



Thursday, 7 October 1982,
at 10.50 a.m.

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and to invite him to address the Assembly.
2. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): I should like at the outset to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your election to the high post of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and to assure you of our full co-operation and support. Having known you personally for a long period of time and being in a position to appreciate your outstanding qualities, I am confident that under your most able leadership the Assembly will conduct fruitful deliberations and that it will successfully pursue the many important issues which are pending before it. In paying a well-deserved tribute to you on this occasion, I recall the excellent relations we maintain with your country, Hungary.
3. At the same time I should like to express our sincere feelings of appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani of Iraq, for the exemplary way in which he presided over the deliberations of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and the resumed and special sessions.
4. Almost four decades ago, following the deliberations at Dumbarton Oaks, representatives of 50 countries assembled in San Francisco to draft the Charter of the United Nations, an organization which was established with the objective of saving future generations from the scourge of war. As a culmination of man's historic yearning for peace and justice and having just witnessed the ravages of the Second World War, the founding fathers manifested a new spirit of unity and co-operation in their noble pursuit of upholding mankind's lofty ideals of peace, freedom and justice.
5. As we approach the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the peoples of the world would naturally expect us to renew our commitment to the letter and spirit of the Charter, which should guide our thoughts, our deliberations and above all our actions. A total, unequivocal and unconditional commitment by all States to the principles enshrined in the Charter would undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of the effectiveness of the United Nations which is so much needed, particularly as regards the paramount goal of promoting international peace and security.
6. It is in this spirit that the Republic of Cyprus is participating in the deliberations of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We strongly believe in the United Nations and, in spite of its present weaknesses, we trust that the day will come when its principles will prevail all over the globe. We regard the principles of the Charter as the cornerstone of our political credo and the main shield of our security, for we hold that the only assurance of peace and survival is freedom and justice.
7. Beyond the pledges of dedication, however, each new session also gives an opportunity to take stock of the world situation. The attention of the world community is focused on the major problems which are debated here, especially in these days when international peace and security are in serious jeopardy owing to the confrontations and hostilities which we have witnessed this year. The situation is grim and the prospects ominous. Never before since the coming into existence of the United Nations has the world slid into such a predicament.
8. We are in the midst of such a depressing deterioration of the world political and economic situation that the possibility of general conflagration looms menacingly on the horizon. Détente is not nowadays a feature in the international situation. It is the opposite that now prevails. We are living in a world characterized by continuous insecurity and crises, where the use of force is the order of the day. And what is even worse is that aggression, violation of human rights and terrorism remain unpunished and unremedied because of the failure of the Members of the United Nations, and in particular those that are members of the Security Council to give the Council the necessary means for the enforcement of its resolutions. The failure of the United Nations to deal effectively with world problems causes a serious crisis of confidence which erodes the very usefulness of the Organization.
9. The remarks of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization are very pertinent, he said:
"Certainly we have strayed far from the Charter in recent years. Governments that believe they can win an international objective by force are often quite ready to do so, and domestic opinion not infrequently applauds such a course. The Security Council, the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those that feel themselves strong enough to do so. Too frequently the Council seems powerless to generate the support and influence to ensure that its decisions are respected, even when these are

taken unanimously. Thus the process of peaceful settlement of disputes prescribed in the Charter is often brushed aside. Sterner measures for world peace were envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, which was conceived as a key element of the United Nations system of collective security, but the prospect of realizing such measures is now deemed almost impossible in our divided international community. We are perilously near to a new international anarchy." [A/37/1, p. 1.]

10. The dismal performance of the international community in the execution of its duty to respect and honour the Charter is portrayed very aptly and clearly by that statement of the Secretary-General. And although the findings of all of us, as set out in speeches before the Assembly, are identical with the conclusions of the Secretary-General, those who wield power do not appear to be willing to take the necessary remedial action.

11. That crisis of confidence was recently further accentuated by the failure of the twelfth special session, the second special session devoted to disarmament, to call a halt to the ever-escalating arms race, and to conform to the directives of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2] for the creation of an effective collective international security system, concurrently with disarmament. The Final Document is emphatic and clear in asserting that "Genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces".

12. It has all along been our position that disarmament cannot be achieved in isolation, without simultaneously setting into motion the system of international security through the United Nations. Only after collective security establishes confidence and States are no more victims of aggression, can disarmament be effectively dealt with. Such confidence is at present lacking and, as a result, the arms race continues unabated. The world lives constantly under the threat of a holocaust. Mankind is confronted with new, more sophisticated and more destructive weapons, posing an unprecedented threat of annihilation and extinction.

13. The colossal amounts laid out on armaments is an additional important element of strain and also a continuous drain on the economies of nations. A considerable part of mankind, living under conditions of deprivation and starvation, is compelled to watch helplessly while vast amounts and resources are diverted to the accumulation of deadly nuclear weapons. Thus we have the paradox of man adopting and fostering the means of destruction in his effort to survive.

14. The nuclear arms control talks between the two super-Powers, which were resumed last week in Geneva following their two-month summer recess, justifiably attract the attention of all peoples in all continents, for upon their outcome lies to a considerable extent the greatly desired return to détente and consequently to the securing of conditions for the peaceful solution of international problems. Their success would be a major contribution to peace. That is

why Cyprus joins all peace-loving countries in urging that the utmost effort be exerted for their success.

15. The present bleak picture dictates that the state of world affairs cannot and should not remain unchecked. It has consistently been the position of Cyprus that the Security Council should be given the means for enforcement action for the maintenance of peace and security through the availability of a United Nations force, as called for in Article 43 of the Charter. Such a development would act as a catalyst to the arms race and would make the decisions of the United Nations binding in a real sense. We have maintained all along that we should concentrate not merely on the adoption of resolutions and declarations, but also—which is certainly more important—on their implementation. This is an absolute necessity if the United Nations is to perform the task entrusted to it by humanity. Let us listen to the voice of our Secretary-General and commence without further delay the process towards remedying the situation. If we fail to do so, we will not be doing our duty and the very future of the United Nations will be at stake, with the net result that anarchy and chaos will continue increasingly to prevail in the world instead of the rule of law and the principles of the Charter.

16. Recent debates on the question of Palestine and Lebanon brought to the foreground and demonstrated in a crude and tragic way the inability of the Organization to fulfil its paramount responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. Ten Security Council resolutions went unheeded whilst the tragic siege of Beirut and the indiscriminate bombing and shelling were going on. The Organization stood literally helpless while the Palestinians were targeted for extinction.

17. In expressing my deep concern in this respect, I made a proposal for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to deal with the question of the implementation of United Nations resolutions. Developments since then, as boldly and clearly elaborated upon in the report of the Secretary-General, have strengthened my conviction that it is imperative that the General Assembly should, as a matter of urgency, consider this question in depth with the aim of producing definite and positive results. While repeating my proposal for a special session, for which consultations may commence, I today propose formally the inclusion in the agenda of this current session of a separate item entitled "Implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations" and I have instructed the delegation of Cyprus to enter immediately into appropriate consultations in this respect. I urge the General Assembly to accept the inclusion of this item and to attach to it the importance it deserves. I am confident that a full and constructive debate on this item will result in setting in motion the proper process for finding the right answer to this extremely serious and outstandingly significant issue.

