact group had sent the letter concerning the agreement reached on constitutional principles,⁹ the Prime Minister of South Africa came up with a new stratagem to obstruct agreement by introducing elements extraneous to the question of Namibia and also to the United Nations plan. We call upon the Western contact group to exercise all types of pressure on South Africa to induce it to implement the United Nations plan which it approved in principle in 1978.

141. In talking about Africa I cannot refrain from emphasizing one of the most serious problems in the continent's history, namely, that of Western Sahara. The resolution adopted at the eighteenth session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in June 1981 in Nairobi,¹⁰ and the decisions adopted in August 1981¹¹ and February 1982 [see A/37/570/Rev.2] by the OAU Implementation Committee provide a sound basis for a peaceful settlement that would ensure stability in the area in accordance with the right to self-determination. The subsequent negative developments in the attempt to impose new conditions without consensus have not only complicated the question of Western Sahara but also threatened political life in the continent.

142. We appeal to our brother countries parties to the problem before the OAU to seek a peaceful approach to conflicts and to avoid recourse to force. We consider it our duty to call for adherence to the charter of the OAU, which forbids intervention in the internal affairs of member States. We also call upon

them to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the security of their peoples.

143. While reviewing the situation in Africa I should like to convey some good news to the international community about an important event that will take place in a few days. Egypt and the Sudan are concluding a new charter for integration, a charter formulating an organizational and substantive framework and reflecting the political will of the two countries to step up their development through the implementation of a number of projects in the economic, social and cultural spheres. The charter provides for a presidential council for integration affairs, a "Valley of the Nile" parliament with about 60 members representing the two peoples, a general secretariat to act as the executive arm in following up integration projects and a special fund to finance those projects.

144. The goal of the integration and its charter is to establish regional co-operation as a model and a nucleus that could, in the future, encompass the nine countries of the Nile Basin. It should be recalled that in 1980 the OAU Assembly endorsed the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Development of Africa,¹² when they decided that African regional co-operation constituted an indispensable basis for social and economic development in Africa. The integration plan concluded by Egypt and the Sudan is fully in keeping with the Lagos plan. It is indeed a good omen, heralding welfare and prosperity for the peoples of the Nile Valley, north and south alike.

145. As a founding member of the non-aligned movement, Egypt declares that there is no alternative to the policy of non-alignment. Non-alignment is the sole means of safeguarding the security and the safety of the third world and of facing the policies of polarization, blocs, pacts and confrontation. Non-alignment is incontestably the only deterrent to policies of hegemony, expansion and domination. The non-aligned movement was established in response to the aspirations of emerging nations which had barely left behind the struggle for liberation. The movement also includes peoples and nations which are still locked in a bitter struggle to liquidate the remnants of colonialism, overcome dependence, backwardness and racism and defend human rights and dignity.

146. The active and historic role played by the early pioneers and founders of the movement deserves a special tribute from all of us. Today we recall the guidance of great, inspired leaders such as Tito, Nehru and Abdel Nasser, who charted for us the lofty goals and noble means for success. We feel that the values and principles which they struggled for are in need of further defence and further sustained efforts if they are to retain their authenticity, purity and essence.

147. Indeed, much has been achieved. The movement now has a wider membership, as it comprises the majority of the States in the international community. But as opposed to these achievements, a number of problems have unfortunately arisen, the most serious of which are those affecting the ranks of the countries of the movement.

148. We have faced direct and indirect intervention in the internal affairs of the non-aligned countries. We have experienced military adventures and power politics exercised directly or by proxy. The movement has been infiltrated by a tendency to divide the world into natural allies and natural enemies. Furthermore, the movement has been arbitrarily over-categorized and over-stratified, which has deepened differences and dissension, distracting the movement and sapping its energy.

149. The challenges facing the movement make it necessary that all of us who have an interest in preserving its non-aligned character should try to keep it on course. It gives me great pleasure to note that within the movement the situation is far better than it was a few years ago. This is to the credit of the member States, which for the most part have resolutely defended that great body and respected its true principles in order to put non-alignment back on its original track in facing the perils of the cold war between the super-Powers. Experience has taught us that it is the small and developing countries that generally and ultimately bear the brunt and the consequences of that cold war.

150. The basic principle of our great movement, to which President Hosni Mubarak reaffirms his commitment, is for us a firm creed and a constant element of our foreign policy under the new leadership of Egypt.

151. It would be appropriate to acknowledge here the efforts that have been made recently to save the movement from fragmentation owing to the insistence of some countries on changing the venue of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was scheduled to be held in Baghdad. We welcome the constructive attitude of the Iraqi Government in not insisting on Baghdad as the venue, and also thank the Government of India for agreeing to host the meeting; we urge, so that the non-aligned countries can pursue the positive approach they have chosen.

152. Recently the Middle East has been the theatre of very tragic events, being subjected to devastating wars and unprecedented waves of destruction. But despite all the anguish, hopes of a just settlement that takes into account the rights of all the parties without exception have not yet been extinguished. Egypt, which bears a special responsibility in this area, was in the forefront of the battlefield when war was the only means of dealing with the situation. Similarly, Egypt was in the front line of negotiators when the time was propitious and the balance was redressed.

153. Egypt most emphatically cannot afford to accept a situation in which one party to the conflict arrogates to itself the role of arbiter, waging wars, wreaking havoc and committing aggression. Egypt will never accept Israeli aggression against Iraq, its annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights or its occupation of Lebanon. Egypt totally rejects Israel's utterly irresponsible policy of unbridled aggression against the Palestinian people and the PLO.

154. Israel must understand that Egypt will never tolerate the mutilation of the Palestinian question or of the Palestinian people and that Egypt rejects Israel's

crime in Lebanon and against the Palestinians in all its aspects.

155. If Israel demands respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity and security, this can be achieved only with reciprocity. If Israel demands respect for its rights and the rights of its people to life and existence, Israel must respect the rights of the Palestinian people to life and existence.

156. There should be no double standards. Israeli policies should not be based on considerations of self-arrogated privileges over other countries and peoples. This should be unequivocally clear to the leaders of Israel. In this context, Israel stands fully responsible for all its actions. Israel, under the provisions of the Charter, the norms of international law, the resolutions of the Security Council and the provisions of the peace accords, is committed to respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is their right to life, to existence and to self-determination.

157. If Israel does not understand, or chooses not to understand, it will have shunned international legality, flouted the Charter, disregarded the norms of international law and, indeed, repudiated the peace accords.

158. However, if Israel still relies on its security argument, we, for our part, assert in all candour that such claims defy logic and reason. Israel's security lies, in a word, in the establishment of peace based on justice. No amount of weapons, money, manoeuvres, invasion, attempts to establish settlements, or displacement of thousands of human beings is going to bring security to Israel. Peace means security for all, based on justice for all. This is the only road to security and stability.

159. When Egypt initiated the peace process with President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem it was destined to achieve the following objectives: First, Israel's recognition of the existence of the Palestinian people and the existence of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Secondly, Israel's acceptance of negotiations with the representatives of the Palestinian people. Thirdly, free election of a Palestinian authority to assume power fully in the occupied Palestinian territories as a transitional arrangement. Fourthly, the withdrawal of the Israeli military and civilian administration from the occupied territories, as well as the beginning of the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces, the remaining forces to be redeployed during the transitional phase to specific points and camps. Fifthly, initiation of negotiations between the Israelis and Palestinians on the final status of the occupied West Bank and Gaza. This meant, in other words, a total rejection of Israel's expansionist, annexationist and sovereignty claims as well as of any unilateral or arbitrary measure. Sixthly, it is inevitable that the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its right to self-determination, including the right to establish its own State or any other arrangement accepted by the Palestinian people within the framework of international legitimacy.

160. As all delegations are aware, Egypt has been engaged in negotiations with Israel with the full participation of the United States of America to help establish transitional arrangements that would assist in accomplishing those legitimate objectives. Egypt

entered into these negotiations in good faith, motivated by the hope of an early dawn of peace and anticipating that Israel, too, would pursue that path and co-operate in implementing the agreements towards comprehensive peace.

161. However, Israel opted to persist in establishing settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories in an attempt to seize and usurp the territories of the West Bank, including Jerusalem and Gaza. Again, Israel persisted in annexing Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights and in adopting other measures that conflict with the confidence-building endeavours required to establish a comprehensive peace in the area.

