



Wednesday, 29 September 1982,
at 10.55 a.m.

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mrs. FLESCH (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): Before discussing the international situation, which this year again can only be described as critical, dangerous and explosive, I must associate myself with my colleagues in expressing our sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this session. Your reputation as a seasoned diplomat, your long experience acquired in the course of a brilliant career and your deep knowledge of the workings of the Organization will enable you, I am certain, to conduct the proceedings of the General Assembly with all the skill required in these difficult times.

2. I should like to take this opportunity also to express very sincere thanks to some other outstanding persons, and first to Mr. Kittani, President of the thirty-sixth session, for the masterful and tenacious manner in which he assumed his heavy responsibilities.

3. Our thanks go also to Mr. Waldheim, who for 10 years as Secretary-General saw to the proper functioning of the Organization. His tireless dedication and the matchless skill with which he carried out his duties deserve our appreciation.

4. Finally, let me turn to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who since he assumed his functions has brilliantly succeeded in convincing us all of his exceptional qualities and his tireless dedication to the service of the Organization. I wish to reiterate to him our assurance of full and constructive co-operation on the part of the Government and people of Luxembourg.

5. The sessions of the General Assembly offer us an opportunity each year to take stock of the world situation. The Danish representative, speaking yesterday at the 8th meeting on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, presented the views of the Community on the world situation. It goes without saying that we fully subscribe to his statements, so that I may confine myself to emphasizing certain problems which are of particular concern to us.

6. In our view, the world situation has steadily worsened since last year. The fundamental equilibriums which have dominated our globe since the Second World War are breaking down; the worst economic crisis since the war continues to beset us without respite; there are more and more centres

of conflict. Thus East-West relations, which are essential in determining the political situation of the moment, continue to deteriorate. Events in Poland, especially since last December, have added dangerously to this tension, so that the process of détente between East and West, which was so promising not so long ago, has suffered serious setbacks.

7. In our view, détente can only be one and indivisible. Our position in this regard is clear and in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Final Act of Helsinki.¹ These two documents guarantee *inter alia* the right of each people to choose and freely develop its own political, social, economic and cultural system, as well as to determine its own laws and regulations. Logically the Helsinki document refers to the necessity for each State to abstain from any intervention, direct or indirect, in the internal or external affairs falling within the national competence of another State, whatever their mutual relations may be.

8. I need not stress here that all the countries of Eastern Europe have solemnly subscribed to the 10 principles of the Final Act. The events in Poland are in flagrant contradiction of those principles. The same is true of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. Such flagrant violations have in no way served the process of strengthening mutual confidence. Thus it is not surprising that East-West relations have been seriously affected.

9. A return to dialogue among all the component parts of Polish society and respect for the rights of self-determination of the peoples concerned are essential for the restoration of a climate of true and lasting détente.

10. For our part, we remain firmly attached to the concept of such a true détente and an improving climate of confidence between East and West. We hope that, in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, it will prove possible to achieve an agreement on a balanced text guaranteeing real progress in all spheres, when the Madrid review session resumes its work in November.

11. In view of the slowness of the process of disarmament, the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe, in conditions enabling tangible results to be achieved, seems to us to be more indispensable than ever. The concentration of weapon systems on the old continent, which is by far the highest in the world, has reached unacceptable proportions.

12. In view of the disappointing results of the second special session devoted to disarmament, we think that a regional approach, with a smaller number of participants, to the problems of the reduction of armaments might be more realistic, and offer better chances of achieving tangible results. This does not mean that

we oppose the carrying out of the world-wide efforts. On the contrary, the United Nations ought indeed to be able to play a more important role in this process than it has been able to do so far. Unfortunately, the second special session devoted to disarmament, in which so much hope had been placed by millions of citizens of good faith throughout the world, did not give any grounds for justified optimism in this regard.

13. That special session of the Assembly, however, did have the merit of producing a considerable impact on public opinion and beginning a process of creating awareness, the effects of which may be felt only in the medium or long term. We hope that the new phenomenon of the pacifist movement—which should be allowed to express itself freely, even though efforts are made to prevent it—will succeed in bringing moral pressure to bear throughout the world to advance the cause of disarmament, so vital for the future of humanity.

14. The nuclear nations have a special role in the disarmament process. I take this opportunity to say how much importance we attach to ensuring that negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on nuclear weapons of medium range lead rapidly to tangible results. We Europeans are indeed the first to be concerned about this type of weaponry and for us the success of those negotiations are of primordial importance.

15. We hope also that the negotiations begun this year between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic arms reduction lead to results within a reasonable length of time and we are confident that the proposals of the West submitted within the framework of the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe will make it possible to bring about a progressive reduction of military forces.

16. If disarmament is a key problem in East-West relations, it is equally true of North-South relations. In this context the problem is mainly one of conventional armaments and the disproportionate financial burden of armaments on the heavily burdened budgets of most developing countries.

17. However, the predominant issue in North-South relations is clearly the economic problem. The longest and most severe economic crisis since the last war has had a particularly damaging effect on the developing countries, primarily the least advanced. That crisis, in my view, is the main reason why it has not been possible so far, despite long and laborious negotiations, to start global negotiations aimed at establishing a new international economic order.

18. Luxembourg has always been, and remains, favourable to the launching of global negotiations. Considering the time spent on negotiating merely the procedure and the agenda, without its leading to an acceptable result for all, this session may well be our last chance. If we do not succeed in getting the process under way now, this ambitious and grand undertaking may remain a dead letter. Have we been too ambitious in our objectives in wishing to attack all the problems at a stroke? Is an undertaking of such dimensions viable in these times of crisis? Are there other alternatives which are less ambitious but more

realistic and have better chances of success? These are questions that must be answered at this session.

19. In this regard I should like to observe that if our hopes should be dashed and if global negotiations do not get under way—which we hope will not be the case—we ought not be too rigidly wedded to primarily theoretical concepts but try to attack the problems from a less ambitious but more concrete point of view.

20. What is important is that we should succeed in continuing the dialogue and that we persist in seeking a solution, whether it be global or consists of several partial phases. We should not lose sight of the fact that it is the principle of interdependence that is the governing factor, interdependence in an increasingly complex world.

21. Unfortunately, the economic difficulties of today lead to nationalistic reactions and self-protection. The spectre of protectionism is once again looming on the horizon. Have we so soon forgotten that the principal cause of the unparalleled economic boom following the Second World War was the determined support of the principles of free trade of goods and services?

22. Experience has taught us that protectionism inevitably leads to a limitation of growth, indeed a reduction in the volume of world trade, and to particularly damaging repercussions on the small and weak. That does not exclude the fact that countries whose economies are close to autarchy, which of course are less seriously affected, do not escape the consequences of a world economy in recession.

23. My country, which in view of its size is particularly aware of its dependence and of interdependence in general, has always been especially attached to the concept of free trade in goods and services. I therefore take this opportunity to emphasize that one must not give in to protectionist temptations which may in the short run be alluring but lead, through an escalation of counter-productive results, inescapably to a negative balance-sheet for all trading partners.

24. I wish also to say a word on hunger in the world. This question, which is the most urgent of all, should have absolute priority. It is indeed absolutely unacceptable that in certain parts of the world malnutrition should be the rule when food surpluses are being improperly used elsewhere and indeed destroyed in order to maintain a level of prices acceptable to the producers. The right to decent nutrition is one of the most fundamental human rights, if not the most fundamental, and should be guaranteed for all.

25. The United Nations and its specialized services have rendered particularly precious assistance in all areas where hunger threatens, but we must observe that the problem is far from being resolved. Perhaps we are over emphasizing food aid *per se*, that is, the mere supply of food products, whereas it would certainly be better to enable the populations concerned themselves to meet their own needs.

26. After these considerations of East-West and North-South problems, I should like to turn to the principal areas of tension in the world today. We must unfortunately observe that since last year there has been a tendency for conflicts to increase. The unfortunately "traditional" areas of conflict have been compounded by a new one, that of the South Atlantic.

On that occasion, one of the members of the European Community was the victim of grave violations of the principles of the Charter, namely those of non-resort to the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

27. My country, itself a repeated victim of annexation and occupation by foreign Powers, can never condone resort to force or violation of the right of peoples to self-determination.

28. As for the Middle East, the situation has deteriorated continually since the last session of the General Assembly. The gravity and the inherent dangers of that crisis, which has continued to shake that part of the world since the end of the Second World War, have been emphasized at countless meetings of the Security Council and at the seventh emergency special session, when the Assembly met to consider the problem on three separate occasions.

29. The tragic events which have continued at an infernal pace in Lebanon since the invasion in June by Israel led about 10 days ago to the horrible massacre of some 1,000 Palestinian civilians in two refugee camps in Beirut. That criminal and irresponsible act, just like the act committed against President-elect Bashir Gemayel, can only be condemned. Like its partners in the European Community, Luxembourg is convinced that the future of the Lebanese State can be assured only if all troops at present occupying the country—those of Israel or the Syrian Arab Republic—withdraw as soon as possible.

30. As for the negotiation of a comprehensive peace for the region, events in Lebanon have shown the need for all parties to be involved, which means the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as well. The principles that should guide those negotiations are, more than ever, the security of all States in the region, including the right of Israel to exist; justice for all peoples, including the right of Palestinians to self-determination with everything that that implies; and, finally, mutual recognition of all parties concerned.

31. I would not wish to fail to welcome the new American proposals announced by President Reagan on 1 September, as well as the resolution which the heads of State and Government of Arab countries adopted unanimously on 9 September at Fez at the end of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference [A/37/696]. These different ideas, American and Arab, could encourage concrete progress in the quest for a just and lasting peace, to which the people of the Middle East have aspired for so long. A necessary precondition, however, is the establishment of a climate of confidence which is still lacking.

32. Another dangerous and explosive conflict, of which there is too little discussion in the Assembly, is also present in the Middle East. I am referring to the particularly bloody war between Iran and Iraq which has led to a huge number of victims and great material damage. This is another dangerous destabilizing factor in the region of the Middle East, which has been so sorely tried. It is important that reason overcome fanaticism and that a negotiated solution put an end to that blood-bath.

33. In Asia, two serious drawn out conflicts continue to be of concern. The main responsibility for these

two conflicts falls to a super-Power, whether it is guilty of direct intervention, as in Afghanistan, or indirect intervention, as in Kampuchea.

34. The occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter is now in its third year, despite the vigorous objections of all justice-loving peoples and the courageous resistance of the Afghan people. We reiterate our deep devotion to the right of the Afghan people to self-determination and its right to return to its previous status of neutrality and non-alignment under international guarantees.

35. In Kampuchea, on the pretext of eliminating an inhuman genocidal régime, Viet Nam has imposed a puppet Government upon which it seeks to confer legality. Without wishing in any way to acquiesce in the barbarous policies of the Pol Pot Government, we remain convinced that the invasion by Viet Nam is contrary to the principles of international law. We shall never subscribe to the idea that it is incumbent upon a more powerful neighbour to decide on the well-being of another nation. We believe that it is high time for the people of Kampuchea, after such trials and suffering, at last to have the opportunity itself to decide on its own future, and we welcome the formation of a coalition Government as an important step in that direction.

36. In Central America, there is no end to dangerous tension. Although there has been some progress in certain countries, the situation remains unstable and the peoples of the region are far from having achieved the kind of coexistence enabling them to live in peace and security. Interesting proposals have been put forward by certain countries, and we would hope that they will contribute to diminishing tension in the near future.

37. In Africa, there are still numerous conflicts—in Somalia, Chad or the southern part of the continent. Let us say at the outset that the painful problem of *apartheid* in South Africa is not near to an acceptable solution. We condemn this ignoble attack on the dignity of the human person and we remain convinced of the imperative need to abandon this policy of racial discrimination if a dangerous escalation of violence in southern Africa is to be avoided.

