



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Cinéas (Haiti),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Prince NORODOM SIHĀNOUK (Democratic Kampuchea): This is the sixth time in a quarter of a century that I have had the honour to come to this rostrum to defend before the representatives of Member States the interests of my country and its people.

3. Today, as on the last occasion when I addressed the Security Council, in 1979,¹ following the occupation of Kampuchea by the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, it is for the very existence of my country as a free and sovereign State that I seek to be the spokesman before the Assembly.

4. I wish at the outset to express my most respectful good wishes to the President of the Assembly. May I be permitted to salute very respectfully Mr. Kittani, and congratulate him very cordially on the outstanding leadership he provided at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and on his great ability, sense of fairness and integrity. I extend respectful good wishes to the Secretary-General, whose high sentiments and deep devotion to the cause of justice and peace we all admire.

5. May I be permitted also to salute the delegations present here, amongst which it is my honour and privilege to count many faithful friends, in the name of my country, its Coalition Government and all patriots who struggle in acutely difficult circumstances, but with fierce determination, for the liberation of their country.

6. Contrary to certain false allegations, our Government is not a Government in exile. All its members live and fight in the interior of our national territory, side by side with our heroic fighters. For, despite the efforts of a powerful Vietnamese army in control of Kampuchean territory, we have liberated and solidly held large zones not only near the Thai frontier, but also in several regions of the south-west and the north-east of our country.

7. Last July I myself visited my compatriots in three liberated zones, travelling by car, on foot and on elephant, deep into the interior of our country. Everywhere I was welcomed by well-armed and disciplined military units and by tens of thousands of civilians, amongst whom I had the satisfaction to note an impressive number of little children.

8. My country and its Coalition Government wish to express their profound gratitude to the United Nations for having, since 1979, rejected the pretensions of the régime installed by a foreign Power in our capital, a Power which seeks to obtain the seat of Kampuchea in the Assembly's midst. Here everyone—including those who support its candidature to this seat—knows that that régime has no real existence, that it is under the control of Vietnamese occupying authorities and that it depends in everything and for everything on the protection of two foreign nations.

9. To recognize the puppet régime of Phnom Penh would in fact mean: first, accepting the permanent foreign domination of our country, which has been a Member in its own right of the United Nations since 1955, and reducing it to the position of a colony of Powers which shamelessly violate the Charter of the United Nations and treat with contempt its resolutions seeking the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces from our territory; secondly, giving to many other countries—not necessarily all of the third world—that are also occupied by foreign forces the sad certainty that they are for ever condemned to an anachronistic domination; and, thirdly, augmenting the state of tension and risk of conflict in our region.

10. Kampuchea occupies on the geographical plane a strategic position of primary importance. I have sought in the past to make it a buffer State between two categories of State with opposing ideologies. We now know that the ravages of war have extended from Viet Nam to Kampuchea and they threaten to spread even further to the west.

11. Independent, non-aligned and neutral, accepting no foreign bases on its territory, my country could have constituted a major element in the peace not only of the peninsula, but of the totality of south-east Asia and even of east Asia. On the contrary, a Kampuchea becoming a colony and a military base for two expansionist and hegemonist Powers constitutes a menace, as the years of the future will prove, to the stability, peace, security and progress of nations and peoples of the entire region and could well provoke an armed conflict with incalculable consequences between the great Powers whose interests are in conflict in Asia.

12. As members of the Assembly know, I have often been the object of verbal attacks, of a mixture of

contempt, sarcasm and abuse on the part of the leaders of Hanoi and their allies. I shall not reply to those attacks but shall limit myself to recalling that in Asia there certainly did not exist, before 1970, a non-communist leader who was more sincerely a friend of Viet Nam than I was, one who rendered spontaneously and voluntarily so much important help to the Vietnamese patriots of North and South in their struggle for independence in their country.

13. After the invasion of my country by the army of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam I reminded the leaders of Hanoi of the assurances of "eternal gratitude" and promises of "unswerving respect for the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity" of my country given many times orally and in writing by the leaders of Hanoi, to remind them of their commitments.

14. At the end of 1979 and the beginning of 1980 I wrote three long letters to my "friend" and former "companion-in-arms", Pham Van Dong, head of the Vietnamese Government, to propose bilateral negotiations between his Government and myself, either in Hanoi or in any other town of his choice, in order to resolve peacefully the differences between our two nations. I stated in my correspondence that, in the event that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would agree to restore to Kampuchea its independence and its right to self-determination, our Government, which would result from the popular consensus, following free elections held under international control, would not fail to establish, on a basis of equality, co-operation and friendship with a Viet Nam that is a neighbour and a brother.

15. I waited in vain during the three years for a sign of good will on the part of Hanoi, accepting even accusations made by certain compatriots about my "pro-Vietnamese" indulgence. To my patient efforts in seeking a peaceful solution and re-establishment of mutual confidence by complete neutralization and international control and guarantees for my country, the leaders of Hanoi replied, or caused replies to be made, that they would not negotiate with a man "who no longer represented anything", who was "politically finished", and that the situation in Kampuchea was "irreversible".

16. Yet today as yesterday, I feel no hatred towards Viet Nam. I have never ceased to recognize that the geographical position of our two countries makes them neighbours to the end of time and that they are, because of this, compelled to understand each other and to listen to each other. This understanding, however, can be established only between equals and not between servant and master.

17. The present Government of Hanoi does not accept this analysis. It has chosen to forget, and how quickly, the repeated help that our people and I myself have rendered during a crucial period to the people of Viet Nam in their struggle for independence and reunification. It has also very quickly forgotten—this is even more serious—that the support it has received in this struggle from a large part of the international community resulted from the fact that it appeared to be the innocent victim of colonialism and imperialism. Today, this very Viet Nam, restored in its territorial unity and independence, indulges, in its turn, in im-

perialist and colonial rule. It goes so far in its arrogance as to make serious threats against some of the neighbouring countries, which quite rightly are concerned about its expansionism.

18. We have all noticed that in his last tour of South-East Asia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has permitted himself to issue, in respect of certain countries that he has visited, threats that are hardly veiled, simply because these countries ask Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and to let the people of Kampuchea regain their right to self-determination.

19. The Vietnamese Minister has accused certain Governments of the member countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN] of interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, but, as we know, it is Viet Nam which has interfered in a shameless fashion in our internal affairs, occupying our country with large numbers of troops and appropriating to itself material parts of our national resources, whereas ASEAN has only asked our occupying Power to let Kampuchea become yet once more the master of its own destiny.

20. President Ho Chi Minh, at whose funeral I was the only head of State present to pay my respects, loved to say that "nothing is more precious than independence and liberty". This adage, one now sees, is to be applied, according to his successors, only to their own country, which arrogates to itself the right to confiscate the independence and liberty of its immediate neighbours—our country, Kampuchea, and an unfortunate Laos—whilst waiting to attack other nations which may be militarily weaker.

21. In so far as Kampuchea is concerned, it is clear that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam seeks to retain it indefinitely under its heel by the intermediary of a puppet Government which can refuse it nothing.

22. It is in the face of these facts and in this dramatic context that I find myself compelled to commit myself to a tripartite coalition at this juncture and to join, pacifist though I am, the armed struggle so that our country may one day become once more master of its destiny.

23. The United Nations was good enough to adopt, in 1979, 1980 and 1981, precise and unambiguous resolutions showing the way to be followed to resolve with justice the problem of Kampuchea, a problem which would not exist but for the greed of Viet Nam on the political and territorial planes.

24. In 1981 the International Conference on Kampuchea was held in New York, under the auspices of the United Nations; the Declaration and resolution of the Conference² conform to equity, justice and the Charter of the United Nations, as well as to the best interests of Kampuchea and Viet Nam and to those of the peoples of the entire region.

25. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea cannot accept, any more than our compatriots, that another conference should be arranged by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which profits from the support of the Soviet Union and the allies of that great Power. The primary effect of such a further conference—where, naturally, the puppet régimes of Phnom Penh and Vientiane would be seated—would

be to sidetrack the "situation in Kampuchea" by declaring it finalized and thereby causing to be recognized *de facto* the régime of Heng Samrin, docile creature of Hanoi. Obviously there can be no question that Democratic Kampuchea and peace-loving nations committed to freedom and justice would fall into such a trap.

26. If the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a Member of the United Nations, really wishes to contribute to the return of peace and stability in the region, there is no other solution but to respect United Nations resolutions and participate in the future work of the International Conference on Kampuchea. It is not in any way sufficient to announce, as was done recently by Viet Nam, a "partial retreat" of its forces of occupation in Kampuchea in order to lessen the tension in our region; the reality of such a retreat has not been proved. As a matter of fact, many fresh troops were recently sent from Viet Nam into Kampuchea to reinforce the Vietnamese occupying forces.

27. I repeat that only the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces of occupation—withdrawal to be followed by free elections held under the control of the United Nations permitting the whole of our people to designate their deputies, senators, ministers, head of State and political régime—would constitute an honest solution to the problem of Kampuchea. As long as the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam refuses to take its troops out of Kampuchea, my Government will oppose with all its force the politics of *fait accompli*. We know all too well that for the past three years our country has been gagged, that all political opposition is repressed and that opponents are sent to prison or disappear without leaving a trace.

28. Chemical weapons, especially toxic gas, are frequently used against the resistance fighters and the inhabitants of villages which have escaped Vietnamese control. The forces of occupation appropriate to themselves ever more of the natural riches and goods of Kampuchea and send a growing number of Vietnamese immigrants to colonize our fertile lands and rivers rich in fish but from which the legitimate owners have been driven away.

29. Vietnamese propaganda has strenuously sought—and not without success—to make Western observers who are permitted to enter Kampuchea believe that this country, occupied but not submissive, enjoys a freedom and a well-being which it has not known for a long time. This is but a façade denounced by other journalists who have been in the region and who, in spite of multiple obstacles placed in their way, have been able to make in-depth studies of the real position.

30. I have been telling representatives that the only option which we have is to take up arms to protect our national sovereignty. I know that here and there people mock our struggle and say that we are too weak to challenge the powerful Vietnamese expeditionary forces. Weak or not, we have the sacred duty to struggle with all our strength against the occupying Power.

31. I would not predict a victory in either the short term or medium term, but I can assure representatives that we shall battle on to the end, without hate but with an unbreakable resolution. Those foreigners who

impose their domination on our country and exploit it to their profit will perceive early or late that there will never be peace and that the land of Kampuchea will heat up ever more under their feet.

32. We are not making war on the Vietnamese people. We are fighting for peace and the restoration of independence and freedom to our country which is now reduced to slavery. We do not want a "Pax Vietnamica" or a "Pax Sovietica" but simply a peace of free men.