162. This has culminated in the suspension of those negotiations more than once. Needless to say, Egypt, committed as it is to a firm national stand based on and reinforced by the rules of international law and the principles and the purposes of the Charter, cannot accept such distorted interpretations of accords reached under international legality. Egypt cannot associate itself with a conspiracy against the Palestinian people through any unsound interpretation or equivocal intentions or designs aimed at annexation, incorporation and other practices directed against the Palestinians in Jerusalem, the West Bank or Gaza.

163. In the wake of Israel's complete withdrawal from Egyptian territory on 25 April 1982, hope still lingered and did not fade. We expected that Israel would be serious this time in the continuation of the peace process. Allow me here to emphasize the fact that Egypt views the withdrawal from Sinai as only part of a settlement of the overall problem and as a step on a long, tedious road. Unfortunately, Israel dissipated all hopes through persistence in its policies, unacceptable by any logic or reason. Then came the devastating aggression on Lebanon, which has been both a staggering blow to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and a flagrant violation of the political and human rights of its citizens, whose lives have been severely disrupted. The invasion has also painfully disrupted the structure of the Palestinian community in Lebanon which, owing to displacement and dispersion, had been forced to take temporary shelter in Lebanon. The invasion was planned also to abolish the political and national rights of the Palestinian people and to stifle its struggle under the leadership of the PLO.

164. Against this background, Egypt and France presented a joint initiative in the Security Council last July. The draft resolution contained two parts, the first providing for guarantees of the sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon and the second dealing with and supporting the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people against the armed Israeli invasion. It called for the application of the principles of security in order to:

“Reaffirm the right of all States in the region to existence and security in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967);

“Reaffirm the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination with all its implications, on the understanding that to this end the Palestinian people shall be represented in the negotiations and, con-

sequently, the Palestine Liberation Organization shall be associated therein;

“Call for the mutual and simultaneous recognition of the parties concerned”.²

165. This is the political, historical context and rationale of that initiative. Egypt and France strongly uphold their initiative and reiterate full commitment to its principles in the deep conviction that its provisions stem from the rules of international law and the principles and purposes of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. While solemnly stating this position, Egypt also declares that in the light of the agreement reached with France at the highest level, we shall defer our participation in the debate on this initiative at the present time, taking into consideration a number of positive developments in the overall situation and also in anticipation of future developments. In this context, we wish to welcome the PLO's statement in the Security Council on 29 July 1982.¹³

166. Foremost among those positive developments is President Ronald Reagan's initiative made public on 1 September 1982. It is a commendable attitude on the part of the American Administration. Its analysis of the situation in the Middle East is sound, and that is why the United States is urged to take a firmer stand concerning the grave developments resulting from the Israeli policy in Lebanon, Beirut in particular, the Palestinian problem and the problem of the Middle East in general.

167. We welcome the initiative, which contains many positive elements and constitutes a major step towards a just solution of the Palestinian problem and a fair and comprehensive settlement. Meanwhile, we have some comments to make on parts of this initiative which we hope will be considered by the United States Administration. There will certainly be ample time and opportunity for such reconsideration when discussions start with the parties concerned. However, what is essential in the final analysis is that sustained efforts be made to give effect to this initiative as quickly as possible, before it is overtaken by events or eroded by manoeuvres such as those we have witnessed recently.

168. At the same time we urge the Government of Israel to reconsider its negative attitude to the Reagan initiative, to respect the framework of international legality by ceasing the establishment of settlements and desisting from its policies of annexation and assimilation and to treat the population of the West Bank, including east Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention. We urge Israel not to adopt an inflexible attitude but to respond positively to the appeal made by the highest authority in the United States.

169. We also urge the PLO to reassess the present situation in all its aspects, re-examine our suggestion for simultaneous mutual recognition, and reaffirm its adherence to all the United Nations resolutions relevant to the question of Palestine, in order to facilitate a dialogue with the United States, thus enabling the PLO to participate in the dialogue with all the parties directly concerned with this question. In turn, such a dialogue would enable the American Administration to communicate on a basis of equality with all the parties concerned.

170. In that context, we appreciate the statement made by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, to the effect that he accepts all United Nations resolutions relevant to the question of Palestine. We consider this statement to be a step in the right direction. This attitude deserves respect and encouragement, as it reflects a sound appraisal and understanding of the situation and its imperatives.

171. There was yet another development when the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference adopted unanimously another peace plan on 8 September 1982 [see A/37/696]. Some might take issue with one or other aspect of the plan, but many positive elements in it cannot be overlooked or minimized. Also, the political significance implicit in a consensus among Arab heads of State or Government on such a plan should not be overlooked. The Arabs have spoken with one voice in Fez, opting in clear and unequivocal terms for a comprehensive peace based on justice. The Arab States are willing to pursue the course of a negotiated peaceful settlement based on mutual recognition.

172. The principles and broad outline embodied in the Fez resolutions constitute an acceptable basis for negotiation. They may require mechanisms or procedures, executive preparatory measures or transitional arrangements, but, taken with the other existing initiatives, the Fez resolutions are capable of being translated into a practical, just and acceptable form.

173. By the same token, I have to reiterate that Egypt does not exclude any other initiative designed to make it possible to forge ahead towards a just, peaceful and comprehensive settlement. In this connection, reference should be made to the European initiative, the Romanian initiative, the Soviet initiative and the ideas put forward by the Secretary-General.

174. By a natural process of association, talking about Fez leads me to touch on Egyptian-Arab relations. Egypt has been intrinsically an Arab country for the past 14 centuries. The genuinely Arab character of Egypt can be neither made nor unmade by a decision. Egypt is far beyond being affected by one country and régime, or a number of countries and régimes, which may call into question its genuine Arab character. The Arabism of Egypt, metaphorically speaking, is like a tree, deeply rooted for 14 centuries, watered by the blood of the martyrs who have fallen in battle in defence of Palestinian rights on many occasions, indicating the position of Egypt as it has stood firmly for Arab rights from Morocco to the Gulf States, from the turn of this century until today.

175. We may have disagreed with some of our brothers, and we may still be in disagreement, over a number of issues but we call upon Arab countries to stand united in the face of the crucial challenges confronting the entire Arab nation today. Egypt will continue to exert every effort to that end. We are confident that Arab solidarity will surmount those Arab differences and disputes.

176. I have talked at some length about the situation in the Middle East and the Palestinian problem, the core of that conflict, and in conclusion I should like to tackle two important points. The first relates to the deteriorating conditions in Lebanon. The situation is

still fraught with danger; it still threatens to explode, engulfing Lebanon and spreading beyond. We in Egypt reject the claim that the continuing Israeli occupation is a necessity or that it protects anybody. The existence in Lebanon of foreign military occupation resulting from invasion would be the principal cause of any further deterioration. We maintain our unshakable belief that the solution lies in the withdrawal of the Israeli invasion forces from all Lebanese territory to its internationally recognized borders.

177. All foreign forces must withdraw from Lebanon, but the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces should neither be conditional on nor relate to any other presence. Israel must realize by now that its view concerning the situation in the Middle East is erroneous, that its understanding of conditions in Lebanon is superficial. It results not from any understanding of reality but from the arrogance of power. The presence of Israel in Lebanon will not lead to stability in that country but will, rather, intensify the waste and destruction there. That may be what Israel wants; it is certainly what Israel is accomplishing. But Israel will not long escape the consequences, unless it hastens to correct the situation, unless its wise men or its friends correct the situation, before the opportunity is missed and it is too late.

178. We urge the United States, the super-Power that is in a position effectively to influence several situations in the area, and which is providing Israel with the tools of power and the means of life, to restrain Israel without delay, as President Eisenhower did in 1957.

179. Israel dishonoured all its pledges and guarantees under the agreement reached on the withdrawal of PLO forces from Beirut when Israeli troops pushed into west Beirut and inside the refugee camps of innocent Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila unleashing their henchmen and lackeys, murderers and assassins to butcher children, babies, women and elderly men who were under the protection of the Israeli occupation army, on a dark day of shame for Israel.

180. The basic solution to the Lebanese problem lies in respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and Arab character of Lebanon, the unity of its people and Government and the safeguarding of the rights of all its citizens on a basis of equality, coexistence and co-operation.

181. At the same time, we advise our brothers in Lebanon, irrespective of their creed, affiliations, aspirations or position, to make the unity of their State and their people their highest concern. They are required to stand united in these crucial moments to enable Lebanon to weather this stormy crisis and restore their country to its traditional pride and traditional prosperity. In this connection, Egypt wishes all success to President Amin Gemayel, Lebanon's new President, in his challenging mandate, and hopes that his election will be a major step towards stability, independence and the termination of foreign occupation.