38. Nevertheless, I should like to end on a somewhat more optimistic note with regard to this part of the world: indeed, the Namibian conflict seems close to a solution. We hope that it will soon be possible to eliminate the last remaining obstacles in order to enable the Namibian people to determine its own future.

39. In this respect I wish to emphasize how deserving are all those who played a constructive role in the solution of this problem, whether from the group of five Western States or the front-line States, and I should like to see others take inspiration from this model, which proves once again that when people come to the negotiating table with the firm intention of succeeding, even the most thorny problems can be resolved in a manner acceptable to all.

40. The picture of the international situation I have just drawn is especially bleak. Rather than allowing ourselves to be discouraged and falling prey to

pessimism, we should consider this bitter reality as a new challenge and redouble our efforts to reverse this trend.

41. The Organization—at least if we persist in upholding the Charter—is a precious instrument in this regard. However, we must make use of this instrument with deftness and dexterity if it is to function according to the intentions of its founders. Hence, we must guard against abusing it or making inadequate use of it, be it for propaganda purposes or for short-term political gain. In particular, we must ensure that every organ functions in keeping with its mandate and the principles enshrined in the Charter.

42. Let us guard against bringing before the organs of the Organization problems they are not competent to deal with. Otherwise, the only result would be a profusion of texts whose impact would be inversely proportional to their number. That would only lead to false hopes followed by political discontent from a public which is already weary of the few successes of the United Nations in certain specific tragic and easily identifiable problems.

43. Those few thoughts concur with the substance of the Secretary-General's analysis of the situation in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1]. That report, made without complacency, speaks to certain weaknesses of the Organization but, above all, addresses itself to Governments—that is to say, to us—inviting us to go beyond short-term political expediency and rediscover the true objectives of the United Nations.

44. The fact remains that the Organization offers a unique advantage, allowing constant dialogue amongst all of us. It is up to us to preserve this advantage and develop it to its full potential, so that the Organization, in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 1 of the Charter, can be “a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends” and remain so for future generations.

45. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, it gives me particular pleasure to extend to you the heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for success on your election to the lofty post of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

46. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the Romanian Government's appreciation for the activities engaged in by the Secretary-General and to assure him of our full support in the discharge of the mandate of great responsibility entrusted to him.

47. The General Assembly at this session is called upon to take up particularly serious problems and questions of vital importance for the cause of peace and international co-operation and the independence and progress of all peoples.

48. International life is charged with extreme tension. Conflicts are raging in various parts of the world. We see an intensification of the imperialist policy of domination, of spheres of influence and of violation of the sacred right of nations to freedom and sovereignty. The arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, is being pursued at an unprecedented rate and there is an increased risk of seeing a nuclear war break out, thereby imperilling the very existence of

human civilization. The world economic crisis has been exacerbated and the gap between the developed and developing countries is widening. That gap between rich and poor countries is ever more acute and wider in scope, thus increasingly becoming the fundamental contradiction of our times.

49. On the other hand, there is in international life the growing will of peoples to put an end to the imperialist policies of force and diktat, to put an end to the arms race and to proceed to disarmament, primarily, nuclear disarmament. Never before have the aspirations of millions throughout the world to lead a life of dignity, freedom and independence and to co-operate in peace and goodwill been so obvious and achieved such scope. Never before have the protests of world public opinion been so vigorously raised against the arms race, against acts of aggression and interference, against inequity and inequality between States and, in particular, against war, which is the most abnormal way of dealing with international disputes. This awareness of the peoples, their refusal passively to accept a foreign policy doing great damage to their interests and eagerness with which they demand their right to life, freedom, peace and progress constitute a remarkable positive factor, a source of optimism and hope that a better future will dawn and that there will be a more equitable and reasonable world.

50. The solution, in the interests of peoples, of all problems constituting a heavy burden in international life which have caused serious tension in inter-State relations requires that all Governments and peoples unite their forces and co-operate more closely to halt the dangerous course of events in order to resolve, by political means, situations of war and tension and resume and strengthen the policy of détente, co-operation, independence and peace.

51. The highest duty of conscience for all heads of State and Government, for politicians of all persuasions, is to identify with the vital aspirations of their own peoples and of mankind as a whole, to devote their energies to serving them, to become faithful and active interpreters of the peaceful ideals of mankind, to prove themselves dynamic activists for the attainment of those ideals. That is the highest reason that should guide the statesman and politician in their task. It is also their chance to stamp their personalities on the destiny of our age, to go down in the history of these tumultuous times as shining examples of humanism and progress.

52. In the spirit of those major requirements of the contemporary world, Romania and President Nicolae Ceaușescu himself are persevering to improve the international climate, to resolve by political means, in the interests of all peoples, the enormous problems confronting mankind, seeking to establish relations between States on the basis of new, democratic, equitable principles. The frequent meetings and talks by the head of our State with the leaders of other countries and politicians of all persuasions, and Romania's whole foreign policy, are constantly aimed at achieving better co-operation and understanding among States, at combining the efforts of all nations to eliminate force completely from relations among States, and at defending the freedom and independence of peoples and the fundamental right of human beings

and nations to live in peace in a world of co-operation and understanding, free from weapons and wars.

53. The course of events has clearly shown that the outdated policy of the use of force and the threat of force, of domination and diktat, of "might is right", is the cause of phenomena which have led to and now maintain the present state of tension in the world, as manifested in various aspects of international affairs. Resort to force is the origin of hotbeds of tension and conflict, of all actions which disregard the legitimate rights of other peoples and the independence and sovereignty of States. It is one of the main reasons for confrontation and armed conflict and for the intensification of the arms race, and one of the main obstacles in the way of economic and social progress and the establishment of a new international economic order.

54. Resolving the major problems of mankind, ending existing conflicts and preventing new ones, therefore demands firm action to eliminate from international life the use of force or the threat of force, and the establishment of a new system of inter-State relations. Any strategy for tackling the problems of today, for striving to establish peace and bring about a new international political and economic order, must be based on the requirement that the use or threat of force must be completely renounced.

55. The complete rejection of the policy of force for the solution of international problems is deeply rooted in the traditions of the Romanian people. The great Romanian diplomat Nicolae Titulescu, Foreign Minister of Romania between the two world wars, whose centenary is being celebrated in many countries this year, said: "War is never, absolutely never, the solution to a conflict." That conviction led him to urge that the "force of law" replace the "law of force".

56. Today more than ever the use of force is a double-edged weapon. Apart from the human losses and material damage that it causes, as well as the opprobrium of world opinion and the vigour with which peoples unite in solidarity with the victims of acts of aggression, the very results of the acts of force turn against those who have perpetrated them. It is true that no people will any longer allow itself to be oppressed and that the brutal external policies of a State and the violation of the norms of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations in the end redound against the nation concerned. Therefore, the saying that a people that oppresses other peoples can never be free is still valid, always and in all circumstances.

57. Today, in a period of profound revolutionary transformation, of broad changes and the reshaping of relationships on a world scale, of the establishment of a new balance between States and groups of States, the new system of international relations must be based on the principles of equality, of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, and the settlement of all international problems and disputes by exclusively peaceful means. We firmly believe that there are no problems, however complicated, which cannot be resolved by peaceful means, by negotiation, if the starting-point is respect for the right of each people to

develop in full freedom and independence and in accordance with the general interests of world peace and security. The Romanian Government also advocates, and acts resolutely in favour of, the settlement of all disputes and states of tension and conflict between States solely by political means, through negotiation; the total elimination of the policy of force and interference, and efforts by the States concerned to stifle a conflict as soon as it emerges in order to avoid new military confrontations likely to increase the dangers to world peace and security. As President Ceauşescu recently emphasized, no matter how difficult and hard the negotiations, those are the means, and no others, that must be used to solve problems, completely renouncing military solutions and acts of force, which always bring about loss of human life and material damage, causing heavy losses and great suffering to peoples.

58. The talent and genius of statesmen in this field should be proved at the negotiating table, in the subtle and rational analysis of ways to eliminate conflict and promote understanding among nations, in seeking mutually acceptable solutions; there should be compromise between the parties, elimination of factors that provoke confrontation, and the safeguarding of understanding, friendship and co-operation between peoples. That was, is and always will be the great vocation of the real politicians who are destined to go down in history. Negotiations are preferable to even the smallest military conflict, and we must therefore everywhere and in all circumstances follow the normal path of starting negotiations with a view to preventing military actions, not begin peace talks after force has already been used, after blood has already been shed and after serious human and material losses have already been caused.

59. At this period so crucial for the fate of mankind, and for peace, the United Nations should carry out the task entrusted to it by the Charter and make good use of the possibilities open to it in terms of its purposes and principles and its universal character. It should support with its full authority the independence and sovereignty of States and the right of each people to decide its own destiny, as a central pillar for building new international relationships in which the non-use of force or threat of force should become an effective rule in international life.

60. In the light of these considerations, we believe that we must act without further delay, and as resolutely as possible, to resolve all conflicts between States by political means, through negotiations, in order to prevent new disputes and military confrontations.

61. The grave situation in the Middle East, in particular that resulting from the aggressive actions of Israel against Lebanon and the Palestinian population in that country, is a cause of the utmost concern. The Romanian Government has strongly condemned the military invasion of Lebanon by Israel, and in particular the atrocities committed against the civilian population in the refugee camps of west Beirut, following the occupation of that part of the city by Israeli troops. We are strongly in favour of the prompt withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, of the guaranteeing of that country's independence and national sovereignty, and its unity and territorial

integrity, and of a broad-based reconciliation of all political forces in Lebanon, in order to permit the reconstruction of the country and to bring about peace and tranquillity.

62. It is now imperative that we step up political and diplomatic efforts to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the situation in that area, on the basis of the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the 1967 war; the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people through the recognition of its right to self-determination, including the establishment of its own independent State; and the guaranteeing of the integrity, independence and sovereignty of all the States of the area. In view of its conviction that the settlement of the Palestinian problem is the key to peace in the Middle East, Romania considers that a Palestinian State must be created alongside the independent Israeli State, and that everything must be done to ensure the peaceful coexistence of those two States and of all the countries of the region, each of them enjoying appropriate guarantees of its security and independence.

63. Romania and its President believe that it would be necessary and useful to convene an international conference under United Nations auspices and with the participation of all interested States and parties, including the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as other States which could make a positive contribution to the establishment of peace in that region, including a contribution to the solution of the Palestinian problem.

64. A series of proposals has recently been made for the resolution of the conflicts in the Middle East. These contain new elements and positive approaches and set forth a basis for the intensification of political and diplomatic activity in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the situation in that region.

65. Romania, which maintains relations of friendship and co-operation with both Iran and Iraq, considers that it is necessary to put an end to the fighting between those two neighbouring countries, which has already caused great losses of human life and of property for both parties, and that their troops must be withdrawn to the international boundaries which existed before the outbreak of the war. It is necessary to move on to a political solution of the problems between the two countries.

66. I take this opportunity also to reaffirm Romania's solidarity with and active support for the position and initiatives taken by the People's Democratic Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful and independent unification of Korea.

67. While working for the elimination of existing conflicts, it is necessary to act resolutely and to adopt measures to forestall the appearance of new conflicts. States must renounce all acts of force and settle all their disputes by peaceful means; the United Nations must make a greater contribution in this field. In this connection we have followed with interest, and we support, the Secretary-General's efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, which is an objective of vital interest for all States.

68. At this session the General Assembly is to take a decision on a draft declaration on the peaceful settlement of international disputes,² which has been negotiated over the last three years. We believe that the adoption of that text by consensus would constitute an important concrete step towards strengthening the ability of the United Nations to make an effective contribution to the prevention of conflicts and to the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

69. Romania considers that, in order to prevent the appearance of new military confrontations and to find viable solutions to existing conflicts, it is necessary to create in the United Nations framework a special body for good offices, mediation and conciliation, which would act closely with the Security Council to organize talks and to resolve differences among States, exclusively by peaceful means.