18. The contradictions between the expectations of mankind and the performance of the United Nations are also illustrated by the absence of any meaningful progress in the North-South dialogue for a more equitable distribution of wealth. It would not be an exaggeration to say that ours is a civilization of opulence and abundance and at the same time of famine and deprivation, a civilization of "haves" and

“have nots”. While about a tenth of the population of developing countries is exposed to starvation, a quarter suffers from malnutrition and the rest lives in deprivation and destitution, others can spend lavishly and live comfortably. The International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún in 1981, unfortunately failed to remedy that disparity and socio-economic injustice.

19. The perpetuation of the North-South dichotomy, of the highly unbalanced distribution of wealth, not only is a stigma on our civilization but also poses considerable obstacles to any efforts to deal with related political issues confronting the world.

20. Interdependence, which is one of the main traits of the political and economic international life of today, reinforces the need to define the content of the new international economic order and of reaching an acceptable agreement. Our commitment to international peace and security and to the uniform progress of mankind makes us even more determined to work resolutely towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

21. The failure to get the global round of negotiations off the ground so far is disappointing. Despite the fact that certain areas of agreement have been identified, it has not proved possible to reach agreement on basic pre-conditions. But I repeat: we all share a responsibility towards mankind, towards future generations. We cannot let them down. And the responsibility of those who can afford to make concessions to ensure the success of this objective is even heavier. We must redouble our efforts, brushing aside the disappointments and bitter experiences of the past, and strive even harder for success. It is neither simple nor easy to reach solutions based on principles. On the other hand, only such solutions will be lasting and effective.

22. Once again we reiterate our belief that the principles of non-alignment are becoming even more relevant today than when they were first formulated and disseminated. In the light of the realities of today's international situation, the principles of non-alignment provide small countries with the foundation upon which they can build a structure of positive relationships with all countries without being drawn into bloc rivalries.

23. Cyprus, one of the founding members of the movement, is today, 21 years later, proud to note that non-alignment has contributed positively to the promotion of peace and to the prevalence of the principles of justice and freedom. The role of the non-aligned movement in international affairs has been consolidated and there can be no question as to its significance. In fact, the purposes of non-alignment as regards détente and the peaceful solution of international problems and its goals of freedom, justice and lasting peace in the world are the purposes and goals of mankind. We shall consistently follow the policy of non-alignment and shall continue actively to participate in the efforts and the activities of the movement as we have been doing since its inception.

24. Equally, I wish to stress the significance of the continuation of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the application of all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act,

to which Cyprus reaffirms its commitment. Together with the other neutral and non-aligned countries of Europe, we are doing our utmost for the success of the follow-up Conference to be reconvened in Madrid in November, which will substantially contribute to genuine détente in Europe and will enhance the prospects of peace throughout the world.

25. The Middle East crisis continues, confounded and bedevilled as never before, and it will not be solved without the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories it has occupied since 1967 and without the solution of the Palestinian question with the participation on an equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We hold the view that the Middle East problem is one of the most serious problems facing the world today and threatening international peace, and at its core is the Palestinian question. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to dignity and freedom must be recognized. And the aspirations of the Palestinians to the creation of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State must be realized.

26. That has been our consistent and principled position on the Middle East and we shall keep striving within the context of the United Nations, along with the other members of the non-aligned movement, to contribute to a just and lasting solution to that problem. It was in line with this brotherly solidarity with the people of Palestine, Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic and the non-aligned movement that we acted as host from 15 to 17 July in Nicosia to the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on the question of Palestine. In the same spirit, Cyprus participated in the Ministerial Committee formed at that meeting which had a number of constructive contacts aimed at the promotion of the rights of the people of Palestine.

27. We reaffirm our full support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of much-tormented Lebanon. The abhorrent massacre of Palestinian civilians, women and children, has appalled and brought unparalleled shock to our people and has underlined the need for effective measures for the protection of all the population in Lebanon.

28. The war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran continues unabated, causing much loss of life and property to two countries in the non-aligned movement. This is another tragic example of the inability of the Organization to meet its primary objectives of maintaining peace and security and ensuring the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.

29. There is hardly any other issue in international relations in regard to which the world community has been able to arrive at a higher level of understanding and agreement than the imperative need for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and in particular of its worst manifestation, namely, the odious doctrine of *apartheid*. Yet this abhorrent doctrine is still alive, and so are other practices of racial discrimination, emanating either from internal oppression or from foreign aggressive designs. South Africa, most notably, persists in its defiant attitude towards the United Nations by flouting and ignoring

the decisions of the Organization, by denying every single tenet embodied in the Charter and by failing to respect the basic principles of the equal rights of individuals and the self-determination of peoples without distinction as to race, religion or sex.

30. I wish to reiterate once again our solidarity with the people of South Africa, and indeed all oppressed peoples under colonialist régimes and foreign domination who continue to struggle for freedom, equality and justice. We also reiterate our whole-hearted support for the people of Namibia and express our conviction that their just struggle will succeed. To this end it is necessary that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) be strictly and urgently implemented as a whole, to enable the people of Namibia to take its rightful place as an independent State. We also voice again our solidarity with the front-line States in southern Africa and condemn South Africa's acts of aggression against those countries, which are shouldering a major part of the struggle for the eradication of the evil of *apartheid*.

31. Despite the formidable achievements and the concerted efforts continuously exerted to bring about decolonization, there are still territories under colonial or neo-colonial rule. I take this opportunity to declare once again that Cyprus fully supports all the efforts of the United Nations for the eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism in various parts of the world, as well as for the adoption of measures aimed against the revival of colonialism.

32. In that context I would mention the case of Western Sahara, where the principle of self-determination has not yet been applied. Contrary to the numerous General Assembly resolutions on this subject, the Sahraoui people have not yet been allowed to exercise their inalienable rights.

33. I do not propose to refer specifically to the many other cases of destabilization, conflict, dispute and confrontation which are scattered all over the globe. The increase in their number, extent and intensity simply points to the fact that man's future is in the balance.

34. Perhaps in no other United Nations activity do we observe such a degree of discrepancy between the resolutions we adopt and the realities we witness as in the field of human rights. It is really frustrating and saddening to note the ever-increasing gap between rhetoric and real human attitudes and action. Even more saddening is the helplessness or passivity with which the international community watches mass, flagrant and horrible violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, unable or unwilling to do anything decisive and effective about it. That is why we should concentrate on ways and means to ensure effective and strict respect for human rights. That is why we should welcome and strongly support the trend which has appeared in recent years towards conventions which have a built-in machinery for the implementation of their provisions. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*] and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*] are such cases, and they must be followed by others.

35. Cyprus has consistently supported the need for all to collaborate in the establishment of a new world information and communications order based, *inter alia*, on the free circulation and wider and better balanced dissemination of information, guaranteeing the diversity of sources and free access to information. We maintain that it is imperative to change the dependent status of the developing countries in the field of information and communication, which is an integral part of the development process.