33. We ask nothing from others. We ask but restoration of our national sovereignty and our territorial integrity; and once that is achieved, we solemnly commit ourselves to living in perfect peaceful co-existence with all our neighbours—and first amongst them Viet Nam—as with all other countries which respect us, no matter what their political and social systems may be. Is that an unreasonable demand, an impossible pretension?

34. We proclaim solemnly before the Assembly, in conformity with United Nations resolutions, that as soon as Viet Nam has totally withdrawn its troops from Kampuchea all will be possible in friendship between our two countries.

35. We are ready to sign with Viet Nam a treaty of peace and non-aggression implying recognition and respect for the territorial integrity of the two neighbouring nations within their present frontiers. This is a just proposal that I make today to the leaders and the people of Viet Nam in the name of our Coalition Government. I am satisfied that, if they would but listen to this appeal of reason, the people of South-East Asia, as well as the peoples of the whole world, would feel the most genuine satisfaction—for not only would peace and harmony return to the Indo-Chinese peninsula but also potential major conflicts would thereby disappear.

36. Unfortunately, the reality is that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is far from seeking to explore the way of reconciliation and peace. It seeks to propagate a very curious concept of an international conference charged, not to solve the situation in Kampuchea, but "to consider the security, the peace and neutrality in South-East Asia".

37. May I draw to the attention of the representatives now present that the "international conference" proposed by the Vietnamese would logically mean side-tracking and avoiding the central issue of Kampuchea, because delegates to such a conference would find themselves, right from the start, required to recognize, *de facto*, the puppet régime of Heng Samrin, functioning under the orders of Hanoi and Moscow.

38. It seems evident to me, as it must seem to you, that no country which loves justice and freedom could, without reneging on its ideals, participate in such a meeting which has as its only aim to serve the egotistical interests of two Powers in their expansionist and colonialist enterprises.

39. Who, in effect, menaces the security and peace and the stability of South-East Asia, if it is not Viet Nam which, with the powerful help of the Soviets, has stationed its forces in Kampuchea, menacing henceforth Thailand and other peaceful member coun-

tries of ASEAN, as well as a number of countries further away?

40. It must be clear that any conference interested in peace and stability in South-East Asia must necessarily resolve, as a priority, the "situation in Kampuchea". This done, my country, having found its independence and its freedom to act, there would remain no problem to resolve in South-East Asia, since no country adjacent to or a neighbour of independent and neutral Kampuchea has anything to fear from us.

41. ASEAN, to which I must render my most profound homage for its political sense and its courage, has refused with reason to sign the pact of non-aggression that Viet Nam proposes. Such a pact would have the same disastrous effects as that which was signed in Munich in 1938 by Chamberlain and Daladier in the hope—tragic illusion—of mollifying Hitler and Mussolini. Such a pact would be but the prelude to further aggression between countries and peoples who subscribe to it.

42. Representatives will understand why no international conference is imaginable if the first item on the agenda does not deal with the situation in Kampuchea and does not seek to put an end to the occupation and colonization of my country by Viet Nam, with the multi-faceted support of the Soviet Union. If this problem is not dealt with and resolved, there is really nothing to discuss, there is nothing to be done but to bend the knee before the diktat of Hanoi and Moscow.

43. It would be lamentable to participate in a Vietnamese conference which will have present as representatives of Kampuchea the régime of quislings of Phnom Penh put in place by the Vietnamese leaders and protected by the powerful Vietnamese army of occupation.

44. To accept the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea would be to accept the law of the jungle. This "law" is already in force in many countries which tragically today are reduced to slavery by a great Power.

45. States Members of the United Nations—at least those for whom the principles of freedom, independence, justice and peace still matter—must have at heart, I am sure, the need to cry "Halt" to the Vietnamese occupation and colonization of Kampuchea by adopting the resolutions and in taking measures which would require Viet Nam, which we once respected, to return to a sense of honour which, we hope but momentarily, it has so singularly failed in.

46. We are very conscious of our limitations and of the fact that our own problems concern us in such absolute priority that we cannot pretend to concern ourselves with the problems of others. But as, of course, our country has always been a Member of the United Nations, I trust I will be permitted to indicate briefly our position on certain problems of major importance.

47. I would at the outset express the sincere gratitude of my country and our people to nations which have generously welcomed our refugees and, in the very first place, to the Kingdom of Thailand, which has carried a very heavy burden in the name of duty to humanity in granting a haven of refuge and protection against threats to hundreds of thousands of our com-

patriots who fled slavery, misery and death. I thank equally, with all my heart, the other countries of ASEAN for their active support and their diplomatic and other assistance to our cause.

48. I salute also the other States which have welcomed a large number of our refugees and permitted them to escape despair, as well as the many countries which have made generous gifts and given assistance from which our compatriots have benefited and benefit today. At the same time, I salute and thank the Secretary-General, the International Red Cross, UNICEF and other humanitarian organizations for all they have done, are doing and will be doing for our refugees and other compatriots in their need.

49. I respect the Vietnamese people, dragged against their will into a colonialist adventure, although for many years now they have found themselves plunged into difficulties without number and from all sides and of all kinds, which their Government is in any event obliged to recognize, and which have provoked the tragic exodus of hundreds of thousands of "boat people".

50. I do not consider that I have a right to ask the Western Powers to cease providing humanitarian aid to our neighbours, innocent victims of the dreadful conduct of their Government. But I have the right, in the name of the people of Kampuchea, to ask all countries which are not accomplices of Vietnamese colonialism forthwith to cease granting to the régime of Hanoi financial, economic and material aid which risk being used not to help the unhappy people of Viet Nam, but inevitably to encourage their leaders to persevere in their enterprise against my people and my country.

51. We reaffirm our total solidarity with our brothers and sisters, the Afghan people, who like us are involved in a struggle to enable their country to exercise again its inalienable right to self-determination. We support equally the Lao people, our brothers and sisters, who desire to recover Lao independence and liberty.

52. We reaffirm our total solidarity with our brothers and sisters, the Palestinian people, who are suffering appalling trials for the rebirth of their country. We continue to recognize officially the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the legal representative of the Palestinian people and nation.

53. We firmly support our brothers and sisters, the Korean people, in their legitimate aspiration for a reunification of their country now divided against its will, and we warmly support the wise and patriotic proposals of Marshal Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, so that the reunification may take place through a peaceful and independent process.

54. It is our ardent hope that the two brother countries at present in conflict with one another, Iraq and Iran, will seek a peaceful solution to their problems and realize, in peace, their necessary reconciliation.

55. Deeply moved by the unmerited disasters and innumerable loss of human lives which Lebanon has suffered—a State which heretofore was the Switzerland of the Near East—it is our ardent hope that its sovereignty and territorial integrity will at last be respected and the foreign armed forces will withdraw

without delay, leaving the Lebanese people the opportunity to resolve their problems alone.

56. We renew our fraternal solidarity with the valiant people of Namibia who, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], are waging a just struggle for national liberation against the colonialist and racist régime of Pretoria.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Royal Highness the President of Democratic Kampuchea for the important statement he has just made.

58. Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): May I join the representatives who have preceded me in this debate in offering to the President their congratulations on his unanimous election to the high office of President and to you, Sir, to that of Vice-President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. My delegation trusts that the President will guide this session with fairness and wisdom. I have noted with great interest the contents of his thoughtful statement at the opening of this session, and especially his cogent reference to: "the inclusion in the agenda of items on so-called crisis situations that produced nothing but sterile debate and diverted attention from the real crises threatening the world with an escalation of the conflict" [*1st meeting, para. 23*].

59. The annual general debates at the General Assembly provide an occasion for surveying the state of the world, the working of the international system during the preceding year and for a public airing of the hopes and concerns, the expectations and anxieties of our nations. Such a survey will show that the prospects for a better life and for peace for the peoples of the world have hardly been advanced this past year, while new difficulties have been added to the old unresolved problems.

60. Major international problems of an economic, social and military nature have also grown at a rapid rate, and the international system has not been able to cope with them. Many essential problems have not reached the United Nations agenda at all. With regard to others with which the United Nations did engage itself, its contribution has been far from encouraging. Thus, universal disappointment has been caused this year by the failure of the special session on disarmament and the stalemate in the North-South dialogue.

61. The world scene is constantly threatened by simmering conflicts, some of which remain dormant for the time being while others are on the verge of eruption, their solutions eluding international statesmanship.

62. In Afghanistan, the aggressive invasion, occupation and strife continue unabated. A permanent member of the Security Council continues to ignore numerous United Nations resolutions.

63. In both the Horn of Africa and Western Sahara conflicts persist, and the seeds of future violence and bloodshed are being sown with no success achieved through international efforts to defuse those potential volcanoes.

64. Kampuchea remains occupied by Vietnamese troops who have disregarded calls for a withdrawal by the United Nations, ASEAN and other bodies.

65. Only recently we witnessed the violent eruption of the old conflict over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). Although the United Nations has been involved for years in the question of the sovereignty over those islands, it was unable to prevent war or to stop it.

66. In our region instability is endemic. It arises from a variety of causes, which must be recognized for what they are. In most countries great poverty exists alongside the immense wealth of some of the oil-producing States. Some Governments are alarmed at the rise of fanatical fundamentalist movements. Most countries are governed by régimes that retain absolute power in their hands, and any expression of criticism or opposition is ruthlessly suppressed. Talk of Arab solidarity and unity often conceals or is refuted by a reality of constant strife, tension and friction between neighbouring States.

67. The bloody and senseless war between Iraq and Iran rages on. It has already exacted many thousands of casualties and consumed several scores of billions of dollars which could well have been utilized for development and social progress.

68. Lebanon is beginning to emerge from a seven-year-old conflict in which the Lebanese were occupied and ravaged by their Syrian neighbours and their unwelcome guests, the terrorists of the PLO.

69. I do not mention these conflicts and the chronic instability which produces them in a spirit of criticism or denigration. They are part of the reality with which everyone concerned with durable peace and security in the Middle East has to contend. No magic formula can change this situation or solve the problems that created it.

70. Nevertheless, there are those who suggest, whether out of naivety, ignorance or ill intent, that a solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute would bring peace and stability throughout the Middle East region. The recent events in Lebanon alone demonstrate the fallacy of this suggestion. Some Arab Governments could not resist the temptation to utilize the services of terrorist organizations to settle their scores with other Governments. A small defenceless State, Lebanon, with a weak Government, became an ideal battleground for this purpose. This was compounded by Syria's designs on Lebanon's independence and integrity. The resultant explosion had little or no connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict. The same applies to the Iraq-Iran conflict, the tension between Jordan and Syria and the endless disputes between Libya and the rest of the Arab world.

71. It is frequently claimed that the fault lies, not in the United Nations system, but in its Members, that the Organization merely reflects their failings. This is of course true, but it is equally true that a system which encourages contention rather than compromise, boycott rather than co-operation, confrontation rather than negotiation, hardly meets the needs of a world as diverse as ours in race, religion, culture and social and political practice.