70. Romania's initiative regarding the strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States is aimed at the same goal of consolidating international peace and security by stimulating the development of relations of co-operation and understanding between neighbouring States. We hope that the consideration at this session of the Secretary-General's report on ways of strengthening good-neighbourliness [A/37/476] will constitute a step forward towards the attainment of this important goal.

71. Three months ago it was my honour, on instructions from President Ceaușescu and on the basis of the mandate handed down by the Grand National Assembly, to stand at this rostrum, at the 22nd meeting of the twelfth special session, and set forth Romania's position and proposals regarding disarmament problems.

72. That second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament highlighted the demand of the world's peoples to put an end to the arms race and to proceed to specific disarmament measures. Halting the arms race and moving towards disarmament—in the first place, nuclear disarmament—are the central problem facing mankind. The very existence of life on our planet, and of a civilization which has been built up over thousands of years, is threatened. Never before has the burden of the arms race weighed so heavily on the shoulders of all peoples, on the economies of all States, including the most powerful and highly developed; never before has the impact of the incredible military expenditures on economic development been so sorely felt.

73. Weaponry is a tragic and absurd waste of the resources of our planet and of the work of mankind, a terrible factor in the impoverishment of peoples, and an obstacle on the path of civilization, at the very time when two thirds of mankind can barely subsist. Nuclear catastrophe has become a world-wide obsession, a source of terror for all, and has left its gloomy imprint on future generations. It is high time for all men of conscience throughout the world to unite to put an end to this anomaly, this absurdity.

74. Although at that special session the representatives of States came out strongly against the danger looming over mankind, the Assembly was unable to adopt decisions leading to concrete measures for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, on the basis of a comprehensive programme. We consider

that especially important proposals were put forward during the special session and that those proposals should be taken into consideration to identify common elements which could form the basis for the elaboration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament and which should be taken up by the working bodies on disarmament.

75. Romania is expressing the unanimous will of the Romanian people, which has taken and continues to take broad action for disarmament and peace, by continuing to struggle for the achievement of the vital aspiration of mankind to live in a world free from weapons and free from war. At the special session, my Government for its part put forward a set of specific proposals on disarmament, the stronger for being subscribed to by 18 million of its citizens.

76. We believe that the highest priority must be given to nuclear disarmament and, first and foremost, to halting the manufacture of nuclear weapons and to moving forward to the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles to the point of their total elimination, and to banning completely all nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. That process should begin with the significant reduction of nuclear weapons by the two great Powers, for example a 50 per cent reduction in an initial phase, as a step towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

77. In order to halt the arms race, Romania has proposed a freeze on military expenditures at 1982 levels, and their subsequent reduction by 10 to 15 per cent by 1985. A portion of the funds thus released would be used to support the efforts of developing countries, the remainder being devoted to the economic and social development of the countries which have made those reductions. Romania intends to act in that direction at the present session, to encourage efforts towards the freeze and reduction of military expenditures and towards the enunciation of principles which could govern the activities of States in this field.

78. Also of particular importance for the maintenance of international peace and security would be the adoption of effective measures for the substantial reduction of conventional weapons and for building confidence among States. Romania is in favour of the establishment of a common agreement on the part of the two blocs and, in general, between the two sides, on as low a ceiling as possible for the principal weapons: aeroplanes, tanks, warships, missiles, heavy guns, and so forth.

79. The implementation of a set of measures for halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament should be carried out in conditions of reciprocal trust and equal security for all countries, through the achievement of a military balance at levels as low as possible and under suitable international control.

80. To this end, we are in favour of the creation within the context of the United Nations of an international body having the right to inspect and monitor the implementation of agreed disarmament measures. To make real progress towards disarmament it is necessary to do everything to dismantle opposing military blocs.

81. Given the particularly serious situation in Europe, we are resolutely in favour of a halt in the stationing of new medium-range missiles in Europe. We favour the withdrawal and destruction of missiles already installed and the elimination from the continent of all nuclear weapons. In this spirit Romania welcomed the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on medium-range nuclear missiles as well as those on strategic weapons and expressed the hope that those negotiations would yield positive results. Since the problem of medium-range missiles is of direct concern to all European nations, we expressed the opinion that in one way or another all States of the continent must participate in the Geneva negotiations. The bringing about of urgent agreements on these questions is of vital importance for all States, since missing this crucial opportunity would mean the opening up of a new long phase of military competition, with incalculable consequences for Europe as a whole and indeed for all mankind.

82. As a European country Romania is constantly endeavouring to bring about security and co-operation on the continent so that when it resumes its work the Madrid session of the Conference can proceed fruitfully and constructively and agree on the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe and thus contribute to the full implementation of the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki and ensure continuity in the proceedings of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

83. As part and parcel of its policy of peace, security and disarmament in Europe, Romania is striving for the comprehensive development of relations among the States of the Balkans so as to transform that region into a zone of friendship, co-operation, good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence and a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

84. By its very structure and functions, and because it is a forum for all States, the United Nations must play a particularly important role in an authentic disarmament process. In view of the primary responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security its role and its contribution to disarmament must be strengthened by bringing about, under its auspices negotiations and the adoption and monitoring of disarmament measures.

85. The extensive demonstrations for peace and disarmament that have taken place recently, and which continue to take place in a number of countries, including Romania, eloquently prove the strength of peoples and their ability to bring about, by acting in increasing unity, the transition to effective measures of disarmament that would stave off the nuclear danger. We believe that these movements must enjoy full support, including support from the United Nations, because in the present circumstances the role of the peoples of the world as a whole is really decisive in the bringing about of disarmament, in guaranteeing the national peace and independence of all States. In this regard a particular role and responsibility devolve on scientists, who know better than anyone the destructive capacity of modern weapons and the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war. Through United Nations studies and research on disarmament, and conferences, symposiums and seminars organized

with the broad participation of non-governmental organizations and the mass media, and with the help of scientists representing world public opinion, the United Nations can make a signal contribution to ensuring effective support for the struggle for disarmament.

86. Broad dissemination, within the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign, of the latest report of the Secretary-General entitled *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures* [A/37/386]³ will help to emphasize the extremely harmful consequences of the increasing stockpiling of weapons for the economic and social life of all peoples and for world peace and security.

87. Still within the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign, Romania recently hosted at Mamaia an important meeting of representatives of public opinion with the participation of representatives of non-governmental organizations from the majority of European countries, the United States and Canada. They had a constructive and fruitful exchange of views on specific ways to halt the arms race and to bring about disarmament. In the same spirit, Romania proposed the convening of a world conference on the role of the mass media—radio, television, the press—in promoting a climate of understanding, confidence and co-operation that could contribute to peace and disarmament.

88. The present division of the world into rich and poor countries, a result of the long policy of imperialist and colonialist domination, and the persistence of unjust and inequitable economic relations among States have engendered grave economic anomalies and tension in international life and have reduced, sometimes to nothing, the results of efforts at the economic and social level made by developing countries, worsening the economic gap between the developed countries and the developing countries. Unfortunately, the conferences and meetings that have taken place in recent years on the new international economic order have yielded virtually no result. Urgent actions are necessary to bring about the adoption, through international negotiations of effective measures to speed up the economic and social progress of the developing countries, to revitalize economic activity at the world level and to bring about new relations among States on justice and equity and mutually advantageous economic trade through ensuring that the developing countries have broad access to modern technology.

89. In this regard Romania believes that it is particularly important to embark on global negotiations without delay within the framework of a United Nations conference to examine and resolve basic problems concerning international economic co-operation. This is especially important and necessary since the world economy is now on a particularly dangerous slope.

90. The arms race and the economic policies followed by certain developed countries, far from opening up prospects for the overcoming of crisis phenomena and instability, which are proliferating, merely aggravate the situation, with extremely negative consequences for the developing countries. The recession in the capitalist developed countries, the high cost of energy, the excessive interest rates, the protectionist policies

and the drop in the price of raw material, coupled with increased prices for manufactured goods, have created obstacles in international economic relations and severely damaged the developing countries, thwarting their efforts to develop their human and material resources.

91. Given the growing interdependence that characterizes the world economy there is a real danger of being plunged into a crisis of devastating proportions. In one way or another, all the peoples of the world are affected by the world economic crisis. All nations are paying for the upheavals which have taken place in the world, and the effects of the continual slide of the economy are unforeseeable. It is in the interest of all States, irrespective of size, social system or degree of development, to act together in joint efforts to eliminate factors that artificially heighten the crisis, to find reasonable solutions to economic conflicts and contradictions, to bring about new and equitable relations among States so that the new international economic order may be established.

92. This present session of the General Assembly must also be availed of to launch comprehensive negotiations, and the sixth session of UNCTAD must be used to translate into reality the programmes of action adopted under the auspices of the United Nations and in general to produce a radical change in the state of affairs that characterizes the world economy. Proceeding to disarmament is a major imperative in the maintenance of international peace and security, and the establishment on a new basis of economic relations among States is just as vital in the safeguarding of the prospects for progress of all the peoples of the world.

93. In recent years we have witnessed the intensification of the developed countries' practice of recruiting qualified personnel from the developing countries. The exodus of skilled people to the developed countries, which in fact represents an important transfer of human resources, only perpetuates and aggravates the imbalances and difficulties in the economies of the developing countries, with grave economic and social implications. Since it deprives these countries of an important part of their skilled labour force—an essential factor in economic growth, for the training of which those countries made great efforts, expending important material and financial resources—such an exodus of skilled people acts as a brake on economic and social development and thus contributes to widening further the gap between the developed and the developing countries. That is why Romania considers it necessary that the United Nations assume a greater role in extending international co-operation aimed at stopping this practice, encouraging the return to their countries of origin of qualified personnel settled in developed countries, compensating the developing countries for the expenses they have incurred and assisting the developing countries in training and retaining qualified personnel in accordance with the requirements of their national economies.

94. In present circumstances, we believe that we must expand and intensify efforts staunchly to defend the supreme fundamental right of peoples and nations to life, peace and a free and independent existence. This right should be more forcefully and more clearly

reflected in the debates and documents of the General Assembly. Priority attention should be given to the solution of problems as important to the human condition as the guarantee of the right to work for all members of society, the effective exercise of the right to education and the assurance of living conditions which permit the full flowering of the human personality.

95. Romania, the Romanian people, affirm their active solidarity with the Namibian people in their struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] to accede to complete national independence, and act consistently to ensure the elimination of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa, condemning acts of aggression committed by that country against neighbouring States. We must most resolutely combat the activities and ideologies which foster hatred and violence, while taking every care to protect the younger generations from their baleful influence.

96. The problems facing youth will be thoroughly examined by the General Assembly in the framework of the preparations for International Youth Year, which will be celebrated in 1985 under the motto "Participation, Development, Peace". At its second session, the Advisory Committee for International Youth Year made substantive recommendations concerning the implementation of the Specific Programme of Measures and Activities to be undertaken prior to and during that Year.⁴ It is our view that activities undertaken during International Youth Year should be directed at strengthening international co-operation in the solution of the specific problems which are today of concern to the younger generations. We attach great importance to the proposal to draft a declaration on the rights and responsibilities of youth.

97. An important role will also be played by the Organization in 1983 in five regional meetings devoted to youth, including a meeting that the Romanian Government has offered to host in Romania. We believe that all these meetings will provide opportunities thoroughly to consider the specific problems of the younger generations on all continents and will make a valuable contribution to the preparation for and successful celebration of International Youth Year. The Romanian delegation, aware of the ever greater interest of States in problems relating to youth, expresses its conviction that the General Assembly will approve all the recommendations drawn up by the Advisory Committee for International Youth Year at its second session.

98. If the complex problems confronting mankind today are to be solved it is more than ever necessary to strengthen the role that the United Nations is called upon to play in the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security, the promotion of international law in relations between States and the democratization of international life.

