



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear a statement by Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. NYERERE (United Republic of Tanzania): First, Sir, let me take this opportunity to congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Your long diplomatic experience and our proven personal abilities mean that the Assembly will be in good hands under your leadership. You have the good wishes of the Tanzanian people as you carry out this onerous task, and you can rest assured of the full co-operation of the Tanzanian delegation throughout your year of office.

3. I should also like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for the work he has already done to strengthen the Organization, and in particular for his efforts in southern Africa. As I have said from this rostrum previously, the Secretary-General and his staff can do no more than to assist us, the Members of the United Nations, to make decisions in the cause of peace and to facilitate the implementation of any decisions we make. United Nations peace-keeping forces can buy time for us. But if we, the Members, and in particular the powerful Members, do not really want peace or are not prepared to pay even a small price for peace, the United Nations staff can achieve very little, if anything. I can therefore only thank them, and particularly the able Secretary-General, for their great efforts on our behalf.

4. I last spoke to the General Assembly during its twenty-fifth session [1867th meeting], in October 1970, devoting the bulk of my speech to the problems of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. Progress has been made since then. Angola, Mozambique and the other Territories which were Portuguese colonies at that time are now sovereign nations and Members of this body. So is Zimbabwe. But peace and freedom have not come to our region.

5. The danger that the freedom struggle in southern Africa will be confused by the East-West power conflict has become greater and more obvious. Namibia is still occupied by South Africa, and the tentative movements towards the isolation of *apartheid* South Africa from the world community which could be discerned during the 1970s are now apparently being reversed. Indeed, far from being forced to the defensive by world pressure, South Africa has been allowed to attack its neighbours with little reaction from the international community. It has received only verbal condemnation—if that—in

response to its raids into Mozambique and Lesotho, its destabilization activities in those countries and also in Zimbabwe and Zambia and its innumerable aggressive actions against Angola, culminating in the occupation of part of Angolan territory.

6. South Africa's attempts to destabilize its neighbours are intensifying, yet South Africa is treated by many of us as if it were a respectable member of the world community which could be encouraged by constructive engagement into being a good neighbour. And when these countries look for world support, some Members of the United Nations advise that if they would only avoid provoking South Africa they would not suffer from the economic, social and political problems which the South African attacks create for them. The provocation referred to is their open and public opposition to *apartheid* and the reception of refugees from *apartheid* South Africa.

7. Unfortunately for South Africa's neighbours, the real provocation they offer is their very existence. The example, especially along its borders, of independent nations which proclaim the equality of man and are trying to promote human dignity is a continual threat to the *apartheid* régime.

8. The choice facing South Africa's neighbours is therefore very clear: either they become accomplices of this racist régime or they must prepare to defend themselves against its attacks. And the United Nations has either to support them in their defence or to become itself an accomplice of the racist State's attacks on its own people and its neighbours. In this context the United Nations means all our States, severally and jointly. Neutrality on racism is immoral and politically unsustainable in the long run.

9. Nor is it only in relation to *apartheid* that the United Nations has a responsibility to impress its will upon South Africa. We—the United Nations—have withdrawn South Africa's mandate for the government of Namibia. After long discussions and consultations the Security Council passed resolution 435 (1978), as long as five years ago. It was designed to effect a transfer of power to the people of Namibia and bring an end to the war of liberation being waged there. Negotiations about implementation have since then dragged on at a snail's pace. South Africa has been constantly stalling and manufacturing new objections to the plan, while the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] makes concession after concession in the search for peace.

10. As a result of the Security Council's deliberations, the Secretary-General has recently assumed a central role in the negotiations. Acting on our behalf he visited South Africa. He has reported that the transition plan as set out and negotiated has now been accepted by both sides, but South Africa refuses to begin its implementation because Angola has troops from Cuba helping it to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

11. I must reiterate once more that Tanzania categorically rejects this attempt to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. We know that South Africa has adopted this

policy in the last two years on the encouragement of a permanent member of the Security Council. We know that South Africa is remaining stubborn with the encouragement of that State. Tanzania still says that Angola is an independent sovereign State which has suffered from external aggression from the moment of its birth. It has a right to decide for itself on its defence needs. The attempts to link the independence of Namibia with Angola's sovereign decisions has to be rejected by the whole of the United Nations.

12. The people of Namibia have a country. It is the freedom of that country to govern itself that they are fighting for. What they suffer is continued colonialism under South Africa. They do not suffer from homelessness. The non-white people of South Africa have a country, South Africa. What they suffer are the evils of racial discrimination under *apartheid*. Even the attempts by South Africa to deprive its black people of their citizenship by the creation of so-called independent homelands is not recognized by the international community. We continue to recognize the right of the people of South Africa to all of South Africa.

13. But the people of Palestine have no home. They are a nation without a country. In 1947, long before Tanzania came into existence, the General Assembly decided that in order to give a homeland to the homeless Jewish people the land of Palestine should be divided into two. That decision had its own complications. Not surprisingly, the Palestinians and other Arabs rejected it and resisted its implementation. But, faced with the background of the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe, the international community proceeded with the Partition Plan [resolution 181 (II)]. The rationale for that decision was to undo the wrong done to the Jewish people by Hitlerite fascism.

14. Today it is the people of Palestine who are homeless. Even their right to Gaza and the West Bank is disputed. How can humanity tolerate this injustice? How can the international community recognize the "right" of the Jewish people to a part of Palestine and yet deny the Arab people of Palestine the right to form their own State on at least part of that territory?

15. Tanzania recognizes the State of Israel, but we do not recognize that State's right to deny a homeland to the people of Palestine and to refuse to negotiate with the genuine representatives of that people, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. Nor do we recognize Israel's right to commit aggression at will against its neighbours, occupying large parts of Lebanon and making its withdrawal conditional upon the actions of others.

16. The United Nations promoted the creation of the State of Israel. Both super-Powers were involved, together, in the original decision to divide Palestine. Both have a responsibility to work together, and in concert with the international community, to ensure that the Palestinian people exercise their inalienable right to self-determination—including the right to establish an independent State of their own in Palestine.

17. Let me now turn to a world problem which has very special relevance to and importance for Africa.

18. In the General Assembly, in innumerable other large and small international gatherings and in several high-level international commissions, we have discussed the problems of world poverty, the workings of the world trading and financial institutions and the economic responsibilities of our nations one to another. Yet the harsh truth is that the indecency—nay, the obscenity—of unalloyed poverty is now more widespread and afflicts more people in the world than ever before. The gap between

rich nations and poor nations gets larger and larger with every year that passes. And in the last few years many African countries have experienced an objective fall, as well as a relative fall, in an already abysmally low level of national wealth. Finally, the intimate financial and economic links between third world countries and the developed nations have caused the problems of third world national poverty to impinge with damaging effect on the economies of the wealthy nations.

19. Those are facts. They are indisputable. I think there is general agreement that they are ultimately incompatible with world peace. But when we get to analysing their causes and the actions necessary to change them, then differences arise amongst us; in particular, differences arise between what is now known as the "economic South" and the dominant members of the "economic North". Furthermore, our discussions have recently become increasingly barren; less and less of substance has resulted from more and more international conferences.

20. Generally, we have concluded our meetings by congratulating ourselves and each other on our speeches and agreeing to meet again in a further attempt to reach a consensus on united action. Occasionally, some individual countries have increased their economic aid to the poor nations or improved the terms of their assistance as a result of a meeting. But at different times, other States have decreased their aid or worsened its terms. In any case, the substance and the basis of the economic relations between our States have only on the rarest occasions been made noticeably better by our meetings. Indeed, judging by the evidence of the economic crisis which now grips the whole world, these relations have got worse. Meanwhile, the present international systems and institutions have proved less and less able to fulfil the functions of promoting trade and prosperity throughout the world. Where are we going wrong?

21. At our conferences we meet as Governments. This is natural because there are decisions to be made. Our purpose is to discuss a problem and find a solution. But each of us begins by stating our own position on it—what we think is wrong and what kind of action, if any, we are prepared to support. From these fixed positions we proceed to bargain. In committees and in the corridors of our conferences we discuss who will give way a little on one thing and what they will demand in return. In a large gathering there are usually the "hard-liners" and sometimes the "mediators" in between them. The result is either an apparent triumph for the most intransigent—an intransigence which will be meaningless unless the stubborn Government also has power—or a fudged consensus subject to a dozen different interpretations, with little if any resulting action. For we have met as opponents and we part as opponents, whether or not we all claim victory or all regard the outcome of our meeting as a defeat.

22. Yet it is becoming increasingly clear that we have many common international economic goals. It also appears likely that positively directed discussion could lead to agreement on how we can work together to fulfil them.

23. First, all nations—capitalist, socialist, agricultural, industrial, poor and rich—want and need some kind of international economic stability. Business organizations, whether public or private, prefer to have some advance knowledge of their future costs of production and the quantities of raw materials likely to be needed or available. The longer the gestation period for an investment, the more important stability becomes for those considering such investment. Workers also want an assurance that they will be able to earn their living in the future.

So the priority issue for all of us is the creation, or re-establishment, of that economic stability which is a necessary basis for our future welfare. In the 1950s and 1960s this job was done, to at least a reasonable extent, by IMF and other Bretton Woods organizations. Clearly, they no longer fulfil that function. They are still in existence, yet there is no stability and even less economic progress.

24. Secondly, none of our nations wants famine and starvation, epidemics and plagues, or the consequential social unrest and war, anywhere in the world. These evils can no longer be confined within national boundaries; their effects overflow into countries even thousands of miles away. We must tackle the problem of world poverty together. The question for us all is not whether we should do so but how we can act together more effectively.

25. Thirdly, all of us—rich and poor nations—want to increase the wealth produced and available to our own people. Whether we are elected or not, all our Governments know that we have a greater chance of avoiding trouble when our people are enjoying a rising standard of living, and vice versa. And all of us know, I think, that social unrest in another country can affect our own nation if we normally trade with it or for other reasons have close contact with it.

26. This legitimate interest in each other's progress and welfare does not give any nation the right to interfere politically in the affairs of another State. It implies, however, that in the longer run we all suffer if the international economic system constantly adversely affects the rewards which a particular type of economy or worker can earn. It means that we would all benefit from a system which facilitates the prosperity of those to whom we might wish to sell and which safeguards our creditors' ability to repay us by producing and selling goods. Economically, an impoverished customer is no good to a shopkeeper, a destitute man is no use to a farmer and a bankrupt creditor is a disaster for a bank.

27. These interests we all have in common, all of us. But at present it is not clear whether, in the face of the current world economic crisis, the rich nations still understand that they are unavoidably linked with the poor. For we hear of economic projections and of action programmes which talk as if recovery from the present recession must start among the rich, internally and amongst themselves. The poor nations, it is said, will then be "pulled up" by—and after—the rich, when these have overcome their own problems of unemployment, low demand and low production. In the meantime, it is suggested that the transfer of resources from the rich to the poor must be reduced in real terms and that any sizeable increase in international liquidity must be rejected for fear of its possible inflationary effects upon the rich countries.

28. This talk, and the actions based on it, provide another example of the failure to look at a world problem from a world perspective, to the ultimate detriment of rich as well as poor. In 1980 the Brandt Commission report<sup>1</sup> spoke of the urgent need for international action to avert the dangers of economic, social and political collapse in many of the third world countries, with consequential implications for peace in the world and prosperity in the developed nations. It made proposals, which have not been implemented.

29. Earlier this year a second report was published by the Commission.<sup>2</sup> This also made proposals, practical proposals drawn up by people who come from North and South and have diverse ideological approaches to economic problems. Judging by the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, and many other indications, it appears that once again we are going

to ignore their hard work and their success in reaching agreement on matters of substance. Yet the events of 1980 to 1983 have borne out the first analysis of the Brandt Commission. There has been social upheaval and financial or economic crisis, along with political unrest and shifting alliances, in many poor countries of the world. Also, "economic recovery" in the developed nations keeps "beginning"—and being put back by the threat of some new disaster in the third world, or some new and economically induced change in the pattern of world political relationships.

30. In pointing to these facts it is not my intention to attribute bad faith to the people of any nation or to any leader, still less to abuse any of them. Just as the world is overflowing with examples of avoidable misery, destitution, and death, so it is full of examples of human generosity to other human beings. The problem does not lie in the deliberate inhumanity of people in the rich countries, nor in the malevolence of the world's leaders. It lies in our failure to recognize that the problem of the poor nations is but part—albeit a very urgent part—of a common and joint world problem. This requires action from all of us according to our relative strength.

31. Even the priority part of the problem which relates to the poor countries is not simple. Nor is it a single problem. We, the poor, are frequently told of the millions of dollars which have been "poured into" our countries. And some economic aid has been given. Our failures and our mistakes are pointed out to us—and they do exist. For the whole programme is, in historical terms, in its infancy. We are all, donor and recipient countries, lenders and borrowers alike, learning how to develop a nation in the 20th century world by trying to develop. We are all learning to walk by walking. And simultaneously with the deliberate transfer of resources to the third world through aid, concessional loans or private investment, there is an automatic and unnoticed transfer of resources from the poor third world to the rich nations as debts are repaid with interest—sometimes very high interest—as profits of third world enterprises are paid out for disbursement elsewhere and as the terms of international trade move relentlessly against the primary producers.

32. The economic crisis and imbalance in the world does exist. There is widespread unemployment in the North and ever slower economic growth rates; international debt crises threaten the whole structure of world trade and finance; the least developed countries get even poorer and their prospect of future advance gets fainter. At the same time, the North-South negotiations have stagnated, and there are some who would rather that there were no global negotiations. Where do we go from here? What is the way out of the morass into which we seem to be blundering?

33. This world problem can be solved only by all nations working together. That is why we, the poor, have been appealing to the great nations of the world to permit meaningful global negotiations to take place. We are still appealing to them to do this, so that together we can find genuine solutions to our common problems. But if some nations cannot see that it is a world problem or do not feel able at present to join in the work of tackling it, then the rest of us must do what is within our capacity in as large or small a group as we can gather together for that purpose.

34. The Bretton Woods institutions were established without the Soviet Union and its allies. For some twenty years they served the purposes of their original members. Today it is quite clear that these institutions cannot meet the needs of the poor, and therefore they are not able efficiently to serve the interests of the rich in our

independent world. Their failure is partly because they do not have the necessary funds, but more because neither their structure nor their rules were intended to deal with the problems of poverty.

35. The world has changed since the mid-1940s. Change is needed now to enable these institutions to tackle the problems of the developing as well as of the developed countries. If we cannot all work together to meet the needs of the 1980s, then let those governments of North and South which recognize the need for action get together to do as much as they can. It is not necessary to close any doors against nations which are not ready to act now. But we should not continue to allow any nation or nations, however powerful, to prevent the rest of us from doing what is within our power to arrest the present drift to disaster.

36. Tackling the economic problems of the modern world means recognizing the interdependence of all nations, and it means using some of the world's resources more than we are using now for investment in the development of people and their creativity and productivity. Finally, it means tackling poverty and backwardness directly, where they are, that is, in the third world, and on the principles of organic growth. We must accept that results will not and cannot come quickly. They will be slower the fewer the nations which co-operate in these tasks. It is better that a few nations should act than that there should be no action at all. Nevertheless, I am making an earnest appeal for the start of global negotiations now, under the auspices of the United Nations.

37. We, the poor, are often asked where these extra resources are to come from. This world does not lack resources; it only lacks the political will to tackle the indecency of world poverty. When a super-Power or a wealthy nation, or even a comparatively wealthy nation, decides that something is necessary, it usually does it. Resources will not be available unless the rich decide that the abolition of world poverty is a matter of priority.

38. Although the national income in the rich countries has been rising throughout the past two decades and is still rising, although now more slowly, virtually none of that increase has been set aside for the relief of poverty in the third world. For example, the percentage of their gross national product used by countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] for this purpose was lower in 1978, and is lower now, than it was in 1965. The suggestion that when the recession is over an attack can be made on world poverty is thus not very convincing.

39. In 1982 the world spent \$850 billion on armaments; the spending of the OECD countries and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries on official development aid was approximately \$36 billion. According to the World Bank's World Development Report for 1983, in 1981 the net inflow of public and publicly guaranteed loans to 34 low-income countries, including India and China, amounted to just over \$5 billion. Net direct private investment was something like \$500 million, almost half of which was in a country in that category which is an oil producer.