72. Particularly and unnecessarily disruptive is the undue politicization of the United Nations specialized agencies. Instead of devoting themselves to the social, humanitarian, scientific and technical tasks which

they were set up to perform and which most of them perform well when allowed to do so, these agencies are only too frequently subverted and misused for partisan interests. Can it be doubted that this is one of the causes for the failure of the United Nations system to contribute effectively towards halting the crises and deterioration in the world economy?

73. I feel that it is appropriate for me at this juncture to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, who has provided us with much food for thought in his provocative and imaginative report on the work of the Organization. I represent a country which most certainly can be said to be reluctant "to resort to the Security Council or to use the machinery of the United Nations" [A/37/1, p. 3]. The Secretary-General has cogently set out the reasons. I can assure him that the Government of Israel will support constructive and effective measures advancing the prospect of a world in which—to use his language—the small and weak have reliable defence and shelter. At the same time, we shall warn against and oppose steps designed to exploit and abuse the Secretary-General's thoughtful proposals as one more tool of political warfare.

74. The principles upon which the United Nations was founded, as well as the Charter, should have moved the Organization and its Members—as far back as 30 years ago—to take a stand against the denial on the part of the Arab world of the right of a Member State, Israel, to exist in security. When the United Nations ignored this inalienable obligation, it did so at its peril, undermining its own credibility and moral power. Since then, the United Nations has lacked the courage to rise and condemn any act of aggression, threat, violence, blackmail and terror, both direct and indirect, towards Israel by the Arab States and their accomplices.

75. The Assembly has even chosen to reject the Camp David accords and the Israel-Egyptian peace treaty and has ignored the completion earlier this year of Israel's withdrawal from Sinai. It has devoted much time to other, apparently more congenial, aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

76. Among the thousands of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council or any other United Nations body during the past 30 years, one will find hardly a single decision or resolution that explicitly condemns by name any Arab State or organization for attacks on Israel or Israelis. During these 30 years, have Arabs never practised military attacks, terrorist actions, hijacking airplanes, taking hostages, not to speak of the placing of embargoes and blockades and any similar hostile act which international law would even define as a *casus belli*? The Arab States and their terror organizations always appear to be innocent and injured; offended but never offending.

77. United Nations documentation is replete with anti-Israel resolutions, which have increased yearly in both number and length, overflowing with distorted suppositions, arbitrary statements and one-sided and destructive recommendations and decisions. Even the discussion of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East did not escape the bane of politicization and partisanship. The consensus attained on this issue in the Assembly in 1980

was wrecked last year. We hope that it can be restored, and we stand by our statements made here in the past. None of the many differences between the States of the Middle East should be permitted to stand in the way of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. This we owe to our children and their common future. The Government of Israel stands ready to begin negotiations to this end with all Middle Eastern States at once, anywhere and without pre-conditions.

78. Double standards and distortion have spread from General Assembly and committee discussions to other United Nations bodies, including the Security Council, and from there to the directives given to the United Nations forces and instrumentalities in the Middle East. A notable case is the misuse of UNRWA. That Agency was charged with the rehabilitation of refugees but became a tool to preserve the refugee camps, in which idle people were subjected to incitement and coercion in the service of terrorist organizations.

79. The specialized agencies, such as WHO, ILO and so on have also been exploited for the purpose of propaganda warfare against Israel, overstepping their areas of responsibility and competence. Last week at the General Conference of IAEA great damage was done to the integrity of that Agency and the whole United Nations system when the credentials of the delegation of Israel were rejected in a blatant exercise of political abuse and discrimination.

80. The accumulated effect of these distortions and shortcomings could be clearly seen in Lebanon. There developed a threat to Israel, as well as to the welfare and independence of Lebanon, a base for international terror and a large heavily armed force which was being put into action in constantly escalating attacks on the villages and towns of northern Israel.

81. Benefiting from the respectability and prestige bestowed by United Nations resolutions, the PLO entrenched itself in Lebanon and set up a pirate State within a State, forcing a régime of terror on the Palestinians and Lebanese. The PLO's terrorist bases, designed for attacks on Israel and to serve international terror, operated and grew unhindered within camps marked by UNRWA signs and enjoying welfare payments contributed for humanitarian purposes. Behind the backs of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in southern Lebanon the terrorists built a military infrastructure and huge arms stores, in preparation for a combined Arab assault against Israel from the north and the east.

82. Had we allowed United Nations resolutions, as distinct from the Charter, to determine what might or might not be done in Arab-Israeli relations, our future would have been destruction. Those resolutions allowed Arab countries to pursue their belligerence against Israel—military, political, economic and so forth—and the PLO could continue its terror warfare against Israel, Israelis and Jews, without any restriction by the United Nations. The enemies of Israel felt that they could embark on a full-scale military attack whenever they judged the hour to be right, knowing full well that the United Nations would not move a finger to stop them.

83. It is sufficient to recall United Nations behaviour in 1967, when discussion in the Security Council of the

warlike steps Egypt had carried out in May and June 1967 was prevented. It is enough to be reminded of the apathy with which the United Nations reacted when Egypt and Syria broke the cease-fire and launched a co-ordinated surprise attack on Israel on Yom Kippur 1973.

84. Even the information at our disposal before the Peace for Galilee operation in early June did not foresee all that we found in the terrorists' bases, headquarters, arms and ammunition reservoirs, operational documents and so forth. We received concrete proof of planned, large-scale aggression which was to have taken place in the near future.

85. Lebanese and also Palestinians who for years suffered from PLO terror and feared to divulge what had happened to them are now free to unmask the true face of the PLO in action. They corroborate our gravest suspicions.

86. The entire international community has the responsibility and should have the courage to stand up and formally ban PLO terrorism and expel its representatives from every self-respecting State and every international body. The United Nations and its agencies cannot begin the process of rehabilitation and revitalization as long as such organizations and their representatives are permitted to set foot in a civilized forum.

87. Thirty-seven years ago, with the defeat of nazism, we all believed that the civilized world had learned the lesson of anti-Semitism that led to its most terrible expression—genocide. Unfortunately, this monster is raising its ugly head once again. Often, attacks on Israel or zionism in international forums serve as a transparent mask for anti-Semitism. The State of Israel, which is the fulfilment of the Jewish national movement, cannot and will not passively accept a resurgence of this evil ideology. We call on all self-respecting people and Governments to join in a renewed solemn undertaking to stamp out anti-Semitism, in all its forms and expressions, from human society.

88. It is a stain on our civilization and on the Governments directly concerned that Jewish communities in the Soviet Union and in Syria remain deprived of their human rights, especially the basic right to leave and take up residence in countries of their choice. The State of Israel, national homeland of the Jewish people, cannot and will not rest until these rights are granted.

89. Just four years ago the leaders of Egypt, Israel and the United States concluded an historic agreement at Camp David. Egypt assumed the role of pioneer among Arab States. The two neighbours accepted each other's right to exist behind secure and recognized borders. The negotiations were long and arduous. Israel's sacrifices and the risks it undertook in the implementation of the Camp David accords were heavy. A framework for general peace was painstakingly devised. Egypt, Israel and the United States repeatedly countered criticism of the Camp David accords, emphasizing that these accords were the only agreed, and therefore the only viable, path to peace between Israel and its neighbours.

90. Our approach is practical and realistic. We are ready to renew negotiations toward the establishment

of the self-governing authority for the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza District, as provided for in the autonomy plan. The representatives who will be elected to the administrative council will be empowered to speak for the population and negotiate on the future status. There is a great deal of logic in the provisions specified in the Camp David agreement that the final status of these areas should not be negotiated at the present stage. We remain convinced that to focus now on what is beyond the horizon is a sure way of inviting failure.

91. Israel would welcome additional partners to the process, as provided for in the Camp David accords. We firmly believe that agreement is achievable. There is no need to introduce new concepts and approaches which were discarded or not accepted at Camp David. We are not prepared, for instance, to reopen the debate on issues, such as the creation of a second Palestinian Arab State, which were rejected at Camp David in favour of more realistic and acceptable solutions.

92. As for the refugee status in which many Palestinian Arabs have been kept over all the years since 1948, this is shameful testimony to the cynical exploitation of human suffering for political ends by Arab Governments. The number of Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 was about 550,000. There is no lack of land or financial resources in Arab lands, including Palestinian territory in Trans-Jordan, to provide them with homes and employment. Israel did as much and even more, with meagre resources, for some 800,000 Jews who left or fled from Arab and Moslem lands after 1948. The humanitarian aspect of this problem could have been solved several times over in the intervening years.

93. In addition to creating a Palestine problem and using it as a weapon against Israel, Arab Governments instituted a boycott against Israel in almost every sphere of human endeavour and supported the terrorist organizations' attacks on Israel. Against this background of active and sustained belligerency, it is ludicrous to search for moderation in possible hints contained in Arab summit resolutions, including the recent one at Fez. Any change toward moderation must first be reflected in deeds and facts.

94. The Arab leaders responsible for this campaign against Israel have inflicted much suffering on the Palestinian Arabs without bringing them any closer to a solution of their problems. History will record the fact that Israel did more for the Palestinian Arabs and their welfare than their Arab brethren.

95. Israel remains faithful to its commitment under the Camp David accords. Israel has cautioned against attempts to reinterpret, renegotiate or bypass them. These accords are the only accepted blueprint for the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Pressing Israel for more territorial withdrawals will not bring peace. Indeed, there is no peace without security, and further territorial amputations negate security. Those of Israel's neighbours who seek peace and coexistence will find Israel a willing partner. But those who think that they can weaken Israel while dangling the word "peace" as a bait are deluding themselves. The reward for peace is peace itself. There can be no greater recompense in such a vital and noble cause.

96. The foul massacre of civilians in the camps at Beirut brought a wave of shock, outrage and revulsion in Israel. The perpetrators of this crime are well known. They were not Israeli. Nevertheless, there were manifestations of blind hatred and false accusations levelled at Israel from a number of quarters. Such actions are outrageous and deserve universal condemnation.

97. All those who proceed along this path must realize that by such action they are weakening the chances of peace and encouraging those elements in the Middle East whose interests are served by radicalization and violence. The Middle East is sorely in need of good counsel, moderation, much patience and a sincere desire for coexistence of diverse ideas, ideologies, faiths and communities. Israel, for its part, is ready to participate in and contribute to the creation of such a reality and atmosphere in the Middle East.

98. Mr. WISCHNEWSKI (Federal Republic of Germany):* The Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt, has asked me to address the Assembly on his behalf and on behalf of the Federal Government.

99. I convey to the President Mr. Schmidt's and the Federal Government's congratulations on his election. At the same time, I should like to thank the President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly for his good work during that session.