182. I have touched on the painful events taking place in the heart of the Arab world. On its eastern frontiers, a ferocious war between Iran and Iraq has entered its third year posing grave perils to the sta-

bility, resources and the well-being of the Middle East.

183. We know all about the latest of the repeated Iranian invasions of Iraq. We are also familiar with Iran's rejection of all attempts at a settlement and of all peace mediations. Iran, instead, is determined to continue the war against Iraq. Iraq has already withdrawn or at least is ready to withdraw from all Iranian territory. Iraq has also made public its readiness to accept peace mediations and its responsiveness to efforts for a settlement. We call upon the Iranian Government to opt for peace and to revoke all claims that could engender conflicts and rekindle the conflagration.

184. As an Arab country which believes in the territorial integrity of the Arab nation, and confident of the Government of Iraq's acceptance of peace initiatives, Egypt declares that it will support Iraq in defence of the Iraqi people and territory.

185. Peace for Egypt is a profound conviction and a full commitment. Consequently, despite the colossal obstacles obstructing our path towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, Egypt will never resign itself to despair, but will persist unwaveringly in exerting all efforts to achieve a peace based on justice, which alone can ensure permanence and continuity.

186. Egypt's commitment to peace is not exclusive, but transcends the Middle East to spread to other regions of the world. Egyptian positions on world issues emanate from one consistent and constant principle. We call for the peaceful settlement of disputes through dialogue and negotiation, and through respect for international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

187. These are our expectations and aspirations. They are not dreams, because through our common and concerted efforts, they could be translated into realities of life, to help create a better world for our posterity and all future generations.

188. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure to congratulate Mr. Hollai on his unanimous election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and to wish him success in his noble mission. I am confident that his ability, experience and wisdom will lead to the desired success of our work at this session. My country's delegation will do its utmost to co-operate with him towards that end, especially since the development of cordial relations between our two countries will render our co-operation closer and more comprehensive.

189. I wish to laud the achievements of the outgoing President, Mr. Ismat Kittani, during whose tenure the General Assembly held several special and emergency special sessions, in addition to the regular thirty-sixth session. Mr. Kittani conducted the work of the various sessions in an efficient manner that is worthy of our full appreciation and praise.

190. I also laud the Secretary-General, during whose term of office we hope that the Organization will take longer strides towards the attainment of its purposes and objectives.

191. The present session is being held at a time when our international community is facing extremely difficult circumstances. Danger is threatening around every corner. Hotbeds of tension and acts of violence and aggression are intensifying and expanding, in the Middle East in particular, but also in Asia, Africa and Latin America. All these situations pose a major threat to international peace and security.

192. There is no doubt that the imperialist camp is directly responsible for the intensification of tension and aggression in and against those continents. It wants to use those countries as a testing ground for its lethal arms so that those countries will remain helpless, the victims of ruin and destruction. By the same token, their peoples will remain backward and unable to catch up with the achievements of civilization. The imperialists wish to keep a vast domain at their disposal for exploitation, both political and economic. Needless to say, neo-colonialism has perfected its methods and techniques in this field.

193. The imperialist camp is spending hundreds of billions of dollars on arsenals of war and destruction. This is at a time when 600 million human beings on our planet are suffering from malnutrition, when 1.5 billion people are without shelter or are living in tragic circumstances, and when more than one quarter of the world's children are deprived of education and proper nutrition. It would have been far better for those many billions spent on menacing humanity with a horrible world massacre to have been spent on meeting the needs of the poor countries and raising the living standards of their peoples.

194. Most of the statements delivered at the second special session on disarmament last June portrayed a tragic picture of today's world. They urgently and sincerely drew attention to the dangers facing humanity because of the uncontrollable armaments problem. They also pointed to the gloomy fate awaiting all mankind. They expressed the desire of the non-nuclear countries—which constitute the great majority of the world community—to protect themselves against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. They called for the banning of nuclear tests and for a halt to the manufacture of chemical and biological weapons and the destruction of the present stockpiles. They advocated the establishment of zones of peace, as well as nuclear-free zones in the Middle East, Africa, South-East Asia and other parts of the world.

195. None the less, despite all these sincere and continuing calls and appeals, we are in fact witnessing the transfer to the aggressor countries of the most sophisticated equipment of aggression. We can see that internationally banned weapons are being used. The world has recently witnessed tens of thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese citizens—mostly children, women and elderly people—falling victim to cluster bombs, vacuum bombs and nerve gases made in the United States of America, during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its capital, Beirut.

196. Domination, exploitation, the plundering of national resources, persecution, aggression and the protection of the aggressor have become the rules guiding the conduct of imperialist, racist and Zionist forces in international relations. Most States Members of the United Nations and the world public have

declared that international peace and security cannot be realized and stabilized until the principles of the Charter and international law replace the law of the jungle, and unless injustice, persecution and oppression are eliminated and all forms of racism, including zionism, are uprooted, unless peoples regain their usurped rights, and unless colonialism, neo-colonialism, domination, hegemony and the plundering of the peoples' national resources are eradicated root and branch. We thus consider that the international community must strive to realize the following objectives if we want to attain a better world, free from the tragedies and woes of war.

197. First, colonialism and neo-colonialism and all forms of racism and racial discrimination must be eliminated.

198. Secondly, in relations among countries, sovereignty and the rule of international law and the principles of right, justice and equity, including respect for the principle of the peoples' right to self-determination, must be consolidated. This would eliminate hegemony, oppression and aggression and remove the immediate and secondary causes of international crises and problems.

199. Thirdly, the United Nations must be strengthened so as to prevent it from becoming immobilized and so as to affirm the credibility and effectiveness of its resolutions and enhance its capabilities to address and solve various issues, guided by the Charter and the principles for which it was created.

200. Fourthly, the spectre of the cold war and of international tension must be banished and the mad race in both conventional and nuclear weapons halted, and we must persist in our efforts to ban the production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons.

201. Fifthly, an economic world order based on the relevant General Assembly resolution must be established, in order to bridge the great gap and remove the major discrepancies between the advanced and developing countries and to create a greater balance in relations between the developed countries and third world countries.

202. A review of the current international situation shows very clearly the great distance separating the present status of international affairs from the status we desire and hope for. We notice, rather, that problems are increasing and being further complicated and that sources of tension in the world are being dangerously aggravated and becoming a serious threat to international peace and security.

203. The racist régime in Pretoria, like the racist Zionist régime in Palestine, has not only detonated explosive situations of conflict and tension, but its practices have always been an affront to humanity and a blot on its history. The peoples of South Africa and Namibia are still being made to labour under the yoke of injustice and colonialism by the racist minority régime. The Organization must take a firm stand in confronting the conspiracies and manipulations of the imperialist forces, in order to save those peoples from their enslavers and oppressors by supporting and backing their national liberation movements and by extending to them effective material aid in their struggle for their rights to self-deter-

mination, independence and national sovereignty and in order to deter that racist régime from persisting in its acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, particularly Angola. We appeal to the Security Council to take the measures provided for in the Charter in order to put an end to this régime and to its practices and acts of aggression.

204. The Assembly is still considering an item on the situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security. It is our opinion that the Afghan Government has the right to defend the independence of Afghanistan against all types of outside intervention in its internal affairs. We have close historical and cultural relations with Afghanistan; moreover it is a member of the non-aligned movement, and we are keen that it should always remain so. The Afghan people are fully entitled to choose their own system of government. We therefore attach great importance to the conducting of negotiations between the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and its neighbours in order to achieve peaceful solutions that would guarantee the security and stability of that region and preserve the unity, independence and non-alignment of Afghanistan.

205. The question of Cyprus is at a standstill to this very day despite the number of years that have passed since it first arose. We sincerely hope that negotiations between the two Cypriot communities will resume under the auspices of the Secretary-General, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

206. The problem of the unification of Korea is still unsolved, despite the new initiative and proposals submitted by the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. We support the unification of Korea on the just and practical bases suggested by the Pyong Yang Government.

207. A sad and regrettable war took place in the South Atlantic. The question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) awaits discussion during this session of the General Assembly. We call for the resumption of negotiations between the two parties concerned, namely, Argentina and the United Kingdom, under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to find a peaceful settlement based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and the principles of the Charter. The efforts of the Secretary-General in this respect are both necessary and desirable in order to facilitate the realization of the desired peaceful settlement.