36. We salute the agreement reached on the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,¹ despite some negative votes, after eight years of intensive consultations and negotiations, to which Cyprus made its modest contribution. The importance of this achievement can hardly be over-emphasized. It marks the advent of a new era in which the nations of the world, old and new, rich and poor, from the entire political spectrum, have agreed to set the rules that should govern the use and exploitation of the resources of our common heritage in the seas and oceans. The successful completion of the Convention, which also regulates the many other aspects of the law of the sea, enhances the prospects for international co-operation and makes a very necessary contribution to the prestige of the United Nations.

37. The problem of Cyprus continues to be one of the most serious international problems, threatening peace and security in the sensitive area of the eastern Mediterranean. This situation is yet another example of the inability of the United Nations to act by implementing its own resolutions. Eight years have elapsed since Turkish troops invaded Cyprus and occupied more than 36 per cent of its territory; eight years of agony, after the devastation and pillage, in which all human rights have been and continue to be violated by Turkey; eight years of the crude act of occupation.

38. Cyprus has come through many tribulations during its proud 7,000-year history but has never before experienced such a sinister operation: an operation whereby the occupation is coupled with the systematic attempt to change the demographic character of the occupied part; an operation whereby the indigenous population of the occupied territory was savagely ousted from its birthplace. A birthplace does not belong to any given generation of people. It is perennial in character; it belongs to history. So the aggression of Turkey against Cyprus is not only a present-day violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity: it is also a sacrilegious trespass on one of the oldest recorded histories of the world. The Turkish aggression and occupation brought upon Cyprus many scars which cannot be healed as long as the violation of our sovereignty and territorial integrity persists, as long as the Turkish army of occupation is on our territory.

39. Eight years have elapsed and we are still trying to trace the fate of more than 1,600 persons, missing since the invading forces set foot on Cyprus. In spite of unflagging efforts, in spite of a number of resolutions adopted by the Assembly, no progress has been made on this purely humanitarian issue. We call upon the international community to make its voice heard more clearly and loudly in Ankara, so that a

workable arrangement may be achieved to trace in a proper manner the fate of the missing persons.

40. I stand at this rostrum once again to convey to the Assembly the protest of the people of Cyprus at the continued Turkish occupation and, in general, at the contemptuous way in which Turkey has been treating the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Cyprus, and to reiterate our demands for their strict and full implementation. The words of the Secretary-General in his report, which still reverberate in this Hall, were really scathing and severely censorious of those who failed to comply with United Nations resolutions and of those who try "to win an international objective by force".

41. The facts with regard to Cyprus are well known to the Assembly. Although we are victims of aggression and occupation, we have mustered all good will in the quest for a lasting solution and permanent peace. The intercommunal talks, which have been going on in Cyprus for a long time, have produced no results of any substance due to the intransigent and negative attitude of Turkey. It is incumbent upon the international community, and particularly those who possess the necessary influence, to make Turkey remove its forces of occupation from, and abandon its sinister designs against, Cyprus and comply fully with the resolutions of the United Nations.

42. Together with my assurances that we for our part shall continue to strive hard for a peaceful solution in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations, I must categorically state once again that under no circumstances shall we accept the results of the crime committed against Cyprus or any solution which directly or indirectly might lead to the division and partition of Cyprus or amount to the abandonment of the inherent rights of the people of Cyprus, such as the right of the refugees to return to their homes and properties. We envisage a completely independent, sovereign, territorially integral, federal, united, demilitarized and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, in which all citizens, whether Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots or Maronites or Armenians or Latins, will be able to enjoy fully their human rights and fundamental freedoms and co-operate for a happy and prosperous future in peace and freedom for generations to come. Our aspiration is to turn Cyprus from a place of conflict into a place of peace, something which would be a significant contribution to the cause of international peace and security. We aspire to turn Cyprus into a bridge of understanding and co-operation between three continents.

43. I have no doubt whatsoever that, if foreign intervention and interference cease and the unity of the country and the people is restored, there would be no problem which could not be overcome. In a genuine desire to ensure lasting peace in our much tormented country, I put forward some time ago the proposal for the total demilitarization and disarmament of Cyprus. I declared that we would be prepared to agree to the stationing in the Republic of Cyprus for as long as necessary, of an international United Nations police force which would supervise a united mixed Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot police force composed in accordance with the population ratio. I reiterate once again my proposal. The Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou, offered to withdraw

from Cyprus the small Greek contingent stationed under the 1960 Treaties, provided, of course, that all the Turkish troops are withdrawn, in which case Greece would be prepared to pay for the additional expenses for an increased international force of the United Nations. We support this generous proposal of the Greek Prime Minister, which was set out before the Assembly again in the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece [*11th meeting*].

44. The time has really come for the international community to act resolutely in order to give effect to its own verdict in regard to Cyprus. This unacceptable situation cannot go on indefinitely. It is because of the lack of any progress towards a solution of the Cyprus problem and because of Turkey's continuous disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions that we have asked for a new debate on Cyprus by the General Assembly in an effort to employ ways and means and take any steps and measures necessary to promote the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. I call upon the Assembly to act effectively so that a potential source of danger can be removed in the interests of peace and international security and for the sake of the most sacred principles for which the United Nations stands.

45. I fervently hope that mankind will come to its senses before it is too late, before the "international anarchy" to which the Secretary-General referred in his report becomes a way of life on this planet with all the grave implications this would entail for the very survival of humanity. We trust that, under the guidance of the United Nations leadership, a new mentality will prevail and that, with the full support and co-operation of each and every Member State, a new era will dawn, not of anarchy and conflict, but of peace, justice and international legal order in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. To this noble objective we for our part pledge our dedication and full support.

46. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the President of the Republic of Cyprus for his important statement.

47. Mr. MUBARAK (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, I should like at the outset to extend to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, sincere congratulations upon your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your experience and wisdom will enable you to lead our deliberations successfully.

48. We should also like to take this opportunity to express to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, our deep appreciation of his indefatigable efforts for the success of the thirty-sixth session, and to wish him all the best in his future endeavours.

49. Since this is the first regular session of the General Assembly since the election of the new Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, I should like to congratulate him first on his election, and secondly on his excellent report on the work of the Organization. The report is of special importance, in our view, for two reasons: first, for its candour and courage in identifying the weakness in the Organization and of its authority, and secondly, for its timeliness, as it was released at a time when the

authority and prestige of the Organization were waning and when the Security Council, the principal organ entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security, was almost paralysed.

Mr. Moreno-Salcedo (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

50. We say this with specific reference to the failure of the Security Council to deter Israel and to put an end to its aggressive actions, the latest of which was the invasion and occupation of Lebanon and of its capital, Beirut and the genocide carried out against Palestinians and Lebanese in southern Lebanon and west Beirut which culminated in the massacres at the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps. Session after session, the overwhelming majority of the members of the international community represented in the Assembly have warned about and called attention to the aggressive nature of Israel, its expansionist policies and its sinister design to exterminate the Palestinian people. Its latest act of aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinians is but additional proof of those sinister designs.