100. The Federal Government also conveys its best wishes to the Secretary-General. He is faced with great and difficult tasks. As we have seen, he tackles those tasks with great skill and resolution and with a sense of reality which also embraces an awareness of the great influence that an international organization like the United Nations and the Secretary-General are able to exercise on political events. During the first year of his term of office, he has already rendered great services through his exemplary dedication to the cause of strengthening the image of the United Nations and preserving peace worldwide.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) took the Chair.

101. The conflicts throughout the world have not become fewer but have increased. They have become fiercer and more bloody and a greater threat to world peace. Thousands of people have become the victims of military and internal confrontation in Lebanon, Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, southern Africa, South Asia, the South Atlantic and Central America.

102. Hunger and want are growing in a world in which national economies are feeling the impact of a continuing recession—to the limits of their capacity and no small number of them—even more seriously. Every day people lose their jobs; people in North and South, in East and West alike, are increasingly concerned at how things are to continue. This, too, poses a great threat to international co-operation, not only to domestic harmony but also ultimately to international peace.

103. At the same time, armouries are overflowing with deadly weapons of an inconceivable destructive power. The arms spiral appears to be never ending,

and many people fear that it could turn faster and faster and finally get completely out of control. In 1981 world-wide spending on arms and other military equipment for the first time exceeded \$600 billion. This corresponds to 6 per cent of the world's total gross national product. It amounts, per capita of world population, to expenditure of over \$100 per annum, yet many people in the world do not even possess \$100.

104. In 1980 expenditure on arms production world-wide was many times greater than the total value of all official development aid provided by the industrialized nations, and, according to estimates by the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London and the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the members of the latter spend about 10 times as much on armaments as on development aid and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance countries even 100 times as much. These facts prompt one to question the sanity of the international community. Through our conduct we are all involved in this collective insanity; we must all try to master it.

105. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament became the mouth-piece of the fears of our nations. Its voice was heard, but it has still not carried far enough.

106. Governments must indeed face up to the question of whether they have until now lived up to their responsibility for world peace. They have to accept the urgent and very anxious question of whether the weapons systems that are accumulating can ultimately be controlled by man; they must also face up to the question of how they intend to justify annually increasing investment in arms in view of the hunger and want existing in the world, and in view of the growing hardship caused by the economic crisis.

107. As Chancellor Schmidt said at the 10th meeting of the twelfth special session, the second special session devoted to disarmament "the driving force that has become apparent in the unrest of many of our fellow citizens must be regarded as a motivation and a moral obligation for us."

108. It is not sufficient to ascertain the causes of the threat to peace, nor is it sufficient to develop mere ideas on how to eliminate them. What is also needed is a firm and resolute will and ability to reach agreement on better ways and means of safeguarding peace.

109. As Pope John Paul II said in his peace message at the beginning of 1980: "Without the readiness for a sincere and lasting dialogue there can be no peace." The safeguarding of peace is a never-ending task. It is an illusion to believe that peace is a condition that can be arrived at once and for all and then preserved, and to believe that the causes of threats to peace can be eliminated permanently everywhere. These causes become more numerous every year. Our constant and unflagging efforts are needed to limit them, to try to defuse them, to establish effective rules for co-operation and hence prevent the international community from relapsing into self-destructive anarchy.

110. People speak of crisis management. By this they mean the attempts to detect as early as possible individual major or minor crises, to curb them reso-

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

lutely and effectively and, if possible, eliminate them completely. This is indeed a necessary, sincere and undoubtedly highly difficult task, serving the purpose of safeguarding peace.

111. We must not content ourselves with this, however. We do not need just crisis management; what we need is a realistic peace strategy. For this we require a return to the principles of the Charter, to the norms of international relations which the United Nations has established and to which we have all committed ourselves.

112. We must take seriously the precept of the renunciation of force or the threat of force in international relations. This comprehensive proscription of force, enshrined in the Charter, outlaws any form of attack and applies to the use of all types of weapons. Our aim must be to prevent all conflicts and to renounce the use of all weapons. In its declaration at the summit meeting on 10 June 1982, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] reaffirmed that none of its weapons would ever be used except in response to an attack.

113. We must create peace through respect for the independence of all countries, respect for genuine non-alignment and respect for the right of all nations to self-determination.

114. We must create peace by establishing greater security for all countries. If we see security policy as a policy for world-wide peace, as indeed we must, we must also realize that security cannot be established through rivalry, by constantly satisfying exaggerated security needs through further arms build-up, by aspiring to supremacy, or by provocative and ultimately dangerous gestures to indicate one's strength. All this simply results in an expansion of the armouries on all sides.

115. Greater security for all countries will exist only if we, by collaborating across alliance frontiers and ideological barriers, strive for agreed security, for codified equilibrium at the lowest possible level.

116. An arms race cannot lead to equilibrium and stability; only agreed arms control and disarmament are conducive to that goal. They must be supplemented by a policy of dialogue and co-operation among States, both regionally and worldwide. For precisely that reason, existing links and contacts must not be disrupted but must be maintained, particularly in difficult times. A lack of communication leads to misinterpretations of the other side's intentions and hence to wrong action being taken.

117. But peace can be lasting and dialogue and co-operation have substance only if our own interests are defended with moderation and restraint, if the other side's interests are perceived and acknowledged as well and if calculability and reliability prevail. Furthermore, peace in the world can be safeguarded in the long run only if the gap between the rich and the poor does not become even greater and we try to eliminate it through genuine partnership between North and South. To this end, one of our most important tasks is to prevent the world economy from falling apart, which would not only result in the poor becoming even poorer but also constitute a threat to peace,

perhaps even as great as the accumulation of weapons threatening human life.

118. When the then Federal Chancellor, Mr. Willy Brandt, addressed the General Assembly, at the twenty-eighth session, as the first representative of the Federal Republic of Germany he said "we have come to assume our share in the responsibility for world affairs on the basis of our convictions and within the framework of our possibilities" [2128th meeting, para. 6]. We have honoured that commitment over the years.

119. Located in the heart of Europe, we have many neighbours, in East and West, in southern Europe and in Scandinavia, and we want to be a good neighbour to all of them. As a member of the European Community and as a partner in NATO we are helping to preserve and strengthen peace and stability, particularly in Europe.

120. We declare our full support for what the Danish representative, speaking as its President, stated at the 8th meeting, on behalf of the European Community. The European Community and the way its member States live and work together will always provide convincing proof that a lasting peaceful order based on the closest co-operation and partnership is indeed feasible, even in a region where for centuries there have time and again been rivalry, confrontation and war.

121. The European Community and NATO are based on firm, shared interests and on identical concepts of democracy and freedom. A policy of good-neighbourliness, however, must be effective also beyond ideological, military and strategic frontiers.

122. Germany is a divided country at the interface between East and West. Confrontation between East and West harms us Germans most of all. Co-operation with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic and the treaties concluded with them have been beneficial to us and others. They have created a *modus vivendi* that has rendered the situation in Europe stable and made peace there more secure. This policy was made possible only by the existence of NATO and its defence capability and by the Federal Republic of Germany's contributing fully to NATO.

123. We intend to adhere to that policy of co-operation, but we have to admit that East-West tension has increased. The reasons for this are the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the events in Poland and in particular the Soviet arms build-up. In particular, the Soviet build-up of intermediate-range nuclear weapons poses a deadly threat to us.

124. Afghanistan, a small nation, has now been holding out for three years against a highly armed invading army. The continuing fighting has exacted a high toll of lives. Over 20 per cent of the Afghan population has now fled its home country. The situation in Kampuchea is similar. We demand an end to the use of force and an end to the suffering; we demand peace and self-determination for the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples.

125. The Federal Government has been following the developments in Poland with very deep concern. We expect Poland to settle its internal affairs on its own without external interference and to return—as pledged

by the Polish leaders themselves—to a situation without martial law and without internees and particularly to a dialogue with the trade unions. There can be no stabilization in Poland while the present deadlock continues.

126. I should like to add this. Germans and Poles have both endured much suffering in the past. They have not always treated each other justly, and we Germans know that the Second World War started on 1 September 1939 with the invasion of Poland. Both sides have nevertheless—or perhaps precisely for that reason—shown courage and a readiness for understanding. The Warsaw Treaty in particular and the agreements of 1975 are testimony to this. I am both pleased and proud that this readiness for understanding is quite clearly not confined to the Governments, for millions of Germans have expressed in a tangible manner and on a very large scale their heartfelt readiness to help. Although the treaties were initially an important act between Governments, I feel that now especially the Polish people, in the oppression they are suffering, have become conscious of our desire for reconciliation.

127. Precisely at this time when East-West relations have become more difficult we want to do everything possible to ensure that there will not be a policy of confrontation. For us Germans in particular there can be no such confrontation. Our purpose is, as the Bonn Declaration of NATO of June 1982, states, “to develop substantial and balanced East-West relations aimed at genuine détente”.

128. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and General Secretary Erich Honecker, at their meeting at Lake Werbellin on 13 December 1981, reaffirmed their conviction that war must never again originate on German soil. But Germany also must never again be devastated by war. All Germans are, therefore, particularly aware of the obligation to help preserve peace in Europe. At a time when East-West relations have become difficult, German-German relations must not give rise to additional strains. We shall therefore endeavour to keep these relations in as good a condition as possible and to improve them wherever feasible.

129. The Federal Republic of Germany, which urges respect for the right to self-determination everywhere in the world, demands this right for the German people as well. It therefore remains our political aim to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination. We realize that this goal cannot be attained in the short term. It is therefore all the more important to seek improvements in our relations through dialogue and negotiation.

130. The policy of concluding agreements has also proved valuable for Berlin. Détente and conflict management have had a positive effect in this context in particular. Strict observance and full application of the Quadripartite Agreement of 2 September 1971³ remain the most reliable guarantee for a continuance of its stabilizing effects.

131. The Federal Government continues to regard economic co-operation with all countries of the world as a major factor of international stability, also and in particular in relations with the East. A continuous trade war waged to achieve political goals would

be both unwise and ineffective. It is of special concern to us in this context to be and to remain a reliable party to agreements. Existing agreements must be honoured also in difficult times for which they are intended as well.

132. In about a month's time the deliberations of the follow-up meeting in Madrid to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will be resumed. We attach particular importance to that meeting. For us, the process of that Conference remains an essential factor for shaping East-West relations and for promoting disarmament and security in Europe. The people in Europe have derived tangible benefits from the Helsinki Final Act,⁴ although their hopes have by no means been fully met. Setbacks can occur in a long-term policy for safeguarding peace. They are a bitter experience for those affected. But precisely then it is essential to use the instruments available and try to return to a policy of reason. Implementation of all parts of the Final Act, as we demand, can make a major contribution towards improving East-West relations and stabilizing peace in Europe. In Madrid we are aiming at a precise mandate for a conference on disarmament in Europe as part of a balanced final document.