208. The dangerous and tragic situation in the Middle East clearly reflects the disruption which the international community has undergone as a result of the constant Israeli aggression. The tragedy of the Palestinian people and the whole Middle East region dates back to the establishment of Israel on the soil of Palestine. Much suffering and bleeding continue as a result of the plots of world zionism to establish a racist empire starting in Palestine and extending to other parts of the Arab world, defined by the Zionist doctrine as being from the Nile to the Euphrates—an empire that would dominate the Middle East and control the international situation through such hegemony, because of the strategic and economic

importance of the Middle East, which is the meeting point for three continents in the heart of the Old World, adjacent to the strategic interests of the great Powers, in addition to the known huge energy reserves and revenues of this region.

209. The Zionist peril, with its racialist nature and expansionist aims, is not confined to the Arab world. It has, rather, become a growing, immediate danger jeopardizing the security and interests of all the peoples of the world.

210. World zionism is plotting to become, through its control of the region and its natural resources—energy ranking foremost—a force controlling this basic commodity and forcing the world to deal with the region through it. This explains the aggressive attitude of world zionism and its base, Israel, built on a permanent callous contempt of the nations, organizations and international institutions of the world.

211. From the beginning of this year, Israel has refused to implement the following Security Council resolutions: 497 (1981), and resolutions 508 (1982), 509 (1982), 511 (1982) to 513 (1982) and 515 (1982) to 521 (1982). It has also refused to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly passed at its special emergency sessions this year. All this should be added to the long list of United Nations and other international resolutions.

212. The Arab Palestinian people have paid a very dear price for the scandalous collusion between British imperialism in Palestine and world zionism, which led to opening the gates of Palestine for Jewish immigration and facilitating the establishment of Israel at the expense of the Arab Palestinian people and their homeland. The Palestinians are still being forced to continue to pay the price in the form of expulsion and mass murder. They still suffer from homelessness, deprived of their lands and their homes. They still aspire, with great yearning and determination, to the restoration of the homeland which has been usurped and the rights which have been violated. The Arabs have paid very dearly for the collusion between world zionism and the Western countries, which have renounced all their commitments towards the Arabs and supported the establishment of the Hebrew State, extending to it all means of aggression.

213. In 1948 the Israelis introduced the slogan of "negotiating peace with the Arabs" and under this false pretext occupied the demilitarized zone, which was under Arab control and supervision. In 1967, under the motto of "security", the Israelis launched the June aggression and then began to build settlements in the newly occupied Arab territories. Now they demand security for these settlements, built on the occupied Arab lands, contrary to international instruments, the principles of international law and United Nations resolutions.

214. Israel has refused to implement all international resolutions calling for its withdrawal from the Arab lands that it occupied in 1967, and it has rejected all peace initiatives, including the American initiatives. It rejected and foiled both the Jarring and Rogers initiatives. All international efforts to determine the borders of the State of Israel have failed. A number of Israeli leaders have introduced an insolent, dangerous and arrogant definition of borders, unpre-

cedented in history, by declaring that Israel's borders stretch to wherever the Israeli soldier can reach. Such a definition simply means continued aggression and constant expansion until the dreams of world zionism are achieved by the establishment of the Zionist empire in the Arab world. In a notorious statement, reminiscent of the Nazi concepts which were denounced by all mankind, the Israeli Minister of Defence states that he believes that Israel's *lebensraum* will stretch to include Pakistan in the east and North African countries in the west.

215. On 14 December 1981 Israel's Knesset enacted a "law" annexing the Syrian Golan Heights. This annexation was rejected by the Security Council in its resolution 497 (1981) and by the General Assembly in resolution ES-9/1 of 5 February 1982 at its ninth emergency special session. During this year Israel's threats against the Arab countries and Palestinian people have escalated. Israel has continued to pursue its aggressive policy by bombarding Lebanon's towns and villages, and the whole world knows about the savagery of Israel's shelling of Beirut, which killed hundreds of innocent victims. On 4 June Israel's army launched an all-out attack on Lebanon, preceded by air and sea raids on various Lebanese areas.

216. Despite Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), the Israeli invaders continued their advance till they besieged Beirut and unleashed on it an inferno of bombs from the air, land and sea in a way unprecedented in the history of war. In one day the Lebanese capital was hit by over 250,000 Israeli bombs and rockets, as reported by the world news agencies at the time.

217. In this war, the Israelis killed tens of thousands of people, mostly civilians—women, children and elderly people. They also displaced hundreds of thousands and destroyed villages, towns and civilian installations. Even hospitals and places of worship were not spared. They used internationally banned weapons. And all this came under the title of "Peace for Galilee".

218. A survey of Israeli decisions, together with the statements of Israeli leaders, shows us that the aggression on Lebanon had the following objectives: first, to liquidate the PLO and displace the Palestinians anew; secondly, to control Lebanon through what they call the establishment of "a strong Government", as if any Government installed by foreign occupation can ever be "strong"; thirdly, to impose a "peace treaty" on the State of Lebanon; fourthly, to usurp parts of Lebanon—witness Israel's current measures in the occupied Lebanese territory, where attempts are under way to plunder the waters of the Litani river and to create a new settlement; and, fifthly, to deal a military blow to Syria, and weaken it in order to weaken Arab resistance to Israeli aggression, since Syria is the base and pivot of this resistance.

219. To realize those aims, Israel began its invasion of Lebanon, in which tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese were massacred and towns and villages were destroyed. To realize those aims, Israel's forces entered Beirut, in spite of an agreement arranged by President Reagan's envoy, Mr. Philip Habib, in spite of the United States guarantees that the Israeli forces, after the implementation of the agreement, would never

enter Beirut, and although we were repeatedly informed that the Israeli forces would start withdrawing from around Beirut as a first step towards complete withdrawal.

220. Then came the horrible massacre perpetrated by the Israeli forces of occupation in the refugee camps of Sabra, Shatila and other localities. Israeli forces beat, burned and massacred more than 1,400 innocent Palestinian citizens, mostly women and children, in a bloodbath reminiscent of the massacre of Deir Yassin, perpetrated by Begin on 9 April 1947. This horrible carnage, which exceeds all the crimes of nazism, confirms that a genocidal war of extermination is being waged by Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese people before the very eyes of the whole world.

221. The storming of Beirut and the horrible massacre committed there despite the aforementioned agreement, and despite American pledges, calls into question the value and credibility of the guarantees given by a super-Power like the United States of America. It also casts grave doubts on the validity of such guarantees whenever Israel is involved in a problem.

222. The practices of the leaders of Israel show that they are indeed a terrorist gang that has not learned the lessons of history. They have not learned from past records, nor do they wish to understand the present or future. Crime has blotted out their vision, and racism has completely blurred their perception of the present and the future.

223. Those leaders must realize that the Arab masses, which throughout history have gone into battle for their cause and their dignity, will not be cowed by Israeli terrorism or by the crimes of the Israeli leaders. They must realize that sooner or later they will pay a high price for the hideous crimes they have committed and commit still, and that a just punishment will be inflicted sooner or later. Never in history has a tyrant escaped punishment. The crimes the Israelis are committing against the Arab nations will only strengthen our determination to resist aggression and strengthen our commitment to our cause and to final victory. We are aware that we have chosen the hard path, the path which is paved with suffering, blood and sacrifice. But we shall pursue our march regardless of the immensity of the sacrifices and the difficulties. We have no choice but to struggle to liberate our land and preserve the future of our nation. Our road is long and agonizing, the road of freedom is always difficult and bloody, but it is the road to victory.

224. The international community has rejected the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and that invasion has been condemned by all nations and peoples of the world, individually and collectively. But is that enough, in the face of this perilous situation?

225. The countries which voted in favour of admitting Israel to membership of the Organization based their approval on the Israeli pledge that Israel would be a peace-loving State, committed to the Charter and the principles of the United Nations. Are not Israel's racist crimes, its barbarous acts of aggression, its invasion of Lebanon and the war of extermination it is waging against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples enough to make those countries reconsider their attitude to that State, which was originally founded on aggression

and which has grown and expanded through aggression?

226. Another question is directed specifically to the United States of America, since it supplies the aggressors with all the means of aggression, killing and destruction in the form of the most modern products of the American arsenal. Are the Israelis committing these criminal acts to serve their racist Zionist interests or on behalf of the United States and its interests?