99. In the view of Romania and of President Ceaușescu, the United Nations can and must play a more active role in resolving the major problems of the contemporary world in the interest of the peoples. It must act resolutely to establish relations between States on new and democratic bases which guarantee the participation in conditions of equality of all

States, irrespective of their system, size or potential, in solving the problems confronting mankind. It is particularly necessary to ensure conditions that will enable small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries and the non-aligned countries to play an increasingly active role in the debate on and the settlement of all problems arising in relations between States. We must not forget that the balance of power has changed radically, that a diversification of the centres of power has occurred, that the so-called third-world countries represent the great majority of the world's population and that, consequently, they must have an important voice in all world policies, in the consideration of controversial issues and in the search for new solutions which meet the interests not only of a group of States but of the international community as a whole. In this respect, we attach particular importance to the drafting and adoption of a universal code of conduct concerning the fundamental rights and obligations of States.

100. In order to obtain those goals, it is necessary to improve the activity of the United Nations, democratize its organs, structures and functions, increase its effectiveness and adapt it to the present and future requirements and realities of the international community. The United Nations must become a dynamic and effective forum for the political settlement of international problems, conflicts and situations of tension among States and for holding multilateral negotiations.

101. In order to enhance the role and the contribution of the United Nations in resolving international problems, it is imperative that each State strictly respect the decisions of the Organization and that the obligations and commitments undertaken during the negotiating process be fulfilled in good faith.

102. In conclusion, the Romanian delegation wishes to reaffirm from this rostrum its determination to co-operate closely with all other delegations in the search for the best way of achieving all those objectives, so that the present session may by its results discharge the great responsibilities with which the United Nations is entrusted in the fulfilment of the aspirations of all peoples to peace and progress.

103. Mr. COLOMBO (Italy):* Allow me, first of all, Sir, to convey to you, on behalf of the Italian Government and on my own behalf, most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are pleased that this honour has been conferred on the representative of a nation with such great traditions. Your vast experience of the workings of the United Nations is a guarantee of the successful performance of the delicate task entrusted to you.

104. I should also like to express our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who fulfilled the mandate entrusted to him by the General Assembly last year at a particularly challenging time for the Organization with great dedication and skill.

105. The deep appreciation of the Italian Government, and my own appreciation, also go to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, who, in the

* Mr. Colombo spoke in Italian. The English text of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

nine months since he took office, has so completely fulfilled the hopes placed in him. A worthy representative of the illustrious Latin American legal tradition, and particularly the Peruvian school of international law, he has tackled the difficulties which the Organization has had to overcome in this period of his term of office with wisdom, equanimity and, above all, a keen sense of justice. In his search for the road to peace, in his indefatigable championing of negotiated solutions and in his firm defence of the principles of the Charter, the Secretary-General has had and will continue to have the full support of the Italian Government.

106. The international situation during the past year has been growing steadily worse: hotbeds of tension, sometimes turning into violent struggles and wars—with immense losses of human life and acute suffering—have, in fact, constituted threats to the peace and security of the world.

107. The United Nations is all too often faced with serious restraints. Even in its most committed actions, it seems unable to fulfil the expectation that it should not only be the forum of major international debates but also the institution capable of acting effectively to prevent or to extinguish conflicts. This must not discourage us. It is the specific duty of us all—in taking note of this disquieting reality—to analyse in depth, with proper realism, the causes of these limitations, and to give careful but dynamic consideration to the most effective means of enhancing the role of the Organization which, in an international situation characterized by an increase in hotbeds of war, is finding it hard to promote a more equitable international order and is often powerless to prevent violations of the peoples' sovereignty, of freedoms and of human rights.

108. In suggesting this I am fully mindful of the recent detailed report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1]. The ideas underlying this report naturally elicit a deeply felt and positive response from my country.

109. In fact, we share, on the whole, the perceptive evaluations he has made of the causes most frequently responsible for the limited effectiveness of United Nations action. In particular the slow recourse of Member States to the mechanisms provided for in the Charter and the failure to adapt national policies to the specific provisions of the resolutions adopted, especially those adopted unanimously, are in our opinion most often and most directly responsible for the failure of United Nations action.

110. Even though it was signed 37 years ago, the Charter still provides means for prompt and effective action in order both to prevent international crises from arising—before situations have crystallized, sometimes irreversibly—and to ensure the rapid return to a state of normalcy in the areas concerned.

111. It is therefore not outside but fully within the Charter that the study I just mentioned would seek ways of restoring active vitality and decisive effectiveness to the Organization. Such a conscientious analysis could, in our opinion, give rise to a more binding system of collective security, the most solid foundations of which would be constituted by greater under-

standing among Member States in general and, in particular, those with seats on the Security Council.

112. In fact, only the United Nations, constituted and consolidated around an ethical and normative system of peaceful and civilized international co-existence, can point out the difficult but necessary course, not based on the mere reality of the balance of forces but guaranteed by the rule of law and by considerations of justice. It is to this goal that our common efforts must be directed, benefiting from the growing maturity of conscience evident on all sides, and not forgetting that the initial and the most concrete means of expressing our will for peace is constituted by a balanced reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments.

113. Italy is convinced that the way to peace is to be found primarily through development. Hence the need to allow each country to pursue the development course best suited to its own requirements, while respecting its own traditions, and to participate adequately in the global world process of production and distribution of goods.

114. The recent Toronto meetings marked a positive stage within the framework of the North-South dialogue. My country, together with other members of the European Community, has made a concrete effort to solve the problem of financing the sixth replenishment of the International Development Association [IDA] and thus to guarantee adequate aid flows. The understanding concerning the start of negotiations for the further financing of the seventh replenishment of IDA also constitutes a major advance. The problem of the Eight General Review of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] Quotas, even if not finally resolved at Toronto, now appears in a more favourable light as a result of the agreements reached there on the consideration of increased quotas, which we favour.

115. But solution of these and other problems regarding relations between industrialized and emerging countries requires a more rational and adequate negotiating framework. That is why we remain convinced of the urgent need to initiate the global negotiating process. The important developments of the last few months, as reflected in the submission of the draft resolution by the developing countries and in the results of the June Versailles Economic Summit, should induce us to take the present opportunity to reach an agreement. More important than the excessive refinement of the text of a resolution is the setting in motion of a negotiating mechanism and to begin, together, the global study of North-South relations with a view to their improvement and development.

116. On the basis of these assumptions, as well as for other idealistic and humanitarian reasons, my country has decided to make a particular effort in appropriating, for the three-year period 1981-1983, some \$4 billion for development co-operation, notwithstanding the considerable economic difficulties which we, too, are facing.

117. In this context ample priority will be given by Italy to assistance to the less developed countries, particularly in the agro-industrial sector. In April of this year a high-level technical meeting was held in Rome, in preparation for a subsequent meeting at the political level, to discuss in depth the problems of

hunger in the world. That meeting showed that there was broad agreement on the most suitable and effective, as well as the most modern, means of action to combat that scourge. The purpose of this initiative launched by Italy at the Ottawa Economic Summit meeting of industrialized countries in July 1981 was to promote a set of joint initiatives while broader discussions would develop in the framework of global negotiations.

118. I would also recall that my country has reached agreement with UNICEF and WHO on a five-year programme, 1982 to 1986, involving \$100 million, that will help to reduce infant mortality in 15 developing countries.

119. I should also like to mention the outline agreement signed in Washington with the World Bank, whereby the Italian Government will make available to that institution—in addition to the regular contributions already made by Italy—a sum of approximately \$400 million in assistance loans and grants over a three-year period.

120. The last specific action, in chronological order, by Italy is the initiative, in collaboration with FAO, to alleviate the food problem in eight countries of the Sahel. Altogether this programme will cost \$500 million, to be provided entirely by my country, over a period of five to seven years.

121. With these initiatives Italy intends to carry out, in the immediate future, an even more organic policy of co-operation, in collaboration with United Nations agencies and programmes, based on a realistic and effective strategy for action that will directly and fully involve the developing countries themselves as partners. South-South relations, in which we see the prospect of concrete and substantial developments in the years to come, should also be encouraged.

122. Italy will continue to provide financial support for the growth of the developing countries with a view to attaining even before the end of the decade the goal of assigning 0.7 per cent of the gross national product to development, in accordance with the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*].

123. The creation of a better international order presupposes the commitment of all States—whatever political-institutional pattern they follow, in keeping with their respective needs and traditions—to respect human rights, which represent the highest value that our society is required to protect.

124. These are the beliefs of Italy, a nation that can speak in the name of its ancient traditions as well as its active and highly dedicated present. It has known 3,000 years of history, difficulties, disputes and wars, but in the Mediterranean region, from which I come, in the course of encounters and, admittedly, clashes between different civilizations originating in three great continents, there has been growing consideration for the values of the human being, his rights and his freedom everywhere in the world, and we are proud of that fact.

125. However, it is in this very area of age-old civilization that in the last few weeks human rights have been totally ignored and trampled underfoot. The images of the tragic events in Lebanon are still

vividly and horrifyingly impressed on our minds. Following the assassination of President-elect Bashir Gemayel and the entry of Israeli troops into west Beirut, in flagrant violation of Israel's commitments, there was a tragic increase in violence. In connection with the Sabra and Shatila camps one of the most bitter pages in recent history was written. It revolts the conscience of the world and it arouses feelings of indignation and the strongest condemnation against those directly and indirectly responsible for the slaughter, as well as feelings of pity for the innocent and helpless victims. This is a lesson which should induce everyone to reflect on the inhuman and monstrous consequences which await those who repeatedly take the path of violence.

126. Since in too many areas there is still a disturbing discrepancy between theoretical affirmation of principles and their concrete application in regard to human rights, Italy deems it essential that the United Nations be enabled to have a more direct and incisive impact on the work of verifying effective respect for such principles. The lack of a suitable and prompt response to the intolerable defiance inherent in the persistence, and indeed the spread, of flagrant and serious violations in many countries is highly damaging to the prestige of the United Nations.

127. We certainly do not consider that an organizational adjustment is an adequate response to one of the most serious problems of our time, the solution of which depends on the ever increasing maturity of our common sensitivity and on the courage, never clouded by opportunism, to denounce any violation of human rights.

128. On East-West relations, Italy continues to pursue a firm, responsible policy and is therefore always ready to take part in a constructive dialogue. Détente must be preserved and indeed given a new impetus. Italy is convinced that there is no alternative; therefore, wherever possible, it works with the utmost commitment for the fruitful resumption of the process of détente. Sometimes more recent and very serious events may make us forget or may divert our attention from the events which have most affected the increase in tension between East and West and are decisive elements in the disquieting international situation facing us today.

129. In view of its gravity, the Afghan problem must continue to be a focal point of our debate at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and for United Nations action in general. Three years have now elapsed since the Soviet invasion, but the resistance of the proud Afghan people to a régime imposed from outside is stronger than ever. The tragic odyssey of those long-suffering people, great numbers of whom have been forced to leave their homeland and seek refuge in neighbouring countries, troubles us profoundly. We have to note with deep regret that there has still been no response to the appeals and the constructive proposals made by the General Assembly, the non-aligned movement, the countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the countries of the European Community with a view to the restitution of the right of the Afghan people to self-determination and the re-establishment of that country's traditional status as an independent, neutral and non-aligned State. Therefore we fully support

continued pursuit of the Secretary-General's initiative concerning tripartite negotiations in Geneva.

130. The Polish problem, not only because it is being enacted only a few hundred kilometres from our borders but also because it involves our culture, affects us directly as Italians and Europeans concerned with the construction of an open Europe committed to human rights, peace and progress. The Italian Government and Italian public opinion is deeply concerned about the drama of the Polish nation, whose courageous search for valid and autonomous forms of renewal has been violently interrupted.

131. Unfortunately even the most recent events confirm that there has been no significant development in that area, which is still the scene of a series of challenges to the Polish people's aspiration to freedom, ranging from the persistence of martial law to arbitrary arrests, and contacts between the Government and the bodies most representative of the people have not been resumed. Only a resumption of dialogue and the participation of all the vital forces of the nation can give the support of a consensus to economic revival and social peace.