51. The records attests to this assertion: first, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was mounted under extremely dubious pretexts at a time when the PLO was fully respecting the 1981 cease-fire agreement; secondly, the invasion and the genocide that followed took place at a time when the Security Council was constantly meeting, adopting resolution after resolution to no avail; thirdly, the invasion and its gruesome aftermath took place while the whole world, through the mass media, was watching the carnage; fourthly, Israel persisted in its barbaric activities in Lebanon despite the advice, the warning, the opposition and the denunciation of the whole international community, including Israel's allies; fifthly, Israel not only defied the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, but went further, defying and brushing aside the authority of the Security Council represented by the United Nations peace-keeping forces in southern Lebanon: sixthly, the Beirut massacre was a further manifestation not only of Israel's defiance of the United Nations but also of its defiance of the whole international community and of its friends when it blatantly violated the Beirut agreement, under which the Palestinian fighters left Beirut, leaving thousands of Palestinian civilians under the sole protection of the guarantees contained in that agreement.

52. Israel is committing all these atrocities under the pretext of defending its security. What kind of security is Israel referring to? Is it the indefinable security that was the pretext for bombing the Iraqi nuclear research centre, hundreds of miles away and across the territory of two sovereign countries at a time when the Israeli nuclear reactor in Daymona operates outside the obligations contained in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and outside the monitoring and safeguards of IAEA? Is it the security that was the pretext for annexing Arab Jerusalem and declaring it the eternal capital of Israel over the objection of the world and against the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council? Is it the security that was the pretext for occupying and then annexing the Syrian Golan Heights, the strategic heights that

overlook Damascus? Is it the security that was the pretext for the perpetual occupation of the West Bank and for the planting of fortified settlements and armed settlers in the midst of hundreds of thousands of unarmed Palestinian villagers? Is it the security that was the pretext for storming through southern Lebanon, destroying its towns and villages, besieging Beirut and interfering in Lebanon's internal affairs after violating its sovereignty and destroying its national unity? Is it, in the final analysis, the security that was the pretext for exterminating thousands of unarmed Palestinians, women, old people and children, because more than 30 years of homelessness and oppression had not silenced their demands for the fulfilment of their legitimate rights?

53. What security and secure boundaries does Israel want? Is it the kind of security that does not recognize the right of others to security or the kind where boundaries are continuously shifting and expanding? Is it not painfully puzzling that some of us still argue that peace in the Middle East will not obtain unless Israel's security is guaranteed? To whom are the security guarantees more vital: to Israel, that spreads its troops and modern war machine all over the region; or to Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the other Arab countries and the homeless Palestinian people, victims of daily Israeli aggression?

54. We have opted and we shall continue to opt for peace, peace that is based on justice and not peace imposed by guns. The Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez clearly reflected this strong commitment to just and lasting peace in the Middle East, peace that will guarantee the security of all States in the region and the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their State on their land. That peace will not be achieved unless the Palestinians, represented by the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, participate in negotiating that peace.

55. It is now abundantly clear to the Assembly, which represents the conscience of the international community, that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question, which remains the core of the Middle East conflict. This solution must guarantee the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, sovereignty and independence and to the establishment of their independent State on their land. This will not be achieved without ensuring Israeli compliance with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly calling for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and for the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

56. At the Fez Conference the Arabs were unanimous concerning peace based on justice, and confirmed their genuine desire for it. In our view, the Fez decision has created, for the first time in the history of this issue, a favourable climate for all parties concerned to bring about a just settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, especially bearing in mind the new, positive development in the American attitude. This is reflected in President Reagan's initiative and his

expressed desire for a peaceful settlement that will end the tragic suffering in the Middle East.

57. We welcome all the efforts now being exerted to ensure a just settlement of the Middle East problem and hope that those efforts and endeavours will not be nullified by the intransigence of the Israeli Government.

58. In surveying the present international situation, we clearly note the gap between the prevailing situation in international relations and that situation which the peoples of the world aspire to in regard to the realization of international peace and security. The problems we are facing are becoming more complicated and hotbeds of tension and conflict throughout the world continue to pose serious threats to international peace and security.

59. The Sudan is following with increasing concern the Irano-Iraqi war, which has been going on for more than two years now despite all efforts to stop it. From this rostrum, we commend the Iraqi initiatives and efforts, made within and outside the United Nations, to stop the suffering of the peoples of those two Moslem countries. We call on Iran to respond positively to those efforts so that Moslem resources and wealth can be utilized for the good of the Moslem nation.

60. The Sudan firmly believes in the principles of respect for the sovereignty and independence of all countries and peoples, the illegality of intervention in all its forms in internal affairs, the inadmissibility of the use or threat of use of force in international relations and the necessity of halting all forms of aggression and pressure—covert or overt—that threaten the sovereignty and political independence of other countries.

61. That is why we view with anxiety the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. We reiterate our call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops so that the peoples of those two countries can exercise their inalienable right to decide on the political, social and economic systems they deem fit for their countries, without foreign intervention or domination.

62. We also hope that efforts to arrive at a just and peaceful solution to the questions of Korea and Cyprus will meet with success and bring peace, stability, development and national unity, which are the aspirations of the peoples of those countries.

63. The Sudan is following with great concern and attention the developments of the political situation in South Africa. In this regard, it is about time for the racist clique in Pretoria to learn that neither peripheral nor cosmetic changes can remedy that abhorrent situation. What is needed is radical and far-reaching change that will abolish the *apartheid* system and establish a just and democratic society, where the majority enjoy their freedom as well as their inalienable sovereign rights. It is our conviction that, no matter how long it takes, that goal will be achieved through the ongoing heroic struggle of the national resistance movement in South Africa.

64. One cannot venture to address the problems in southern Africa without addressing the question of Namibia, which the international community had expected would take its rightful place in this body.

It is time for the international community to put an end to the delay in the settlement of the Namibian issue. It is our understanding that the latest round of negotiations has achieved some positive results, which we hope will lead to the adoption of accelerated measures in implementing the peaceful plan for the independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

65. We in the Sudan hail the heroic role of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and its capable handling of the arduous negotiations despite the manoeuvres employed by South Africa in that process. We also commend the role of the front-line African States and the wisdom, co-operation and flexibility they exhibited in the course of those negotiations. Moreover, we appreciate the role played by the Western contact group in the initial efforts, which helped make possible the adoption of resolution 435 (1978). However, now more than ever before, we urge the contact group, to do its utmost to exert the necessary influence on South Africa so that it will meet its commitment as stipulated in the plan within the framework of a declared timetable, before we lose this valuable opportunity, which may be the last. It is also imperative that such a move ultimately lead to the peaceful termination of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and allow the people of Namibia to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination.

66. In view of its commitment to the cause of African liberation in general and the independence of Namibia in particular, as well as its uncompromising belief in the effective role which the United Nations must play in settling the Namibian problem, the Sudan has agreed in principle to participate in the United Nations peace-keeping force envisaged for the transitional period of the implementation of the independence plan for Namibia. This was originally stated by President Jaafar Mohamed al Nemery, at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly [10th meeting], in his capacity as Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in 1978. We should like once again to confirm from this rostrum the fact that we agree to participate in the United Nations peace-keeping force for Namibia. That participation is, indeed, in pursuance of our African obligations to render moral and material support to SWAPO and to the people of Namibia to enable them to manage their own affairs after independence.