133. A decisive step for safeguarding peace in Europe was taken last November when the dialogue between the two super-Powers was resumed and talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces commenced at Geneva. Let me add a remark in this context. In the present difficult phase of East-West relations, it would be good—of this Chancellor Schmidt is convinced—if the two leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union could have direct talks with each other.

134. The Bonn Declaration of NATO reaffirmed the central elements of our security policy, namely, deterrence and defence capability, on the one hand, and disarmament and arms control, on the other. Disarmament and arms control are vital issues and an integral part of our security policy serving the cause of peace. It is essential to give our peoples the confidence that our security policy can indeed safeguard peace. It is not sufficient to talk about disarmament. People in East and West alike want to see tangible results at last.

135. In his recent state of the nation address, Chancellor Schmidt quoted General Rogers, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, who said: “I am convinced that the only pathway to a future for the kind of world we want leads to the negotiating table. We must negotiate on disarmament and arms control, on all kinds of forces and weapons. This is the only way to stop the arms race on both sides.”

136. On the basis of the comprehensive proposals on arms control and disarmament negotiations made to the Soviet Union by the United States of America at the NATO meeting in Bonn, we support the idea of purposive, persevering and intensive talks aimed at achieving concrete results.

137. First, we want a genuine reduction in strategic nuclear weapons in East and West. The American proposals for substantial reductions in the Soviet and American arsenals of strategic weapons by means of strategic arms reduction talks have aroused new

expectations worldwide of a turning-point in disarmament policy. We welcome the fact that those two countries are endeavouring at Geneva to negotiate not only on limitations but also on substantial reductions of their intercontinental weapons.

138. Secondly, we want land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles to be eliminated. The proposal made to the Soviet Union by the United States at the Geneva talks that both sides completely renounce a category of weapons regarded as a particular threat by them holds out the prospect of a major first step towards disarmament and hence of eliminating the threat felt by us in Europe owing to the build-up of Soviet intermediate-range missiles. These negotiations which are being resumed in Geneva today are especially important to us.

139. By ratifying the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], we Germans have undertaken never to possess nuclear weapons. The Federal Government therefore feels all the more justified in demanding time and again that the nuclear Powers, too, honour their commitments under the Treaty.

140. Thirdly, we want a codified comprehensive ban on all chemical weapons. My country, which for years now has committed itself to this question with particular dedication, recently submitted realistic and acceptable proposals for reaching agreement on reliable means of verifying compliance with a treaty banning chemical weapons.⁵ I appeal to all Members of the United Nations to examine those proposals carefully.

141. Fourthly, we want the force levels in Central Europe to be reduced. Europe has the world's largest concentration of mutually opposed conventional armed forces. Progress at the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe is therefore of particular importance to us, living as we do at the centre of this region.

142. Furthermore, a conference on disarmament in Europe must agree on confidence-building measures for the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, which serve to make military potentials and activities in Europe more transparent and help to reduce in the long term not only mutual fear but also the danger of unintentional military escalation.

143. Our special responsibility in Europe, in the European Community and in NATO does not mean that the Federal Republic of Germany can remain indifferent to crises in other parts of the world. On the contrary, we know that, just as developments in Europe would quickly have effects on other regions of the world, problems in other parts of the world, however distant, can also have direct repercussions for us. We not only witness these repercussions but we also feel them physically, especially in view of the fate of the people directly affected.

144. The Federal Government is following the developments in the Middle East with particular concern. The assassination of the Lebanese President-elect, Bashir Gemayel, and the horrifying massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps have once again rendered the achievement of peace in the Middle East more difficult. The Federal Government, like its

European allies, strongly condemns these criminal acts. It demands effective measures to protect the civilian population, as well as an independent inquiry. It hopes that the renewed deployment of a multinational force will help to put an end to the violence and murders. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country must be restored as quickly as possible, along with its constitutional institutions. This requires the swift withdrawal of all troops stationed in the country against the will of the Lebanese Government. The Federal Government also hopes that all political forces in Lebanon will unite to reconstruct the country and that, by exercising restraint, further acts of violence can be prevented.

145. Peace and stability in the Middle East can be ensured only through a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement. Such a settlement requires the participation of all parties in the region, including the PLO. It must be based on the principle of security for all States in the region, including Israel. It must be based on justice for all peoples, including the Palestinians, who are entitled to self-determination. Finally, it must be based on mutual recognition of all the parties concerned.

146. The Federal Government therefore welcomes the new initiative by President Reagan as an important step to reconcile the rights of the parties concerned. The Federal Government has also noted with satisfaction that at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, almost all Arab countries for the first time agreed on a policy founded on peace between all countries in the region. The Federal Government appeals to everyone concerned to seize the opportunity for a new start and make every effort for a comprehensive peace settlement.

147. The policy of suppressing the black population in South Africa and of racial discrimination is not only a grave violation of human rights. It could also lead to internal confrontation with destructive effects for the country and the entire region.

148. Namibia must at last acquire its independence in 1983 through free elections on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Lasting peace in Africa can only be expected if the countries of this continent are able to determine their lot on their own and free from pressure by alien Powers. The presence of foreign troops impairs any efforts to resolve conflicts by peaceful means.

149. The Federal Government welcomes the proposals by the President of the Republic of Korea to reduce the tension in his divided country through dialogue and negotiation and to bring about the peaceful reunification of North and South Korea.

150. The Federal Government urged a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the South Atlantic from the very outset. We welcome the first constructive steps aimed at normalizing relations between the United Kingdom and Argentina. A permanent solution to this dispute can be found only through political dialogue and political negotiations.

151. One of the prime goals of the Federal Government continues to be to maintain its long-standing, close and good relations with Latin American countries. The Federal Government feels that the forth-

coming admission to the European Community of Portugal and Spain can help strengthen the Community's relations with Latin America even further.

152. We strongly support efforts to ensure that all countries respect the principle of non-alignment. We seek to promote and safeguard non-alignment through our development policy based on partnership. The Federal Republic of Germany encourages regional co-operation in the third world which serves to strengthen stability, independence and peace.

153. The Federal Government also fully supports efforts designed to secure world-wide implementation of the principle of the renunciation of force and of curbing the arms race, as well as agreements on confidence-building measures. It also directly backs up such efforts with initiatives of its own. We hope that the United Nations will take up and develop further our proposals for a code of conduct on confidence-building measures, which we submitted at the second special session devoted to disarmament.⁶ We expect the international symposium on confidence-building measures scheduled to be held in the Federal Republic of Germany next year to provide further impulses for the development of such measures, which constitute an instrument of peace policy of world-wide importance.

154. Since the beginning of the last session of the General Assembly many thousands of people have had to flee their home countries or have been expelled from them. We must not permit a situation in which millions have to leave their countries temporarily or even permanently to seek refuge elsewhere. The basic consensus on the need for suitable preventive measures achieved at the last session represents a first step towards improving co-operation between countries and international institutions to avert new flows of refugees. We should preserve this consensus. The Group of Governmental Experts on International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees should take up its work as soon as possible.

155. In view of the numerous violations of human rights throughout the world, it is not sufficient to profess good intentions. We must continue to work seriously and with perseverance to improve the international protection of human rights. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany deems it necessary to establish an international court of human rights for this purpose, and we attach particular importance to our initiative on the world-wide abolition of capital punishment. We know that, owing to different legal traditions and religious convictions, many countries may view this question differently. We advocate, however, that countries which desire the abolition of capital punishment should say so, also internationally, and they should say it clearly and in a way that binds them.

156. The world economy is in poor health. This poses a grave threat to stability and peace. At the same time, the prospects of eliminating hunger and want are more unfavourable than ever. Against the background of high interest rates there is a continuing recession in industrial countries. Unemployment rates are rising as a result. We are also witnessing a decline in international trade and growing protectionist pressure. These

developments are detrimental to us all, particularly the countries of the third world.

157. As a result of lower commodity prices, a continually high burden caused by the cost of oil imports and high, fluctuating interest rates, developing countries' opportunities for borrowing are limited. High debt-servicing charges are a strain on their economies, stretching them to the limits of their capacity, or even beyond in some cases. Industrial and developing countries must co-operate in a spirit of partnership in order to restore stable growth and development in the world economy. The existing international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank, must be kept effective.

158. Another major task will be to preserve free trade and capital flows. No country should ignore the commitments it has assumed under GATT. Anyone who jeopardizes GATT aggravates the world's economic depression.

159. Furthermore, in view of falling commodity prices we need a world-wide system to stabilize export earnings.

160. We shall of course seek to increase our official aid further within the limits of available funds. Despite the difficult economic situation, considerable budgetary problems, a decline of 0.3 per cent in its gross national product and a high deficit on current account, the Federal Republic of Germany provided official aid worth 7.2 billion deutsche marks in 1981, or 0.46 per cent of our gross national product—its biggest amount yet.

161. However, in this situation the developing countries will themselves have to make even greater efforts. Economy, a prudent use of available capital and a cautious debt policy are called for. Development policy will have to be focused on particular fields, above all the promotion of agriculture in the third world, since this is the sector that determines the economic growth and the food supply of many third world countries.

162. Emphasis must also be placed on the energy sector. For many developing countries the costs of energy supplies have become an almost intolerable burden. Consequently, this is a priority area of development aid afforded by the Federal Republic of Germany. It is in our view also a contribution to the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy, adopted by the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy.⁷

163. Environmental protection must also be seen as an important area of co-operation and we must prevent man from destroying the basis of his own existence by recklessly polluting the environment and exhausting valuable resources. Much important work has to be done in this respect.

164. Finally, we must not forget that the growth of the world population can overtake and nullify all our efforts to ensure greater international economic stability.

165. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has made an historic attempt to develop an international régime for the use of the world's oceans. The Federal Government played an active

and constructive part in this. Admittedly, the results have not lived up to our expectations in every respect. In addition to certain satisfactory provisions, there are arrangements on future deep-sea mining which make it hard for us to decide in favour of signing the Convention. We find it most regrettable that the Conference was not able to produce results capable of commanding a consensus. The Federal Government will take a decision on whether to sign the Convention after careful consideration and close consultation with other participants in the Conference.

166. It is of decisive importance for co-operation in good faith between industrial and developing countries that the dialogue between North and South should not be disrupted. We have unanimously decided to conduct global negotiations on the subjects of raw materials, energy, trade, development, monetary matters and finance. Together with its partners in the European Community, the Federal Republic of Germany urges that these negotiations be started now. At the economic summit in Versailles a constructive position on a resolution on the commencement of global negotiations was formulated and has since been endorsed by all the member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Agreement must now be reached on the early commencement of global negotiations.

167. All too often in past decades the hopes placed in the United Nations have not been fulfilled. But we must not overlook the fact that the United Nations can be no stronger than the political will of all its Members to work together responsibly in the spirit of the Charter. Those that prefer voting on short-term goals and one-sided resolutions instead of endeavouring to achieve compromise and consensus are blocking the way to genuine negotiations in this forum.