40. That brings me to my last point. What is this defence expenditure to which we all give so high a priority? All nations, including the poorest, spend some money on armaments and defence, but over half the total world expenditure is made by the super-Powers, and a sizeable proportion of the rest is accounted for by their allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

41. Some people believe that the mutual deterrent capacity of the power blocs is a contribution to peace, but if that is true then the purpose has been achieved. Each power bloc has the capacity to destroy the other and all of us together many, many times. Yet a man, woman or child can be killed only once. Military superiority over a nation's potential or feared adversary does not require an ability to kill all its people eleven times over, rather than ten times over.

42. Some of us see a constant world danger in the number of weapons which are placed or fly or float or move under water, ready to go off at any minute on any day. That danger would be reduced by the destruction of some of the weapons which already exist.

43. Negotiating disarmament is not a simple matter, even if the will to do so exists. A nuclear freeze, however, would provide a basis from which serious negotiation for disarmament could be advanced, for at the moment new weapons are being produced faster than agreement is being reached on the control of old ones.

44. The difficulty about disarmament is first and foremost the lack of trust among nations and among men. Their distrust may be fed by many things, but I believe it has fear as its root. When either Moscow or Washington makes a new disarmament proposal, the first and immediate reaction of the other is suspicion. Surely it would be more constructive to react to any new initiative from the other side by responding with agreement to discuss the idea together to see if it can be made to work. And do these proposals have to be made publicly? A public proposal requires a public answer. But is this the best way of conducting such vital matters as nuclear disarmament?

45. A positive approach is required if any international problems are to be solved. We all inhabit one planet. Neither nuclear fall-out, nor bubonic plague, nor the violence borne of frustration nor even the miseries of avoidable famine can be confined within national boundaries or within continents. Development, disarmament, the environment, all are world problems even while we see them from the viewpoint of our independent sovereign States. They can and they must be dealt with by us all working together, for at the lowest we can all harm each other and at the highest we could all benefit from co-operation on the basis of equality.

46. If we so decide, the United Nations can be a major instrument of peace, peace based on tackling world problems as what they are: the common problems of a common humanity.

47. We may not like each other. We may distrust each other. But neither liking nor distrust is relevant. In this twentieth century our nations have to work together in order to survive. The alternative is to die, all of us, and all our peoples. The choice is ours: co-operation slowly and painfully built up, or inevitable and pervading chaos and insecurity and disaster.

48. Let us decide to work together for the good of humanity.

49. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the historic statement he has just made.

50. The General Assembly will now hear a statement by Mr. Petar Tanchev, First Vice-President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the Assembly.

51. Mr. TANCHEV (Bulgaria):\* I am very pleased, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that under your competent guidance the work of the session will proceed fruitfully and successfully. I should also like to extend my gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Hollai, for his skilful performance while occupying that position during the thirty-seventh session. I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General.

52. On behalf of my country I cordially welcome the new Member of the United Nations, the State of Saint Christopher and Nevis.

53. Today more than ever before the attention of all peoples is focused on the activities of the General Assembly. This is so because the major problems of our time, and particularly the problem of how to prevent war and preserve peace, have acquired truly vital significance for the destiny of each and every individual, every nation and the whole of mankind. This is so because the present international situation has given rise to extremely serious grounds for alarm. Since the Second World War there has hardly been another such complicated and tense a period of history as the one we are living in today.

54. All this is the result of the course pursued by the United States and certain countries of NATO, the aim of which is to gain military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. That course has led to an unchecked escalation of the arms race, has dangerously exacerbated tensions in various regions of the world and has kindled new hotbeds of crisis.

55. An integral part of this policy is total confrontation, which has also been reflected in certain attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and to orchestrate slanderous campaigns.

56. The latest example in this respect has been the campaign against the Soviet Union in connection with the incident involving the South Korean aircraft. While expressing our most sincere regret at the loss of human life, we at the same time are convinced that the entire responsibility for this tragedy rests with those forces which cold-bloodedly masterminded and carried out this criminal and provocative act. Those forces have gone so far in their insinuations as to deny elementary normal conditions for the arrival of the head of the delegation of the Soviet Union for the General Assembly session.

57. This course in international affairs has in fact no future and no chance of success either in the political or in the military field. Because of the extremely dangerous risks which it poses for the fate of the peoples, it has naturally met with the resistance of the overwhelming majority of States, which are profoundly interested in maintaining peace and promoting equitable and mutually advantageous international co-operation. This was eloquently reaffirmed by the decisions of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983 [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2], which, as is well known, constitute an important positive factor in the international arena. At the same time, the policy of rearmament and confrontation has aroused protests by the broadest strata of the international community.

58. Never before have there been on Earth so many and such terrifying weapons capable of destroying life, and that is why mankind has never been in so much need of

the most energetic efforts to preserve peace and to eliminate the possibility that a nuclear war may become a horrendous reality. The cardinal task of our times is to preserve life on Earth and to save human civilization.

59. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is convinced that the way out lies in renouncing the policy of confrontation and the arms race and in proceeding towards genuine disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field. A sound and realistic basis on which we can rely in the attempts to attain this objective is the existing military-strategic balance of forces. The whole post-war development of the world indicates that any effort to obtain military superiority is futile and only increases the threat of a total nuclear conflict. Action to ensure the security of every State and of the world as a whole necessarily entails curbing military confrontation through disarmament. The only alternative to mutual annihilation is the policy of disarmament and détente.

60. At present this irrefutable truth has acquired exceedingly topical significance for Europe. An issue of vital importance for European as well as for other peoples of the world is being dealt with in Europe today. This choice before our continent once again demands that, while rejecting the propaganda smokescreen, the facts be reconsidered most responsibly and a sober and realistic appraisal be made of the consequences. The truth is that the planned deployment of new United States medium-range nuclear missiles in certain Western European NATO countries is designed to ensure unilateral military superiority and represents deliberate preparation for a nuclear first strike against the socialist countries. The argument that the deployment of those missiles would facilitate the conclusion of an arms reduction agreement is totally unfounded. Naturally, our countries would be compelled to take counter-measures for their legitimate defence. The only tangible result of the deployment of the new missiles in Western Europe would be to increase the level of nuclear confrontation and the risk of turning the continent into an area of nuclear conflict. In our nuclear age the security of some States cannot be achieved at the expense of the security of others. It is incumbent upon all States and political leaders to take all this into consideration.

61. The Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States have entered their crucial stage. The stepped-up preparations for the deployment of the new United States missiles, however, which are proceeding side by side with the talks, cause most serious concern. In our opinion, it is still not too late to choose to reach a fair agreement based on the principle of equality and equal security. This historic opportunity should not be missed. A substantial step forward in this respect is represented by the latest constructive proposals put forward by the Soviet Union.

62. As a European country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria maintains the position that our responsibility to present and future generations entails the elimination of the nuclear danger in Europe, thus giving fresh impetus to détente so that Europe can become a continent of peace, free of weapons of mass destruction, where all States could maintain relations of co-operation on the basis of full equality and mutual respect, in the interest of the progress and prosperity of nations.

63. A hopeful sign in this respect is the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting. It confirms once again that, given good political will, it is possible even in the present complex international situation to pursue a dialogue leading to mutually acceptable agreements. In our opinion, it is vitally important for the process which began at Helsinki to continue and to advance, to make

\*Mr. Tanchev spoke in Bulgarian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

relations in Europe develop in conformity with the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975. In view of the most topical and urgent problems facing our continent, we emphasize as particularly significant and promising the decision to convene a Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

64. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of Europe and the world is of major importance for the maintenance of peace. For this reason the People's Republic of Bulgaria not only supports the realistic proposals put forward to this effect but is actively working in this direction.

65. Situated as it is in the Balkan peninsula, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has a vital stake in the realization of the idea of turning this region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The concrete proposals of my country for stepping up efforts to this end are also well known. They are fully consonant with the policy based on the principles of peace, understanding and co-operation in the Balkans which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has been consistently pursuing. As an eloquent example in this respect, I should like to recall our proposal for the signing of a code of good-neighbourly relations among countries in that part of Europe. This policy of principle is in the best interest of all the Balkan and European peoples and is a genuine contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

66. Situated in close proximity to the Mediterranean, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is interested in fostering peace and co-operation in that region and regards with great interest all constructive proposals directed to this end.

67. For the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other countries of the socialist community as well, the desire for peace stems from the very nature of the socialist system. A society which is entirely devoted to work and construction for the benefit of all its members cannot desire war. Such a society does not need any war. War is alien to its very nature. Such a society needs peace as well as mutually beneficial and equitable international co-operation. It is precisely for this reason that the States of the socialist community have unswervingly pursued, and will continue to pursue, a constructive policy of principle directed to defending peace, strengthening international security and promoting confidence and co-operation among peoples. In the present-day world there is no other road open but that of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and the building of international relations on the basis of strict observance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law.

68. In the present particularly important—and I would even say fateful—moment for the future of mankind, the peace-loving policy of the countries of the socialist community was once again reaffirmed in the Political Declaration adopted at Prague on 5 January 1983 [A/38/67 and Corr.1] and in the Moscow joint statement of 28 June 1983 [A/38/292]. These documents contain detailed assessments of the current international situation as well as constructive and realistic initiatives and proposals for easing tensions and for solving the cardinal problems of the present day: first and foremost, the elimination of the danger of nuclear war, the cessation of the arms race and the pursuance of disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security.

69. Unfortunately these concrete proposals and initiatives for reducing the military threat in Europe and in

the world have not received an adequate answer from the States members of NATO.

70. The proposal for concluding a treaty on the mutual non-use of force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations is still without a concrete answer.

71. The clearly expressed will of the majority of countries in the world that all nuclear-weapon States should follow the example of the Soviet Union and assume the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons continues to be ignored.

72. Nor has there been a positive reaction to the Soviet proposal that all nuclear-weapon States should declare a quantitative and qualitative freeze of the existing level of their nuclear weapons [A/38/244].

73. Just before the opening of this session, the Soviet Union came forward with an important and timely proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the Earth [A/38/194]. We welcome and support this proposal. It is fully in conformity with the perennial efforts of the world Organization to forestall the launching of the arms race into space.

74. The proposal of the States parties of the Warsaw Treaty to open negotiations on limiting naval activities, on curtailing and reducing naval armaments and on extending confidence-building measures to include the seas and oceans is also well known. The question has been acquiring ever greater significance as a substantial part of the efforts to prevent nuclear war.

75. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is deeply concerned over the lack of real progress in the efforts to eliminate existing hotbeds of tension.

76. The situation in the Middle East continues to be extremely dangerous, as the region is being increasingly turned into a front line of the aggressive global policy of certain imperialist States. With the encouragement and support of the latter, Israel continues its aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. We categorically condemn these actions and insist on Israel's complete withdrawal from Lebanon as well as from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and since. We demand the recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own State.

77. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is convinced that the only correct avenue for reaching a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, as emphasized in the Geneva Declaration on Palestine,<sup>1</sup> is convening an international peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the indispensable participation on an equal footing of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

78. We support the efforts to reach a peaceful and just solution of the problem of Cyprus, guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, with the total demilitarization of the island and respect for the interests of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

79. As a result of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria and its policy of *apartheid* and aggression against the independent African States of the region, the situation in southern Africa continues to be tense and dangerous. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, SWAPO. Our position is fully in harmony with the will of the majority of States in the world, which has

been most categorically expressed in the decisions of the United Nations, as well as by the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris from 25 to 29 April 1983.

80. The military presence in, and direct intervention of, the imperialist States in the internal affairs of a number of countries pose a threat not only to the security of individual countries and regions; but also to world peace and security. We resolutely call for a halt to the campaign of threats and provocations against Cuba, to the foreign intervention in Nicaragua, to any interference in the internal affairs of these and other countries of Central America. We are hopeful that the efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group to find a peaceful solution to the problems will be successful.

81. I reiterate that the People's Republic of Bulgaria wholeheartedly supports the proposals put forward by the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to remove the tensions around these countries and solve disputes through negotiations in order to ensure peace and tranquillity for their peoples. The elimination of the imperialist intervention in Afghanistan, the establishment of a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia and the peaceful reunification of Korea will contribute enormously to the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

82. The United Nations has a great role to play in solving the key problems of the present day, which affect the interests of all States and peoples.

83. The maintenance of peace and ending the arms race are the most important prerequisites for the successful solution of the pressing socio-economic and other problems upon which mankind's prosperity depends.

84. We devote particular attention to the problems of development. As a country with a dynamic and stable economy, we are interested in the removal of artificial obstacles and barriers and in the promotion of equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation, a guarantee for which would be the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and the establishment of a new international economic order. In this connection, we support the demand for a speedy beginning of global negotiations, and we are ready to study any constructive proposal in this important area.

85. In conclusion, I return to the underlying theme of my statement—how to preserve peace and save the planet from a nuclear catastrophe. For us Bulgarians, there is only one answer. As Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has said:

"The question today is as follows: either we live peacefully with each other or we annihilate each other. Therefore, the main conclusion we must draw cannot be but the following: to build step by step, consistently and decisively, new international relations, relations of peaceful co-existence between States of different social systems."

86. Now, as in the past, we are ready to co-operate with all who are really for peace, international understanding and mutually beneficial co-operation. We shall continue to work to strengthen the role of the United Nations, in strict compliance with the principles and objectives enshrined in its Charter. These principles and objectives correspond to the interests of all peoples. The People's

Republic of Bulgaria will continue to make an active contribution to their realization.

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank Mr. Petar Tanchev, First Vice-President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the important statement he has just made.

88. The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the Honourable Father Walter H. Lini, Prime Minister of the Republic of Vanuatu. On behalf of the Assembly, I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the Assembly.

89. Father LINI (Vanuatu): Mr. President, I extend to you and your country the warm congratulations and sincere best wishes of the Government and people of Vanuatu on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. This promises to be a most significant session and perhaps one of the most critical international gatherings of modern history. We are confident that your leadership will be equal to the task and will reflect your many years of diplomatic experience and expertise, your careful and considered judgement and the courage and candour for which you and the Government and people of Panama are noted.

90. Under your guidance we anticipate the same thoughtfulness and impartiality which our deliberations enjoyed during the last session under the very capable leadership of Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary. His also was a difficult tenure and one which earned the gratitude of the entire international community.

91. We also believe that congratulations are in order to another outstanding diplomat, Mr. Davidson Hepburn, the representative of the Bahamas. His candidacy for the office of President of this year's General Assembly strengthened the democratic process within the United Nations and was a visible and dignified expression of the vitality of the Organization's democracy. His candidacy was also important for two other reasons. First, he represents a country which, like ours, is a small island developing State. Very often the particular difficulties and needs of such States are overlooked within the international arena. Secondly, his country is in a subregion, the Caribbean, which like our own subregion, the South Pacific, is similarly often overlooked. It is our hope that Mr. Hepburn's candidacy will at last signal an awakening to the fact that all nations, like all people, are created equal.

92. Panama is also a country small in size but great in stature and reputation. Thus, this year's friendly contest for the presidency of the General Assembly made winners of us all. It afforded us the unique opportunity to choose between two highly qualified candidates from small countries. For this reason we salute you both and say to you that we will all be forever grateful.

93. We also congratulate the Government and people of Saint Christopher and Nevis, another small island developing State, on their country's attainment of independence and on becoming the 158th Member of the United Nations. Its presence in our midst strengthens the Organization and its democracy and bears witness to the universality of mankind and this world body.

94. It is occasionally necessary to applaud an exercise in democracy here at the United Nations because some do not always practise what they preach. There are those who espouse a belief in the dignity and equality of all mankind and all nations yet ignore the smaller countries until they seek our votes on a specific item. There are those who profess a belief in freedom of expression yet

do not welcome the exercise of such freedom by smaller States that may, on occasion, hold different positions from those they have taken. There are those who tell us they believe in a free market of ideas. However, they do not always shop in the marketplace where those ideas are presented, and when the mood strikes them they even threaten to close the market or force it to move elsewhere because they do not always like the ideas being presented.