227. If Israel's crimes against the Arabs are not committed on behalf of the United States or its interests, why does it provide this support and backing to Israel? Why does it give Israel the most modern American aircraft and missiles, and reconnaissance, detection and jamming equipment? Why does it give Israel cluster bombs and chemical weapons, which are internationally prohibited? Is this consistent with the responsibilities of the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, under the Charter?

228. Is peace in the region and throughout the world achieved through wars, by killing tens of thousands, by rendering millions homeless and by destroying towns and villages?

229. The United States of America bears a special responsibility for all Israel's crimes and acts of aggression against the Arabs. Therefore, the United States should immediately withdraw its political and military protection from Israel and should pave the way for the international community to impose sanctions against that racist aggressor State, to end all types of assistance, including military and economic aid, and to suspend the participation of Israel in the Organization.

230. Those who have not helped in the past to isolate Israel and impose sanctions against it are today required to translate their condemnation of the aggression into punishment of the aggressor.

231. The history of the First and Second World Wars proves that condoning aggression has always encouraged the commission of further aggression. The lenient attitude towards the Nazis during the invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia encouraged them to invade Poland, an act which led to the eruption of the Second World War. Taking a lenient attitude towards the aggressor on the pretext of leaving the possibility open of persuading it to desist from its aggressive policies can lead only to more acts of aggression, more crimes and more disregard of the will of the international community.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) resumed the Chair.

232. No country in the world—either in the ancient or in the modern world—has a record as dark as Israel's. It is a record abounding in racist crimes, acts of aggression, wars and crimes against humanity. Israel has thus exceeded all the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis and the Fascist forces during the first half of this century. Recent history has not seen another aggressor like Israel, which has shelled houses with bombs of a type never before used in war, thereby killing countless innocent women, children and elderly people. A look at the destroyed, burnt and bereaved city of Beirut is proof enough of the nature of Israel and of its aims.

233. In spite of all this the Israelis still claim that they want peace. Is that any different from what the Nazis

used to say when they were destroying towns and villages and killing the innocent population, including women and children? Israelis claim they want peace; what they want is the peace of the grave.

234. Peace cannot be based on aggression, oppression, killing and destruction; nor can it be based on racist and aggressive doctrines. The Arabs believe in the importance of establishing a just and lasting peace in the region. They also understand the repercussions of events in the region on the interests and the future of the peoples of the world. But they should not have to pay a price for their belief in peace, justice and right.

235. Despite all the tragedies suffered by the Arabs as a result of the aggressive presence of the Israelis in the region, and in spite of the wars waged by Israeli troops in Lebanon against the Arab nation, at the recent Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, a peace plan was announced based on the following principles: first, complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories; secondly, recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to establish their own independent State under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative; and, thirdly, the formulation by the Security Council of the guarantees of peace. The Security Council would guarantee the implementation of these principles, which are based on two things: the relevant United Nations resolutions and the Charter, and the Arabs' conviction that peace is important and necessary for the international community.

236. In announcing these principles, which are recognized by the United Nations and by most countries of the world, the Arabs are well aware that Israel is seeking not peace based on right and justice, but rather to impose capitulation by force, aggression and oppression.

237. Today more than ever before we are confident that the Arabs will defeat the aggressor. They will struggle by all means possible to recover their rights and resist aggression, for in doing this they will be defending not only their rights, interests and dignity, but those of all other nations as well.

238. The night of the aggressor shall not weaken our struggle against aggression; it will only strengthen and consolidate this struggle. We are confident that our Arab nation, despite its present state of affairs, will concert its efforts and potential to repel aggression and injustice and to fight humiliation and subjugation.

239. The States Members of the United Nations are required today to take a clear and specific stand to protect international peace and security and to safeguard the Charter. Such a stand requires a resolution that provides for, first, ceasing all kinds of dealings between the Members of the Organization and Israel; secondly, asking the United States of America to stop all forms of military, economic and political assistance to Israel; thirdly, adopting a resolution abrogating General Assembly resolution 273 (III) of 1949 under which Israel was admitted to United Nations membership; fourthly, extending all forms of assistance and backing to the Arab countries to resist and confront the aggression.

240. A resolution to that effect would not only repel the aggression but would consolidate the role of the Organization and prevent the threat to peace and security not only in the Middle East region but also throughout the world. It is high time that the Organization adopted a practical position to face the series of Israeli acts of aggression; otherwise one would be sceptical about the usefulness of the Organization.

241. While asking all countries of the world to back up and support Arab rights, which are the victim of Israeli aggression, we renew our determination to continue the struggle by all means to defend our threatened existence and to restore our usurped rights, no matter how difficult, arduous and long our path may be. Difficulties and hardships will never hinder or restrict the struggle of the people for their liberty and dignity.

242. Mr. STENBÄCK (Finland): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of the Government of Finland on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Finns and Hungarians have a common ethnic and linguistic background spanning thousands of years. This gives a special character to our relationship which was evident during the recent visit by the President of Finland to your country. You personally bring to your high office an exceptionally long experience in, and profound understanding of, United Nations affairs. These, as well as your determination and patience, will ensure effective guidance of the Assembly's work at this particularly crucial time.

243. The Secretary-General is not only the chief administrative officer of the Organization; he is also the symbol and the guardian of its authority. In Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar the United Nations has a Secretary-General who has shown that he will perform those functions well. His strength of will—*sisu* we would call it in Finnish—combined with political realism are both necessary for fulfilling the tasks entrusted to him by the Charter.

244. The new Secretary-General has taken office at a particularly thankless time. Rarely has the international environment been less amenable to peaceful resolution of disputes by collective action through the United Nations. The Secretary-General himself has made a profound analysis of this situation and the reasons for it. His report on the work of the Organization gives a graphic description of the erosion of the authority of the Organization. His suggestions for restoring the authority and ability of the United Nations to act are of crucial importance and have the full support of my Government.

245. The viability of the collective security system, as provided for by the Charter, is of particular concern to small countries such as those comprising the Nordic group. The Government of Finland has therefore followed with growing concern the gradual weakening of the United Nations in a world of tension and strife. In a statement made in mid-August on behalf of the Government of Finland, I had occasion to expound on that same theme. The matter was further discussed at the meeting of the Nordic Foreign Ministers in Helsinki who agreed to study amongst themselves and with other Member States which share this concern ways and means to remedy the situation. Taking into account

those consultations, we intend to return to this matter in greater detail.

246. As a small neutral country, Finland has sought and found security not through reliance on military alliances but through a foreign policy designed to keep it outside international conflicts and controversies. We have a vested interest in promoting the development of a peaceful and rational world order based on the universal collective security system provided by the Charter. In the words of the Secretary-General: "Without such a system there will be no reliable defence or shelter for the small and weak. And without such a system all of our efforts on the economic and social side, which also need their own collective impetus, may well falter." [A/37/1, p. 1.]

247. In his report the Secretary-General warns us that we are perilously near to a new international anarchy. In fact, the notion that it pays to use force to solve international problems is gaining currency. Regional and local conflicts have erupted into open warfare. International tension mounts. Relations between great Powers have steadily deteriorated. Confrontation has replaced dialogue and competition has overwhelmed accommodation. The arms race continues. Resources badly needed for the alleviation of poverty and hunger are squandered on the perfection of instruments of death. Confidence in the possibility of peaceful settlement of disputes is breaking down. The international system which was set up to maintain peace and security and to promote international co-operation is in jeopardy.

248. This year has put the United Nations security system to a harsh test. It has to meet this challenge if it wishes to survive. The conflict in the Middle East has assumed a new dimension of violence compounded by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) led to a bloody military conflict. The war between Iran and Iraq continues, causing devastation and suffering.

249. In addition, the persistent problems of the situation in southern Africa, South-East Asia, Afghanistan, Central America, Western Sahara and the Horn of Africa stand unresolved. All these remain questions of legitimate concern to the international community, yet the United Nations has been ignored or pushed aside. Its potential for crisis management and peaceful settlement of disputes has been neglected.

250. The United Nations has not been listened to; there has been scant willingness to use its services. At worst, the authority of the United Nations has been flouted. The abuse of the United Nations for short-term interests has overshadowed its ultimate importance to all Member States as the only universal Organization for finding peaceful and negotiated solutions to global problems.