168. I welcome the spirit of bold candour and realism with which the Secretary-General described the state of the Organization in his report. I also welcome his constructive proposals for improving the work of the United Nations and the part played by the Security Council. My Government will actively support efforts to that end.

169. One of the central tasks of the United Nations is, as before, to make an effective contribution towards safeguarding world peace. Its capacity to do so must be enhanced, and better use must be made of the existing instruments for this purpose.

170. The foreign policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany is and will always be a policy for peace. We follow this policy in collaboration with our partners in the European Community, which is an outward-looking association alive to its responsibility in the world, as well as in the alliance with the United States and Canada.

171. Our peace policy is one of continuity, based on the conclusions we have drawn from our own history and conditioned by our situation as a divided country at the interface between East and West. This peace policy enjoys wide and broad support in all sectors of our population. It cannot be discarded at will. Our paramount task is to preserve peace. It is not enough to dispel fear. We must also counter the dangers threatening us worldwide. As the German philosopher Immanuel Kant said "Peace is not a

natural state; it has to be established and worked on continuously." To do so, we must make full use of our powers of reason, of our political and moral responsibility and of our determination. We must not believe that what is true is on one side of the mountain and what is false is on the other, as Pascal put it. Since the threats are global, global rules of conduct must apply. This is the spirit that imbues the Charter of the United Nations. Only by acting in this spirit will we be able to pursue an effective strategy for the safeguarding of peace.

172. Mr. HARALAMBOPOULOS (Greece): Your election, Sir, to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is a tribute to your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and a recognition of your vast experience. It is also a guarantee that the work of this Assembly will be conducted effectively and with wisdom. Please allow me to congratulate you most warmly. On this occasion, I should like also to express my warmest wishes to the outgoing President, Mr. Ismat Kittani. He has earned the gratitude of this Assembly for the exemplary way in which he guided its work, for his constructive initiatives and for enhancing the prestige of his high office. It also gives me particular pleasure to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. In this first year of his term in office he has carried out his mission with dedication and unusual skill, thereby justly winning for himself great trust and high esteem.

Mr. Rolandis (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

173. The President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, has presented to the Assembly, at the 8th meeting, the views of the 10 members of the Community on the main international problems. I should like to state here, however, that the foreign policy of the Greek Government is basically guided by absolute respect for the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. Consequently, we attach great importance to the promotion of détente and disarmament as well as of international co-operation. We also support in the strongest possible terms any effort towards enhancing respect for human rights all over the world. At this point, I should like to analyse in detail the position of my Government on problems which are of particular interest to Greece.

174. In the first place, there is the problem of the Middle East. Apart from its major international importance, it is of special interest to Greece, not only because of our geographical proximity to the region where the crisis is evolving, but also because of the traditional bonds which link us to the Arab world. This explains the many initiatives taken by my Government in the past few months, within the European Community as well as other international forums, with a view to promoting the Palestinian cause and restoring peace in Lebanon.

175. The opening of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly has been marked by an appalling crime—the massacre of hundreds of innocent Palestinians in the camps of Beirut. The precise circumstances of this cold-blooded slaughter will not be known until an appropriate inquiry into the matter

is conducted. However, it is an undisputed fact that the massacre occurred in an area under the firm control of the Israeli army. Therefore, Israel cannot escape the blame for what has happened.

176. My Government has repeatedly condemned in the strongest terms the Israeli invasion in Lebanon. When the special United States envoy, Mr. Habib, managed to arrange a peaceful lifting of the siege of west Beirut, we felt hopeful that events in the Middle East might take a constructive turn. Our optimism was short-lived, since in the aftermath of the assassination of the President-elect of Lebanon the Israeli forces, violating the Habib agreement, invaded west Beirut, throwing the door open to the appalling massacre of Palestinian civilians that followed. My country was quick to request the Security Council to take adequate and effective measures to safeguard the civilian population in Lebanon.

177. However, there are still a few encouraging signs. I am referring to the Reagan plan, which could be considered as the first step of a process which might lead to a solution to the Palestinian problem. I should also like to stress in this context the proposals of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez, which were announced a little later. I emphasize the fact that the Arab countries which participated in the Conference were unanimous in putting forward a series of constructive proposals aimed at a comprehensive solution which would be satisfactory for the Palestinians.

178. This is a time for action, not only by the parties to the conflict but also by the international community as a whole. The position of the PLO should be enhanced to enable it to play a more meaningful part in the peace process if we do not wish to see the strong feelings of frustration and despair of the Palestinians after their recent experiences in Lebanon find their expression in a new wave of international violence. In this connection we think that along with the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent State, the PLO should be recognized as their representative, with the right of full participation in the peace negotiations. In stating this we think that Israel's right of existence should be affirmed beyond any doubt, together with its right to live in peace along with the other States of the area within recognized and secure boundaries. Israel should realize that it will achieve its security not through the use of force but only through dialogue and negotiations.

179. Recent events have proved that stability in Lebanon has a direct bearing upon the search for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East question. For that reason, as well as for the sake of solidarity with Lebanon, the population of which has suffered so cruelly, we must encourage all steps leading to a stable Lebanon through the return of normality in that country and the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government over the whole of its territory. It is in that spirit that we greet the election of a new President and earnestly hope that this development will mark the beginning of a new era in that country.

180. The problem of Cyprus is of paramount importance to the Greek Government, both because

of the well-known links between the peoples of Greece and Cyprus and because Greece is one of the guarantors of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus under the terms of the 1960 Treaties.⁸

181. The main components of this problem could be summarized as follows: More than 36 per cent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus is occupied by Turkish troops. Consequently, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus is unable to exercise its sovereign rights over the whole territory of the Republic. Thousands of Greek Cypriots have been displaced and live as refugees in their own country. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot minority expresses deep concern over its own security. Similarly, the Greek Cypriots are deeply concerned over their own security because of the permanent threat which materialized in a dramatic manner through the Turkish invasion and subsequent occupation of the island. Moreover, we cannot overlook the determining factor of the Cyprus problem, namely, that 80 per cent of the population of the Republic of Cyprus are Greek Cypriots whereas only 18 per cent are Turkish Cypriots. Although eight years have already elapsed since the 1974 invasion, the intercommunal talks, which have been going on ever since under the auspices of the Secretary-General, have failed to produce any results.

182. Faced with those realities and with such an ominous deadlock, the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Andreas Papandreou, made a constructive proposal a few months ago the substance of which is the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and the expansion of the United Nations peace-keeping forces, in an effort to allay the fears that the Turkish minority might otherwise feel for its security. In this regard the Greek Prime Minister specified that Greece is prepared to make a substantial financial contribution in order to meet the additional expenses that such an expanded peace-keeping force would require. Once the foreign troops are withdrawn and an expanded United Nations force is in place, the conditions will be set for truly constructive talks to start between the two communities with a view to achieving a just solution to the Cyprus problem acceptable to all. The final goal is the safeguarding of the independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned character of Cyprus, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly.

183. The Middle East and Cyprus problems are not the only ones which have resulted from the resort to force in contravention of the principles and obligations of the Charter. Other major international crises are also the result of the illegal use of force which has led to the continuing occupation of the territory of other countries, notwithstanding the repeated unanimous condemnations of the Assembly and its calls to put an end to such occupation, as in the case of Kampuchea and Afghanistan. Greece has consistently and firmly condemned all acts of invasion and foreign occupation, regardless of who the aggressor is.

184. What I have just said does not mean that we do not sympathize with the struggle of peoples which have been denied their fundamental right to self-determination. It is in this context that my Government lends its moral support to national liberation move-

ments. I wish at this point to express more particularly the concern of the Greek Government at the situation in Central America and more specifically in El Salvador and Nicaragua and at the threat of regionalization of the conflict in El Salvador. Greece calls for a negotiated political settlement in El Salvador and expresses its firm belief that the Frente de Liberación Nacional Farabundo Martí and the Frente Democrático Revolucionario should be included in such a settlement as representative political forces.

185. In the same spirit, we condemn in the strongest terms the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, express our firm support for the efforts of the Western countries which make up the contact group and urge them to do whatever they can to enable Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to be implemented without any further delay. It is encouraging that these efforts have recently led to encouraging progress and that as a result the independence of Namibia has come much closer than it has ever been before.

186. The Secretary-General submitted to the Assembly his courageous, comprehensive and foresighted report on the work of the Organization. He refers, in no uncertain terms to the decline of the Organization, and I fully share his assessment. I feel compelled at this juncture to express the profound disappointment of my country at the fact that the United Nations has failed to contribute to the maintenance of peace and to protect the sovereignty of Member States. I am afraid that I am stating the obvious when I say that if this trend continues the Organization, which was created to fulfil the hopes and expectations of mankind, which had been devastated by the Second World War, will be transformed into a decorative international bureaucracy. This is not the moment for me to deal with the causes of the crisis. However, all agree that the responsibility of the great Powers for the decline of the Organization is not small; nor is that of many States which demonstrate their contempt for the fundamental principles of the United Nations.

187. Greece, a traditionally peace-loving country, has followed with genuine interest recent developments concerning disarmament, and particularly the proceedings of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament which was convened a few months ago. Unfortunately, despite the fact that nobody denied the urgent need for disarmament, the special session did not produce the results for which we all hoped. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that it demonstrated the determination of all peoples to live in peace, without the scourge of war. All Governments, and especially those of the super-Powers, should understand the real meaning of this message and increase their efforts. Practical steps should be taken urgently to promote détente and co-operation among States and to open the way for the adoption of effective measures of arms control and disarmament. The efforts should be directed to both nuclear and conventional disarmament. It is essential to remember that the former cannot be achieved satisfactorily unless it is coupled with disarmament in conventional weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

188. In this spirit we welcome the negotiations which are currently going on in Geneva between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We earnestly hope that they will result in positive developments. For our part, we are opposed as a matter of principle to the division of the world into antagonistic blocs. It is an integral part of our long-term policy to overcome this division. In this connection we express our appreciation to the non-aligned movement for its role in furthering the cause of peace. We cannot but congratulate its members on their decision to keep away from the military blocs.

189. Peace would not be complete, however, if it were not accompanied by respect for human rights and by the development of economic co-operation between countries. Democratic Greece, because of its age-old cultural and national traditions, is strongly and unshakably committed to respect for human rights. Nobody has ever been persecuted in Greece because of race, religion or creed. It is with deep regret, therefore, that we note that in several countries people are being tortured, disappear without leaving a trace or are deprived of their fundamental rights. Furthermore, some countries, on the pretext of resisting interference in their internal affairs, refuse to co-operate with the appropriate international organs for the control of human rights violations. Greece condemns any form of racial discrimination, in particular the policy of *apartheid* pursued by the South African Government notwithstanding the persistent demands of the international community that it be ended immediately.