95. Obviously such thinking is not only irrational but also painfully shortsighted and rather childish. Fortunately for mankind, the United Nations is still a great organization. It is certainly not perfect. Nothing mankind has yet created can claim that distinction. However, it is perhaps the best and most important institution we have yet created. If we have the will it can be strengthened and made better, but only if we have the will and if we respect and enhance its decisions and its democratic processes.

96. This is not to say that these critics do not come from democratic societies. In fact, the irony is that their own societies are in many ways models of democracy for the protection of individual rights. We simply wish that they would pause for a moment to reflect on the democratic ideals of other societies, including those that stress the protection of collective rights. Furthermore, we wish that everyone would lend stronger support to the practice of democracy than to the exercise of power in international deliberations.

97. We in Vanuatu owe a great deal to the United Nations, as does every other nation that was a colony at the close of the Second World War. Others who owe a great deal to the United Nations include millions of persons who are no longer ravaged by hunger and disease or who have a place to sleep or who can read because of the work of the United Nations specialized agencies. Big nations and small nations owe a great deal to the Organization because it has provided a universal forum for discussion and exchange where there was none before.

98. Naturally, the United Nations cannot be given credit for every advance mankind has made since 1945, but it can certainly be credited with enough to make us all proud. Not the least of the world body's accomplishments is that it has brought us together from all corners of the globe and made it somewhat easier for us to communicate and to get to know each other, bridging unnatural gaps of suspicion and distrust. The United Nations cannot be blamed if we, the Members, have not taken full advantage of this opportunity.

99. We in Vanuatu are fortunate. Ours is a free and open society, and we are situated in a region with neighbours who respect our right to draw our own conclusions and develop our country in our own fashion. We are rightfully proud of the South Pacific: its physical beauty, its unique manner and its still unrealized potential. One of our fondest wishes is that people from other regions will get to know and appreciate us and our region a little bit more. For us, this session of the General Assembly is an important step in that process.

100. It is always a rare and unique privilege to address the General Assembly. This year the privilege is even rarer and more unique because of the presence of so many distinguished heads of States or Government here at this thirty-eighth session. Most have come in response to the appeal made at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, and the subsequent urging of the highly esteemed chairperson of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, our good friend Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. All have come in recognition of the fact that the United Nations, despite its shortcomings and its critics, continues to be the best, and perhaps

the last, hope of mankind for our very survival on this planet.

101. In no other forum are all of the peoples of the world represented. In no other forum do representatives of the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the proud and the humble, the well-educated and the under-educated of the entire world sit together and in theory, if not always in fact, work together for solutions to the problems which threaten our very existence as a form of life.

102. The attendance of so many world leaders at this year's session signifies a long-overdue recognition of the importance of the Organization. We hope that it will also signify a renewed commitment on the part of all of its Members to the letter and to the spirit of the Charter. We hope too, that it will signify a firm determination to take seriously the admonition of our able Secretary-General, who, in his most recent report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], said, "A continuous effort to contribute to the implementation of United Nations decisions should be an integral part of the foreign policy of Member States to a far greater extent than it is at the present time."

103. In his report, the Secretary-General has once again demonstrated the candour and insightful analysis which we have come to expect of him and his excellent staff and which is so essential if we, the Members of the United Nations, are to take the necessary steps to strengthen the Organization and make it more effective. We must remember that the failures and shortcomings of the United Nations are the failures and shortcomings of the membership. All of us, large and small, old and new, developed and developing, share this responsibility. Either we shall make our work here meaningful and successful or we shall by our own actions reduce it to meaningless irrelevance and abstraction. The choice lies with us. Our respective peoples perceive the United Nations through our actions and attach as much meaning to its pronouncements as we ourselves do.

104. No one can deny that the United Nations, and indeed mankind, is at this very moment at one of those important and innumerable crossroads which recur in the course of human history. At this moment, we are faced with daily reminders of how technology has figuratively reduced the size of the globe and brought us all closer together. Unfortunately, the very same technology has far too often fuelled, in some people, an uncontrollable greed and desire to rule and control the resources of other people. Thus, although we live in a world of great abundance, which is capable of producing even more, far too many people live in a world of constant scarcity. This scarcity is not only a scarcity of material goods, which would be difficult enough to explain and cope with, but also a scarcity of respect and of opportunity.

105. It is this latter scarcity which is most distressing and most inexcusable as we stand poised on the brink of the twenty-first century. It is this scarcity more than any other factor which has led to the seemingly never-ending series of global shockwaves and confrontations between the world's "haves" and its "have-nots".

106. The world's super-Powers certainly have their own contradictions and causes for conflict. However, it would be a grievous error to attempt to define all of the world's present problems in terms of super-Power rivalry. Rivalries between States and even between social systems come and go. Like the tide, they ebb and they flow. However, the aspirations, goals and dreams of people—all people, men, women and children—are constant. All want the same things—a better life, understanding and respect.



107. Is there a better institution to address itself to these aspirations, goals and dreams than the United Nations? We think not. Can the United Nations do so with greater clarity and more effectiveness? We think so. Should the world community continue the investment it has already made in the United Nations? Without doubt. We believe that the United Nations has already given us all a favourable return and justified its existence many times over.

108. We must remember that the United Nations is an outgrowth of the Second World War alliance against the Axis Powers. As such, the Organization represents an international alliance against fascism, militarism and racism.

109. It was never intended to be, and because of its nature and the realities of our world it can never effectively be, an alliance against communism any more than it can, or even should, be an alliance against capitalism. The social and economic system that any country chooses to live under is a matter that is best left to the people of that country. This is true regardless of that country's name, size or location, be it the United States or be it Nicaragua.

110. The United Nations has been at its best in helping to prevent another world war and in helping promote and accelerate the process of decolonization. It has been at its worst in serving as a platform for the denunciation of one economic and social system by the proponents of another. Such crusades are best left to other bodies, as they seriously hamper and undermine our effectiveness.

111. It would be wise for all of us to remember that the world's two foremost Powers are both significantly stronger than the rest of us. Neither one needs any of us to fight its battles. However, the consequences of any such fight affects each and every one of us. Therefore, we have as much of an interest in the rational and reasonable exercise of the tremendous power possessed by these two great nations as they themselves do.

112. Our search, therefore, must be for some common ground or common denominator on which they and we can continue our quest for peace, development and survival. Let our children decide the future, but let us ensure that there will be a future.

113. In assessing the current state of the United Nations, one is reminded of the story of the two individuals who, upon looking at the same glass of water, had different observations. One, the pessimist, observed that the glass was half empty. The other, the optimist, observed that the glass was half full. That story applies to any assessment of the United Nations and of world affairs.

114. Yes, there are vexing problems which plague the world and seem as if they will never be resolved. In southern Africa and the Middle East a pervasive pattern of institutionalized racism has bequeathed a legacy of intercommunal strife which at times appears to be insoluble except by force of arms. In South-East Asia more than four decades of ceaseless and unremitting warfare and destruction have left the people and their land devastated. Rather than help to rebuild what they destroyed, those who once sponsored Lon Nol now sponsor Pol Pot, thereby hindering reconciliation and the economic and social reconstruction of the area.

115. In South and Central America, the just and legitimate strivings of people for justice, equality, land, bread and freedom have been labelled subversive by the despots who rule every facet of their lives. Fascistic death squads operate with impunity and include among their victims defenceless peasants, priests, nuns, teachers and school children. In the South Pacific, we find most of the world's remaining non-self-governing territories, and we find the

part of this world that has faced the greatest exposure to nuclear tests, with little regard for the safety of human beings and the environment.

116. However, there are also solutions. In reaction to the conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy they have been forced to endure, the peoples of Africa, Asia and South and Central America and the Caribbean have themselves begun the process of changing the conditions of their lives. Naturally, the various peoples of the South Pacific are also an integral part of this process of change. It should also come as no surprise that a great many people from the developed world are also part of this process of change. Some of them share in our history and have themselves been cruelly exploited. All of them share our vision of the future.

117. At times this process of change has moved forward quietly and almost imperceptibly. At other times it has proceeded dramatically with a mighty roar and great turbulence. In most instances the manner in which the process proceeded was determined by those who sought to abort the process of change. "Power concedes nothing without a demand," observed Frederick Douglass, "It never did, and it never will," said that great son of Africa, who with his people helped end legal slavery in the United States over 100 years ago. Today his words are as prophetic and as meaningful as they were then:

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favour freedom, yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters."

Those words should be borne in mind during our deliberations, particularly on those items which seem to remain on our agenda with no apparent solution in sight.

118. After so many years, it is not easy to understand why the people of Palestine cannot return to their homes. It is difficult to comprehend why South Africa must be given even more inducements to end its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is difficult to fathom how rational minds can treat the neo-fascist régime in Pretoria like a civilized nation, which it is not, rather than like the outcast and pariah which it is.

119. Some have suggested that we, the international community, have not been patient enough or that we are not moderate enough in considering these issues and in framing resolutions on these topics. Others argue quite convincingly that we have already been too patient and that we have no right to be any more moderate than we have been. After all, they say, how patient and how moderate was the international community four decades ago in the face of the same fascism, the same militarism and the same racism that we are counselled to be so patient with and so moderate towards today?

120. Perhaps there is an argument that can be made for toning down some of these resolutions. We do not know. We simply know that we have not yet heard valid reasons for voting against resolutions that seek to redress valid grievances.

121. It seems to us that those who publicly proclaim an intention to embrace South Africa must themselves accept responsibility for resolutions which criticize such an embrace. To do otherwise is to suggest that some of us are above criticism, and certainly our Creator never intended that any of us think that of ourselves. That would be the height of arrogance and would undoubtedly bring down the indignation and the wrath of the Creator.

122. The situations in the Middle East and in southern Africa are indeed tragic. They are tragic for the victims

who live in those areas and tragic for us, all of mankind, as well.

123. For the victims, the people of those areas, our primary feelings are not feelings of pity, sympathy, sorrow or pessimism. Towards them, our primary feelings are feelings of support, solidarity, encouragement and optimism. To them we are grateful, for they renew in all of us the very best of human qualities. Our pity, our sympathy and our sorrow are reserved for those people who choose to remain on the sidelines, passively accepting the *status quo*, or for those who tragically imitate Israel and South Africa in other regions.

124. Indonesia is a country which we have long admired and respected. It is a country which by its actions helped inspire the decolonization process and later became a founder of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. It is a large and powerful country which we consider a friend.

125. Although Vanuatu is Indonesia's friend, we also realize that a true friend is not one who tells another simply what he wishes to hear. Difficult as it may be, a true friend must on occasion be painfully honest and tell a friend what that friend may not wish to hear. Such is the case with respect to Indonesia's invasion, occupation and attempted annexation of East Timor.

126. East Timor is another small South Pacific country, like our own. Its people fought on the side of the Allies during the Second World War and paid dearly for their commitment to what became the ideals of the United Nations. Like more than two thirds of the nations represented here today, the people of East Timor saw the post-war era as the time to re-assert their own political and social independence. Tragically, Indonesia's military rulers interrupted East Timor's decolonization process as that process was in its final stages.

127. The resulting brutalization of East Timor's people has also brutalized Indonesia's image as a nation. How can one so large justify such heavy-handed repression of a small neighbour? What in East Timor so threatened Indonesia that hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children had to pay with their lives and so many more are still paying by sudden disappearances, detention without explanation, and torture? Why has every effort to provide even the minimum humanitarian assistance to the beleaguered people of East Timor been thwarted by the Indonesian authorities?

128. Certainly, no rational person would suggest that there is an acceptable double standard on questions of colonization, colonialism and human rights. Where is it written that colonialism is wrong only when the colonial Power is a European nation? Where is it written that the systematic denial of fundamental human rights, including the very right to life itself, is evil only when the violator happens to be a European nation?

129. If we accept Indonesia's actions in East Timor, then with what legal authority do we challenge Israel's annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights? If we accept Indonesia's brutality in East Timor, then with what moral authority do we challenge *apartheid*? If we, the former colonies of the world, are not true to our own pronouncements on colonialism and human rights when it comes to East Timor, then we have not yet freed ourselves from the old discredited values of those who called themselves our masters.

130. It is not easy, nor is it a pleasant experience, to be compelled to focus so critically upon the actions of a country which was once a model and an inspiration to our own people and others who were colonized. It is, however, more difficult and less pleasant to bear witness

to what has been done to the people of East Timor. It is also difficult to comprehend the moral bankruptcy of those who speak so eloquently on other matters, but who remain silent on the question of East Timor.

131. We as a nation are not cynical enough to have interests which would lead us to close our eyes to the injustices imposed on our fellow human beings in East Timor. Were we to acquiesce in Indonesia's actions, we would not be true to the Charter of the United Nations nor to ourselves, or to our children and the future we would bequeath to them.

*Mr. Koh (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

132. We are reminded of an important directive issued during the struggle to free Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from colonial domination: "Hide nothing from the masses of the people. Tell no lies, claim no easy victories." Those words are as appropriate here in this chamber today as they were in West Africa in 1965.

133. We, therefore, once again appeal to Indonesia to salvage its soul as a nation and to be true to its heritage and stature by negotiating a speedy and complete withdrawal of its forces from East Timor. Let the people of that country decide their own fate, and let the United Nations assist in that process. This is why we have a United Nations.

134. New Caledonia is another non-self-governing territory in the South Pacific and another example of why we have the Organization. It is also another matter which calls for us, the international community, to "tell no lies, claim no easy victories".

135. New Caledonia is the world's second largest producer of nickel. Therefore, the struggle by its people to gain their independence has posed and undoubtedly will continue to pose a second question: who will control the enormous economic potential of this small developing country?

136. Without a doubt, all of us here today are well aware of the role that economics played in the colonization of most of the world. We are also certainly aware of the fact that it is the mineral wealth of Namibia and of South Africa that lies behind the complicated political web spun by those who do not wish to see the people of those countries control their own resources. New Caledonia's people face similar obstacles for the same reasons.

137. In New Caledonia, as in southern Africa, the settler population usually acts contrary to the interests of the indigenous population. This the world understands and has come to expect.

138. What is less well understood, however, is that the settler population, having its own narrow and specific interests to protect, often acts contrary as well to the broader interests of the metropolitan Power. Such became the case in Algeria and in Zimbabwe; such is the case in Namibia and in South Africa; and such is the case in New Caledonia.

139. Generally speaking, metropolitan Powers do not have a direct interest in the maintenance of rigid and exclusionary social codes which hamper economic growth and development. This is particularly true when those social codes, by whatever name they are called, are operable far from the physical environs of the metropolitan Power. Thus, *apartheid*, or segregation, comes to be seen as outmoded, unnecessary and even threatening to the broader, more general economic interests of the metropolitan Power. Eventually, the metropolitan Power may, for its own purposes, even seek to appear to be playing a leading role in ending a particularly odious social code.

140. Naturally, none of this occurs overnight. It takes time for the contradiction to arise, more time for it to

be recognized, and even more time for the effort to reconcile it to be put into operation. In the mean time, those who have been victims of the social code usually have begun their own process of change. Generally speaking, what they have in mind is a more far-reaching and fundamental change.

141. The metropolitan Power then faces a dilemma. On the one hand, it is in a sense captive to a restive and obstinate settler population. On the other hand, it finally realizes that its long-term interests are best served by making a more reasonable and rational accommodation with the indigenous population. Its main preoccupation now becomes how to buy itself sufficient time to make the necessary accommodation and how to balance the competing antagonisms of the settlers and the indigenous population.

142. In this respect, New Caledonia differs from South Africa primarily in the nature of the metropolitan Power. South Africa no longer has one easily identifiable metropolitan Power. France, on the other hand, is clearly the identifiable metropolitan Power which both the settlers and the indigenous population now petition.

143. New Caledonia is similar to South Africa in the hardened racial attitudes of some of its European settlers. To them, the indigenous Kanak population is not worthy of the basic and elementary dignity, respect and legal rights that most human beings are now able to take for granted. Many of these intransigent settlers are former *colons* who left Algeria after the *Organisation armée secrète*, the notorious OAS, failed in its efforts to abort Algeria's independence and to murder Charles de Gaulle, then President of France, in the process.