67. Despite the aspirations that led the international community to convene the second special session devoted to disarmament, last June, that session failed to meet those aspirations to even the minimum degree.

68. However, the failure of that session should not preclude us from stressing the importance of the comprehensive programme of disarmament, which would determine the specific measures of disarmament which should be implemented within a defined time-frame, as well as other measures to prepare the way for future negotiations leading towards general and complete disarmament. Priority in disarmament negotiations should be given to nuclear weapons, and then other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons and any others which may be

deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects.

69. The Sudan firmly believes that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of agreements or arrangements freely reached among the States of the zones concerned constitutes an important disarmament measure. In that conviction, the Sudan has consistently supported the efforts of the Organization to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, free from the arms race and foreign military presence manifested in the form of military bases and installations, nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and any manifestation of great-Power rivalry.

70. To that end the Sudan will spare no effort, in sincere co-operation with the States of the region, to crystallize the concept of the Red Sea as a lake of peace free from big-Power military strategic rivalry.

71. Faithful to the decisions of the OAU, the Sudan also consistently stresses the necessity to transform the African continent into a nuclear-weapon-free zone and eliminate all forms of foreign influence and intervention therein.

72. The economic reports issued recently by Governments and various bodies of the United Nations system all indicate that the present international economic crisis is the most serious crisis since the 1930s. This evaluation is made more disturbing by all the economic indicators in developed countries. Unemployment has broken all the records of the past 50 years. Growth rates are becoming slower than ever and inflation is not yet under control. Trade restrictions and barriers threaten the world with new trade wars that would complete the similarity between the current crisis and that of the 1930s.

73. The most dangerous aspect of the present crisis is its devastating impact on the economies of the developing countries, particularly the least developed and the African countries, and its negative impact on international economic co-operation, which is characterized at present by a diminished commitment to multilateralism and a decline in official development assistance, which is essential to the development efforts of the least developed countries. The financial crisis in UNDP and the difficulties connected with the sixth replenishment of the International Development Association and other international development institutions are clear proofs of this dangerous trend.

74. The Sudan and the other least developed countries are the hardest hit by the international economic crisis, and the least capable of cushioning the recurrent international economic shocks. Despite this unfavourable international economic climate, the Sudan is endeavouring to overcome its economic problems with a two-pronged approach. The first is self-reliance and the mobilization and involvement of its citizens and regions in the process of development. The second is the utilization of bilateral, regional and international economic co-operation for its benefit and that of its partners.

75. The most outstanding achievement internally is the implementation of the new regional government system in the Sudan, a country with a territory of 1 million square miles, which must broaden the political

and economic participation and involvement of all parts of the country. Under this system, the Sudan is divided into six regions, each with a parliament, a cabinet and a governor, enjoying wide powers, especially in economic and social development and the provision of various services. It is our hope that the application of this system will accelerate regional development, consolidate the principle of self-reliance and facilitate the fair distribution of the fruits of economic and social development throughout the country.

76. In spite of our own efforts and self-reliance, we have to admit that the present stage in the prevailing international economic situation necessitates increasing support from the international community for our development efforts, particularly through increasing official development assistance, bilaterally and multilaterally, and technical co-operation through UNDP and other United Nations agencies.

77. True to its racial, cultural and historical identity, the Sudan, which belongs to the Arab African region, has worked actively for Afro-Arab solidarity and the strengthening of the machinery and economic and political institutions that serve that end. In Africa the Sudan consistently calls for adherence to the policy of good-neighbourliness, the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes through political solutions, because these are the lasting solutions. We do this in the conviction that such a policy will bring Africa peace, stability and progress. Only in that way can Africa channel all its abilities towards development and construction, rather than waste them in disputes and conflicts. Africa is in great need of the tractor and other means of construction rather than the cannon and other means of destruction.

78. Matching words with deeds, the Sudan works seriously for the strengthening of relations with neighbouring countries. Bilateral and tripartite ministerial committees have been established with many of those countries, with a view to consolidating and strengthening those relations, ensuring respect for the independence and security of those countries, the well-being of their peoples and the enhancement of their socio-economic development.

79. As a result of that conviction, and with the aim of achieving such objectives, a charter of integration between Egypt and the Sudan has been drafted and will be signed in the next few days. This charter represents the organizational framework for steering the development process in the two countries through the implementation of a number of projects of economic, social and cultural integration. By establishing such an interaction, the Sudan and Egypt are attempting to create an example of regional co-operation. The charter of integration between the Sudan and Egypt constitutes a serious step towards the achievement of regional co-operation and integration in Africa, in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action adopted by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in April 1980.²

80. The OAU was created as an embodiment of African wisdom inspired by a heritage deeply rooted in history and as a manifestation of Africa's ability to overcome all the obstacles in its path. Since its inception in 1963 the organization has upheld the

same lofty and noble principles and objectives as the United Nations. As envisaged by its founding fathers, the OAU has come to be regarded as a tributary of this international Organization whose aim it is to strengthen and uphold the same ideals and principles. Throughout the years the OAU has proved to be resilient in the face of the afflictions and crises it has faced, and it has proved stronger than the problems imposed upon it. It has also resisted attempts to weaken it or disrupt its unity or to hinder the achievement of its objectives. The OAU has continued to be the embodiment of the conviction of all African peoples that solving African problems is the responsibility of the Africans themselves and should be faced with African wisdom and determination and dealt with through the institutions and machinery devised at sessions of the OAU Assembly for the settlement of these problems. We trust that, despite the crises it faces today, that organization will be able to contain the differences confronting it. Faithful to the objectives and principles of the OAU, the Sudan and its African brothers will spare no effort to enable the organization to overcome those differences and to attain the objectives for which it has been created.

81. Unlike other least developed countries, the Sudan suffers not only from the impact of the international economic crisis but also from a continuous influx of refugees, which adds an additional burden that drains resources and efforts already earmarked for financial, economic and social development. The refugees registered by the United Nations in the Sudan total more than a half million, although the number actually entering the country across the borders with its eight neighbours far exceeds that. In spite of this heavy burden and its disruptive consequences, the Sudan has succeeded in developing a unique experiment in the field of receiving and caring for refugees. Our experience in rehabilitating refugees, in an exemplary manner commended by the international community, has enriched the experience of the Sudanese authorities concerned and created an able cadre in that field. As a result, the problem of the refugees in the Sudan has gone from the stage of immediate relief to a system of planning for the relocation of refugees in well-prepared accommodations, together with basic educational and health services and employment opportunities, which allow the refugees to become independent.

82. To implement these projects, the Sudan made considerable efforts to mobilize resources from Governments, international organizations and voluntary agencies. In this context, in June 1980 the Sudan organized the International Conference on Refugees, in Khartoum, and declared 1980 the Year of Refugees in the Sudan. In continuation of those efforts an international seminar was held in Khartoum on 11 September of this year. Participants in that seminar included international experts in the field of refugee problems as well as representatives of the refugees themselves. The seminar discussed a number of issues, the most important being the integration of the refugee projects into local and national development plans. The Sudan has always pursued positive policies on refugee questions, for humane and ethical reasons, and also in compliance with regional and international instruments—to which the Sudan is a

party and which it has incorporated in its Constitution—as well as practices, providing for such rights.