190. The adverse economic situation prevailing throughout the world has caused a serious setback as regards North-South issues. The recessionary tendencies in the developed market economies, which are far from being resolved, preclude any immediate relief for the developing countries, whose already weak and vulnerable economies should be propelled forward at an acceptable pace. The North-South dialogue appears to be moribund. Immobility and stalemate have become the norm.

191. Thus, it is all the more to be hoped that at this session the Assembly will finally bring about the agreement on the launching of the global negotiations that has eluded us for so long. The meetings of Cancún in October 1981 and Versailles in June 1982 represent serious attempts to give impetus to the global negotiations. Endeavours in that direction must continue within the United Nations and should be the responsibility of all Member States. The developed world in particular must assume its appropriate share of that responsibility. My Government will lend its support to any effort to that end. It is more than obvious that failing to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations will only increase political instability and endanger peace all over the world.

192. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi, represents a global challenge in trying to find new ways for increased utilization of such sources of energy. The meeting of the Interim Committee, which was held in June in Rome, has created a positive climate for the continuation of the consultations regarding the implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action.⁷

193. A strong and more vibrant United Nations should carefully examine possible solutions to the multitude of economic problems facing the world today, and the Organization needs to be put to more practical use.

194. It would be an omission if I did not refer to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Greece, being a maritime nation, welcomes the conclusion of the work of the Conference. We consider this an important development, which will, we hope, greatly contribute to the solution of existing differences between countries and strengthen international co-operation. We urge all States to sign and ratify the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.⁹

195. In the course of this statement I have expressed the disappointment of my country over the poor performance of the United Nations, and particularly its failure to discharge its major mission—namely, to help maintain world peace and protect the sovereignty of its Member States. However, I feel compelled also to express the warm wish that the United Nations shall gradually overcome its weaknesses, so that it manages to fulfil the mission entrusted to it by mankind. Despite its many shortcomings, the Organization remains—should remain—a great hope of peace-loving people the world over. In this context I assure the Secretary-General that he will have the earnest support of my Government in his noble endeavour to restore the prestige and effectiveness of the Organization.

196. Mr. SHULTZ (United States of America): I begin by paying a tribute to the new Secretary-General, who has brought great distinction to the office during his brief tenure. Dag Hammarskjöld once told the General Assembly that whichever word one chooses “independence, impartiality, objectivity—they all describe essential aspects of what, without exception, must be in the attitude of the Secretary-General”. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, a man of the third world, and, I am proud to note, of the New World as well, has already demonstrated his strict adherence to this most exacting standard. In so doing, he has earned the esteem of my Government and the gratitude of all who believe in the purposes of the Charter.

197. I also congratulate Mr. Hollai of Hungary upon his election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

198. As I stand here today I cannot help but reflect on my relation to this city and to this Hall. I was born about four miles from here. I was reared and educated not far away, just across the Hudson River, and I took a tour through this building just after it opened in 1952, marvelling at the reality of a temple erected in the hope, at least, of abolishing war.

199. When I took that tour back in the early 1950s, there was great public interest in what was called the Meditation Room. I understand the room is still here. But in the years since then this institution has become more famous for talk than for meditation. This Hall has heard great ideas eloquently expressed. It has also heard double-talk, platitudes and ringing protestations of innocence—all too often aimed at camouflaging outrageous and inhuman acts.

200. But we must not ridicule words. I believe that the greatest advance in human history was not the wheel, the use of electricity, or the internal combustion engine. Indispensable to progress as these have been, our most remarkable achievement was the slow, clumsy but triumphant creation of language. It was words that released our ancestors from the prison of the solitary. Words gave us the means to transmit to our children and the future the crowning jewel of human existence: knowledge. The Code of Hammurabi, the Bible, the Analects of Confucius, the teachings of the Buddha, the Koran, the insights of Shakespeare, the creed of Mahatma Gandhi or Martin Luther King—all these were arrangements of words.

201. Is it not profoundly revealing that the first victims of tyrants are words? No people better know the meaning of freedom than those who have been arrested or beaten or imprisoned or exiled because of what they said. A single man speaking out—a Lech Walesa, for example—is more dangerous than an armoured division.

202. All of us here, whether we arrived after a short one-hour flight, as I did, or came from the other side of the globe, as many others of those present did, enter this auditorium for one main purpose—to talk about what our Governments see as the problems ahead and how they should be solved. On one point at least we can all agree—the problems are many and difficult. I shall not try, in the minutes allotted me, to deal with each, or even most, of these issues in detail. Instead, I want to give the Assembly some sense of the principles and general approach that the United States will take toward our common problems.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary) resumed the Chair.

203. Americans are, by history and by inclination, a practical and pragmatic people, yet a people with a vision. It is the vision—usually simple and sometimes naive—that has so often led us to dare and to achieve. President Reagan's approach to foreign policy is grounded squarely on standards drawn from the pragmatic American experience. As de Tocqueville pointed out, “To achieve its objective, America relies on personal interest, and gives full reign to the strength and reason of the individual.” That is as true now as when it was said 150 years ago. Our principal instrument, now as then, is freedom. Our adversaries are the oppressors, the totalitarians, the tacticians of fear and pressure.

204. On this foundation, President Reagan's ideas and the structure of his foreign policy are so straightforward that those of us enmeshed in day-to-day details may easily lose sight of them. The President never does, he consistently brings us back to fundamentals. Today I will talk about those fundamentals. They consist of four ideas that guide our actions: we will start from realism; we will act from strength, both in power and in purpose; we will stress the indispensable need to generate consent, build agreements and negotiate on key issues, and we will conduct ourselves in the belief that progress is possible, even though the road to achievement is long and hard.

205. If we are to change the world, we must first understand it. We must face reality, with all its anguish and all its opportunities. Our era needs those who, as

Pericles said, have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and notwithstanding that, go out to meet it.

206. Reality is not an illusion or a sleight of hand, though many would have us believe otherwise. The enormous, grinding machinery of Soviet propaganda daily seeks to distort reality, to bend truth for its own purposes. Our world is occupied by far too many Governments which seek to conceal truth from their own people. They wish to imprison reality by controlling what can be read or spoken or heard. They would have us believe that black is white and up is down.

207. Much of present-day reality is unpleasant. To describe conditions as we see them as I do today and as President Reagan has over the course of his presidency, is not to seek confrontation—far from it. Our purpose is to avoid misunderstanding and to create the necessary pre-conditions for change.

208. So, when we see aggression, we will call it aggression. When we see subversion, we will call it subversion. When we see repression, we will call it repression.

209. The events in Poland, for example, cannot be ignored or explained away. The Polish people want to be their own master. Years of systematic tyranny could not repress this desire; and nor will martial law. But in Poland today truth must hide in corners.

210. Nor can we simply turn our heads and look the other way as Soviet divisions brutalize an entire population in Afghanistan. The resistance of the Afghan people is a valiant saga of our times. We demean that valour if we do not recognize its source.

211. And Soviet surrogates intervene in many countries, creating a new era of colonialism at the moment in history when peoples around the globe had lifted that burden from their backs.

212. Nor will we shy away from speaking of other problems affecting the free and the developing worlds. Much of the developing world is threatened by a crisis of confidence in financial institutions and the stultifying effects of State-controlled economies. The naturally vibrant economies of many Western nations and trade between the world's major trading partners are threatened by recession and rising protectionism. The great alliances that shore up world stability and growth—our hemispheric partnership, NATO—and the Western and Japanese industrial democracies are challenged by new as well as chronic strains.

213. Finally, the shadow of war still darkens the future of us all. There is no ultimate safety in a nuclear balance of terror constantly contested. There is no peace of mind at a time when increasing numbers of nations appear willing to launch their armies into battle for causes which seem local but have ramifications for regional and even global harmony.

214. The list of troubles is long, the danger of despair great. But there is another side to the present reality; it is a reality of hope. We are living in a fantastic time of opportunity.

215. Historians in the future will surely marvel at the achievements of human beings in the last half of this century. We have expanded the frontiers of

thought—in science, in biology, in engineering, in painting and music and mathematics, in technology and architecture—far beyond the point anyone could have dared predict, much less hope for. We know much today about the oceans and forests and the geological strata that lock in the story of our past. We have more knowledge about a baby, or the brain, than was accumulated in 10 millennia before our time. We are learning to produce food for all of us; we are no longer helpless before the threat of disease; we explore our universe as a matter of course. We are confronting the nature of Nature herself. The opportunities are grand. This, too, is a clear reality.

216. Thus realism shows us a world deeply troubled, yet with reason for hope. There is one necessary condition: the only way we can enhance and amplify the human potential is by preserving, defending and extending those most precious of conditions—freedom and peace.

217. America's yearning for peace does not lead us to be hesitant in developing our strength or in using it when necessary. Indeed, clarity about the magnitude of the problems we face leads inevitably to a realistic appreciation of the importance of American strength. The strength of the free world imposes restraint, invites accommodation and reassures those who would share in the creative work that is the wonderful consequence of liberty.

218. Strength means military forces to ensure that no other nation can threaten us, our interests or our friends. But when I speak of strength I do not mean military power alone. To Americans, strength derives as well from a solid economic base and social vitality at home and with our partners. And, most fundamentally, the true wellspring of strength lies in America's moral commitment.

219. The bulwark of America's strength is military power for peace. The American people have never accepted weakness, or hesitancy or abdication. We will not put our destiny into the hands of the ruthless. Americans today are emphatically united on the necessity of a strong defence. This year's defence budget will ensure that the United States will help its friends and allies defend themselves—to make sure that peace is seen clearly by all to be the only feasible course in world affairs.

220. Along with military readiness and capability must come the willingness to employ it in the cause of peace, justice and security. Today in Beirut the United States Marines—together with our allies, Italy and France—are helping the Lebanese Government and armed forces ensure the safety of the peoples of that tormented capital. I regret to report that I have just learned that one American Marine died and several were injured today in a mine explosion at the Beirut airport. Our marines represent an extension of American power not for war but to secure the peace. They are there to speed the moment when all foreign forces depart from Lebanon. There must be an early agreement on a timetable for the full application of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Lebanon deserves the world's help—to secure peace and to rebuild a thriving society.

221. America will continue to use its strength with prudence, firmness and balance. We intend to

command the respect of adversaries and to deserve the confidence of allies and partners.

222. The engine of America's strength is a sound economy.

223. In a time of recession, industrialized and less developed nations alike are bedevilled by excessive inflation, restricted markets, unused capacity, stagnating trade, growing pressure for protectionism and the most potent enemy of expansion—pervasive uncertainty.

224. The United States with its vast human and scientific resources can survive an era of economic strife and decay. But our moral commitment and our self-interest require us to use our technological and productive abilities to build lasting prosperity at home and to contribute to a sound economic situation abroad.