144. The people of New Caledonia have extended a warm and open hand of friendship to all who would work together in a free and independent nation. There is a vision of a non-exclusionary South Pacific nation in which all human beings would be treated as equals.

145. We believe that the Government of France is sincerely searching for answers to the questions raised concerning New Caledonia's future. The reforms that France has introduced have certainly helped, and they demonstrate a sincere commitment to an effort to find some common ground upon which the competing interests may be reconciled.

146. The South Pacific Forum, at its meeting at Canberra on 29 and 30 August, took note of France's efforts in this regard. However, we, the South Pacific heads of Government, also declared our support for independence for New Caledonia, and we urged the French Government to consider, in conducting any act of self-determination, the desirability of excluding from the franchise short-term or non-permanent residents of New Caledonia. This is in recognition of the fact that to be valid the exercise of self-determination must be by the people of a particular country themselves, and those who have not even lived there but have been brought there and permitted to vote in order to outweigh the wishes of the legitimate population must not take part. In its totality, the Canberra communiqué supports the right of self-determination. It urges the various sectors of the population to work closely with France to ensure a peaceful transition to independence. It is laudable in its aims and practical in its approach, including the decision to review the situation next year and to consider the desirability of re-inscription of New Caledonia on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories.

147. The Vanuatu Government is confident that New Caledonia will soon assume its rightful place as an independent nation. Toward that end, we urge Members of

the United Nations to keep themselves fully apprised of the situation in this economically important land and to support the initiatives of New Caledonia's people, as have the Governments of the South Pacific.

148. We in the South Pacific have another major preoccupation, in addition to our concern for the remaining non-self-governing territories in our area. All our Governments, including those of Australia and New Zealand, have taken strong stands against nuclear testing in our area.

149. The peoples of the Pacific have always respected and been at peace with their environment. To us, our lands, our skies and our ocean have always been a source of spiritual guidance as well as a means of sustaining life.

150. Others have now come to our area to conduct tests, store material and dump wastes that would not be tolerated in their own waters and on their own lands. Despite the strong representation of all Governments in the area, this reckless disregard for human life and the environment continues almost unabated. Our opposition is based on moral as well as scientific grounds. Invitations by France or by any other nuclear Power to visit test sites will never reduce the strength of our moral objections. We, the people of the South Pacific, have made it clear that we want an immediate end to the testing of any and all nuclear weapons in our region.

151. It is for this reason that our Government supports proposals for the establishment of a nuclear-free Pacific. This past July we were proud to host an international conference on a nuclear-free and independent Pacific. To all but the most myopic observer, it is clear that the two go hand in hand. Indeed, we submit that it will in fact be difficult to achieve a nuclear-free Pacific until there is an independent Pacific and until the respective peoples of the area are free to decide for themselves whether this defilement of our land, sea and air shall continue.

152. Economic development in the South Pacific is a difficult and somewhat elusive goal. Some of our countries are blessed with abundant mineral resources, some with abundant agricultural resources, and others with neither. Most are underpopulated. All are separated by many miles of ocean, making communications and transportation major problems. Internally, this latter characteristic exacerbates our present state of underdevelopment and preoccupies us all.

153. For these reasons, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is so important to us. It is our hope that someday this Convention will be universally acclaimed and unanimously accepted, as it has already been by an overwhelming majority of our neighbours.

154. Being a small island State ourselves, we understand the concerns of other such States that their territorial integrity be respected and preserved. We too have a territorial dispute with a major Power. We hope that France will in good faith negotiate an acceptable solution with us and that the islands of Matthew and Hunter will once again be administered as part of our country, which they are.

155. Both the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations have begun to focus on the unique problems of small island developing States. The recently concluded conference of experts hosted by the Government of Grenada is a very positive step in the right direction. It is our hope that the work of the conference can continue and receive the support of the entire international community.

156. We recognize that the problems of small island developing States are only one of a host of economic problems plaguing the world today. The depressed state

of the world economy, with the universal phenomenon of international inflationary pressures, is a major concern. The need for international monetary reform and the expansion of international trade is well documented. The twin needs of greater North-South dialogue and greater South-South economic trade and co-operation are also well known. So many major economic problems confront us today that one hardly knows where and how to begin cataloguing them.

157. The resolution of these problems is going to necessitate a serious and long-term commitment by each of us. Perhaps it will be painful, but we should probably begin with critical self-examinations of our respective histories, policies and priorities.

158. None of us is perfect, large or small, developed or developing. Those who pontificate and preach to us that we must follow the same path of development that they followed understand neither history nor economics. The world is different today from what it was 200 years ago, or even 20 years ago, and our objective conditions are certainly different. Modern technology has rendered obsolete much of what we learned and has dramatically increased the gap between those nations which "have" and those which "have not".

159. No nation today has the luxury of developing in isolation, at its own pace. Radio, films, television, books, newspapers and magazines all bring the affluent world to the attention of the citizens of all countries. Very few Governments exist today which can resist the attendant pressures to bring that or a comparable good life to its own citizens.

160. Wealth that was created, at least in part, as a direct consequence of legalized slavery, colonialism and the theft of other people's natural resources is inaccurately portrayed as resulting solely from the hard work and natural intelligence of those who came to possess that wealth.

161. It is not at all possible or even desirable for us to develop our countries by rigid imitations of the West or the East. We cannot isolate ourselves, but we most certainly can develop our own methodology and our own healthy economy and social mix. We certainly do not have the option of sailing to distant shores and stealing land or having people to labour for us, as others have in the past. Even if that option were available, it is not the way we would choose to develop. While we do not live in the past, we most certainly remember our shared history.

162. This is not to suggest for one moment that things today are as one-sided as we might like to believe. We, the developing countries, are also imperfect. Some of us have neglected to practise what we preached. Some are afraid to be candid in assessing our own performances, as if our adversaries and friends did not already know where we have fallen short. Some continue to make capital mistakes; others among us continue to make social mistakes. Some manage to make both.

163. For us to begin to take corrective action, we must first be true to ourselves. For us to be taken seriously, we must first take ourselves seriously. We will undoubtedly command as much respect as we demand by our own efforts, our own consistency and, most importantly, our own sacrifices, personal and institutional.

164. Now more than ever we must respect the universality of mankind and plan for the future. There are literally dozens of pressing problems confronting the international community today. Each successive crisis seems to overshadow the previous one.

165. Perhaps none in recent memory was as dramatic as the downing of the Korean Air Lines flight 007. Few

incidents have captured the public's attention as that did. Few incidents have as dramatically pointed to the need for better communication and understanding and for the strengthening of the United Nations. There is no doubt that 269 people lost their lives needlessly. This in itself is a great human tragedy, and we convey our very deepest condolences to the families and friends of the victims.

166. We do not know if the world will ever know what events really led up to this tragedy and what really happened just before the aircraft was shot down. It is possible that both sides are telling the truth as they perceive the truth to be. We do not know.

167. We do not believe there can ever be any justification for shooting down a civilian aircraft, except perhaps in the extremely remote possibility of averting a far greater immediate human disaster. We believe that the Soviet Union made a tragic mistake and inexplicably compounded the mistake in its immediate aftermath.

168. However, we do not believe that blame or guilt in this instance lies with any one nation. This was a tragedy for all mankind and not just for any one State or group of States. It proves nothing about any particular social or economic system. This was a failure by mankind, all mankind. It reveals the heightened sense of international insecurity that the arms race, cold war rhetoric and tests of military preparedness have brought us.

169. This tragedy tells us that the technology of destruction is far more advanced than is the technology of communication and the technology of the prevention of destruction. In the normal course of events, we would learn from such a tragedy and develop more effective safeguards to prevent a recurrence. Unfortunately this does not appear to be the case, and this is even more of a tragedy.

170. It saddens and concerns us to see the international atmosphere further poisoned by hatred and recriminations. Now more than ever, the world cries out for the leadership of wise statesmen. Where are the leaders with the wisdom and the courage to say, "Let us sit down and reason together", to say, "Let us make sure this does not happen again", to say, "Let us put an end to the suspicions and distrust which gave rise to this incident"?

171. Why are those who were silent when a Libyan airliner was shot down by Israeli fighters so vocal and articulate now? Why are those who were silent when a Cuban airliner was blown out of the sky by a terrorist bomb so morally outraged now? All human life is sacred, and none is more sacred than another. The lives of East Timorese and Vietnamese are sacred. The lives of Palestinians and Lebanese are sacred. The lives of Iranians and Iraqis are sacred. The lives of Chileans and Filipinos are sacred. The lives of Cypriots and Guatemalans are sacred. Without exception the loss of any human life is a tragedy. The number of victims or their nationality does not make the tragedy any worse or deepen our sorrow. Those who stress the individual aspects of human rights should understand this better than anyone.

172. Why are those who are so willing to isolate the Soviet Union so unwilling to isolate South Africa? Why is it vital to keep channels of communication open to South Africa, but not to the Soviet Union? Why is South Africa considered a civilized State, but not the Soviet Union?

173. Ours is a small country, and admittedly we do not know the answer to every question. However, there are many things we are certain of. One certainty is that those who ally themselves with the evil practitioners of *apartheid* or other forms of racism cannot complain to us when others move into the moral vacuum they themselves have

created. To them we say "If we are to believe in your moral superiority, it is time for you to demonstrate it in southern Africa, in East Timor, in the Middle East, in Central America and in other parts of our troubled globe".

174. For emphasis, we will repeat and stress again and again that both the Soviet Union and the United States are very big and very powerful countries. Neither needs Vanuatu or any other country to fight its battles, and certainly not the battle between these two giants. However, as human beings, we have a great deal at stake.

175. We do not want these two great Powers to fight unless they limit their weapons to their respective moral strengths and their powers of persuasion. We have as much to lose as they do, should they insist on fighting with military weapons. We cannot stop them, but we can and do try to urge caution and restraint. The only weapons we have at our disposal are truth, our faith in mankind and our own powers of persuasion.

176. We now appeal to either country to step forward and, in the name of humanity, say "We have all had enough of this madness". Let one begin by dismantling one weapon and let the other follow suit by dismantling another. Which one begins the process is no longer important, just as which one began to stockpile the weapons is no longer important.

177. The people of both the Soviet Union and the United States, along with the people of many other countries, made tremendous sacrifices four decades ago which led to the creation of the United Nations. Now it is time for one more enormous sacrifice. It is still not too late.

178. The entire world is waiting for us, all of us, to move forward in the name of the human race. Now each nation represented here today must ask itself whether it wishes to be part of the problem or to be part of the solution.

179. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Honourable Father Walter H. Lini, Prime Minister of the Republic of Vanuatu, for the important statement he has just made.

180. Mr. LANC (Austria): It is a particular pleasure to congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. His outstanding diplomatic skills and great experience in foreign affairs, as well as his long association with the work of the United Nations, will considerably facilitate our difficult task during the weeks ahead and greatly contribute to the successful conclusion of this session.

181. I also wish to convey to his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hoffai, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary, our sincere thanks and high appreciation for his tact, political understanding and tireless personal efforts in conducting the affairs of the General Assembly over the past year.

182. I should further like to welcome most cordially the delegation of the new Member State, Saint Christopher and Nevis, and express our hopes for close and fruitful co-operation.

183. The thirty-eighth session takes place against the background of a serious international situation. The danger of nuclear war casts a dark shadow over the future of mankind. Perennially unresolved conflicts bring untold suffering to many regions of the world. They are often exacerbated and prolonged by super-Power rivalry. The structural imbalances of the global economy, in conjunction with the present economic crisis, condemn the greater part of humanity to a life of poverty and want. Increasing disregard of human rights, persistent racial discrimination

and the repression of peoples struggling for their national rights weigh heavily on the conscience of mankind.

184. The stakes are the highest and progress is most urgently required in the area of arms control and disarmament. The development of weapons technology combined with changes in strategic thinking threaten to undermine the already precarious balance of terror and increase the risk of nuclear war. These dangerous trends affect the security of all States and all peoples. We therefore believe that everyone and every Government must participate in the struggle against the nuclear threat. In many parts of the world, mass movements are gathering strength and demanding an end to the nuclear arms buildup.

185. Austria, a small neutral country situated between the two military blocs in the most highly armed region of the world, naturally shares the concerns and ideals of the peace movement. The ultimate responsibility for halting the nuclear arms race, however, rests squarely with the nuclear-weapon States. Austria appeals urgently to the United States and the Soviet Union to exercise in their talks at Geneva the necessary political will to conclude genuine and substantial disarmament agreements. Let us transform the balance of terror into a balance of reason.

186. After long and arduous negotiations, conducted under difficult international conditions, the Madrid follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was concluded successfully. The decisions at Madrid have further developed the 1975 Final Act of Helsinki. They constitute a code for building a more constructive and stable relationship between East and West. In spite of the deep crisis in East-West relations and the ever-accelerating arms race, all participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, including the big Powers, have demonstrated their interest in continuing the process of détente. Austria will spare no effort in contributing actively to the success of this process. We note with satisfaction that the next follow-up meeting will take place at Vienna in 1986.

187. The conclusion of the Madrid meeting proves that sincere negotiating efforts can succeed. Its example must be followed in other areas, in particular disarmament negotiations, on the success or failure of which rests the survival of mankind. Apart from the ongoing negotiations, the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which will begin in January 1984 at Stockholm, will offer the best opportunity in this regard. Of course, this requires at least a minimum of good will and mutual confidence.

188. The lack of these pre-conditions was demonstrated only recently in a frightening manner by the shooting down of a civilian airliner. The Austrian Government unequivocally condemns this act. The international community justly demands a thorough investigation of the circumstances which led to this catastrophe and the punishment of those responsible, as well as appropriate compensation to the families of the victims. We also believe that effective international measures will have to be taken to prevent the recurrence of such a horrible event.

189. The United Nations has an important role to play in the disarmament process. The negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament, the deliberations on arms limitation in other organs and the efforts to build public support for disarmament should be intensified and expanded. During this General Assembly session the Austrian delegation will pursue its initiative concerning measures to facilitate objective information on the

military strength of States. The availability of objective and reliable information would enhance confidence between States and promote the conclusion of disarmament agreements.

190. While the cost of the arms race reached \$800 billion in 1982, the lives of two thirds of mankind are still dominated by poverty and hunger. One tenth of the annual expenditure on armaments would be enough to finance the annual debt servicing of all developing countries. After years of recession the prospects for an economic recovery have finally improved, but the upswing is as yet limited to a few industrialized nations, and even they do not know how long it will last. It will therefore be of crucial importance that these trends be transformed into a sustained recovery for all.

191. I am convinced that stabilizing factors for a worldwide and lasting economic recovery must be created or recreated. The growth of world trade and production can be built only upon the foundation of predictable exchange rates, open markets unimpeded by protectionism, a balanced development of prices for commodities and industrial goods and a step-by-step increase of resource transfers from the "haves" to the "have-nots". How to create these conditions, these confidence-building measures, for the world economy should be discussed globally. Without a commonly accepted target, no really fruitful sectoral decision can be made. *Laissez-faire* is passé. To leave the poorest to the ups and downs of economic power play is as inhuman as it is counter-productive.

192. Peace and well-being can be assured only if all countries in all regions share more equitably in the world's economic progress. Austria is firmly convinced of the necessity of the North-South dialogue and for its part will continue to increase the scope of its development co-operation.

193. Austria believes that the observance and promotion of human rights constitute not merely an abstract principle but also practical policy. Such a policy assumes even greater importance in a world beset by armed conflicts, political upheavals and economic crises. Therefore all those individuals and movements that fight against oppression and the denial of their rights everywhere in the world may count on Austria's friendship.

194. In spite of the coexistence of clear legal norms, grave violations of human rights occur every day in many parts of the world. We continue to witness unjustified arrests, torture, arbitrary executions, religious intolerance and political persecution.

195. The forthcoming thirty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should provide the occasion for all States truly to put into practice the full observance of human rights to which we have all committed ourselves. The United Nations has an important role to play in this context. In our view this role should be strengthened and further developed so as to ensure the effective international protection of human rights.