132. But the situation in Poland is not the only obstacle to the process of détente, the momentum of which unfortunately diminished following the signing of the Final Act of Helsinki. Serious blows have been struck at the foundations of world peace by changes in the balance of forces to the advantage of the East. These balances must be restored. That is the firm resolve of my Government. Italy is ready in this context to make its full contribution to the study and solution of the problems deriving, above all, from the accumulation of all kinds of armaments, often in excess of any reasonable or legitimate national security need. In that spirit and in expectation of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, my country participated with hope and commitment in the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We are not taking a sceptical view of that session. We merely say that efforts should be continued and intensified.

133. In this connection, I should like to confirm that my country considers that the solution must be sought in the direction of the zero option, with the aim of ensuring the total elimination by both the Soviet Union and the United States of the lethal and destabilizing medium-range missile systems. Also, as regards the strategic arms reduction talks, Italy is determined to make its own contribution both in the framework of Atlantic consultations and through appropriate bilateral channels with the two Powers involved.

134. While recognizing the objective difficulties in arriving in the near future at a verifiable treaty on the comprehensive prohibition of nuclear tests, I confirm that my country attaches paramount importance to that objective. However, we must not neglect the very serious issue of chemical weapons. Italy is also committed to progress in negotiations on the subject of conventional weapons, particularly as regards initiatives aimed at limiting and reducing international transfers of that type of weapon.

135. The crisis in the process of détente unfortunately had negative repercussions on the follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in

Europe, held in Madrid, which after three postponements was approaching a positive outcome. Our concern for safeguarding the process of that Conference, because of its world-wide as well as European importance, led us to agree to a further postponement until the beginning of November, which is now close. We hope that the General Assembly will encourage the European countries to create, in keeping with the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki, the necessary conditions for the proceedings to be resumed and to move towards a positive conclusion.

136. Unfortunately, the persistence and aggravation of focal points of tension in many parts of the world inevitably cause serious apprehension among the entire international community. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, in his capacity as current President of the European Community, expressed here, at the 8th meeting, the anxiety which we all feel over the world situation and identified and commented in depth and with lucidity on those international problems which, because of their gravity, must be brought to the attention of the Assembly.

137. I am thinking first of all of the Middle East, an area of traditional and direct responsibility for my country, situated as it is in the centre of the Mediterranean region. A moral and political judgement on the recent tragic events in Lebanon is not enough. There must be concrete action if this vicious circle is to be broken. Aware of this fact, Italy made direct efforts with a view to the adoption by the United Nations of measures to deal urgently with that situation. A first important step was the strengthening of the United Nations observer contingent, decided upon by the Security Council in its resolution 521 (1982).

138. In view of the gravity and urgency of the situation and bearing in mind the fact that the consultations held by the Secretary-General had shown that it would be difficult to reach agreement quickly on the deployment of an international force, and also in response to appeals received, Italy decided to take the initiative in ensuring the speedy reconstitution, together with the United States and France, of the multinational force for Beirut, which will act with United Nations observers upon the formal request of the Lebanese Government and in conformity with the objectives of resolution 521 (1982).

139. Following the most dramatic phase of the crisis, it will be necessary to proceed rapidly to the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops and all other foreign forces stationed in Lebanon against the wishes of the lawful authorities of the country, so that the Lebanese Government can exercise its authority fully over the entire national territory. Only thus will Lebanon be able once more to become an element of stability in the region.

140. We must, however, never lose sight of the comprehensive peace settlement that we have long advocated, both on behalf of Italy and in the context of the European approach to the problems of the Middle East, as the sole solution capable of bringing lasting stability to the entire region. This can be achieved only by seeking an equitable solution to the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict, giving equal weight to Israel's right to be recognized and accepted by its neighbours and to exist within secure and

guaranteed boundaries and to the right of the Palestinians to see the fulfilment of their national aspirations. We are thus more convinced than ever of the need to facilitate a start to negotiations that can involve all the leading protagonists in the Middle East conflict. It is particularly necessary that the Israelis and Palestinians should be able to move beyond the logic of confrontation and violence and become aware of the existing realities in the area as a prerequisite for reciprocal recognition, even if it is conditional.

141. Italy looks with interest and appreciation to the possibilities of a breakthrough and the important pronouncements in the recent statements made by the President of the United States, which contain more specific details regarding a solution to the Palestinian problem and give greater prominence to that problem in the general context of the Middle East question.

142. The leaders of the Arab countries, meeting at Fez a few days ago, on the commendable initiative of the King of Morocco, put forward interesting new ideas based on the Fahd plan, ideas which we appreciate and which suggest a high degree of restored unity in the Arab world based on positions which are not extreme but in fact show a trend towards a certain negotiating flexibility.

143. It must be noted that in the Arab world, Egypt—even at the cost of isolation—has set a good example, which certainly gives it a prominent role in those developments. I should like also to mention the contribution made by Jordan to this greater search for negotiated solutions.

144. Recent statements by the leadership of the PLO—which, in Italy's view, continues to be a key factor in future peace negotiations—statements endorsed by Arafat himself at a meeting I had with him some days ago in Rome, show signs of an increased awareness on the Palestinian side. We hope that this development in the Palestinian position, which we have duly noted, will be further consolidated so that in the occupied territories it will be possible to make progress towards the establishment of a Palestinian homeland through the exercise of a free choice by the Palestinians of their own destiny made in full awareness of the realities of the area and the importance of gradualism. This means abandoning any attempt to dispute Israel's existence or to threaten its security. We are convinced that the time has come for Israel also to show determination to enter a new phase of negotiations and peaceful settlement, rejecting the alternatives of confrontation and military action.

145. Italy views also with great apprehension the continuation of the tragic and disastrous conflict between Iraq and Iran. We are aware of the appalling suffering and destruction which the war has brought to the two warring countries and we intend to act in all suitable forums in an endeavour to expedite a peaceful solution to the conflict, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and in line with the statement issued by the 10 members of the European Community on 24 May 1982 [see A/37/285].

146. Close to the area of the Middle East, in the Near East, there is another crisis—in Cyprus, more limited but for us Mediterraneans a source of serious concern. On 2 July 1982 I visited that island in order to con-

tribute to a speedy solution to the Cyprus problem. That visit afforded a useful opportunity for closer study of the individual aspects of this question with a view to ascertaining what concrete openings could be discerned in the long-standing intercommunal talks. It also provided an opportunity to reiterate Italy's readiness to assist the Secretary-General and his representative in Nicosia in their difficult task of mediation in the negotiations between the two Cypriot communities; their dialogue is useful in itself because it serves to release much tension. The positive change in climate in Greek-Turkish relations could also facilitate rapprochement in the positions of the two sides in Cyprus.

147. Also in connection with the efforts made to create suitable conditions in the Mediterranean for peaceful and profitable collaboration between all the coastal States, we should mention the interest with which the Italian Government views Malta and the consolidation of its position as a neutral nation, whose development along lines of genuine non-alignment we welcome and sincerely encourage.

148. There is another region, the Horn of Africa, with which my country has strong ties and which unfortunately has not yet overcome the serious crisis affecting it. Our commitment to the development of these peoples, both bilateral and multilateral, is growing and in fact we feel that such development is the basic problem to surmount. We feel also that, in a spirit of mutual respect and consideration for the principles established by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], collaboration and negotiation constitute the means for overcoming the present crisis in the Horn of Africa. However, in recent months we have seen a further violation of frontiers—this time to the detriment of Somalia—which is most worrying and which still persists. Everyone must shoulder his responsibilities and an end must be put to those acts of war.

149. To the south on the African continent, despite South African military initiatives in Angola, which we firmly condemn, efforts to pave the way for Namibia's independence as provided for by the United Nations have advanced considerably, although too slowly since 1982 is almost at its end and that goal has not yet been attained. We hope that the necessary trust between the parties will grow during this final stage and serve, among other things, to protect southern Africa from the impact of world tension.

150. The region of the South Atlantic has also been troubled by a serious armed conflict in recent months. Ever since the outbreak of the Anglo-Argentine crisis in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Italy has actively endeavoured to avoid any deterioration of that situation—or at any rate to limit its negative consequences—in close contact with the Governments of the members of the European Community, with the United States and with many Latin American countries, which have similarly attempted to divert the crisis towards a peaceful solution.

151. I recently visited Latin America in the hope that, while taking account of my country's position in the course of the conflict, Italy or I myself could help to restore, in the common interest relations between South America and the European Community.

It is our firm belief that relations, co-operation and understanding between the countries of Europe and Latin America, which are linked by common ties of culture, language and civilization, are essential for world equilibrium.

152. With regard to the specific problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Italy's position has been to condemn the act of aggression; it has been and remains in favour of a resumption of the dialogue between London and Buenos Aires, naturally without any pre-conditions concerning the subject under dispute, within the framework of the United Nations and with the possibility of recourse to the good offices of the Secretary-General.

153. Another region of the world of concern to our country is Central America, where, to the local causes of the crisis—found in the age-old but currently unacceptable conditions of cultural, social, political and economic deprivation in which the people are living—have been added recently, following inadmissible foreign interference, the consequences of East-West rivalry.

154. For our part, we believe that every effort should be made to take the uphill path to peace and, consequently, we are in favour of multilateral and bilateral initiatives in this direction, as well as of the assistance programmes thus far implemented to help the countries of the region, to which we hope that the European Community can also contribute.

155. With regard to Asia, the situation in Kampuchea, another independent and non-aligned country that has fallen victim to military occupation, continues to interfere with the development of relations among Asian peoples. My Government considers that the solution of this crisis must be based on the emergence of a sovereign, independent and neutral Kampuchea with a politically representative Government free from any military presence.

156. Also in the context of Asia, I should also like to recall that, unfortunately, the Korean question remains unresolved. The Italian Government would welcome the initiation of a dialogue between the two States aimed at arriving at an agreement guaranteeing peaceful coexistence with a view to the reunification of the peninsula.

157. The peoples consider that the United Nations should eventually become the parliament of concord, peace and co-operation. That is a most noble undertaking, but certainly a very difficult one. We, the States Members of the United Nations, wiser through the painful experiences of our past, which dictate prudent farsightedness and a responsible imagination on our part, must not dash their hopes.

158. I have already indicated that the current panorama of international society is very far from reflecting the great ideals of the San Francisco Charter and that the way in which the machinery it provided is being used is far from satisfactory. My country is convinced that, apart from other ways and means we should explore to remedy that situation, we can take a significant step forward through more intensive action in the main geographical areas, where it is possible to confront problems and relax tensions in the light of the Charter, but also within the framework

of common historical traditions and common economic and social realities.

159. It is on the basis of this conviction that Italy, along with the nine other countries of Western Europe, is committed to the construction of a great economic and political community ready to collaborate with all peoples and capable of being an important factor for balance and progress in the international society—a community that wishes to participate fully in the universal dialogue for which the present forum is the United Nations.

160. With the immediate prospect of new Members, of ever-closer and interlocking ties between the countries of the Community and of the strengthening of those ties already existing between them and groups of countries of other continents, as exemplified by the Lomé Convention, we see how fundamentally important integration effort of our peoples is to the realization of those higher ideals enshrined in the principles of the Charter.

161. Despite the difficulties it encountered, and precisely because of its inherent evolutionary potential, the European Community has during the past 25 years succeeded in giving fuller expression on the old continent and throughout the world to the profound sense of equality, freedom and justice of the Europeans and to their desire for a constant constructive dialogue with all peoples. This opening on the world is the corner-stone of the Community's international action.

162. For those reasons, we view with great satisfaction and interest the parallel development in other major areas in various continents of organizations which deal at the regional level with difficult and often contentious international questions, and which are united in their assessments and decisions by an awareness of shared common interests.

163. Action based on peace, justice and the well-being of peoples which is harmonized at the regional level always has its natural and preferred epicentre in the United Nations. The time is ripe for the development of active solidarity capable of enabling the United Nations to work effectively to translate the progress of the times into human terms and to organize properly the vast new potential of civilization and technology.