225. President Reagan has instituted a bold programme to get the American economy moving. Our rate of inflation is down markedly, and we will keep it down. That will add stability to the value of the dollar and give greater confidence to international financial markets.

226. The recent drop in United States interest rates will stimulate new investments within and beyond our shores. Conservation through market pricing of energy has reduced United States demand for world energy supplies. We are putting the recession behind us. A growing and open American economy will provide new markets for goods and services produced elsewhere, and new opportunities for foreign investments. Just as we have a stake in world-wide recovery, others will prosper as our recovery develops.

227. For wider prosperity to take hold, we must co-operatively attend to these international issues. The lure of protectionist trade policies must be resisted everywhere—here in the United States and all over the world—whether in the form of overt import restrictions and export subsidies or by more subtle domestic programmes. These can only distort world trade and impair growth everywhere. Let us determine to make the November ministerial meeting of GATT a time to stem these protectionist pressures and to reinvigorate positive efforts for a more open trading system.

228. The implications of the external debt of many nations must be understood. Immediate debt problems are manageable if we use good sense and avoid destabilizing actions. But the magnitude of external debt will almost inevitably reduce resources available for future lending for development purposes. Economic adjustment is imperative. IMF can provide critical help and guidance in any country's efforts to smooth the adjustment process. The new borrowing arrangement proposed by the United States can be crucial to this effort.

229. And the necessity of reducing government interference in the market must be recognized. Of course every nation has the right to organize society as its inhabitants wish, but economic facts cannot be ignored. Those facts clearly demonstrate that the world's command economies have failed abysmally to meet the needs of their peoples. The newly prosperous industrialized nations are those with the most free and open markets.

230. The bedrock of our strength is our moral and spiritual character. The sources of true strength lie deeper than economic or military power. They lie in the dedication of a free people which knows its responsibility. America's institutions are those of freedom accessible to every person and of government as the accountable servant of the people. Equal opportunity, due process of law, open trial by jury, freedom of belief, speech and assembly, our Bill of Rights, our guarantees of liberty and limited government were hammered out in centuries of ordeal. Because we care about these human values for ourselves so must we then be concerned, and legitimately so, with abuses of freedom, justice and humanitarian principles beyond our borders. This is why we will speak and act for prisoners of conscience, against terrorism and against the brutal silencing of the Soviet Helsinki Watch Committee. This is why we are anxious to participate in periodic reviews of the human rights performance of ourselves as well as of others. We welcome scrutiny of our own system. We are not perfect and we know it, but we have nothing to hide.

231. Our belief in liberty guides our policies here in the United Nations as elsewhere. Therefore in this forum the United States will continue to insist upon fairness, balance and truth. We take the debate on human rights seriously. We insist upon honesty in the use of language; we will point out inconsistencies, double standards and lies. We will not compromise our commitment to truth.

232. The world has work to do for the realists, the pragmatists and the free. With a clear understanding of the troubled circumstances of the hour and with a strengthened ability to act, we need as well the vision to see beyond the immediate present.

233. All of us here represent nations which must understand and accept the imperative of fair engagement on the issues before us and, beyond that, of common effort towards shared goals. Whether we are seeking to bring peace to regional conflict or a resolution of commercial differences, the time of imposed solutions has passed. Conquest, pressure, acquiescence under duress were common in decades not long past—but not today. Not everybody who wants his concerns addressed will find us automatically receptive. But when negotiations are in order America is prepared to go to work on the global agenda and to do so in a way that all may emerge better off and more secure than before.

234. We manage our problems more intelligently and with greater mutual understanding when we can bring ourselves to recognize these problems as expressions of mankind's basic dilemma. We are seldom confronted with simple issues of right and wrong, between good and evil. Only those who do not bear the direct burden of responsibility for decision and action can indulge themselves in the denial of that reality. The task of statesmanship is to mediate between two—or several—causes, each of which often has a legitimate claim.

235. It is on this foundation that the United States stands ready to try to solve the problems of our time—to overcome chaos, deprivation and the heightened dangers of an era in which ideas and cultures too

often tend to clash and technologies threaten to outpace our institutions of control.

236. We are engaged in negotiations and efforts to find answers to issues affecting every part of the globe and every aspect of our lives upon it. Let me take up just two of these with you.

237. The agony of the Middle East now exceeds the ability of news bulletins or speeches to express: it is a searing wound on our consciousness. The region is in constant ferment. Unrest flares into violence, terror, insurrection and civil strife. War follows war. It is clear to everyone in this Hall that international peace, security and co-operative progress cannot be truly achieved until this terrible regional conflict is settled.

238. All of us have witnessed in the past several months a graphic reminder of the need for practical peace negotiations in the Middle East. Of the nations in the world which need and deserve peace, Israel surely holds a pre-eminent place. Of the peoples of the world who need and deserve a place with which they can truly identify, the Palestinian claim is undeniable.

239. But Israel can have permanent peace only in a context in which the Palestinian people also realize their legitimate rights. Similarly, the Palestinian people will be able to achieve their legitimate rights only in a context which gives to Israel what it so clearly has a right to demand: to exist, and to exist in peace and security.

240. This most complex of international conflicts cannot be resolved by force: neither the might of armies nor the violence of terrorists can succeed in imposing the will of the strong upon the weak. Nor can it be settled simply by the rhetoric of even the most carefully worded document. It can be resolved only through the give and take of direct negotiations, leading to the establishment of practical arrangements on the ground. In other words, it can be resolved only through hard work. For those who believe that there is no contradiction between permanent peace for Israel and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people—and for those who believe that both are essential for peace and that neither can be achieved without the other—the task can truly be a labour of love.

241. On 1 September President Reagan challenged the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to make a fresh start on the road to peace in the Middle East. The Camp David agreements, resting squarely on Security Council resolution 242 (1967), with its formula of peace for territory, remain available to those who would accept the challenge to make this journey with us. The road will not be easy, but in his statement President Reagan made a number of proposals which, for those who are willing to join the effort, make the journey safer and easier.

242. I call on all concerned to accept President Reagan's challenge and hasten the realization of true peace in the Middle East.

243. In addition to the imperative need to resolve regional problems, there is an equally significant global imperative: to halt, and reverse, the global arms build-up. As an American, I am aware that arms control and disarmament are a special responsibility of the

world's most powerful nations, the United States and the Soviet Union. And as an American, I can report that we are fulfilling our responsibility to seek to limit and reduce conventional and nuclear arms to the lowest possible levels.

244. With this goal in mind, President Reagan has initiated a comprehensive programme for negotiated arms reductions. In Central Europe, the most heavily armed region on this planet, the Western allies are seeking substantial reductions in troops of NATO and the Warsaw Pact to equal levels. To achieve this goal, we have recently introduced a new proposal designed to revitalize the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe.

245. In the area of strategic arms, the United States has also taken the initiative by calling for a one-third reduction in the number of nuclear warheads that American and Soviet ballistic missiles can deliver. And in the talks in Geneva on intermediate-range nuclear forces, the United States has gone even further, by asking the Soviet Union to agree to a bold proposal for eliminating an entire category of weapons from the arsenals of the two sides.

246. But important as these negotiations are, the problems of arms controls cannot be left to the two super-Powers. The threat of nuclear proliferation extends to every region in the world and demands the attention and energy of every Government. This is not solely, or even primarily, a concern of the super-Powers. The non-nuclear countries will not be safer if nuclear intimidation is added to already deadly regional conflicts. The developing nations will not be more prosperous if scarce resources and scientific talent are diverted to nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

247. Unfortunately, as the task becomes more important it also becomes more difficult. Greater quantities of dangerous materials are produced and new suppliers emerge who lack a clear commitment to non-proliferation. But the technology that helped to create the problems can supply answers as well. Vigorous action to strengthen the barriers to aggression and to resolve disputes peacefully can remove the insecurities that are the root of the problem. The United States, for its part, will work to tighten export controls; to promote broader acceptance of safeguards; to urge meaningful actions when agreements are violated; and to strengthen IAEA. As our action last week in Vienna should make clear, we will not accept attempts to politicize—and therefore emasculate—such vital institutions.

248. Perhaps the most common phrase spoken by the American people in our more than two centuries of national life has been "you can't stop progress". Our people have always been imbued with the conviction that the future of a free people would be good. America continues to offer that vision to the world. With that vision, and with the freedom to act creatively, there is nothing that people of good will need fear.

249. I am not here to assert, however, that the way is easy, or quick, or that the future is bound to be bright. There is a poem by Carl Sandburg in which a traveller asks the Sphinx to speak and reveal the distilled wisdom of all the ages. The Sphinx does

speaking. Its words are: "Don't expect too much". That is good counsel for all of us here. It does not mean that great accomplishments are beyond our reach. We can help shape more constructive international relations and give our children a better chance at life. It does mean, however, that risk, pain, expense, and above all endurance are needed to bring these achievements into our grasp.

250. We must recognize the complex and vexing character of this world. We should not indulge ourselves in fantasies of perfection of unfulfillable plans, or solutions gained by pressure. It is the responsibility of leaders not to feed the growing appetite for easy promises and grand assurances. The plain truth is this: we face the prospect of all too few decisive or dramatic breakthroughs; we face the necessity of dedicating our energies and creativity to a protracted struggle towards eventual success.

251. That is the approach of my country, because we see not only the necessity but the possibility, of making important progress on a broad front. For example: despite deep-seated differences between us and the Soviet Union, both sides are now at work in a serious, businesslike effort at arms control; President Reagan has issued an important call for an international conference on military expenditure. The achievement of a common system for accounting and reporting is the prerequisite for subsequent agreement to limit or curtail defence budgets. The Caribbean Basin Initiative establishes the crucial bond between economic development and economic freedom. It can be a model for fair and productive co-operation between economies vastly different in size and character; and the diplomatic way is open to build stability and progress in southern Africa through independence for Namibia under internationally acceptable terms.

252. Realism and a readiness to work long and hard for fair and freely agreed solutions—that is our recipe

for optimism. That is the message and the offer which my Government brings to the Assembly today.

253. I began my remarks here today with an informal personal word. May I end in the same spirit. We must be determined and confident. We must be prepared for trouble, but always optimistic. In that way the vast bounties produced by the human mind and imagination can be shared by all the races and nations we represent here in this Hall.

254. A predecessor of mine as Secretary of State, whose portrait hangs in my office, conveyed the essence of America's approach to the world's dangers and dilemmas. He said we would act with "a stout heart and a clear conscience and never despair". That is what John Quincy Adams said nearly a century and a half ago. I give the Assembly my personal pledge today that we will continue in that spirit, with that determination, and with that confidence in the future.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year*, 2108th and 2109th meetings.

² *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 880, No. 12621, p. 124.

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

⁵ See A/S-12/AC.1/37 and Corr.1.

⁶ See A/S-12/AC.1/38 and Corr.1.

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

⁸ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, Nos. 5475 and 5476.

⁹ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.