196. The international situation is characterized by many regional conflicts.

197. The Middle East continues to be one of the most dangerous crisis areas of the world. The implications of this conflict transcend the confines of the region. World peace and international security are nowhere more directly threatened than in the Middle East. The human and humanitarian dimension of this conflict must not be overlooked either. Every day the cycle of hatred, repression and the use of force claims more victims and creates new obstacles to peace.

198. The past year has not brought us closer to a settlement of the Middle East problem. Lebanon is still occupied by foreign troops and threatened by civil war. Israel pursues its settlement policy on the West Bank leading towards a tacit annexation of these territories. This policy is in clear contravention of international law and runs counter to any peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict. The action of the Israeli Government is increasingly resulting in a serious deterioration in the economic and social situation of the Palestinian population. It thus gives rise to deep concern for humanitarian reasons as well.

199. Peace efforts in the Middle East have at present come to an ominous stalemate. Many of those involved seem to pursue short-term and narrowly defined national interests, regardless of the dangerous implications for overall development in the region. Austria strongly believes that this attitude must be changed and replaced by a sincere effort to bring about a just solution. Such a settlement can be achieved only through negotiations and dialogue. We reject unequivocally the use of force and all acts of terrorism, from whatever side.

200. Austria's position on the principles of a just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem remains unchanged. The right of all States in the region, including Israel, to exist within secure and recognized boundaries must be respected. The Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East problem. As underlined at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held recently at Geneva, a solution requires recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to its own State. Austria shares the view that the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinians, must participate in all negotiations. The acquisition of territories by force is unacceptable. Israel must therefore withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

201. The restoration of full sovereignty and territorial integrity to Lebanon constitutes an essential element of a comprehensive peaceful settlement. No foreign troops should remain in Lebanon without the consent of the Lebanese Government. All efforts must be made in Lebanon to bridge the internal divisions and to achieve national reconciliation. Like those directly suffering from civil war in Lebanon, we are glad that a cease-fire could be implemented, but a political solution must follow immediately. Only on such a basis will it be possible to rebuild a peaceful and independent Lebanon. But this objective too can be reached only if we succeed in finding a durable solution for those Palestinians living in Lebanon. Where should they go? This question is a further example of the fact that the core problem of the Middle East conflict is the question of Palestine. Unless the Palestinian people can exercise its national rights, there can be no lasting peace, either in Lebanon or in any other part of the region.

202. The war between Iran and Iraq has entered its fourth year. The loss of human life and the waste of resources have reached staggering proportions. Austria appeals to both parties to cease this senseless struggle and to seek a peaceful settlement of their dispute. We welcome and support all mediation efforts that may contribute to this end.

203. The armed intervention in Afghanistan continues to cause immense human suffering and is a serious threat to the stability of the entire region. This persistent violation of fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations also constitutes a major obstacle to the improvement of East-West relations. Austria urges all

parties to support the mediation efforts by the Secretary-General and his special representative and to muster the necessary political will to achieve agreement on those key elements which still remain unsolved. A political solution of the problem must, in our view, include the withdrawal of all foreign troops, respect for the sovereignty of the country, recognition of the Afghan people's right freely to choose their own form of government and international guarantees of non-interference in their domestic affairs.

204. The Kampuchean problem is another matter of serious concern. Here the past year has brought certain signs of greater flexibility, but at the same time the military occupation, the use of force, the misery of refugees and the denial of the basic human rights have continued unabated. Austria remains convinced that only negotiations between all parties to the conflict on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the International Conference on Kampuchea can lead to a just settlement which could ensure a better future for the severely tried Kampuchean people.

205. The situation in Cyprus underlines the urgency of a comprehensive negotiated settlement. Respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and complete withdrawal of the occupying forces constitute, in our view, an essential basis for such a settlement. Austria still considers the talks between the two communities to be the best means to solve their problems between themselves. We fully appreciate and support the efforts undertaken in that regard by the Secretary-General and his special representative.

206. The people of Namibia are still waiting for their independence. Four years of work on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have led to a large degree of agreement on the details and the implementation of the transition plan. Elements which, in our view, do not have direct relevance to the independence of Namibia must not impede that process. We strongly support the Secretary-General's efforts to break the deadlock and finally to bring about the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

207. The underlying cause for the crisis situation in southern Africa is the *apartheid* policy practised by the South African Government. Austria unequivocally condemns the *apartheid* system as an abhorrent violation of human rights and human dignity. Only a profound transformation of South Africa into a free, democratic and multiracial society could bring genuine stability to the south of Africa. It is indispensable that this process be initiated without delay. Only in that way can it be peacefully concluded, as we hope it will be.

208. The continuing serious situation in Central America is a matter of deep concern to Austria. We consider this crisis closely related to the profound social change this region is undergoing. Exploitation, injustice and repression throughout centuries are the root causes of the current problems. Any approach to the Central American crisis which reduces it simply or primarily to a matter of East-West confrontation or to a question of spheres of influence or competing ideologies will only aggravate the situation. A settlement cannot be imposed from outside or by the use or threat of use of force. It must be reached through free negotiations between all parties directly concerned. Austria welcomes, in particular, the efforts by the Contadora Group. Self-determination, non-interference, respect for the territorial integrity of States, the obligation not to use the territory of a State for acts of aggression against another, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the use and threat of use

of force are indeed the only principles on which a stable and lasting solution can be based.

209. Austria has always put special emphasis on a policy of good-neighbourliness. Over the past year Austria has been able to improve and deepen co-operation with all its neighbours, irrespective of their social and political systems.

210. In our good-neighbourly and friendly relations with Italy the problem of South Tyrol has a special place. The resolutions of the General Assembly of 1960 and 1961 [resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVII)] led in 1969 to an agreement between Austria and Italy on a new framework of autonomy for South Tyrol. Among its important provisions those on the use of the German language and the establishment of an autonomous section in Bozen of the Administrative Court are of special significance for the preservation of the South Tyrolean ethnic group. Despite the agreement in principle reached months ago between the Italian Government and the minority concerned, the decisions relating to these important measures have still not been enacted. Austria is aware that this is partly due to recent political developments in Italy. However, Austria views with a certain concern the fact that competence already transferred to the Province of Bozen has again been eroded by national legislative measures and that acts adopted by the provincial legislature are increasingly rejected by the authorities in Rome. These measures have added considerably to the anxiety and concern already experienced by the population of South Tyrol because of the delay in the implementation of the autonomy provisions. Prime Minister Benedetto Craxi has stated recently that the two provisions just mentioned will be implemented in the coming months. The Austrian Federal Government expects this promise to be fulfilled as soon as possible. We are confident that this would create an important pre-condition of early, generally acceptable attainment of autonomy in South Tyrol.

211. In addressing the critical problems of today's international situation States have two basic options: they can exploit the existing problems in the pursuit of short-term national interests, or they can seek to solve them through co-operation in the long-term interest of the international community as a whole. This second alternative was outlined 38 years ago in the Charter of the United Nations. The Organization's founders laid down the fundamental rules of co-operation among States and created institutions to translate these principles into a more peaceful and humane world order.

212. The ideals and basic approaches of the Charter are as valid today as they were in the past. Yet in our increasingly complex and divided world, the sense of purpose which was still present in the aftermath of the most terrible war in human history is waning. Today, violations of the precepts of the Charter proliferate. The collective security system remains unimplemented. The Security Council, the primary organ for the maintenance of peace, often fails to take decisions on many of the most crucial issues. In cases where resolutions are adopted they are often ignored by the parties to the conflict. Again and again Member States circumvent United Nations institutions or misuse them for their partisan interests. Despite the great services the United Nations continues to provide, and in spite of its great potential to contribute to human progress, we have to recognize that the system of multilateral diplomacy is in a serious state of crisis.

213. The Secretary-General, in his annual report [A/38/1], has convincingly analysed this crisis and highlighted the grave danger emanating from it for the fate of mankind. His renewed urgent appeal for a collective recommitment to the principles of the Charter meets with

our full support. The United Nations is, after all, the only forum for the militarily powerless.

214. Not least because of the role of Vienna as one of the three headquarters of the United Nations, Austria feels a particular commitment to the objectives of the Charter and is prepared to make an active contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations as a truly effective instrument for peace, freedom and justice.

215. Mr. KUSUMAATMADIA (Indonesia): It is indeed a great pleasure for me to address to Mr. Illueca the felicitations of my delegation on his assumption of the presidency of the thirty-eighth session. His election is deserved recognition of his many accomplishments in the service of his Government and of the international community. We are confident that we shall benefit from his wisdom and experience in our work at this session.

216. I should also like to take this opportunity to commend the previous President, Mr. Imre Hollai, on the way he fulfilled his many responsibilities in difficult circumstances, and to record our deep appreciation of his guidance and leadership.

217. On behalf of the Indonesian Government and people, I extend a warm welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis on its accession to membership in the Organization. My delegation looks forward to close co-operation between our two countries.

218. This thirty-eighth session is meeting in an atmosphere of deep anxiety and frustration, as the world continues to be confronted by multiple crises of unprecedented proportions and persistence. The turmoil and tension in the political sphere are matched by the stagnation and disarray that today characterize the economies of virtually all nations, affecting most severely the developing countries. The threat of nuclear catastrophe, fed by an incessant arms race, is casting its ominous pall over all other human endeavours. Yet, instead of mounting a purposeful, global response to these challenges, the international community seems to be locked in a perverse inability to agree on even a common approach to the problems.

219. We have all come to recognize peace, disarmament and development as the central, interrelated issues of our time, but in acknowledging this reality we are in fact also defining the comprehensive context, which is the only relevant context, for peacefully resolving the growing insecurity and instability in the world.

220. In the present global setting, mutual interaction and linkages between political and economic problems are self-evident. In an increasingly interdependent world, the political stability and economic well-being of both developed and developing countries are becoming more intertwined. As the problems we face today have assumed global proportions, in scope as well as in their consequences, they accordingly call for a globalized effort in finding solutions. The emergence of a new, more equitable and rational international order can come about only through sustained international co-operation and dialogue, conducted within a coherent and integrated approach to the problems at hand.

221. It is a matter of deepening concern, therefore, to observe what our Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [*ibid.*] so aptly described as the continuing "erosion of multilateralism and internationalism".

222. The growing tendency of some major Powers to resort to a bilateralism based on considerations of expediency and a narrowly defined concept of security must be checked, as it can only lead to heightened polarization and the revival of naked power politics. If such a drift

were allowed to continue, while inequalities and inequities among nations remain unresolved, interdependence will sadly become a mere euphemism for new forms of dependence and domination. When, furthermore, each and every conflict situation in the world is being perceived and cast within the context of East-West rivalry, then the solution of problems will only be further complicated and the risk of world-wide escalation correspondingly enlarged.

223. My Government, therefore, fully endorses the call made by the Secretary-General to take a fresh collective look at the problems we are facing, to exert renewed efforts at the highest level to strengthen international co-operation and to support the United Nations as the principal, collective instrument through which Governments can and should control conflicts and work out solutions together.

224. The threat to the very survival of human civilization from nuclear war remains the greatest danger facing the world today. The nuclear arms race, far from abating, continues to escalate to the point of complete irrationality. The more money is spent on arms, the more people seem to be taking leave of their senses, proceeding inexorably on a path of self-destruction, spending more and more and gaining less and less.

225. Faced with the prospect of an irreversible spiral of escalation, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last March, has called for priority action on a freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons, the speedy finalization of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and a treaty banning chemical weapons, as well as for action to ensure that outer space be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries also reaffirmed the importance of establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the regions concerned.

226. For its part, Indonesia has always emphasized the validity and relevance of the regional approach to security and disarmament. The States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have long advocated a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality within which there is provision for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia. In that part of the world, ASEAN has built an edifice for co-operation and progress among regional States which to date has proved not only its utility but, more importantly, its durability. The establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia, as a component element of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, would be a logical and meaningful contribution to regional peace and stability.

227. In a climate of growing distrust and heightened tensions between the super-Powers, long-festering conflicts have become increasingly more difficult to resolve. It is to be regretted, therefore, that the shocking incident involving the shooting down of the South Korean civilian airliner on 1 September 1983 has further exacerbated this climate of tension and mutual suspicion. Indonesia welcomes the recent decision on this matter taken by the ICAO Council, which is the appropriate forum to conduct a thorough investigation and to ensure that tragedies of this kind do not occur in the future.

228. In South-East Asia, peace and regional harmony continue to elude us because of the unresolved problem of Kampuchea. Central to this problem is the question of how to secure the restoration of national independence and sovereignty for the Kampuchean people and, indeed, how to secure their very survival as a nation. As long as foreign forces remain in that country, as long as the



Kampuchean people are denied the right to determine their own future and to pursue their own political and economic system, free from external interference, no just and durable solution can be found to this problem.

229. We are encouraged to note that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, has been gaining widening support, inside Kampuchea as well as abroad.

230. My Government reiterates its firm belief that it is in the interest of all parties concerned to seek a comprehensive political solution through negotiation rather than confrontation. We remain convinced that the elements contained in the Declaration on Kampuchea<sup>4</sup> provide the best framework for such a solution. They offer an equitable approach to ensure the re-emergence of Kampuchea as an independent, sovereign and non-aligned nation. That Declaration also takes fully into account the legitimate interests and security concerns of all countries in South-East Asia, including Viet Nam.

231. I should like to stress that what Indonesia and the other member countries of ASEAN aspire to is not a solution beyond the attainable, given the often-expressed desire of all States in the region for peace, stability and mutual co-operation in South-East Asia. But it must be based on the premise of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean soil and the establishment of a Kampuchean government of the people's own choosing, through internationally supervised elections in which all Kampucheans will participate, for only then can the various political groups in Kampuchea actively work towards the goal of national reconciliation.

232. Yet another issue which begs for a speedy political solution based on the withdrawal of foreign forces is the situation in Afghanistan. In addition to endangering the peace and security of South-West Asia, this conflict has justifiably aroused world-wide concern because of its ramifications on a number of global issues. The sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of the country must be restored and the Afghan refugees must be allowed to return to their homes in safety and dignity. I would like to take this opportunity to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General to find a negotiated solution, and we are encouraged by the indications of progress so far made by his special representative.

233. The search for a just peace in the Middle East revolves around the questions that remain at the core of the protracted conflict in that region: self-determination and sovereign nationhood for the Palestine people and the cessation of Israeli aggression and illegal occupation of all Arab territory, including Jerusalem. Developments in this seed-bed of turbulence have followed an unchanging pattern of movement from one violent crisis to the next, triggered by the aggressive and expansionist policies of Israel and its defiant flouting of all decisions of the United Nations. From proclaiming Jerusalem as its capital to the annexation of the Golan Heights, by the further establishment of illegal settlements in the occupied territories and the continued oppression and violation of the human rights of the Arab people in those territories, Israeli policies have been the root cause of aggravated tensions, making any meaningful progress towards solution exceedingly difficult. Ironically, these policies have brought neither peace nor greater security for Israel. Indonesia has consistently supported all Arab initiatives, including the proposals of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez,<sup>5</sup> as they provide a sound basis for the search for a just and durable peace in the region. Indonesia remains steadfast in its support of the PLO,

the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

234. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, just held at Geneva, was a historic gathering of the international community which underscores the urgency and concern we all attach to securing the rights of the Palestinian people. The decisions of the Conference, in the view of my delegation, contain the key elements for a peaceful solution to the question of Palestine. Most importantly, it called upon the Security Council to adopt effective measures to establish an independent and sovereign Palestinian State while assuring the right of all States to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries. In this regard, the Council was invited to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East, with all parties, including the PLO and the big Powers, as well as other concerned States, participating on an equal footing. Our task is to secure this goal through a process of negotiations leading to a comprehensive settlement.

235. Israel's massive invasion of Lebanon last year shocked the world and underscored the impunity with which Israel has tried to impose its designs on the region, in complete disregard of world censure. A year after the invasion, Israeli forces continue to occupy large areas of Lebanon, and the situation is further aggravated by the involvement of more extra-regional States. My delegation maintains that the key to the preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon is to secure the immediate and total withdrawal of all Israeli forces and the scrupulous observance of non-interference by all outside Powers. This would greatly facilitate efforts in encouraging all contending Lebanese factions towards negotiations leading to national reconciliation. We therefore welcome the recent cease-fire as a positive step in this direction.