Mr. Hollai (Hungary), President, resumed the Chair.

83. The Sudan welcomed the convening of the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva in April 1981, and commended its outcome as a step in the right direction to be followed by other international measures commensurate with the needs of those refugees, taking into account their continuous influx and the negative impact on the host countries and peoples.

84. My delegation would like to reiterate the importance of holding a follow-up conference in 1983 to evaluate the progress achieved in the implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the first Conference, to consider ways and means of overcoming the difficulties and problems hindering the implementation of some of the recommendations and decisions of that Conference and to urge the international community to honour its commitments to African refugees and African host countries.

85. At the thirty-sixth session [22nd meeting] I concluded my statement to the Assembly by reaffirming the Sudan's unequivocal belief in the role of the United Nations, particularly with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security. Today I shall conclude by reiterating our call for the consolidation and strengthening of the United Nations, especially the Security Council, so that the Organization can fulfil its basic role in the maintenance of peace. The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization has courageously and frankly reflected the concerns of the majority of the Member States about what has become of the Organization and of its role in the maintenance of international peace and security. We hope that the Secretary-General's ideas and proposals will be seriously considered by all Member States, and particularly by the Security Council—perhaps at a high-level meeting, as the Secretary-General has proposed. In this regard it suffices to submit the following observations.

86. First, we agree with the Secretary-General that the establishment of the collective security system provided for in the Charter is the only way for the United Nations to carry out its basic task. Reinforcing the collective security system would protect the small and weak nations and save the vast resources now wasted on armaments in a world that respects only force.

87. Secondly, the reluctance of some States to resort to the Security Council for the settlement of disputes or the maintenance of peace, or to do so only when it is too late, defeats the main objective behind its creation. It is worth mentioning here that adjudication by the Council must be coupled with an absolute commitment on the part of Council members, especially its permanent members, which have a special responsibility in this respect, just as they have special rights, to fulfil their responsibility.

88. Thirdly, the Security Council must consider appropriate ways of making Member States observe and respect its decisions. The Council will have to be ready to deal with those States which violate its decisions.

89. Fourthly, the role played by the United Nations peace-keeping forces cannot be separated from the efficacy of the Council in exercising its authority and using its prestige and in ensuring that its resolutions will be implemented. Peace-keeping forces, as we all know, are a moral rather than a military deterrent. We believe that the Secretary-General's proposal for strengthening peace-keeping operations through collective guarantees is a matter which deserves serious study.

90. In conclusion, the commitment of Member States to the Charter and its objectives is the only guarantee of its effectiveness in maintaining international peace and security and ensuring prosperity for all the peoples of the world.

91. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your election to your high office at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are convinced that your election reflects both an appreciation of your personal abilities and an expression of the wide international prestige enjoyed by the people of your country, whose contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security is well known. We wish you and the Secretary-General full success in your responsible work.

92. This is the second time in the last four months that we have met to consider developments throughout the world and seek ways of joining forces as effectively as possible for the implementation of the noble principles of the Charter. However, this time again it is with a feeling of considerable concern that we are forced to note that the current international situation continues to be alarming and complex. We are deeply convinced that this cooling of the political climate did not have to occur at all. There are not nor can there be any rational grounds for it. The policy of détente, after all, has asserted itself as a clearly demonstrable historic achievement of nations.

93. Unfortunately, for certain circles of imperialism and reaction the departure from such a generally beneficial policy and attempts to return to the practices of the cold war have become virtually a line of policy. What inventions they manage to come up with! Just as in the years of the witch hunts, today, again, their agents are trying to resurrect the spectre of communism, looking for its long arm in everything bad; and, not unlike inquisitors, they are accusing the socialist countries of all the deadly sins, with the absurd intention of getting them to the stake reserved for heretics. They are doing their utmost to disrupt the military-strategic balance—that basis of stability in today's world—and to shift it to their benefit. They are constantly launching new rounds of the arms race. They are inventing monstrous concepts of a preventive nuclear strike, or the so-called limited or protracted nuclear war, which they even assert can be won. They are also reviving the discredited policies of embargoes, boycotts and sanctions. They are using methods of pressure, blackmail, force, aggression, barbarity and genocide wherever circumstances still permit them to do so.

94. The deterioration of the international situation is therefore not the result of forces beyond our control. It is determined by quite concrete deeds of quite

concrete Governments. It is consequently the duty of every Member of this world Organization to do everything possible to safeguard reliably and effectively the most fundamental human right—the right to life. The possibilities in this respect are great and the will of the peoples to live in peace is indefatigable. That is why the policy of détente, thanks to the deep and strong roots it has taken, especially in Europe, can and must go on and must continue to bear fruit. This assertion is supported by demonstrable facts.

95. First, all the commitments embodied in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki in 1975, remain in force, and to their full extent. They are in no sense archival documents, as some might prefer. On the contrary, they continue to serve as a living code, tested in practice, and as a reliable compass for the policies of the majority of European States.

96. Secondly, important bilateral and multilateral agreements are being carried out. These form a time-tested international legal basis which is an irreplaceable factor in the construction of a peaceful Europe. Among them let us in particular recall the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia with the Federal Republic of Germany, and the four-Power Agreement on West Berlin.

97. Thirdly, the political dialogue between East and West continues in an effort to strengthen the infrastructure of both European and international détente. The mechanisms established to seek a reduction of military confrontation and to strengthen mutual understanding and confidence in the interest of more reliable stability and security continue to function.

98. Fourthly, the wide-ranging and time-tested mechanism of consultation on each other's positions, which at first sight sometimes are apparently irreconcilable, is being consolidated and expanded in order to preserve and further activate the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

99. Fifthly, despite all artificial obstacles and discriminatory measures, Europe-wide commercial and economic co-operation continues. The implementation of the gas-pipeline contract, the biggest project of this century tackling the energy problems of Europe, is the latest example of that co-operation.

100. Sixthly, the dialogue in the fields of culture, education, information and human contacts continues.

101. Seventhly, the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement is becoming a dynamic factor in the European political climate.

102. It can thus be noted with satisfaction that those who are trying to devalue détente have not been successful and are not succeeding now. This valuable asset can undoubtedly be further enhanced qualitatively and expanded geographically if responsible statesmen display sufficient political will to do so.

103. The great profitability of the policy of détente and the fact that it is beneficial for all are, after all, best attested to by the example of Europe, that obviously most stable region of our uneasy planet. Thanks precisely to détente, some remarkable and salubrious changes have occurred in Central Europe, where Czechoslovakia is located, in that ancient

critical area which has been the epicentre of two destructive world wars. Above all, there is a new awareness that, for the first time in European history, the peoples of our continent have seized the historic opportunity of creating practical conditions for peace, security and peaceful co-operation, and have done so despite all existing political, economic, philosophical and social differences.