164. Mr. PYM (United Kingdom): Sir, I should like to begin by congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and to offer you my best wishes in the tasks which lie ahead of you. I should like, too, to join other speakers who have expressed their gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Kittani, for his distinguished efforts on behalf of the Assembly. It also gives me particular pleasure to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, who in his first year in office has shown admirable flair and discretion in discharging his responsibilities. His dedication and integrity are beyond praise. He has already brought the Organization much credit. The United Nations could not be in better hands.

165. The maintenance of peace, the development of friendly relations between States, the promotion of social and economic progress and of respect for

human rights and fundamental freedoms through international co-operation—these are the noble purposes for which, under the Charter, the United Nations exists. Once more we must assess how far those purposes have been achieved; we must examine the problems facing the world community, and see how better to realize our joint purposes. These purposes are by no means exclusively political, and neither, of course, are the problems. The daily lives of all our peoples are just as much affected by the decisions we take and the progress we can make on economic, social, humanitarian and commercial issues. The United Nations has rightly involved itself in such questions as agricultural productivity, energy and food programmes and population control. These are issues to which Britain attaches great importance, as we do to international economic matters, such as the role of the financial institutions and the avoidance of protectionism and trade wars.

166. I do not intend today to deal comprehensively with all the problems that confront us. That would make my speech intolerably long. I would also be repeating much of what the Foreign Minister of Denmark said at the 8th meeting in the name of the European Community and its member States. I propose to concentrate today on questions of peace and war. This year we have little cause for satisfaction, and none for complacency. The world is no more peaceful than it was 12 months ago. On the contrary, new conflicts have arisen—several of them. Old ones have worsened. Since the last session of the General Assembly thousands of innocent lives have been lost. Hundreds of thousands have been forced from their homes to swell the growing flood of refugees. Countless others have witnessed the destruction of their property and livelihood. Who is responsible for this misery and waste on such an enormous scale? I do not think that the blame can be laid in any way at the door of the United Nations system as such. The Charter remains as valid today as when it was drawn up almost 40 years ago. Nor does the fault lie in the way in which the organs of the United Nations are constituted.

167. The fault lies with us, the Member States. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, has drawn attention to the need for us to re-examine the way in which we use the system we have inherited. I warmly endorse his thesis. We have received his proposals with respect and will study them with care. The Secretary-General has also emphasized the fundamental need for Member States to recommit themselves to the Charter. Clearly, the system cannot perform the tasks which the founders gave it when there is so widespread a tendency for Member States to flout the obligations they have assumed under the Charter. Time and again we encounter the depressing fact that if a State is determined to resort to force or to violate international law it is virtually impossible to stop it. Wars arise not because of any failing on the part of the United Nations system but because national ambitions and rivalries prove stronger than respect for the principles of international law and the Charter. The impotence of the United Nations in these circumstances may seem to historians in the next century to be one of the more extraordinary facts of contemporary interna-

tional life. I know that the Secretary-General is determined to do what he can to improve the record. We for our part will do all we can to help him. The first step must be to discard preconceptions and self-serving analysis, and to look again at the roots of the problem.

168. What are the principles of the Charter whose violation is at the heart of so many of our conflicts? First and foremost is the requirement in Article 2 of the Charter to settle disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the unlawful use of force. As the drafters of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, which is to be considered at this session and, we hope, approved,² have so aptly put it, neither the existence of a dispute nor the failure of a procedure to settle it peacefully can justify the use of force by any of the parties to it. Otherwise, in a world where there are such disparities between nations, the strong will inevitably batten on the weak and we shall all be subject to the law of the jungle.

169. By extension of the same principle, terrorism, too, must be rooted out. Terrorists can only discredit the causes for which they claim to work. We will always listen to civilized advocacy. But terrorism means the massacre of innocent people. Bombs planted in crowded restaurants, airline passengers held hostage or sprayed with gunfire, diplomatic personnel assassinated—this can be condoned by no one. The international community should unite to condemn terrorists and bring them to justice. To make exceptions is to spread the scourge.

170. I therefore urge all those that have not already done so to sign and ratify the Hague,⁵ Montreal⁶ and Tokyo⁷ Conventions concerning the safety of civil aviation and the Conventions against the taking of hostages [*resolution 34/146, annex*] and on crimes against internationally protected persons [*resolution 3166 (XXVIII), annex*]. And I hope that those that have signed and ratified those Conventions will do their utmost to carry them out.

171. A second basic principle of the United Nations is respect for human rights, entrenched since 1948 in the Universal Declaration to which we all subscribe. Respect for the Declaration is easy. What remains is for us to ensure that its provisions are observed. That is far harder. In many countries the spirit and the letter of the Declaration are persistently and deliberately ignored. In recent years the United Nations has made some limited progress in developing its ability to respond to such situations. But all too often its responses have been and remain pitifully inadequate.

172. Another of the basic principles is self-determination. It is a principle whose implementation has preoccupied the Organization and informed its proceedings ever since its inception. The right of all peoples to self-determination is enshrined in the two International Covenants on Human Rights and underlined in such important United Nations documents as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations has long since come to

regard self-determination as not just a principle but an inalienable right.

173. Self-determination is therefore fundamental to British foreign policy. Thanks to our recognition of this right in regard to our own dependencies, nearly 50 members of the General Assembly have taken their places here. Never in the whole history of the world has there been such a massive transfer of power, voluntarily and deliberately undertaken. The legacy of our imperial past is not bitterness or suspicion, but friendship and co-operation.

174. The achievements of the British in decolonization since the last war have been our expression and application of the principle that we have long supported in other parts of the world. To take one example, early in the nineteenth century, Britain recognized the struggle of the newly emerging Latin American nations for independence. We stood by them and gave them support. We were among the first to realize the justice of their aspirations, and we laid a basis of friendship and mutual respect which has persisted to this day.

Mr. Fischer (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

175. The example of Latin America showed the world that respect for self-determination was the right and natural way to discharge colonial responsibilities. Next year is the bicentenary of Simón Bolívar, and I should like to pay a tribute to him and to the nations which he brought to birth. Our relations with the countries of Latin America which reflect that history have been and remain of great importance to us.

176. This last year, Britain itself has been involved in a major conflict, a conflict which we and our fellow members of the Security Council tried strenuously to avert. On 1 April 1982 the President of the Council, in the name of all its members, appealed to Britain and Argentina to exercise the utmost restraint. Britain responded positively to that appeal. The response of Argentina was a military invasion of the Falkland Islands. Following an authoritative determination by the Security Council the next day that Argentina's invasion of the Falklands had created a breach of the peace, and a mandatory demand by the Council in its resolution 502 (1982) that Argentina withdraw, we went to every conceivable length to avoid having to resort to force in self-defence.

177. The Security Council thus sought first to deter Argentina from aggression and then to induce it to withdraw. The efforts of the United Nations—the efforts of the Security Council and of the Secretary-General himself—to achieve a peaceful settlement had the full, active and whole-hearted support of the British Government. They failed through Argentine obduracy.

178. Throughout our campaign to repossess the Islands, we took immense care to act strictly within the framework of the Charter, at each point reporting our actions to the Security Council. The force we used in self-defence under Article 51 was the minimum necessary to remove Argentina's occupying forces. We made it clear that in so acting we were showing our absolute determination to implement to the full our obligations towards the populations of our

dependent Territories under Article 73. We will not be deflected from that determination and I make that quite clear.

179. By liberating the people of the Falklands from alien domination, we were also standing up for the right of a small but authentic people to determine how they should be governed and how they should live. Our tragic losses in men and ships were considerable, but we were able to prove that in some cases, given the will and the courage and the professionalism required, aggression does not pay.

180. The Argentine invasion took place when negotiations in good faith were actually in train between Britain and Argentina. We were talking round the table with the Argentines at the time. Suddenly and brutally they decided upon a military invasion. That flagrant violation of the principles of the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes has radically altered the situation. It will be very difficult indeed to revive our confidence in Argentine intentions. It will take a long time. Why, even now, has Argentina not accepted the definitive cessation of the hostilities which it so mistakenly initiated? Is it not for Argentina to prove that it has renounced any thought of using force? Is it not for Argentina to demonstrate respect for the right of self-determination, including the right of the Falklanders? Will Argentina now abide by the principles of the United Nations and the precepts of international law? Those are the questions which must be answered if confidence is to be rebuilt.

181. But the Falklands dispute, though it loomed large for Britain, is far from being the only example of defiance by Members of fundamental United Nations principles. It is certainly far from being the most costly in lives. The region which has suffered most from war over the past year has undoubtedly again been the Near and Middle East.

182. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has been horrifyingly destructive and has taken a terrible toll of innocent life. Israel has legitimate security concerns, but the operation undertaken against Lebanon went far beyond the requirements of Israeli security and was pursued in defiance of the explicit demands of the Security Council. Force was used disproportionately and relentlessly, and in the process the Lebanese people and Palestinian civilians have paid a cruel price. It does not require much imagination to realize the bitterness and resentment they must feel.

183. At the heart of the issue is the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and their aspiration for a land of their own in the West Bank and Gaza. Only by reconciling that right with Israel's right to a peaceful existence within its own borders will there be a lasting end to this appalling conflict. I believe—and we must certainly hope—that a significant proportion of people in Israel and the Arab world are now convinced that war is not the answer and are prepared to compromise for peace. Experience does not encourage us here, but the proposals put forward by President Reagan and by the Arab heads of State have created a new opportunity and a new outlook for negotiations which none of us can afford to see wasted. The choice lies with the peoples of the region,

but they are going to want and to need all the help the rest of us can give them.

184. The conflict between Iran and Iraq has equally been ruthless and bloody. It has cost many thousands of lives. Obviously it has seriously endangered the stability of a crucial region of the world vital to the interests of many countries outside. Surely by now both sides must accept that further conflict is fruitless. As so often in war, both sides have been the losers. To prolong the conflict will only increase the suffering of their own peoples.

185. Although the Middle East has recently held the main focus, we must not forget that the same principles are involved in other areas. It is now nearly three years since the Soviet Union mounted its massive military invasion of Afghanistan. The General Assembly has three times cried out for the self-determination of the Afghan people to be respected, cries which have been cynically ignored by the Soviet Union. No one knows how many people have been killed; no one knows how many villages have been destroyed or how much the lives of innocent people have been disrupted. All those facts are suppressed, and people can well understand why. What we do know is that some 3 million refugees have fled their country, imposing an enormous burden on its neighbours. Pakistan's impressive and generous handling of this problem deserves our admiration. We also know that the Afghan people continue to resist the imposition by Soviet arms of a régime they do not want. What a crime against humanity war is, and what a blot upon our collective record.

186. Then, in Kampuchea, an unrepresentative régime is also kept in power by the armed forces of its larger neighbour. In this case the invader was Viet Nam. The régime was imposed by military invasion more than three years ago. All the efforts of the United Nations and the neighbouring countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations—which we have whole-heartedly supported—have so far failed to move the Vietnamese from their insistence on maintaining by force in Kampuchea a régime to suit their own interests. The recent formation of a coalition of Kampuchean resistance forces could prove a significant step towards a comprehensive political solution based on self-determination, and we wish it well. As in the case of Afghanistan, Britain will continue to work with every other freedom-loving country for a just solution to this dispute and to ensure that these continuing injustices are not forgotten.