251. In his report the Secretary-General has proposed concrete measures to halt the erosion of the authority of the United Nations and to restore its capacity to act. The Secretary-General proposes, as a first step, that Governments consciously recommit themselves to the Charter. He proposes that the Security Council keep an active watch on dangerous situations and, if necessary, initiate discussions with the parties before they reach a point of crisis. He considers it useful for the Council to give renewed consideration

to reviewing and streamlining its practices and procedures with a view to acting swiftly and decisively in crises. He appeals to the permanent members of the Security Council to reassess their obligations and to fulfil them at the high level of responsibility indicated in the Charter. He intends to develop a wider and more systematic capability for fact-finding in potential conflict areas, in close co-ordination with the Security Council. He proposes that the authority of peace-keeping operations be underpinned by guarantees, including explicit guarantees for collective or individual supportive action. For its part, my Government pledges its full support for all these measures suggested by the Secretary-General.

252. As a matter of consistent policy, Finland has taken a balanced and conciliatory position on the various controversial issues in the world. It is our firm intention to continue this policy. We believe that Finland can best contribute to the search for a just and durable world order through strict and consistent adherence to a policy of neutrality which, while it enjoins us to refrain from taking sides in disputes between the great Powers, enables us to maintain friendly relations with all States across the dividing lines of ideology or military alignments and thus to work whenever possible for the cause of conciliation and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Neutral States have, we believe, a special obligation, not only to themselves but to the international community as a whole, to conduct themselves with objectivity and restraint in order to retain the confidence of all sides and thus the ability to perform such peaceful services as may be required in the interests of international peace and security.

253. The situation in the Middle East is often perceived as a regional conflict. This conception belittles the pivotal political, strategic and economic importance of the region, which transcends the regional confines of the conflict. The situation in the Middle East continues to pose the most persistent threat to international peace and security. The dangers inherent in the absence of peace in the Middle East have been demonstrated once again by the events in Lebanon. Israel has invaded and occupied and continues to occupy a major part of a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, in defiance of the repeated calls by the Security Council and the international community as a whole. The tragedy of Lebanon has been compounded by the massacre of hundreds of innocent civilians in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. On 20 September the Government of Finland expressed its profound shock at that tragic event and gave its full support to Security Council resolution 521 (1982). Having entered west Beirut with the declared aim of maintaining law and order in Beirut, Israel cannot now escape its responsibility for what took place.

254. In the conditions prevailing the immediate concern of the international community has understandably focused on the crisis in Lebanon. That crisis, however, should be seen in a wider context. It is but a consequence of the unresolved situation in the Middle East as a whole. In our view the basic principles of a peaceful settlement remain immutable. The acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. Israel therefore must withdraw from territories

occupied since 1967. It is equally imperative that the right of Israel and all other States in the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries be guaranteed. Those principles are embodied in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which we continue to regard as basic. Furthermore, provision must be made for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to national self-determination. This presupposes the right of the Palestinians and the PLO, as the most significant representative of their national aspirations, to participate in negotiations on their own future within a comprehensive solution in the Middle East.

255. Finland has given its support to all those proposals and initiatives that aim at a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Thus we supported the joint approach by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1977, the Camp David process and the initiatives by the European Community and the King of Saudi Arabia. In this general context, the initiatives by President Reagan and President Brezhnev and the proposals made at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference are of great significance. While these initiatives approach the problem from different premises, they all have a common denominator: the achievement of peace in the Middle East through negotiations. In substance they also have a number of basically identical or similar elements. In line with this general approach, the Government of Finland has recently given its support to another request born out of the tragic conflict in Lebanon and addressed to the Secretary-General that he exert his influence to convene an international conference on the question of the Middle East.

256. In southern Africa the Namibian problem continues to pose a basic challenge to the Organization. My country has ties of friendship with the Namibian people that span more than a century. Our commitment to early independence for Namibia has been demonstrated by our initiatives and contributions in different United Nations forums. Based on a Finnish initiative, the International Court of Justice declared, in its advisory opinion in 1971,¹⁴ that the presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal. The United Nations Fund for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia have also been launched on our initiatives.

257. At present, the urgency of arriving at an internationally acceptable solution to the question of Namibia is more pressing than ever. We support every effort towards a negotiated settlement and hope that the people of Namibia may be permitted without delay to determine their own future through free and fair elections, under the supervision and control of the United Nations, as provided in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

258. Finland stands on its own record of contributing to the goal of a free and independent Namibia not only in words, but in deeds. It is natural therefore that we have pledged our best efforts to the implementation of the United Nations plan by making Namibia a major recipient of our bilateral development aid and by keeping a peace-keeping battalion in a state of preparedness should the Security Council and the parties concerned choose to avail themselves of our services in this respect.

259. International tension fuels the arms race, while the arms race feeds on tension. This is the deadly logic of reality. The arms race seems to be outstripping all efforts to contain and control it. The continually increasing pace of the arms race ultimately serves the interests of none. Its new technological dimensions may even undermine global strategic stability, however imperfect and fragile. The arms race as a threat to the security of nations was the predominant theme when the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament convened last June. It generated a very high degree of public attention and interest. Anxiety about the danger of nuclear war had given rise to an increasingly active world public. It would be a mistake to belittle its significance. For all the intense work and bargaining, the special session failed to produce a commonly acceptable substantive document.

260. Progress, or lack of progress, in disarmament is dictated by political realities. The past few years have again shown how disarmament negotiations only too easily fall victim to political confrontation. Yet at times of confrontation, disarmament negotiations would be particularly urgent, both politically and militarily.

261. Since the introduction of nuclear weapons more than a generation ago, nuclear arsenals have grown in size, sophistication and destructiveness beyond any conceivable purpose. The development and refinement of nuclear weapons have proved to be the most dynamic field of advancing arms technology. Ultimately, such advances may upset global strategic stability, an outcome that would have incalculable consequences. It is equally alarming that the development of military technology is likely to complicate any future efforts to curb the arms race. It will be ever more difficult to agree as to what weapons should be limited, and how.

262. The two major nuclear Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have the main responsibility for constraining the nuclear arms race. They have recognized that responsibility by engaging in the strategic arms limitation talks in the early 1970s. The agreements reached have marked limited but not insignificant efforts towards constraining the arms race and reducing the danger of nuclear war. The continuation of the dialogue is, furthermore, in itself a vitally important arms control measure and has intrinsic political value. The Government of Finland has therefore welcomed the resumption of the strategic arms dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States last June. It is obvious that the negotiations will prove long and arduous. Nevertheless, the goal should be a significant quantitative and qualitative reduction in nuclear arsenals.

263. Nuclear weapons are a particularly acute concern to the nations of Europe, the continent of the deadliest concentration of weapons. It is an urgent necessity for Europe to reach concrete and comprehensive results in the Geneva talks on nuclear weapons. The goal should be to eliminate the danger of nuclear weapons, deployed or scheduled to be deployed.

264. The Committee on Disarmament has not for the past few years produced tangible results in the form of draft treaties on arms limitation. This is to be regretted.

The Committee on Disarmament, as the central body of the United Nations disarmament machinery, must intensify its work. Its agenda reflects the agreed priorities among disarmament issues: the security of non-nuclear-weapon States, the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and the cessation of all nuclear testing. Finland is prepared to continue its fullest possible contribution to this work.

265. In the post-war era, the Nordic region has been largely untouched by international tension. Our security environment is one of stability. The absence of nuclear weapons in the region is an important feature of this situation. It is the basis of the idea of establishing a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone. Finland will continue to pursue this idea. As emphasized by the President of Finland, Mr. Mauno Koivisto, such a measure by the Nordic countries would consolidate regional security. The question of such a zone has been discussed between the Nordic Governments in various forums, most recently by the Foreign Ministers at their meeting last August. The Ministers agreed to maintain contact on the issue.

266. In view of our interest in nuclear-weapon-free zones, it is natural that eight years ago Finland took the initiative at the United Nations to undertake a comprehensive study on the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones. Since the study, progress has been achieved in arrangements for such zones. New concrete ideas envisaging the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions suggest the need for updating the comprehensive study to reflect new realities. It could facilitate the creation of such zones and thus advance limitation of nuclear arms. Finland proposed an updated study at the second special session devoted to disarmament and will pursue it during the present session.

267. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is a threat to all States, nuclear and non-nuclear alike. It is particularly serious in regions where international peace and security are already in jeopardy. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] remains the best instrument to combat that threat. As long as some nations remain aloof from the Treaty and refuse to accept international safeguards on all their nuclear activities, suspicion about their intentions is justified. This also hampers international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the benefits of which all nations should equally share. In this respect, we attach great importance to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on the Promotion of International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy.