236. The plight of Namibia continues to be an affront to our sense of justice and a heavy burden on the collective conscience of the international community. How long should we bear witness to the pain and suffering of millions who are fighting for human dignity and social justice? Indeed, how long can we remain patient, year after year, in the face of Pretoria's ruthless perpetuation of its twin policies of colonial occupation in Namibia and *apartheid* in South Africa?

237. Despite concerted international efforts, most recently at the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris from 25 to 29 April 1983, the prospects of a free and independent Namibia seem no better today than they did last spring. Most significantly, the further report of the Secretary-General on his recent visit to the region<sup>6</sup> has shown that the stalemate continues because of Pretoria's insistence at linking progress towards Namibian independence to extraneous issues such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. The racist régime also persists in efforts to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia through a calculated policy of social and political fragmentation and imposing puppet régimes. As the Secretary-General pointed out, until a date is fixed for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and a cease-fire comes into force, the claim of substantial progress cannot be sustained. Against this background, it would be naïve to entertain the hope that South African racists will ever abandon their policies and abide by the terms of relevant Security Council resolutions without the imposition of mandatory sanctions.

238. Indonesia will continue in its staunch support of the valiant struggle of the Namibian people under the

determined leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

239. In South Africa itself, the odious policy of *apartheid* continues to be relentlessly pursued. In the face of increased repression by the régime, the people have intensified their resistance. This was demonstrated by last month's protest meeting in Cape Town, the largest held in South Africa in over two decades.

240. It is clear that South Africa's policies of internal oppression and external aggression have reached such a magnitude as to place international peace and security in imminent jeopardy. The front-line States have borne the brunt of South Africa's repeated armed aggressions and attempts at military, political and economic destabilization. Such continuing threats must be forcefully addressed by the Security Council, which has the authority and responsibility to compel South Africa's compliance with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

241. All too often the cessation of armed hostilities has led to a slackening of efforts to achieve peaceful settlement of a dispute, as exemplified by the conflict over Malvinas. New efforts should be exerted to resume negotiations, as procrastination can only lead to a prolongation of the dispute or even to a resumption of armed hostilities.

242. Within the same area of the world, we continue to view with concern the tensions and strife that have beset Central America and the Caribbean. The factors that have embroiled this region in incessant turmoil are fundamentally rooted in internal, unresolved problems which in the past thwarted movement towards social and economic justice as well as growth towards true independence. Movement toward the solution of these problems is hampered by externally induced overt or covert pressures. The most rational approach has come from the States in the region themselves, which ultimately have the greatest stake in re-establishing stability in the region.

243. It is in this context that my Government supports the Contadora Group's initiative. The Group's understanding of the unique historical circumstances and its comprehensive regional approach fully deserve serious consideration. In addition, my delegation hopes that the existing regional organizations will also play a greater role in building a viable infrastructure for economic co-operation, political cohesion and overall stability.

244. There is no doubt that Antarctica is of great scientific, environmental and climatic significance to the world, in addition to holding out considerable economic potential. Thus in recent years there has been increased international interest directed towards the sixth continent, which in many aspects constitutes the last frontier on earth. Unfortunately, however, information about this region has not kept pace with this increased interest. There is, therefore, a real need for the universal sharing of such information and for wider international co-operation to ensure that all future activities in Antarctica will be for the benefit of all mankind.

245. We are aware that the parties to the 1959 Antarctic Treaty<sup>7</sup> have promoted scientific co-operation and environmental research and have succeeded in preventing territorial claims and the militarization of the region. None the less, all of these commendable activities do not detract from the fact that knowledge about the workings of the Treaty and the modalities of its functioning have so far been the privilege of a few. Hence, the initiative of Malaysia and Antigua and Barbuda [A/38/193 and Corr.1] in asking the United Nations to undertake a comprehensive study of the region is a commendable one,

which my delegation fully supports. It is also in line with the decision taken at New Delhi by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2].

246. Indonesia does not share the apprehension of the Treaty's signatories that such a study would in any way undermine what it has already achieved. Indeed, we should all ensure that such an examination will contribute to increasing the informed interest and participation of the international community in the development of the potential of Antarctica, without undermining the legal régime already in force.

247. In reviewing the global economic situation and international economic relations, we cannot disguise our exasperation at the protracted malaise that continues to afflict them. The economic crisis which has long since reached global proportions is threatening the stability and stifling the growth of all countries. Consequently, the economic resilience and margin of safety once available to many developing countries have been severely eroded. Their vulnerable economies, left exposed to the relentless onslaughts of this externally induced crisis, have sustained a most damaging impact.

248. The harsh realities besetting the world economic scene today, compounded by cyclical factors, are in truth symptomatic of more fundamental inadequacies plaguing the international economic order. In the last decade, since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, in 1974, many initiatives were taken and numerous conferences and meetings were held in vain attempts to redress these structural imbalances. The failure of these efforts to begin the democratization of the international economic order does not negate their validity, nor should it diminish our commitment to their eventual achievement. Indonesia, for its part, reiterates its strong commitment to the establishment of the new international economic order. We cannot settle for less. We want equitable participation in the productive and decision-making processes of the global economy.

249. What then should be our response to these multiple crises? Some industrialized countries have responded by inaugurating recovery policies which are rooted in the so-called trickle-down theory of economics. Such policies are tantamount to relegating the development of the developing countries to being a mere by-product of the economic revival of the North. But can recovery policies based on such exclusiveness be sustained against the reality of global economic interdependence? Conversely, can lasting development of the developing countries be ensured without world economic recovery? These fundamental questions pose a challenge to the collective wisdom of the international community.

250. Consequently, Indonesia fully supports the efforts of the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77, manifested at New Delhi and Buenos Aires earlier this year, to address these problems specifically. Immediate measures to stimulate world economic recovery and the accelerated development of the developing countries are urgently needed. Prominent among these measures is the proposal to convene an international conference on money and finance for development, to which Indonesia fully subscribes.

251. Concurrently, decisive action should be taken effectively to launch global negotiations. At New Delhi a two-phased approach was broached: those issues concerning formulation and allocation on which agreement has been reached will be taken up in the first phase of the negotiations, and those issues affecting the structure of the international economic system and its institutions

will be discussed in the second phase. This flexible approach demands a correspondingly constructive response from the developed countries. In a spirit of mutual interest and interdependence, we therefore strongly call upon our partners to launch the global negotiations without delay.

252. The outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has been deeply disappointing. A golden opportunity was indeed missed. Far from responding adequately to the gravity of the world economic situation, the developed countries at the Conference failed to demonstrate a flexibility corresponding to that displayed by the developing countries. Moreover, the failure of the Conference to achieve any meaningful progress could set a damaging precedent resulting in the erosion of multilateral co-operation. That is not to say that we completely denigrate the results of the Conference. We can agree with the assessment of the Secretary-General that it did yield some positive elements which could form a basis for further dialogue and negotiations.

253. Collective self-reliance of the developing countries, as expressed through economic and technical co-operation among them, is a dynamic process. Such a process should not only prove critical for revitalizing the development of their economies but should also greatly contribute to a sustained global recovery. Since its inception at Bandung in 1955, and as amplified in Algiers, Caracas and Buenos Aires, South-South co-operation has made commendable progress. Economic and technical co-operation among developing countries has become an integral part of Indonesia's foreign policy. Within our limited capacities we have extended technical co-operation programmes to various countries both within and beyond our region. This we will continue.

254. The 1980s, so far, have brought us a distressing increase in political tensions, conflict and economic dislocation on a global as well as a regional scale. This turn for the worse has been accompanied by a corresponding aggravation of mutual suspicions, divisions and polarization among nations and a continuing incapacity of the international community to develop the necessary concepts, policies and institutions capable of meeting the new realities of our time. Conversely, however, the inexorable trend towards the greater independence of nations and of solutions to problems has also strengthened a growing consciousness of the common fate and common future that all humankind shares in this, our one-world community.

255. Great adversity and crisis always pose a threat, but they also offer an opportunity to effect fundamental change. So even though it may be tempting to lapse into cynical resignation or pessimism, the compelling need is to rise to the challenge and to arrest and reverse the slide into uncontrollable and unmanageable chaos and the collapse of the present international order. We should stop paying only lip service to interdependence, which as of now is asymmetrical and therefore unjust anyway. Instead we should marshal our collective capacity and political will to really start dealing with the implications of genuine, global interdependence on the basis of mutual benefit and common security. Indonesia believes that there is no better time and place to start than right here and now, as it remains convinced that the United Nations is the international instrument best suited to develop such a capacity.

256. The presence here in New York of a large number of heads of State or Government, in response to the initiative of the chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, not

only serves to bolster our unwavering support for the United Nations; the informal meetings which have been held among these world leaders, in a spirit of sincerity and good faith, have also provided a unique focal point where at least the beginnings of a concerted global approach to the problems of peace and peaceful coexistence, disarmament and development can be fashioned.

257. If this should be the case, then 1983 could yet turn out to be, in the words of the Secretary-General, a year of reassessment and a turning point.

258. U CHIT HLAING (Burma): Sir, the delegation of Burma, which I have the privilege to lead here, is happy to extend the warmest congratulations to Mr. Illueca on his election as President of the thirty-eighth session. His distinguished political career and his wide knowledge and experience of world affairs is a guarantee to us all that the present session is in the most able hands. We wish to assure him of our support and co-operation in the discharge of his responsibilities.

259. We also take this opportunity to render a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the integrity of purpose with which he guided the deliberations of the Assembly during the last session.

260. We are also happy to offer our felicitations and friendly greetings to the delegation of Saint Christopher and Nevis on the occasion of its admission into the family of the United Nations, which is yet another step towards the universality of the membership of the Organization.

261. The regular sessions of the General Assembly have always been of great interest and value to all delegations present at these yearly gatherings. It is a traditional time to review and evaluate what is happening in the world, what we expect to do about it and to give thought to the problems of the future. These occasions enable us to take stock of various standpoints in the present conditions of the world and to acquaint ourselves with each other's positions and attitudes. For our part, we leave with an understanding and appreciation much better than when we first come here.

262. For the past several years, the Assembly has been working under conditions of marked international tension. In our view, the pattern of events since our last session has shown no improvement or significant changes in the overall international situation, be it political, economic or social. In a world dominated by the political and strategic interests of the great Powers, their adverse relationship continues to encumber international relations and impinge on the work of the Assembly. Unless these relations are improved we fear that the present trend can only lead to paralysis and consequent decline in the authority and power of the United Nations. This is the predicament in which the world Organization finds itself and constitutes the nature of the problem we have to cope with.

263. It is evident that great-Power relationships continue to dominate the present decade, with profound implications for peace and security. Their mutual mistrust and divergent views have so far been the main obstacle to resolving the key issues of our times. Experience has shown that a certain degree of understanding among the great Powers is essential before we can hope to gain tangible ground in the peace-making process. The course of any negotiations can be circumscribed by their indifference or greatly enhanced by their support. If the United Nations is to make a constructive move towards a safer and more secure world, it is essential that the great Powers do their part in making progress possible. Reorientation of thinking and formulation of new approaches and concepts of solution will be possible only at a lower level

of tension. In view of the exceptional responsibility which the great Powers bear in the questions of peace and security, it is incumbent on them to come forth with initiatives that would ensure reduction of international tensions. This also means that their present antagonism must give way to a greater degree of coexistence that would reduce suspicion, build mutual confidence and contribute to a more stable and reliable world order.

264. The stability we seek requires continued efforts to place international relations on sounder foundations rather than on a balance of material forces. We believe that permanent foundations for world peace on the basis of peaceful coexistence best respond to the hopes and aspirations of mankind and command the support of the overwhelming majority of nations. We come from different continents with diverse historical, cultural and social backgrounds and differing political and economic conditions, all of which have their own validity. Moreover, human nature is much too diverse to allow for the imposition of an all-encompassing world system. No single Power or group of Powers can expect to shape the world's destiny in its own way. Indeed, such an attempt would only accentuate disharmony rather than promote harmony and would force nations apart rather than bring them together.

265. In these circumstances, logic and reason dictate that there is no alternative to a policy of peaceful coexistence and co-operation among States, whether big or small, and irrespective of their political, economic and social systems. Let us recognize that it is in the Charter of the United Nations.

266. The factor of great-Power rivalry is but one source of world tension and conflict. The fact is that we live in an epoch of revolutionary changes which are fundamental in nature. They have generated impulses and problems which are unprecedented in character and dimensions. In this situation, a deeper source of tension is the conflict between new incipient forces advancing to the forefront and age-old forces holding on to domination. Within this changing context, the full depth of the contemporary crisis ranges from issues of disarmament to international economic processes. It is also reflected in the problems of the Middle East, southern Africa, the situation in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Central America.

267. Having touched upon the general nature of world issues, I should now like to comment briefly on them as they relate to our common search for a viable and effective response.

268. Negotiations on disarmament and arms control are currently encountering many contradictions and difficulties. The world community is still burdened by the chronic problem of the armaments race, whose undiminished tempo continues to heighten tensions and poses a threat to international peace and security. Today disarmament negotiations are in a state of flux, seemingly not unpromising at times, suddenly becoming stalled and replaced by the language of war. So far there has neither been arms reduction nor disarmament. Both contending policies of the great Powers assume that only more weapons could provide more protection. Negotiations and agreements on arms control to date have done little to limit either weapons development or weapons quantities, and the probability of nuclear war has not adequately or appreciably decreased.

269. In a situation where the enormous destructive potential of nuclear weapons threatens the very survival of mankind, fears about the dangers of nuclear war have become more pronounced than before. The prevention of nuclear war has emerged into the foreground as the burning issue of the day. Arms and technology are but

tools of war, and factors influencing the likelihood of war are more political in nature. Removing the possibility of a nuclear clash means lowering the existing dangerously high tensions. The great Powers have a special position with regard to this matter, because the ultimate decision as to peace and war rests with them. In the present situation, there can be no major war without their participation and equally there can be no genuine peace unless both of them will it. Thus they share between them an extremely heavy burden of responsibility, not only to their own people but to entire humanity as a whole.

270. World public attention and expectations are now focused on the ongoing talks between the great Powers relating to medium-range nuclear systems and strategic armaments. The absence of progress so far is a source of concern, as a successful outcome of the bilateral negotiations is widely looked upon as an opening to progress in other fields of disarmament. Every proposed solution should be explored. It is an opportunity that may not recur or exist for much longer to reach a solution that would ensure a secure region in Europe. We hope that a mutually acceptable formula will be worked out to produce an outcome that the world can live with and that is not merely to the benefit of one region and to the detriment of another.

271. We cannot ignore the factor of time involved in arms control negotiations. We stand at a crossroads where the inability of arms control negotiations to keep pace with technological innovation may pass the point of manageability and make it impossible, in a practical sense, to stop the accelerating arms race. The protracted pace of diplomatic negotiations and the relatively more rapid pace of technological progress means that arms control will become ever more difficult in the years to come unless some bold initiatives are taken to arrest and reverse the present trends. Meantime, while strategic arms control negotiations remain at an impasse, advances in technology threaten to upset the nuclear balance.

272. No single regional dispute has so preoccupied the General Assembly in sheer length of time as have the Middle East situation and the Palestine question. The Middle East region remains in ferment, with hardly any prospect of an early or satisfactory solution to the question of Palestine, the primary cause of the persisting crisis. In spite of the efforts of many countries and of the United Nations, it is still not possible to perceive a solution to the many problems which fester in the Middle East and Palestine issues, such as the questions of Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and Israeli settlements in occupied territories. Matters have become further compounded by the factional divergence and strife in the Palestinian movement over views on how to achieve a solution. This has caused a setback in the most recent efforts of the peace process.

273. It is also evident that any solution of the Middle East problem, to be viable, must be comprehensive in nature. Equally, a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East is not possible without meaningful progress towards a solution of the Palestine problem.