104. Czechoslovakia, too, has contributed its share to the creation of this accomplishment, which historically is completely new. As was already observed at the Helsinki Conference by our President, Gustáv Husák, it has helped to create an important element of stability which is in such sharp contrast to the pre-war history of constant conflict and tension, in particular in the central part of Europe.

105. The normalization achieved between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany and the continuing fruitful development of mutually advantageous relations based on it have become an important factor in the system of European security. This is true also with respect to the normalization of relations with Austria: since pending questions have been resolved, a rich structure of mutual contacts, including political contacts at the highest level, has been created and peaceful co-operation on our continent has thus been strengthened. Our comprehensive co-operation with Finland represents a logical implementation of the Final Act. Our joint search with France for new ways of developing relations also offers hope. Our relations with Greece, the Republic of Cyprus and Luxembourg are undeniably of benefit to détente.

106. After many years of negotiations with other signatories to the Helsinki documents—the United States and the United Kingdom—negotiations began immediately after the Helsinki Conference, the question of Czechoslovakia's monetary gold has been resolved. Agreements were signed last January between Czechoslovakia and the United States and between Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom on compensation for claims and the settlement of financial issues which had encumbered our relations with those countries since the end of the Second World War. In February part of the 18.4 ton gold treasure stolen during the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Hitlerites was returned by Washington and London to Prague. Thus one of the last outstanding issues remaining from the time of the Second World War was resolved and a serious obstacle removed from the path to the normalization of our relations, in particular with the United States. In this, too, we see confirmation of the fact that, given good will on both sides, there are no insoluble problems.

107. In the past we have constantly pointed out the mutual benefits resulting from what we have come to call the materialization of détente. This is borne out by facts. Suffice it to mention that there has been a more than sixfold mutually balanced increase in trade between the socialist and the capitalist States in the last 10 years. Czechoslovakia's share in this useful exchange with advanced capitalist countries represented a trade turnover last year of more than \$6 billion.

108. A similar picture is to be seen in cultural, educational and scientific contacts. We have

maintained from the very beginning that progress in this field contributes to mutual cultural enrichment and growing mutual confidence. The number of these projects places our country in the top ranks of the participants in the Helsinki Final Act. In the last 10 years our cultural exchanges have doubled in volume. Last year, for instance, this represented 100,000 persons—55,000 of them travelling from Czechoslovakia abroad and 45,000 foreigners visiting Czechoslovakia on the basis of more than 70 existing cultural agreements. We have been organizing numerous prestigious international cultural projects in our country, such as the "Days of Culture" of Finland, Belgium, Mexico and Tunisia, or the recent successful "Days of Culture of the Federal Republic of Germany in Czechoslovakia"—the first such project in the history of the two States—or the "Days of Culture of Austria in Czechoslovakia" that are being prepared for next year. In this way we can say that virtually every day the culture of some of the Western participants in the Helsinki Conference is present in Czechoslovakia. Of course, all those are but a few examples of the viability and future-oriented nature of the policy of détente.

109. In the conditions of the nuclear age there is no other reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence in relations among States. There can be no doubt about the truth of this conclusion. A return to the cold war, confrontation or a flight from the nuclear threat into stone age caves are certainly not reasonable alternatives. This is the main motive of the search for answers to the key questions of today and tomorrow: How can war be eliminated from the life of society? How can a nuclear catastrophe be averted? How can we assert and develop what we have in common and not what divides us? After all, the highest values are at stake here, and Hamlet's "To be or not to be" is appropriate, in the sense of whether the most basic conditions necessary for life on this planet will be preserved. In the historic answer to these questions we must not admit a shadow of doubt. Let us therefore answer unequivocally, definitively and resolutely.

110. As was said from the rostrum of the Assembly at the twelfth special session, the second special session devoted to disarmament, the preparation of a nuclear war must be stopped. We therefore fully support the commitment made by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a commitment contained in the message of the highest Soviet representative, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, addressed to the Assembly at that recent session [*12th meeting*]. We value this highly as a truly historic deed which, if emulated by the other nuclear Powers, would free the world from the danger of the use of nuclear weapons. It is this attitude to nuclear war which we consider to be a decisive criterion when judging the degree of responsibility with which individual States—in particular the countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] and, above all, the United States—approach the safeguarding of peaceful life on our planet.

111. As for the allegation that this obligation ignores conventional weapons, let us recall that it is precisely the authors of these objections who from the very beginning have been blocking the conclusion of a

world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, a proposal which has been on the negotiating table for a number of years.

112. Czechoslovakia is emphatically in favour of a complete and definitive liquidation of nuclear weapons, of eliminating without delay the causes of the development of new types and systems of such weapons. We are against their proliferation. Figuratively speaking, to eliminate the causes and thus to eliminate in time the risk of destabilizing the strategic situation means in practical terms to do away in the first place with the testing of nuclear weapons. That is why we welcome and fully support the proposal for the speedy conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests submitted from this rostrum several days ago by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko [*13th meeting*]. The conclusion of such a treaty would undoubtedly be facilitated if all the nuclear Powers were now to declare a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, including peaceful ones.

113. We value equally highly yet another new Soviet proposal for invigorating the efforts of States to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and safeguard the secure development of nuclear energy. The General Assembly should qualify the deliberate destruction of a peaceful nuclear facility, even if carried out with conventional weapons, as a nuclear attack and thus, in keeping with the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [*resolution 36/100*] this would be qualified as the gravest crime against humanity.

114. We attach exceptional importance to the successful conduct and positive outcome of Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe. As a central European country directly threatened by existing—and even more so by the Pentagon's envisaged—nuclear missile systems for NATO we believe that it is necessary to follow up the sincere expressions of good will with which the Soviet Union has so significantly encouraged the talks so far.

115. We hold the view that the question of whether progress will be achieved in nuclear disarmament and whether peace can thus be strengthened depends largely on whether Soviet-American agreement is reached on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons. That objective can be attained only on the basis of full respect for the principles of equality and equal security, while preserving everything positive that has already been achieved by the two sides in negotiations so far.

116. We are also profoundly disturbed by the development of binary and other types of chemical weapons of mass destruction, as well as by the unprecedented plans of the United States for their deployment in previously unheard-of amounts to the west of the borders of our Republic. The prompt achievement of a ban on these dangerous weapons in the spirit of the Soviet draft of the basic provisions of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction³ is, in our opinion, one of the most urgent tasks of all.

117. We advocate the preparation without delay of a convention prohibiting the deployment of any weapons in outer space, and we fully support the draft convention submitted by the Soviet Union last year.⁴ Further, in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, negotiations should be intensified on other disarmament issues, including the prohibition of neutron and radiological weapons, and agreement should be reached on further concrete measures of disarmament.

118. Sincere and fruitful co-operation among all States in the solution of disarmament questions is today more necessary than ever before. We therefore believe that the consistent implementation of the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, adopted on the initiative of my country at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 34/88*], remains highly timely and relevant. It is a document which urges States to participate actively in disarmament negotiations and to do so constructively, with initiative, to demonstrate a sincere political will to achieve tangible results in such talks and, last but not least, to conduct those talks on the basis of strict respect for the principle of equality and equal security, to refrain from developing new trends in the arms race and not to misuse disarmament negotiations as a screen behind which to add new spirals to the arms race.