268. While nuclear weapons represent the most awesome threat, this should not overshadow the problem of conventional weapons. The conventional weapon is not only a threat but an instrument of death and destruction used every day. Efforts towards conventional disarmament and control of arms transfers should therefore be intensified, both globally and regionally. Results from the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe continue to be urgent.

269. The signatory States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should make

every effort to reach a decision on a conference on confidence-building and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe as envisaged in the follow-up meeting of the Conference in Madrid. A successful outcome of the Madrid meeting, which was inaugurated two years ago, is of utmost importance in the present international situation. The persistent efforts of this meeting and the results achieved so far are proof of a widely and seriously felt need to preserve the process itself in order to revive and enhance its contribution to détente in Europe. A successful outcome of the Madrid meeting would not only have a positive effect on the relations between the European States, but also have an impact on the international situation as a whole.

270. The Charter of the United Nations established respect and promotion of human rights as one of the main principles of the Organization. In terms of the Preamble, respect for human rights is equal in urgency with saving future generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations has created an ample body of international legislation on human rights. Yet the implementation of these rights and freedoms is woefully inadequate. Violations of human rights are the rule rather than an exception. Yet all Member States have undertaken a solemn commitment to promote and respect human rights. Observance of human rights is not an option but an obligation. The rights of man are not dependent on political or ideological considerations.

271. The Finnish views and values in the field of human rights are well known. They are based on the Nordic concept of freedom, solidarity and justice. While we firmly believe in the validity of these fundamental convictions, we are equally aware that the international work in this field can best be carried out on the basis of common, accepted codes of conduct; no purpose is served by attempts to impose one set of values on another. Efforts towards finding common ground are therefore of primary importance. On the whole we see a great task for all countries in promoting and implementing human rights, both nationally and internationally. Success in this task will help to strengthen the rule of law and build a durable world order in peace and security. It is on that basis that Finland approaches its term as representative of the Nordic countries in the Commission on Human Rights.

272. The plight of an increasing number of refugees and displaced persons fleeing wars, oppression and persecution bears witness to a serious aspect of human rights violations. Refugee outflows confront the United Nations and its Member States with some of their most pressing humanitarian, legal and political problems. The response of the international community to the tragedy of the massive refugee exodus cannot be limited to humanitarian concern but must encompass all aspects of the problem, including its underlying causes.

273. The Government of Finland notes with satisfaction that the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea¹⁵ was adopted last spring with the support of an overwhelming majority of States, although full consensus could not be reached. The general acceptance of the Convention, which could well be the most significant legal instrument of this century, is obviously not in doubt. It is therefore of

great importance that the Convention gain the widest possible adherence in order to serve its purpose in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV), the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. A satisfactory order governing the world's oceans would greatly reduce the possibilities of inter-State conflicts and consolidate the role of the United Nations in the codification and progressive development of international law in other fields of human endeavour also.

274. In his report the Secretary-General has drawn attention to the crisis in multilateralism. His analysis applies also to international economic co-operation. The lack of confidence in the multilateral negotiating mechanism, the increasing resort to unilateral action in the field of trade and the decreasing financial backing of multilateral development institutions all point to this crisis in multilateralism.

275. The prolonged delay in launching the global round of negotiations on international economic co-operation and development is a case in point; yet, given the global dimensions of many of the difficulties currently affecting national economies, a global effort to tackle those difficulties should call for general support. The envisaged global round should not, however, hold up urgent remedial action. Negotiations in various economic forums must be vigorously pursued and all multilateral institutions must be fully utilized.

276. The tendency to resort to unilateral trade measures as a means of coping with structural problems in the world economy causes serious concern. With a Western market economy heavily dependent on international trade, my country is affected by these developments. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming ministerial meeting of GATT may strengthen the determination to maintain a free and open multilateral trading system and to resist protectionist pressures. The sixth session of UNCTAD, to be held next spring, can for its part give new stimulus to the North-South dialogue, which at present lacks dynamism.

277. The severity of the liquidity problems faced by many developing countries is a serious issue not only for those countries but also for world trade as a whole. As a result of their debt-servicing problems, developing countries have had to resort to growth-reducing policies. The poorest among them have fared particularly badly. They are entitled to the special concern of and action by the international community.

278. Multilateral development institutions contribute to a more equitable geographical distribution of aid, taking particularly into account the needs of the poorest countries. Those institutions must be provided with necessary resources, and that can be done only by reversing the decrease in official development assistance in general and in multilateral aid in particular.

279. Finland will continue its strong support for multilateral development activities. In our development policies we have traditionally concentrated on the poorest countries. Finland has committed itself to allocating at least 30 per cent of its bilateral assistance to the least developed countries, in compliance with the Substantial New Programme of Action for

the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. We have also consistently emphasized the value and the unique role of United Nations programmes aimed at human resources development. In that spirit, my Government is proposing for 1983 to increase the Finnish contribution to UNDP again by 14 per cent and to double our support to UNICEF.

280. On this occasion I wish to reaffirm the determination of the Finnish Government to continue the rapid growth of our international aid programme. This year Finland has reached the medium-term target aimed at doubling the share of gross national product for official development assistance which we set ourselves five years ago. The budget proposal for 1983 includes a further increase of aid appropriations by 28 per cent. This means that we are well on our way to reaching the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent before the end of the decade.

281. While the realities of the present international situation seem to give little cause for encouragement, this should make us more aware of our duties as Members of the United Nations. The United Nations is the principal instrument available to the international community for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the only universal forum where the nations of the world can unite their efforts for that purpose. The Charter of the United Nations is not simply an expression of the aspirations of the international community: it is a legally binding document through which nations, big and small, have accepted a code of conduct for relations between them. These obligations transcend considerations of political expediency, which only too often lead to their violation. During its existence the United Nations has proved its viability as an instrument for preventing conflicts and assisting the peaceful settlement of disputes, for enhancing the rule of law and promoting human rights and economic development, whenever it has been given the opportunity to do so. Finland therefore remains committed to the United Nations as the principal instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security and for averting the impending anarchy of which the Secretary-General warns us.

282. Mr. JOHANNESON (Iceland): As we come to this session of the General Assembly, the international situation is in some respects more serious than it has been since the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the Organization. The quantity of armaments is much greater, weapons are more devastating, hunger more severe, destitution more extensive, and the curse of unemployment more far-reaching than ever before since the establishment of the Organization. We have certainly made some gains and that we must not forget. But much more glaring are the cases where success has been limited, or when no results at all were achieved. I intend to deal with a few of those aspects here.

283. When I addressed the General Assembly in September 1981 [8th meeting], I referred to a number of provisions of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I compared the words to the deeds. In the past year there has been a continual deterioration in these matters in many parts of the

world. Amongst the most serious events are those in the Middle East and in Poland, although they are different in nature. But, regrettably, a number of further examples could be cited.

284. In his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General raises a matter of great concern, namely, the increased lack of respect for Security Council resolutions. I endorse whole-heartedly his words of warning that we are perilously near to international anarchy. The structure of the Organization, and in particular the veto, has been both its strength and its weakness. Changes in that basic structure could result in the collapse of the Organization, and therefore I do not regard such changes as being open to debate. But it is evident that the ability of the United Nations to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes is virtually non-existent when a State with veto powers perceives its direct or indirect interests threatened by actions of the Organization. Such situations occur more and more frequently. In addition, there is an increasing tendency by other States to feel that they are strong enough to defy the unanimous decisions of the Security Council. They are confident that the unity of purpose of the Organization is not such that words will be translated into action. That trend must be reversed. It cannot be achieved by amending the Charter of the United Nations but, rather, as a result of nations becoming increasingly cognizant of the danger to world peace if those developments continue.

285. At the recent meeting of the Nordic Foreign Ministers, the strong support of the Nordic countries was reaffirmed for the United Nations and for measures aimed at settling international disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the Charter concerning respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States. In that context an appeal was made to all States to respect the internationally accepted rules guiding relations between States. It was declared that the Nordic countries would continue to work to strengthen the United Nations as a universal organization for peace. Furthermore, the ministers were in agreement on the need to examine and to discuss with other States measures which could strengthen the ability of the Organization to act in conflicts and crises. I draw attention to those statements of the Nordic Foreign Ministers and reiterate the appeal contained therein.