274. The position of the delegation of Burma regarding the issues of the Middle East and Palestine is quite clear. We recognize the reality that, whatever the circumstances of its birth, Israel has come to stay in the Middle East. We accordingly recognize the right of Israel to exist. We maintain, however, that the right to exist does not confer on Israel or on any other State the right to acquire territory by war or to resort to unilateral acts that prejudice the outcome of any final comprehensive settlement. Looking to future prospects, we feel that unless steps are taken to halt the current process of Israeli settlements in

occupied territories, it may soon make impossible the chances for pursuing a negotiated peace. Another prerequisite for transforming the scene is the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, a move that we believe will contribute towards a just and enduring solution. As we perceive it, any negotiations aimed at achieving a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East would necessarily entail a greater sensitivity in each of the parties to the dispute to the concerns of the other side. What is needed is the mutual recognition of the right of each side to exist. The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a national homeland must be recognized, side by side with the recognition of Israel's right to survival and need for security. Failing such accommodation between the two sides, peace in the Middle East would surely be impossible. To our regret, the present implacable antagonism displayed by the two sides holds little promise of making any headway towards a Middle East solution.

275. In Lebanon the presence of unauthorized foreign forces continues to destabilize internal order. Protracted efforts to effect their withdrawal have so far foundered. Moreover, the intractable problem of communal conflict still faces the country. The problems of Lebanon stem from the unresolved issues of the Middle East and Palestine. Notwithstanding this fact, the overriding concern must be to ensure the withdrawal of foreign forces from the country and the realization of the full sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Lebanon, within its internationally recognized boundaries, in accordance with Security Council resolutions in this regard.

276. The record of ongoing developments in southern Africa provides little cause for optimism. There has been no real change in the overall pattern of relations between South Africa and the African front-line States which border it. Military escalation and interference continue to be directed and intensified against them. Moreover, there is no let-up in South Africa's policies and practices of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Indeed, the system of *apartheid* has been extended to Namibian territory, whose attainment of independence has proved to be far slower than expected.

277. Five years have passed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as a basis for an internationally recognized settlement for the independence of Namibia. Yet still today the people of that Territory remain the victims of a stubborn colonial domination. Hopes raised by the United Nations plan for the peaceful realization of Namibian self-determination have faded with the intransigent and persistent refusal of South Africa to comply with and to honour what it had originally accepted. Its resistance to the forces of change has not only aggravated the Namibian situation but also constitutes a serious threat to regional stability and to international peace and security.

278. The efforts of the contact group representing the world's most powerful countries have also failed to influence South Africa, and today there is hardly any prospect of a solution to the question of Namibia. A further dilatory factor causing concern is the injection of extraneous issues that tend to distort the reality of the Namibian question. The delegation of Burma cannot in good faith support motives that are incompatible with the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We hold the view that any parallelism or linkage between the independence of Namibia and extraneous and irrelevant issues can only raise doubts as to the attitude of those who promote the concept.

279. Experience with regard to the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea reveals both the need for and the difficulty of insulating regional conflicts from great-Power relationships. The implications of both situations are already reflected in the politics of the respective regions. They also demonstrate the basic risks involved in unilateral intervention in any country by an external Power. Both interventions have been fraught with difficulties for the intervener and the affected. In each case the difficulties are of a nature to raise the question of whether the form of intervention has really served the national interests of the intervener. While in the short range certain goals may have been achieved, a political price has to be paid in the way of adverse world opinion.

280. In line with our oft-expressed views on Afghanistan and Kampuchea, we consider that the withdrawal of foreign troops from both countries is fundamental for arriving at a political solution. It is also a preliminary to forging better relations in the region. This is a matter of principle with us, for any breach of the basic principles of international relations, as enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations, cannot be condoned, since it creates a dangerous precedent with wide-ranging implications. We say this because the principles of the Charter are applicable to all States Members of the United Nations and will survive only if Members faithfully uphold them.

281. In Afghanistan the good offices of the Secretary-General have led to some movement in the right direction regarding essential elements for a comprehensive political solution. We welcome these constructive efforts and hope that a breakthrough will be achieved to enable the Afghan people to determine their own destiny free from outside interference and to enable the refugees to return.

282. Regarding Kampuchea, the stalemate continues despite many diplomatic moves in and outside the region. The delegation of Burma considers that the achievement of a political solution in Kampuchea must necessarily be worked out by the Kampuchean people themselves without outside interference. We would hope that both internal and external conditions will in time mature to allow for a peaceful way for national reconciliation and a political solution responsive to the desperate need of the Kampuchean people to survive and to live in peace.

283. Turning now to the world economy, there is no denying that it is still in the midst of the most severe and protracted crisis. No country, regardless of its level of economic development, size and socio-economic order, has been spared the crisis, though the main brunt of its adverse impact has been borne by the developing countries. It has imposed a severe strain on international trade and on the monetary and financial systems and has raised the spectre of trade warfare and financial collapse. The resultant slow-down in socio-economic development has also generated a crisis in development. It is in fact a crisis of international relations, and it underlines the anachronistic nature of the existing system.

284. While recent forecasts talk of an economic upturn in some highly industrialized countries, the momentum of recovery is as yet too slow to warrant jubilation. We should, of course, like to be optimistic about world recovery, the prospects of which, after all, should benefit all nations. However, in many respects the world economic situation cannot really be described as being responsive. World trade remains sluggish, and interest rates are high and have rapidly increased the level of debt service payments. As a result, the international monetary and financial systems have been placed under severe strain. All this points to the fact that fundamental

changes in the pattern of world economic relations, especially in trade and finance, are overdue.

285. New ways and means must also be found to narrow the ever-widening gap between the export earnings of developed and developing countries, so as to establish a realistic and equitable basic relationship of a lasting nature. We believe that the balance of world opinion is swinging toward far-reaching solutions and constructive international action to redress the ills of the world economy and not towards a series of stop-gap, *ad hoc* measures.

286. A resolution in favour of the launching of global negotiations, adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 [resolution 34/138], was aimed at spurring the desired process of transformation in international economic relations. We are disturbed that this has met with opposition from the richer developed nations, which makes the start of negotiations still uncertain.

287. Furthermore, growing links between national economies have enhanced their interdependence to the extent that unilateral action by a single country or group of countries to pull out of the present crisis may prove to be ineffective and inadequate. In spite of this, there has been a greater resort to unilateral action, and international economic co-operation has slackened at a time when it needs to be greatly strengthened. A healthy world economic structure can emerge only with the recognition that widened avenues of international co-operation and agreement are basic requisites to put the world economy back on the path of recovery and sustained growth. We hope that our present deliberations will help us advance this prospect and that the examination of world issues will prove fruitful.

288. Mr. SALEM (Lebanon): I wish first to thank all heads of delegation who have spoken with empathy and with concern for my country, Lebanon. I sincerely hope that a reunited and reinvigorated Lebanon will promote the great causes to which they all contribute.

289. I am pleased to congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session. My congratulations acquire special significance in view of the close relations existing between our two countries, as well as the traditional ties of friendship and co-operation that characterize relations between Latin America and Lebanon.

290. I wish to express appreciation to the President's predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the able manner in which he presided over the thirty-seventh session.

291. I also wish to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General for his dedicated work on behalf of peace. His clear vision of the international community and of the United Nations peace-keeping and peace-keeping capabilities, his human and diplomatic qualities and the competent way in which he guides the work of the Organization are all worthy of our highest esteem.

292. My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/38/1]. We express our support for the valuable comments and observations in this report, especially those relating to the endeavours to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council and strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping operations, whose missions and objectives are set by the Security Council.

293. My delegation specifically supports the Secretary-General's proposal to dispatch fact-finding missions to areas of tension, to prevent possible conflicts which could endanger international peace and security.

294. Our agenda this year is replete with increasingly complex and still unresolved problems affecting international peace. Lebanon, a founding member of the United Nations and a nation sensitive to the problems of other nations, finds itself once more in the vortex of the storm. We are therefore compelled to focus on our own problems, since it is our nation's very existence that is in danger.

295. One year ago, at the thirty-seventh session, President Amin Gemayel stated here:

"... we have had enough; enough of bloodshed, enough of destruction, enough of dislocation and despair. We have paid the high price of war. We should not pay an additional price for peace. As a Member of the United Nations we want our rights to be restored to us." [35th meeting, para. 7.]

This appeal of yesterday is still our appeal of today, for we Lebanese desperately need peace and security with freedom and justice. Furthermore, it is our right, indeed our responsibility, to explain our case to the Assembly and to absolve ourselves before the court of history, lest misunderstanding of the Lebanese problem usher the region into a war that could threaten the existing order in the globally pivotal Middle East.

296. There is a great deal of ideological propaganda that insists that Lebanon will always be in turmoil, that Lebanon can never contribute to civilized and purposeful lives. Those who maintain these absurdities see their interests best served in conflict and confrontation; they would feel lost and purposeless in a society of civilized, co-operative and peace-loving nations. They insist that Lebanon will always remain intractable, hoping thereby to dissuade the United Nations from exercising its peaceful role or friendly Powers from extending a sympathetic, helping hand.

297. In the face of this propaganda and through eight years of bloodshed, economic ruin and foreign intervention of every sort, it is proof of our inevitable viability as a nation that no Lebanese faction has ever entertained the idea of partition or secession. The Lebanese people are absolutely committed to a unified and independent Lebanon. What the Lebanese people share is a precious experience in democratic government, unique in the Arab world. Until war broke out, Lebanon was the cultural and economic capital of the Middle East, the meeting place of Arab and Western intellectuals, the centre for international banking and trade and a precocious example of successful, peaceful democratic government.

298. In 1975, as the society of civilized States looked on, this young democracy succumbed to a host of Arab-Israeli, Inter-Arab and East-West tensions. To be sure, Lebanon, like other heterogeneous societies, had its share of internal tensions, but the virtue of democracy is that it can resolve these tensions peacefully, unlike other forms of government which can only resist and suppress them.

299. We stand before the world asking for an opportunity to be left to ourselves in order to allow our democratic ways to resolve the tensions in our nation. This request is in no way utopian or unreasonable, for many of the oldest and most stable Member States of the Organization—European, Asian and American—have experienced similarly tumultuous and dangerous periods in their past as they forged heterogeneous populations into unified, modern nation States. Thus, in addition to our courage, determination and faith, historical precedent is on our side.

300. In Lebanon, a pluralistic society is attempting to reach mature nationhood. The contours of religions and faiths are being redefined in order to conform to the

requirements of the modern State. The political philosophy of a traditional society is adjusting to the realities of super-Power conflict, pervasive ideologies, supranational mass movements and modern military threats. In many ways the problems of Lebanon are the problems of most third world nations, and to understand and successfully treat the problems of Lebanon would be to avert similar uncertainty and conflict in the third world of the next few decades.

301. Lebanon today finds itself occupied by three regular armies and by surrogate fighting forces attached to those armies. Israel occupies about one third of Lebanese territory. In the area under its control it raises local armies and militias; it trains them, equips them and provides them with logistical support. Israel declares to the world that it understands Lebanon and wants to save it, yet it proceeds to act in a manner that will lead to its destruction. To the Jewish people, who have tasted the bitter pill of destruction, we now proclaim in this international forum, "Let your actions match your words. You wanted security for your northern frontiers. You have got that security in the proposed agreement". In the light of emerging political facts we urge Israel to reconsider the obstacles which are making the implementation of the agreement difficult.

302. Syria effectively controls about one half of Lebanese territory. Its army no longer enjoys the umbrella of legitimacy that the Lebanese Government had provided since 1976. No one will deny that Syrian forces have played a balancing role in the past in the raging international conflicts fought on Lebanese territory, but this is no longer the case. The prolongation of a Syrian military presence in Lebanon is likely to exacerbate relations between Lebanon and Syria, and it works to the disadvantage of both. In the Syrian-held territory of Lebanon, Palestinians, Iranians, Libyans and a number of local organizations, armed and directed by the Syrians, have been pitted against the forces of the legitimately constituted Government. Clearly, Syria and Lebanon have many inseparable interests, some of which have increased greatly in the past seven years. Clearly, the relations between Lebanon and Syria were and still are destined to be qualitatively closer than the relations between Lebanon and any other country in the Middle East. Lebanon has made it abundantly clear that it intends to cultivate these relations, to address our common interests and to work with Syria in the promotion of ideals which the peoples of the two countries share. Now Lebanon calls upon Syria to extend a helping hand, to give meaning and substance to the bond of brotherhood that ties the Arab States together. We expect Syria to withdraw its forces in a manner that will promote Lebanon's sovereignty while at the same time addressing Syria's security concerns.

303. Palestinian fighters in Lebanon are now based near Tripoli in the north and near Baalbek in the east. Together with other elements and some local militias supported by external forces, they were directly involved in fighting the Lebanese Army and in preventing it from extending its authority in the area recently evacuated by the Israelis. Since 1970 Lebanon has been the base for military actions by the PLO against Israel, actions which led to successive air raids by Israel and two invasions of Lebanon, in 1978 and 1982, the second of which led to Israeli occupation of south Lebanon. The Lebanese, more than any other people in the Arab world, gave the Palestinians the opportunity to experiment with all types of methodologies to reclaim their legitimate rights. If they have failed to do so it is not for lack of good will on the part of Lebanon. Now, however, neither Lebanon nor

the Palestinians wishes to perpetuate a tragedy which may translate itself into havoc not only for the Lebanese but also for the Palestinian civilian population in Lebanon as well. We therefore call on the PLO to reciprocate the good will it has enjoyed from the Lebanese by withdrawing its fighters, as its leaders had agreed to do. To the Palestinians whose presence in Lebanon is legal we say that we recommit ourselves to them in this world forum and reaffirm that they will enjoy all rights and privileges provided by the law. They will thus be able to resume a normal and secure life, unequalled in its freedom and its cultural implications in any other country of the Middle East.

304. Thus a Lebanon afflicted by forces from beyond its frontiers proclaims to the Assembly in word and in deed its readiness to accommodate what these forces claim to be equitable, fair and just to them. We are ready to reason with all, clinging to what is our own, while allowing to the limits of rationality and liberality what others claim to be their interest in what is our own.

305. Because of our legal rights under the Charter of the United Nations, under international law and under the rules of civilized existence, we feel justified in calling upon the moral conscience of mankind, represented in the Assembly, to save this valiant and beleaguered democracy.

306. How much more can a people bear? Over 100,000 dead; 500,000 displaced and homeless; more than 200,000 expatriated; tens of thousands maimed or otherwise permanently injured; historic cities and sites levelled, destroyed and looted; picturesque villages burnt or razed to the ground. Rolling hills and proud mountain tops, once the homes of ancient gods and more recently the sanctuary of the one omniscient, omnipresent, omniforgiving God, have become the site for artillery pieces raining fire, steel, destruction and death on a peaceful civilian population and on a Government which is attempting, against heavy odds, the Herculean task of standing with the right, the just and the fair and the myriad of fine qualities that are Lebanon.

307. Lebanon, because of its pluralistic society, its democratic form of government and its geographical location, has become the centre of conflicting policies in the region. Lebanon is, in effect, reaping the fruits of all that has gone wrong in Middle East politics in the past 50 years, or of all the policies that have failed to acquire legitimate status in the fluctuating order of Middle East politics. To allow Lebanon to flounder in its present course is to aggravate the conflicts of the region and to export them beyond its frontiers into Syria, Iraq and the Gulf States, which are also, like Lebanon, mixed societies whose elements could be ignited by the fires of ideological passion.

308. Palestinian refugees flooded Lebanon in the wake of the establishment of Israel, and in time the refugees became fighters challenging not only Israel but the very liberal Lebanese order that allowed them to thrive. Syria, in its confrontation with Israel, has become highly militarized and impatient with Lebanon's liberal régime. Revolutionary Arab States exploited Lebanon's pluralistic structure and encouraged the rise of movements and parties whose objectives were in conflict with the broad-based consensus on which the Lebanese pluralistic, democratic order is based.

309. When others were busy mobilizing masses, building armies and concentrating power in ruling élites, the Lebanese were contributing to peace and excelling in trade and finance, in education and health and in the promotion of the arts and the fine things of life. Perhaps in all this we underestimated the necessity of building a strong

State, strong institutions and a strong national army. Lebanon's sin, if sin it be, is that it was too free in a region where freedom was not appreciated, too liberal in a region known for its powerful régimes and too permissive of acts and thoughts that openly sought to undermine the very system that nurtured them.