187. And the same is true concerning Poland. As a European country Britain has been profoundly concerned with events in Poland. The struggle in that unhappy country may on the face of it seem to some a domestic problem. But of course it is far more than that. This time last year the Polish people were seeking peacefully to liberalize and reform their society under a régime that was originally imposed on them from outside—and, incidentally, with no consultation and no reference to their rights of self-determination. Since then, with full Soviet encouragement and support, the Polish régime has taken deliberate steps to crush the hopes of the people for a freer and more just society. No freedom-loving person, no true democrat, no one with any feeling for human rights can fail to

be concerned that a wave of oppression has once again swept across that long-suffering country and its valiant and noble people. We shall continue to call on the Polish authorities to fulfil their undertaking to return to the path of renewal and reform, and we shall continue to urge and press the Soviet Union to allow the peoples under their tutelage to develop in ways more in accordance with their natural traditions and aspirations and in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

188. By contrast it is a relief to be able to record that in one of the world's major disputes progress has been made recently towards a settlement based on a Security Council resolution. I am glad that Britain, as a member of the contact group, has been able to contribute towards progress over a settlement in Namibia. For progress there has undoubtedly been. Although it is premature to assume that the many obstacles in the path of Namibian independence will all be overcome, it is not, I think, too much to hope that the people of Namibia may soon have the opportunity to determine their own future and to do so in elections held under United Nations supervision. If a solution can be achieved in this way in Namibia it will indeed be a success to chalk up for persistent and patient diplomacy backed by the United Nations. I should like to pay a tribute to the constructive way in which the parties to the dispute and the front-line States have approached these lengthy and delicate negotiations.

189. A settlement in Namibia, if it can be added to that in Zimbabwe, would provide further proof that the complex problems of that troubled region of Africa can be solved through peaceful means rather than conflict and violence. There is no need for further lives to be lost. We hope for peaceful evolution within South Africa itself and the emergence there of a form of government based on the consent of the South African people as a whole.

190. I should also like to welcome signs of progress in another region where the United Nations has long been directly involved, namely Korea. We are encouraged by the positive attitude to contacts with the North shown by the Government of the Republic of Korea. This should contribute to the prospects for a lasting solution to the Korean question based on genuine understanding.

191. There are many Member States which are not directly involved in any of the problems I have touched on. But there are some international issues which affect us all. One of them is disarmament. I want to say that the British Government remains fully committed to the pursuit of realistic, balanced and verifiable arms control and disarmament measures in both nuclear and conventional forces which will promote peace with freedom and security at a lesser cost.

192. The second special session on disarmament did serve to concentrate the minds of world leaders on this subject. But it was a forum for stimulus and review, not negotiation. The straight talking and the hard work has to be done in the negotiations taking place elsewhere, in talks on strategic arms, intermediate-range nuclear forces, mutual and balanced force reductions and chemical weapons.

193. Britain's principal purpose, the principal purpose of the United Nations, is peace. In the absence of a world-wide will for peace, it can be achieved only if each and every member of the international community respects the principles of the Charter. All Members of the United Nations bear a heavy responsibility to remember that it is an organization designed to preserve the peace. To use it as a forum for ideological rhetoric is to undermine the respect in which it should be held and to diminish its capacity to fulfil its purpose.

194. I referred earlier to the importance my Government attaches to international economic co-operation. Our record speaks for itself. I wish that that were true of all who orate on the subject in this Hall. To say that this co-operation presents a moral challenge is not new. But the concept gains force in face of the current painful realities of the world economy, with growth barely visible, inflation a persisting plague, unemployment still rising. For developed countries these problems have been serious; for developing countries they can be devastating.

195. So today it is more than ever in the mutual interest of developed and developing countries to pull together. Renewed stable growth in the world economy, the balanced and reciprocal development of world trade, the social and economic well-being of the developing countries, especially the low-income countries, are in the general and the particular interest alike. Our conviction that current problems need to be tackled positively is underlined by the United Kingdom's strong support for IDA and the recent release of our third instalment for the sixth replenishment of IDA, our continuing support for an open world trading system, our resistance to protectionist measures, and our maintenance of a high level of official development assistance and essential private capital flows. I fully associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished Foreign Minister of Denmark, who spoke at the 8th meeting on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community. North-South matters require a continuing commitment from all of us.

196. Britain's foreign policy is firmly based on respect for the principles which I have been talking about today. We shall continue to strive for the maintenance of peace, and we shall work for that with all our friends and allies in all parts of the world. In this search for peace there is no place for make-believe or deceit. Unless we face up to the issues involved in each conflict and in each disagreement squarely, unless we decide to face them together with a will to resolve them without recourse to violence or war, we will never be successful.

197. So let us go forward from here now, with dedication and realism, to work together for that peace which the billions and billions of people we here represent long for.

198. Mr. PÉREZ-LLORCA (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, in congratulating Mr. Hollai on his unanimous election to the presidency, I wish to express the confidence of the Spanish delegation in his experience and knowledge of the questions that we shall be discussing and assure him of our co-operation

to ensure that this thirty-seventh session will be crowned with success.

199. I should also like to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Kittani, who conducted the work of the Assembly during the past year with a sense of impartiality and wisdom that we all should recognize and appreciate.

200. For the first time in the history of the Organization, the responsibility of conducting the work of the Secretariat has fallen to a Latin American. Spain shares the satisfaction and legitimate pride of Peru and all the peoples of Latin America. Today we reiterate our confidence, already confirmed by the facts, in the political skill of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. His experience and ability, well known to us, have been manifested in recent months during critical times at which he has shown himself capable of placing his full efforts at the service of the cause of peace with patience, wisdom and dedication.

201. During the year that has elapsed since the beginning of the last session of the Assembly, it could not be said that the United Nations has reached the goals of international co-operation and coexistence laid down in the Charter. In addition to problems inherited from the past, we have seen new tension and conflicts emerge with their tragic sequel of loss of human lives, irreparable damage, suffering and the development of potentially still more dangerous situations. Unfortunately, all this casts greater discredit upon the Organization. Both in disarmament and in the progress of economic co-operation, two serious questions, progress has been practically non-existent.

202. My country has been a member of the Security Council for some two years. From this position of responsibility we have been able to take an active part in the consideration of matters such as the Middle East conflict, the situation in southern Africa, the crisis in Lebanon and the problem of the Malvinas.

203. In each case, we have maintained an absolutely independent position, based on the application of principles of our foreign policy in defence of the Charter and of the resolutions adopted in the United Nations. We have constantly endeavoured to ensure that the action of the Council was sufficiently prompt and effective to prevent open confrontations and loss of human life.

204. The Spanish delegation has taken part both in the deliberations of the Council and in negotiations among its members and interested parties in the solution of conflicts. When we have felt that our initiative was necessary, we have placed before the Council draft resolutions inspired by those principles and by humanitarian reasons.

205. At times our efforts have led to the adoption of resolutions. At other times, they have been blocked. Unfortunately, some countries have placed greater trust in victory by arms than in the fruits of dialogue and negotiation. We are at least left with the satisfaction of knowing that we have put forward appeals and proposals for peace, negotiation and compromise when there was still time to prevent bloodshed. Still, a minimum of lucidity suggests that once again, this year,

the reason of force has made more headway than has the force of reason.

206. During the past year, Spain has pursued its course towards full membership in the political, economic and defence institutions of the world to which it belongs. It has done so faithful to its European and Western vocation and aware that the defence of its national interests and of international peace and progress required the full normalization of its presence in its natural forums and aware also that through that normalization it was serving the objectives of equality and absolute and uncompromising defence of its own sovereignty. These are objectives which are best served by participation rather than by maintaining anomalous positions of dissociation and indirect links with those forums. This was required by our history, our culture and our own geographical situation and made possible by the full restoration of the political values of freedom and pluralistic democracy.

207. We are taking our place in Europe and the West. We are doing so in conditions of equality and respect for our sovereignty, overcoming the merely indirect relationship which previously existed. We have done so aware that it does not diminish but rather enhances our independence for outside action and our capacity for activity in the world; good proof of this has been our involvement with the Security Council.

208. We have done so with the certainty that our action is not directed against anyone but only in favour of our national interests and rights—aware, finally, that the historic restitution of Spain to a position of equality with the rest of the West enriches and gives meaning, depth and coherence to the other innate and profound dimension of our historical being, the Latin American dimension, and at the same time encourages our involvement in other forums of particular relevance, such as relations with the Mediterranean, Arab and African nations.

209. In recent years, our relations with the brother peoples of America have grown spectacularly in the area of economic, commercial and technical exchanges, cultural and educational co-operation and Spain's presence, contacts and full participation in the institutional framework being shaped by that community of nations.

210. Thus, we have now become members of ECLA and observers in the Andean Pact and we have, as full-fledged members, subscribed to the Andrés Bello Convention this year and the Hipólito Inanue and Simón Rodríguez conventions in 1981. It is clear that greater involvement by Spain in its environment enables its presence in the Americas and the Americas' presence in Spain to have greater depth, impetus and promise.

211. But, above all, we maintain with Latin America a common political will, seeking to ensure that in the United Nations and in other international forums to which Spain belongs we can advance and defend the problems and just causes of those brother nations which Spain defends as its own.

212. These months of crises and international problems have been particularly difficult for Latin America. The grave situation in Central America, with

its tragic spiral of violence and tension which threaten to spill over the borders of the States of that region, is taking on alarming proportions. The instability is growing through the deterioration of national economies, aggravated by adverse international economic factors and a lack of understanding on the part of the economically powerful countries, which reduce to cold figures the treatment of issues so basic to Latin America as trade of commodities, on which the development and survival of entire peoples depend.

213. Various plans and peace proposals for Central America have not attained the objectives set. The coherent and reasonable plan of President López Portillo of Mexico, proposals for Central American meetings emanating from Panama, have not reached a stage of maturity and execution because the common horizon is darkened by misunderstanding and violence.

214. Spain is continuing to give priority attention to and show greater concern for the development of the Central American tragedy. We consider it necessary to design a pattern of solutions based on a number of basic ideas, which in our judgement could be the following: rejection of so-called military solutions, which lack effectiveness; reliance on political negotiations involving all national forces; an appeal to the principle of non-intervention, which must be applied strictly in Latin America to ensure that each people can determine its own fate; a willingness to assist in the consolidation of democratic and pluralistic alternatives, convinced of the need to organize peaceful coexistence on the basis of a respect for life and freedom and the requirements of social justice; and unequivocal and indiscriminate condemnation of the violation of human rights, without any territorial or ideological exceptions.

215. In affirming these ideas the Spanish Government will always be ready to contribute its efforts and determination, as we have said before in United Nations forums and as we publicly proclaimed in the Bogotá Declaration last August. Spain understands the deep roots of the problems of these nations. We feel these problems as our own, and we know that it is unrealistic to trust that the course of time or unilateral formulas will resolve them, because the Central American situation needs solutions urgently, before it deteriorates into a conflict affecting the entire area and becomes one of the major focal points of world crisis.

216. The renewed Central American tragedy is even more regrettable in that it is avoidable. All that is necessary is a collective commitment to respect borders; to give Central American States the assurance that there will be no interference and that there will be self-determination for their peoples; to refrain from sabre-rattling, which makes neighbouring countries nervous and causes them to give the acquisition of weapons precedence over the satisfaction of social needs; to make the necessary effort to modernize their societies and encourage scrupulous respect for human rights. If we all dedicate ourselves to the task of encouraging the restoration of social and political balances, facilitating negotiation between democratic and representative forces and avoiding the possible dead-end of armed confrontation and political polarization, we shall have embarked upon a road leading to peace and stability in the entire zone. The Spanish

Government whole-heartedly desires that peace and stability and is prepared to co-operate fully, together with sister republics of Latin America, in the achievement of that noble objective.

217. Another focal point of tension in Latin America has been in the South Atlantic, where a colonial situation has led to bloodshed and a tragic war. The Spanish Government has followed with concern and anxiety the development of the armed conflict in the Malvinas, a confrontation which should never have happened and which could have been avoided if appeals for dialogue and negotiation, insistently repeated by Spain, had been heeded. It is well known that my country made a number of attempts, both bilaterally and internationally, to halt the escalation towards a senseless and anachronistic war, in an effort to avoid bloodshed, the enormous material losses and the opening of a huge abyss of resentment and misunderstanding between Latin America and Europe. The Secretary-General and other countries joined in this effort, but our appeals were not heeded, with the disastrous consequences of which we all know.