286. The situation in the Middle East has been discussed in the United Nations from its inception. But still we seem far from a peaceful solution of these disputes, which constantly poison the atmosphere and cause the inhabitants of the region suffering and death. That tragedy culminated in the massacre in the refugee camps in Beirut earlier this month. All those who wish to uphold respect for the Charter must insist on an independent investigation of that crime as soon as possible.

287. The invasion of Lebanon by Israel is one more episode in a long history of revenge and retaliation in the Middle East. At the same time, it is a tragic example of the disrespect for Security Council decisions to which I have referred. I declare my full support for the United Nations resolutions condemning the invasion and occupation of Lebanon by Israel and its refusal to abide by the Security Council resolutions.

That behaviour increases the difficulty of attaining a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the disputes in this area. Such a solution must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and must safeguard the security of all States in the region, including Israel, and ensure justice for all peoples, including the Palestinians. In that connection, I would also emphasize in particular the necessity for realizing the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians through the exercise of their right to self-determination, including their right to participate in negotiations on their own future.

288. I welcome the proposals for a solution of the major problems in the Middle East which have been put forward by the President of the United States and the Arab Summit Conference. It is still too soon to predict whether those proposals can form a basis for negotiations by all the parties, but I sincerely hope that they will. Indeed, many elements of both proposals are worthy of further consideration.

289. I should like to turn briefly to a number of other questions, questions which are the most blatant examples of the disrespect for the equality, sovereignty and political independence of all nations. These are principles which should be respected under the Charter of the United Nations but which are in fact disregarded in practice when the more powerful States perceive their interests to be better served thereby.

290. The situation in Afghanistan has not improved since we met here one year ago. The military occupation has now lasted nearly three years. Efforts continue with limited success to force the submission of the people and compel them to resign themselves to the situation. Repeated United Nations resolutions are disregarded. Much the same can indeed be said of war-torn Kampuchea.

291. Just over two years ago, new waves of freedom spread through Polish society. The people sought a greater voice in their own affairs. Agreements were reached with the authorities on a slight relaxation of controls and the establishment of free trade unions was allowed. These tendencies towards freedom were to be short-lived. They ended with the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981.

292. A list of this kind could be long. There are many States which suffer under totalitarianism and oppression where the principles of the Charter are ignored.

293. While such situations recur at short intervals, it is extremely difficult to lower the tension in international relations and to proceed to effective and realistic measures to promote and preserve peace and security in accordance with the fundamental aims of the Organization. Such measures are indeed essential now.

294. The quantity of armaments is of a much greater dimension and weapons are more menacing than those the world has ever seen before; but still the frantic arms race continues. The debate on who is the most powerful could no doubt go on *ad infinitum*. In fact, the debate would probably not be resolved unless the unthinkable should happen—that the big Powers put the matter to the test. It is not likely that many would be left to judge the outcome, and the winner would

not be in a very much more enviable position than the loser. The weapons of mass destruction can at any time bring total devastation to mankind. The nuclear Powers carry a heavy burden. They are, indeed, responsible for the fate of the world.

295. Mankind has but one option. The only alternative which would not sooner or later lead to destruction is effective and genuine agreements on arms reduction as a first step on the long road to total disarmament, which should be—indeed must be—the vision of those who believe in the high principles of the Charter.

296. The demand for realistic action on disarmament is more pronounced now than it has been for a long time. In that light, it is tragic to have to admit that the second special session on disarmament yielded practically no results. We must therefore hope and trust that concrete results will be achieved in the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on reducing stockpiles of a number of the main types of nuclear weapons, in the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions and in the work of the Committee on Disarmament and, of course, at the Madrid Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, should it result in an agreement on a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. The implementation of disarmament must be based on reciprocity. Anything else would be neither realistic nor justifiable. The aim should be to achieve a balance—not a balance of terror, but a balance based on a reduction, not an increase, of arms.

297. As a representative of an island nation which depends for its existence on the living resources of the sea, I am bound to express grave concern about the increased armaments in the oceans and, in particular, the enlarged fleets of submarines armed with nuclear weapons. Even in peacetime, an accident under adverse conditions could destroy the economic basis of such nations. Thus I would emphasize that the proper response to the opposition of people in continental Europe and America to an even greater increase in the number of nuclear missiles in their countries is not to move these weapons to the oceans but, rather, to agree to a real reduction. Only thus will the threat posed by such weapons be diminished.

298. As regards the law of the sea, I would call on those countries which are still not prepared to agree to the Convention to reconsider their position. Through the participation of all nations in the Convention on the Law of the Sea, we can avoid severe conflicts between individual States on various law-of-the-sea issues and thus take an important step towards the world structure to which we aspire in the Charter.

299. Earlier, I dealt particularly with States and their relations with other States and the lack of respect which is all too often evident in those relations. It is a fact that it is usually the individual human being who is the victim in such circumstances, although in the name of safeguarding the interests of one State against another. But it is the responsibility of each State—and indeed an obligation undertaken by all the States Members of the United Nations—to ensure respect for the individual and for human rights. That obligation is unfortunately not complied with by a large number of Governments which here represent the

inhabitants of their countries. This is even true of many Governments which in other respects abide by their international obligations.

300. In referring to fundamental human rights, I include therein the right of every human being to an equitable share in the world's resources. Other human rights are of little avail to those with no prospects but starvation. It must therefore be one of the principal aims of the Organization to strive to ensure that every child born in this world has sufficient food and health care and education in accordance with his or her ability. The mottoes of this session of the General Assembly might, indeed, be decreased hunger, lower military expenditures and increased respect for international obligations.

301. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon in the general debate. I shall now call on the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I should like to remind him that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements made in the exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

302. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I will quote Surah 17, verse 36 of the Koran:

“And pursue not that of which thou hast no knowledge; for every act of hearing, or of seeing, or of [feeling in] the heart will be inquired into [on the Day of Reckoning].”

303. In the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Norway before the 6th meeting of the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly, we find references to what he termed severe violations of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran. In exercising its right of reply, my delegation categorically rejects the allegations which were made by the Foreign Minister of Norway. My delegation will address itself in detail to these alleged issues in the proper committees in the course of this session of the Assembly. I would only like to say a few words now in clarification.

304. The revolution which overthrew the savage régime of the Shah and threatened the vital interests of the imperialist Powers and their allies, which had long supported the Shah's régime despite its well-documented human rights violations, was an Islamic revolution, inspired by the teachings of Islam and striving to implement its legal, social and political doctrines in a free post-revolutionary Islamic Republic of Iran.

305. Thus, our Constitution is based on the divine teachings of Islam, our administration tries to act according to the Islamic political system and our courts are being transformed into Islamic legal tribunals. We believe that there are no provisions in the Charter of the United Nations or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which prohibit Member States from conducting their affairs according to divine religious laws. We consider these vain attempts to discredit the Islamic legal system and to impose a Western secular legal code on our Moslem people as a violation of our peoples' right to choose their religion as well as their legal and political system.

306. It is not the first time, and will certainly not be the last time, that the Western imperialists have tried

to discredit our revolution, using unfounded allegations concerning religious persecution in the Islamic Republic of Iran. My Government has repeatedly announced that no one has ever been persecuted or imprisoned merely on the grounds of his political or religious ideas and beliefs. However, I must add that freedom of religion has not been established by our people to please international bodies and forums; rather, it is a manifestation of their commitment to the divine teachings of the Holy Koran, which states:

“Let there be no compulsion in religion: Truth stands out clear from Error: whoever rejects Evil and believes in God hath grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold, which never breaks.” [Surah 2, verse 256.]

307. Concerning the allegations of the practice of torture in the Islamic Republic, I should like to refer the Foreign Minister of Norway to the reports of the Red Cross representatives who have visited the Islamic Republic of Iran several times. I should also like sincerely to ask him to study, however briefly, our Islamic legal system before attempting to accuse my country of arbitrary executions, so that his statements to the Assembly would not be based on sheer ignorance.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/36/586.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.

³ *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

⁵ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8 and Corr.1.

⁶ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁷ *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

⁸ Adopted at the High-Level Conference on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries (see A/36/333 and Corr.1).

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15287.

¹⁰ See A/36/534, annex II.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14692.

¹² See A/S-11/14, annex I.

¹³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, 2385th meeting*.

¹⁴ See *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, *Advisory Opinions*, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.

¹⁵ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.