119. As a direct participant in the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe, we have literally a vital interest in their successful progress and, above all, tangible results. We believe that the best way to achieve progress is to proceed without delay with the drafting of the text of the agreement. We are convinced that the proposal submitted by the socialist countries last February provides an equitable basis for that task. We regret that our Western partners are frustrating our efforts by persisting, even in their most recent proposal, in the old so-called asymmetrical model of reduction, which is motivated by an endeavour to gain considerable unilateral military advantages at the expense of the security of the Warsaw Treaty States.

120. We expect that the forthcoming resumed Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will also have important things to say with regard to the solution of the burning issues of disarmament and the reduction of the danger of military confrontation. We wish to emphasize from this rostrum our interest in that meeting and our feeling that it should be conducted in the spirit of a constructive dialogue, should reaffirm the continuation of the process of détente and should reach a successful conclusion as soon as possible by adopting a substantive and balanced final document, including a mandate for the convening of a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe. We believe that a positive role in that respect can be played by the constructive proposals of the neutral and non-aligned countries. We very much hope that the results of the Madrid meeting will strengthen the prerequisites for the continuous expansion and creative development of the European initiative in Helsinki.

121. However, we wish to express our concern that the success of the meeting is being jeopardized

by efforts to revive the policy of dealing with the socialist countries from a position of strength and of undermining the very foundations of East-West economic co-operation by heavy-handed and unscrupulous sanctions.

122. We have followed with great concern the deterioration of the political climate in various hotbeds of tension. Czechoslovakia firmly denounces the further manifestations of Israeli aggression in the Middle East which are shielded by Washington's political, military and economic support within the framework of the agreement on so-called strategic co-operation.

123. We feel profoundly indignant at the gross intervention against Lebanon which culminated in the recent gory massacre of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians in west Beirut. As one of the members, along with Bolivia, Denmark, Panama and the Philippines, of the former United Nations Commission on Palestine which was established by resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 and which was called upon to supervise the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine and the establishment of independent Arab and Jewish States on its territory—a resolution as yet regrettably unimplemented—we state with the utmost clarity that Israel must immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops beyond the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon. The sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon must be strictly respected, as is required by the decision of the recently resumed seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly.

124. As for the overall solution to the situation, the only possible way to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is the consistent observance of the principles which correspond to the general norms of international law and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. These demand the return of all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including east Jerusalem, the implementation of the inalienable right of the Arab Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State on the territory of Palestine, free from Israeli occupation, on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, the safeguarding of the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes or to receive appropriate compensation for the property which they have abandoned, the safeguarding of the right of all States in the region to a secure and independent existence and to development, and the preparation and adoption of international safeguards for the settlement, which could be guaranteed by the permanent members of the Security Council or by the Council as a whole.

125. We note with satisfaction that this position of ours is substantially in accord with the conclusions of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference. These objectives, however, cannot be attained through the compromised Camp David deals, but only by multi-lateral collective efforts, preferably by an international conference on the peaceful settlement of the situation in the region, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

126. Our indignation continues to be aroused by the anachronism of the policy of *apartheid*, which has been repeatedly and unequivocally condemned here, as well as by South Africa's continuing acts of armed aggression against Angola, Mozambique and other front-line States; and furthermore by the attempts to hamper, through neo-colonialist manoeuvres, the settlement of the question of Namibia on the basis of the full implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. We express our solidarity with the Namibian people in the struggle they are waging under the leadership of SWAPO for self-determination and independence.

127. The proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan are viewed by us as a constructive contribution to a peaceful settlement of the situation in that region. We also highly value the efforts undertaken in this respect by the Secretary-General. In addition, the set of proposals by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, including the initiative proposing the convening of an international conference to consider the situation in South-East Asia [see A/37/334], constitute in our view an important step towards changing South-East Asia into a region of peace, stability and co-operation.

128. We see the withdrawal of a part of the Vietnamese troops from the People's Republic of Kampuchea as an expression of good will and a desire to resolve the situation in that region by peaceful means. We declare once again, most resolutely, that the seat in this Organization rightfully belongs to the legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and to nobody else.

129. From the very beginning we have held the view that the continuing senseless conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran can and must be terminated as soon as possible by peaceful means with respect for the legitimate rights of both parties. We have on several occasions expressed our position on the matter to both sides. We support the peace mediation efforts by the countries of the non-aligned movement.

130. We hold unwaveringly to the position that the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and to decide independently on their own fate must be fully respected in Central America and the Caribbean region also. The threats by American imperialism against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and other States of Central America and the Caribbean, like the ruthless suppression of the struggle of the patriotic forces in El Salvador, have no other result than the exacerbation of tension and the endangering of peace in those regions. We sympathize with the efforts of the Caribbean States to transform the region into a zone of peace, independence and development.

131. We advocate the settlement of the decolonization problem which came to a head this year in the South Atlantic—by means of negotiations on the basis of United Nations resolutions and of the decisions adopted by the non-aligned movement, parti-

cularly the conclusions of the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held from 31 May to 5 June 1982 at Havana [see A/37/333].

132. We resolutely support the efforts of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of United States troops from the southern part of the country.

133. We continue to favour the solution of the question of Cyprus in the spirit of the well-known United Nations resolutions on the subject. That is the only way to ensure the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, its independence and non-aligned status.

134. We are in favour of settling existing conflicts peacefully and averting potential conflicts. In that context we support the Soviet proposals for negotiations on confidence-building measures in the Far East and the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and the Persian Gulf, and the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion by the States of Asia and the Pacific of a convention on the mutual non-use of force.⁵ That applies also to the proposals for effective measures to enhance security, particularly in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean regions. The timeliness of those initiatives is underscored by the fact that they are designed to restore health to the international climate in these important regions of the world and thus to strengthen peace in the world as a whole.

135. Czechoslovakia values highly the activity of the non-aligned movement against war and for disarmament and social progress. We are convinced that by proceeding consistently on the basis of progressive, peaceful and anti-imperialist positions the non-aligned movement can play a significant positive role, particularly in the current complex international situation.

136. Proceeding from positions of principle, we shall continue to extend our support to the efforts of the developing countries aimed at overcoming the consequences of colonial and neo-colonial rule and bringing about a substantive restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable, equal and democratic basis.

137. Czechoslovakia, as a socialist State and a member and a strong integral part of the defence alliance of the socialist community of States in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, remains unswervingly faithful to the ideals of peace.

138. We are ready to co-operate with all delegations to ensure that the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly fulfils the hopes which humanity has placed in it and contributes to finding ways of limiting the arms race, halting the dangerous exacerbation of international tension, developing détente and building confidence among States with different social systems. In this way alone will it be possible to strengthen and enhance the role of the United Nations in international relations and enable it consistently to implement its ideals, thus fulfilling its mandate and meeting the expectations of nations.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

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

² *Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa*. See A/S-11/14, annex I.

³ See A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 128, document A/36/192, annex.

⁵ See A/36/586.