218. It is now our duty, since it was impossible to avoid war, to redouble our efforts to ensure peace in the future. To that end Spain, which opposed the use of force as a means of settling international disputes from the beginning of the crisis, considers it indispensable that negotiations on the substance of the problem be opened, the substance being none other than decolonization of the Territory, in order to achieve a diplomatic solution which would contemplate the restoration of the territorial integrity of Argentina and safeguarding and guaranteeing the legitimate interests and rights of the population of the Malvinas. This is the only way we can definitively eliminate the roots of a conflict which would otherwise become a permanent source of tension and destabilization throughout the region, with the foreseeable negative impact on relations between Europe and Latin America, which we believe must be harmonious and must be improved.

219. In recent months the situation in the Middle East has continually worsened. Despite the existence of some positive elements, such as the recovery of the whole of the Sinai by Egypt, other developments, such as the illegal annexation of the Golan Heights and, more recently, the brutal armed intervention by Israel in Lebanon, with its consequent tragedies, have posed a constant challenge to the international community and have seriously disturbed the conscience of mankind.

220. Spain has co-operated actively in the Security Council in the search for a solution and humanitarian activities to alleviate the sufferings of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. The results achieved have been modest. The resolutions of the Security Council, which are binding upon all Member States, have remained ineffective. We have seen the powerlessness of the Organization to prevent the invasion of Lebanon, the assault upon Beirut and, in a context in which the horror of the deed was much greater than any political consideration, the sacrifice of hundreds of innocent victims in the Palestinian refugee camps, an act of barbarism such as we had thought was a thing of the past.

221. In the ruins of Beirut and the renewed tragedy of the Palestinian people, however, some elements can be perceived that would seem to point towards the beginning of a solution. For many years Spain has stated in this forum that any solution to the Middle East conflict must necessarily include recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

222. The principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) remain valid and include withdrawal from all the occupied territories and the right of all States of the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, a right which Spain accepts, recognizes and respects and from which it excludes none. But together with this recognition it is necessary to view the Palestinian phenomenon in its full dimensions. Spain welcomes the new proposals, especially the Arab plan prepared in Fez, with optimism. These are gaining growing acceptance as containing all the political elements necessary to ensure a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem.

223. Spain seeks to intensify its co-operation with all the countries of Africa, being closely involved with the problems affecting that continent. We feel ourselves linked with those countries, more especially the northern African countries, for reasons which go beyond immediate geographical proximity, including the old historical and cultural ties which unite us with the Arab nation.

224. Spain's determination to maintain permanent and fruitful co-operation with the neighbouring countries of the Maghreb is well known, as is our desire to ensure that the problem of Western Sahara is solved to the satisfaction of all parties, in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU and the expression of the will of the people.

225. We believe that a decisive role must be played by the OAU in the solution of the problems of the continent and in eliminating the tension existing today. Spain's determination to co-operate in the African continent, expressed both in our political statements and in our growing links of co-operation with various countries of that continent, is of signal value in the case of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, a Spanish-speaking African nation now going through a vital stage of renovation of its political institutions with the approval by referendum of a new constitution and is making great efforts for economic development and reorganization. Spain views with satisfaction the convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, of a pledging conference for that Republic, a conference in which it took an active part. It will continue to enhance its links of co-operation with that nation, always adapting them to the will expressed by the people and Government of that nation, in strict respect for its options, its independence and its sovereignty.

226. With respect to the problem of Namibia, we view with concern the fact that our hopes for an imminent settlement are now meeting with new and growing difficulties. Spain considers necessary the immediate implementation of the plans for the independence of the Territory contained essentially in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), whose principles and provisions we support.

227. We reiterate our rejection of the heinous practice of *apartheid*, which constitutes not only a flagrant violation of human rights but a source of grave tension endangering peace and security in the region and representing a permanent challenge to the Organization.

228. With regard to the problem of Cyprus, we favour the continuation of all efforts to relaunch, under the auspices of the Organization, the intercommunal dialogue upon which the future of peaceful co-existence favouring the economic development of the Cypriot people must be based, in order to ensure that a satisfactory solution may be achieved on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

229. In other areas of the world there remain tension and armed confrontations to which the Organization must attempt to put an end. The war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, to cite only one example, has now lasted for more than two years, with enormous losses of human lives and suffering for both parties. The Spanish Government views with distress and concern this conflict between two friendly countries and is prepared to support every effort designed to achieve a solution.

230. With regard to Afghanistan, three years after the invasion there is still no glimpse of a solution to this foreign armed intervention which we have repeatedly denounced. We must continue to insist on the exercise of international pressure to bring about the liberation of Afghanistan. Therefore we hope that the General Assembly will reiterate its resolutions demanding the withdrawal of the foreign military forces and calling for the restoration of Afghanistan as a free and independent country.

231. In Gibraltar there persists a situation which must be brought to an end according to the recommendations of the United Nations, through negotiation between Spain and the United Kingdom. This principle has been accepted by the British Government, which, in signing the Declaration of Lisbon⁸ committed itself to resolving through negotiation with Spain all differences concerning Gibraltar, in a spirit of friendship and in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations—a commitment that was reiterated on later occasions.

232. The climate of dialogue and understanding, the favourable climate which must necessarily precede or accompany a negotiation which for us is of decisive importance, was modified by subsequent events which have brought about postponements. There have been circumstances that have affected negatively the intensity, the earnestness, the seriousness and the depth which these negotiations require. The course of authentic negotiation is the course that Spain has long since chosen, in conformity with the United Nations decisions and parallel with activities in other forums; it is also the only possible course. We are convinced that the persistence of a situation such as this is contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, as the Assembly has repeatedly declared. We also believe that two democratic countries such as Spain and the United Kingdom must resolve this problem by the civilized method of dialogue and negotiation. However, the negotiation must be

authentic and conducted in good faith, and cover, of course, all the elements of the problem and essentially the one constituting the very root of the dispute: the question of sovereignty. Any attempt to avoid that element because of temporary circumstances, however strong the passions aroused, would constitute a grave responsibility and could endanger the process of resolving the problem as it has been set forth.

233. With regard to the population of Gibraltar, I wish to reiterate once more that Spain accepts the idea that its interests must be borne in mind and fully safeguarded in the negotiations and that the preservation and promotion of their well-being and the protection of their rights must also be part of the solution of the problem. The Spanish Government has no hostility towards that population, nor has it any intention of interfering with its citizenship or any other questions of that nature in its relations with the United Kingdom.

234. Spain has the irrevocable objective of restoring its territorial integrity by recovering, through negotiations with the United Kingdom, that portion of its territory, while preserving the interests, rights and well-being of the population. This has been the doctrine of the United Nations, according to which the principle of territorial integrity, enshrined in paragraph 6 of the Declaration in Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), is applicable in this case, taking precedence over any other criterion. This doctrine has been established by the United Nations in an irrevocable, clear and manifest manner for the solution of this problem.

235. I wish to refer to various matters which demonstrate both the essential nature of the work we are doing in the Organization and the lack of effectiveness that the Organization has, unfortunately, had in recent years.

236. The first is the matter of human rights, which by its very nature is the ultimate goal of all political activity and of all organizations such as this one. Proper observance of human rights is the key to the peaceful solution of national and international problems.

237. Spain values respect for these rights nationally and internationally, with the intensity and passion of one who has recovered something he lost. The constitutional recognition of the value of international and European claims in this matter, the acceptance of all mechanisms for monitoring at the international and European levels, the full participation and assumption of initiatives in every facet of the work of the Council of Europe, the United Nations and other bodies in these fields—these are clearly well known and demonstrate the sincerity of our position. There remains a great deal to be done in the protection and safeguarding of human rights, removing this question, as I have said before, from the geographical or ideological limitations with which it is sometimes viewed, limitations which because of their basic insincerity prevent effective progress from being made.

238. The first human right is the right to life, a right which is being infringed every day by terrorists. Terrorism crosses all borders and there must be international co-operation in order effectively to combat it. On previous occasions we have spoken of

that necessity and, more specifically, I stated the following to the Assembly at the thirty-sixth session:

“... we cannot compromise with terrorists without endangering peace. No one can claim to be persecuted for political reasons—an allegation all too often made by the terrorist—if that person is free in a free political society. Wherever political change can be sought without risk through regular elections allowing free expression of every option, none can claim to be persecuted for political reasons. There are no political offenders in a real democracy: if it is a democracy they do not exist; if they exist it is not a democracy.

“It is abnormal to impose by force a non-existent and brutal ‘right’ to kill and to seek protection outside one’s borders, claiming that political freedom is needed when it already exists.” [12th meeting, paras. 241-242.]

239. That co-operation for which I appealed last year is something that we have called for and sought firmly and emphatically, in all its dimensions and in all forums in which we are represented. In European and Western forums, as in international organizations, we have contributed to creating sensitivity to and arousing awareness of the immoral and obnoxious character of terrorism and of its serious social and political aspects. The progress achieved, however, should not lead us to forget the continued existence, in increasingly isolated cases, of indifference or lack of solidarity, the explanation of which can only lie in shortsighted and suicidal egoism, and which is particularly serious and painful when the countries concerned have common borders.

240. Another aspect which an international organization must constantly bear in mind in dealing with human rights is the situation of immigrants. If there is a group of human beings who, together with refugees, deserve international understanding and protection they are immigrants. Spain will continue to work for the adoption of a set of clear and precise rules effectively protecting the rights of immigrants and foreign workers, who need legal protection, social solidarity and economic security. The Government of Spain has presented specific proposals and working documents to the General Assembly⁹ designed to bring about a speedy international agreement guaranteeing the rights of migrant workers.

241. Not only has the international economic picture failed to improve but all indicators suggest that it may deteriorate still further in coming months. The financial crisis which threatens to distort the entire international monetary system and imbalances in commodity markets which affect the most vulnerable economies are leading the least developed countries into increasingly untenable situations.

242. Spain favours global negotiations conducted within the framework of the United Nations. The preparations for the negotiations should be open to all States concerned to avoid the danger of a repetition of the problems that arose in connection with the

North-South dialogue. The experience of recent years has demonstrated the interdependence of the different economies, which are affected by global problems which can only be solved through proposals and negotiations in which all the interested parties are involved.

243. It is obvious that one of the reasons for the economic difficulties is the arms race. In this field Spain, as is evident and is recognized by all, has made national defence, politically, internationally and militarily, genuine defence, without threatening anyone, and proclaims its concern about the arms race as well as the evasiveness and insincerity of those who really could contribute to disarmament.

244. The Government of Spain has taken many initiatives in this field and supports all initiatives which, based on realism and the effective preservation of security and balance and not on Manichean considerations or the desire to spread propaganda, could lead to progress in this field.

245. On 12 October the decade that will culminate in 1992, the date which will mark the five-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, will begin. When on that dawn in 1492 the three Spanish vessels reached the coast of America, communication was established between the old lands of Europe and a fabulous new continent which its discoverers called the New World. The earth became round and history became universal.

246. Let me recall that event to the Organization the very aim of which is universality. The role played by Spain in that discovery justifies my mentioning to the Assembly now a proposal by the Dominican Republic that the Assembly declare the year 1992 the year of the five-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. The Spanish Government supports and welcomes that initiative without reservation.

247. We believe that the responsibility for commemorating the five-hundredth anniversary of the discovery should be universal, so as to bring to every corner of the world and to the mind of all the memory of the American past, its present reality and its future promise—a future in which Spain sees one of the great hopes of our time.

The meeting rose at 2 p.m.

NOTES

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

² Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly; see resolution 37/10, annex.

³ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.IX.2.

⁴ See A/36/215, annex, sect. IV, decision 1 (I).

⁵ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 860, No. 12325, p. 106.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 704, No. 10106, p. 219.

⁷ *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements*, vol. 24, part one (1973), p. 568.

⁸ See A/AC.109/603 and Corr.1.

⁹ See A/36/378.