310. It has now learned its lesson. It will continue to cherish freedom, but will not permit it to deteriorate into anarchy; it will continue to uphold liberal, pluralistic values but not at the expense of a strong and vibrant nation State; it will tolerate, and indeed cultivate, diversity of thought and organization, but within the clear-cut confines of the unity of the State, the unity of the people and the unity of governmental institutions.

311. Lebanon's war is a regional war with international dimensions. The different communities of Lebanon were forced by political and military facts jostling about them to take sides. In conflicts involving the Israelis, the Palestinians and the Syrians, virtually no community was allowed the freedom to be truly neutral and truly Lebanese. Only after the battle had raged for some time did the Lebanese begin to realize what was actually happening on their land. When the realization was complete, they rallied to the cause of Lebanon and tried to extricate it from the web of forces in which it had become entangled. Accordingly the duly elected Parliament, one of the few truly representative parliaments in the Middle East, freely and unanimously elected Amin Gemayel to the presidency. The Parliament represents all communities, all regions, all political trends in the country. When Lebanon signed an agreement regarding the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, only two members of Parliament cast their votes against it. An impressive national consensus exists to end the wars of others on our land, to remove all non-Lebanese forces from the country and to stand behind the President in his efforts to liberate, unite and develop Lebanon.

312. A year ago we asked the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez, to acknowledge Lebanon's decision to remove Israeli, Syrian and PLO forces from Lebanon. In early spring we asked the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi, to support Lebanon's right to get all non-Lebanese forces out of the country. The agreement reached in May 1983 between Lebanon and Israel under United States sponsorship requires Israel to withdraw fully from Lebanon. Recently, President Gemayel sent letters to President Assad and to Mr. Arafat asking them to withdraw their armed forces from Lebanon.

313. The Security Council has repeatedly reaffirmed our right to extend our sovereignty throughout our land. Since 1978 the United Nations has maintained UNIFIL in the south, a force which against heavy odds has upheld Lebanon's legitimate rights in the area of its operation, providing security and hope to the local population. To the countries contributing to this force we express our deep gratitude.

314. We are deeply grateful to the United States, France, Italy and the United Kingdom for their peace-keeping forces in our country and for the support they are giving the Government in attaining its broad objectives. Lebanon must pay a special tribute to President Reagan, who has wholeheartedly committed himself to helping Lebanon regain its unity, sovereignty and independence. In the past week the efforts of the United States and of Saudi Arabia, in quiet and intensive diplomacy between Beirut and Damascus, have led to a cease-fire which we hope will end the bloodshed and start the political process of conciliating conflicts and interests. We are grateful to the United States and to Saudi Arabia

and to their able diplomats who worked tirelessly in achieving the cease-fire. We now look to the United Nations to help us establish the mechanism that can adequately supervise it. We hope that this urgent and humane objective will have the enthusiastic support of all Members of the Organization.

315. In short, Lebanon's message to the General Assembly is this: help us remove all non-Lebanese forces from our country, and Lebanon on its own will resolve its internal tensions and resume its valuable position as a contributor to world peace and international prosperity, both cultural and economic.

316. The Middle East is undoubtedly a region fraught with conflicts, but of all the problems of the region the Lebanese problem is the most crucial and therefore the most urgent. The Iran-Iraq war poses a danger to the stability of the Gulf. Soviet-American rivalry in the Middle East endangers the delicate international balance of power. The Palestinian problem poses a threat to peace in the Arab East. The Arab-Israeli problem threatens the State system in the region. And, finally, there is the problem of radical minority movements and the danger they pose to a stable social order in the area.

317. If dialogue and diplomacy can succeed in Lebanon this success will breed other successes, and the parties to the effort will gain credibility and momentum and go on to resolve other problems. If Lebanon falls, every society from Morocco in the west to the Gulf States in the east will be threatened. Now the world looks on as the battle between order and anarchy rages; every régime in the region fearfully awaits its outcome. If there is any crisis whose consequences spell the beginning or the end of an era, it is the Lebanese crisis. In a real historical sense Lebanon's crisis is axial and future events will be judged by what was done or left undone at this juncture.

318. Lebanon is doing the impossible within the limited means at its disposal. The Government exercises effective control over barely 15 per cent of the territory, and yet the people, irrespective of the force that exercises control over them, are overwhelmingly with the Government. President Gemayel has called again and again on all leaders of the opposition to join in a dialogue that will establish the principles on which the new Lebanon will be founded. Now a dialogue committee has been established and efforts are under way to convene it as soon as possible. The stage has been set for the formation of a Government of national unity and the opposition has been invited to participate in it.

319. We have in the past year built an army committed to the impartial defence of the entire Lebanese polity, an army of all the people, for all the people. The cohesion of the army in the past month is a reflection of the cohesion that holds Lebanese society together irrespective of the extraneous difficulties that are mercilessly exploited by outsiders. We have given peace and order to the city of Beirut, the only area exclusively under Government authority. Where the Government holds sway, the different communities live in peace as one family, and no one looks askance at his neighbour.

320. In speaking to the Assembly about Lebanon I am speaking of a subject not unfamiliar to representatives. For over 100 years Lebanese have been emigrating to the Far East, to South-East Asia, to Australia, to New Zealand, to Africa, to the Americas and, more recently, to Europe and the Gulf States. Ambitious and daring Lebanese have been responsible for great intellectual, artistic and developmental achievements in the new lands that they have made their homes. In most of the countries represented in the Assembly Lebanese hold key positions in government, education and business. They left their



native country in search of a dream, the dream of excelling and of giving their progeny more, much more, than they had themselves. I also know, however, of the dreams of the Lebanese today in the tortured land of Lebanon. They are simple dreams. Most representatives would be surprised that they are called dreams at all. The Lebanese dream of leading simple, ordinary lives. They dream of returning to their cities, to their towns, to their villages. They dream of opening their shops in the morning and closing them in the evening. They dream of harvesting their crops, of sending their children to school and of welcoming them home in the evening. They dream of peaceful walks to the village spring. They dream of gathering as the sun goes down and recounting ordinary stories and ordinary events in an ordinary life. They dream of what others take for granted.

321. I bring with me the aspirations of a beleaguered people. My voice encompasses the voice of tens of thousands of men, women and children who have lost their lives in a merciless international conflict.

322. What I ask of the international community assembled in this Hall is to help the Lebanese nation secure the normal, the minimum, conditions of national existence. The Lebanese people themselves are anxious to achieve the rest. The Lebanese are a capable, inventive and industrious people. They will not succumb to the rages of international chaos and conflict but will mould a stronger and deeper national entity out of the suffering that they have endured. We like to think that we are not alone in this struggle, and we look to our brothers in the society of nations for encouragement, assistance and support.

323. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on delegations that have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for first statements and five minutes for second.

324. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): This morning [13th meeting], in his Friday sermon, the Foreign Minister of Iran engaged in a futile attempt to gain credibility for his discredited régime, only to prove once again its hypocrisy, deception, abuse and defiance.

325. He has accused my country of having committed aggression against Iran. I shall not go into the facts of the case in detail, first, for the simple reason that those facts have been presented to the various organs of the United Nations on numerous occasions, and secondly, for the reason—in relation to which I should like to challenge the Foreign Minister of Iran to come to this rostrum and announce a position similar to that of my country—that Iraq is prepared to submit the question of who committed aggression against whom to impartial third-party arbitration.

326. The Foreign Minister of Iran attempted to discredit the peaceful gestures of my country, quoting from document A/C.1/35/5. We have become accustomed to the Iranian practice of quoting out of context. The Foreign Minister of Iran simply quoted one line out of a total of two and a half pages, and I shall not bother representatives with reading that long document to them in order to show how deceptive the quotation of the Foreign Minister of Iran is, and how easily discredited the rest of the quotations in his statement could be.

327. He alluded to the mission of the Secretary-General which was established to inspect civilian areas in Iran and Iraq, and he attacked the Security Council for not having acted upon the report of the Secretary-General on the work of that mission. The members of the Security

Council know full well that, if the Security Council has not come up with any conclusions in relation to that report, it is simply because of the sabotage performed by the Iranian Government in preventing the Council from bringing to a peaceful conclusion the work of that mission.

328. Instead of responding to the serious proposals made by Iraq to settle the conflict peacefully, the Foreign Minister of Iran engaged in histrionics in complaining about an attack on Dezful and Andimeshk. He does not tell the General Assembly, however, that the attack was a retaliation in response to an earlier Iranian attack on Iraqi civilian targets, the latest attack being one carried out two days ago on Shandry, in northern Iraq, as a result of which 16 persons, including two children, were killed and 31 persons, including 15 children, injured. He does not tell the General Assembly of the continuous Iraqi warnings to Iran about sparing civilian targets from military attacks. He does not refer to the numerous proposals that Iraq presented and circulated in documents in the United Nations concerning its willingness—a sincere and genuine willingness—and readiness to conclude an agreement on sparing civilian targets from military attacks.

329. Do I need to recall the Iranian practice of killing prisoners of war or the Iranian practice of recruiting children and throwing them into the theatres of war—a practice recently condemned by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities—as on the Strait of Hormuz? This is the most extreme form of blackmail and deception. It reminds one of the policies of the Shah, the policeman of the Gulf. If the Iranian régime has a genuine desire for the security and welfare of the area, why does it not end its occupation of the three Arab islands, an occupation begun by the Shah?

330. We know what the essential problem is with the régime of the mullahs. It is the illusion of the export of the revolution. I challenge the Iranians to come to the rostrum and tell us of one Islamic country, only one, in whose internal affairs they have not attempted to interfere.

331. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation had no intention of speaking at this late hour, but in the last statement in the general debate there was an analysis of the Lebanese and the Arab situation that is totally different from our analysis of that situation. The Foreign Minister of my country presented such an analysis on 28 September [9th meeting]. I do not wish to reiterate what he said about the reasons for the Lebanese crisis.

332. Lebanon is faced with a foreign aggression that has become a multinational aggression. It suffers from the Israeli occupation. It suffers from American occupation and from other forms of occupation embodied in the multinational force. We have stated our position concerning all these matters. It is incumbent upon me to remind the previous speaker of the Syrian Arab Republic's position of principle concerning the multinational ravaging, the foreign ravaging, of Lebanon, imported from the United States. I wish to clarify once more what the Foreign Minister said:

"Our position on all these issues is clear and is based on the following principles. First, Lebanon's unity, independence and sovereignty are among the principles whose violation or infringement can never be accepted by Syria and the other Arab States. The Arab States will keep working towards that end and assisting the brotherly Lebanese people to recover their national

unity and independence and sovereignty over all their territories. In this regard, we contributed to the achievement of the agreement concluded a few days ago between the opposing sides in the civil war in Lebanon.”  
[*Ibid.*, para. 144.]

333. When the Foreign Minister of Syria states that we contributed to the achievement of that agreement, we could expect that official Lebanon would at least take note of the fact that there is an agreement, and it is incumbent on me to read out that agreement here, because, if implemented in good faith with the aim of national reconciliation, it would change the history of the civil war in Lebanon and restore Lebanon to the Arab ranks which face the Zionist aggression supported from outside. I feel it is incumbent on me to read this agreement because it will be seen from this agreement, which is accepted by the Lebanese Government, that the situation existing in Lebanon, with the recent fighting, constitutes an internal conflict, a civil war, with which Syria has nothing to do. That has been admitted by the Lebanese Government. I shall quote the agreement in full and in English, from the text given in *The New York Times* on 27 September 1983. It reads as follows:

“An immediate halt to fighting on Lebanese territory, on all fronts and demarcation lines. The truce will be policed by neutral observers.

“Formation of a committee of representatives from the Lebanese Army, the National Salvation Front, the Lebanese Forces and Amal to draw the necessary arrangements and consecrate the cease-fire.”\*

It then calls for

“... an urgent conference to begin a national dialogue among the following:

“From the National Salvation Front: Mr. Walid Jumlat, former Prime Minister Rashid Karami and former President Suleiman Franjeh.

“From the Lebanese Forces: former President Camille Chamoun and Mr. Pierre Gemayel.

“Also invited to the conference are former Prime Minister Saeb Salam, Mr. Adel Ossseiran and Mr. Raymond Edde.

“The President is happy to also welcome a representative from each of the brotherly nations of Syria and Saudi Arabia to attend the conference with the official Lebanese delegation, which will include, in addition to President Gemayel, a representative from each of the executive and legislative authorities.”\*

334. That is the text of the agreement, and I wanted it in the record of this meeting because the spirit of this agreement and its terms prove conclusively that the Syrian Arab Republic contributed, in co-operation with the Arab countries, to the cease-fire in a destructive war between brothers.

335. I wish to draw attention to something that we have said several times, as the Foreign Minister of Lebanon knows, and I will use not my own words but those of the President of the Syrian Arab Republic. Concerning the presence of Arab deterrent forces, Syrian troops in the north of Lebanon, the President said the following to the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* on 14 August 1983:

“It is wrong for those who believe that we will leave Lebanon to be easy prey for the Israelis, because Lebanon is an Arab country with which we have links of common history and common destiny. The problem here is not that of the withdrawal of Syrian troops from

Lebanon. We do not need anyone to persuade us to withdraw our forces. If the United States of America desires the withdrawal of the Syrian troops, it must compel Israel to comply with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 569 (1982) concerning the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. These two resolutions call for withdrawal of Israeli military forces from Lebanese territory forthwith and unconditionally.”

The President of the Syrian Arab Republic added the following, and I want to remind the Lebanese Foreign Minister and the members of the General Assembly of these words:

“We desire a free and effective Lebanon within the Arab framework, a Lebanon free from Israeli invasion and hegemony, a State that can exercise its rights and fulfil its commitments within the Arab framework in the same way as Syria and the other Arab countries.”

336. We see that despite this there is praise for the multinational forces and their role in Lebanon—the role that would create a new Viet Nam and lead to the destruction of Lebanon, Syria and other countries. We emphasize the fact that analyses should be objective, not divorced from the present reality, and such an analysis shows that the civil war in Lebanon has been ended by the agreement signed by Syria and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia with the Government of Lebanon.

337. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I am afraid I did not see anything significant in the statement of the Iraqi representative. Had I known what he was going to say I should probably not have asked to exercise my right of reply. He simply said that we made a futile attempt this morning to discredit the régime of President Saddam Hussein. We believe that our attempt was not futile, but very useful. We had no intention of discrediting a régime which is already so well discredited by its President. He does it very well, so why should we do it? The Iraqi representative said that they are ready to call in a third party to decide who was the aggressor. I understand that an international Islamic tribunal has been formed by some legal personages from different countries. They wanted to see our country and we welcomed them in the same manner as we welcomed the delegation of the Secretary-General. I presume that they are still waiting to hear from President Saddam whether they can see Iraq as well. When that answer is given we shall know whether they are ready to submit the matter to a third party. They will let us know, of course.

338. They also said—of course, this was a big lie—that we have bombarded their civilian quarters. When we claimed that they had bombarded our civilian quarters we invited the Secretary-General's delegation to Iran to see for themselves and to prepare a report. We should be very happy if the Ambassador of Iraq would here and now invite the representatives of the Secretary-General to his country, show them all the evidence and bring out all the bitter facts against us. That would be very, very easy. Why do they not do it?

339. The representative of Iraq said, finally, that he challenges us. We do not challenge them. We just ignore them.

340. Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*Interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to express regret that the Foreign Minister of Lebanon has spoken against my country. He made an unrealistic attempt to give the internal state of Lebanon foreign dimensions.

341. Everybody knows Lebanon's problems and that they have resulted from its signing an agreement with the Zionist entity despite the opposition of the majority of

\*Quoted in English by the speaker.

the Lebanese people. The Lebanese authorities, instead of rectifying the errors and reconsidering that agreement, called in colonial forces to attack and destroy their people after agreeing to occupation by the Zionist entity of one third of Lebanon. After killing a large number of the Lebanese people, they are now trying to put the blame on their Arab brethren.

342. Lebanon must correct the situation it is in as a result of imposing the Lebanese-Zionist agreement. We categorically reject every detail of what the Lebanese Foreign Minister has said.

343. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Iraq has asked to speak again in exercise of his right of reply. May I remind him that his second statement is limited to five minutes.

344. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): Permit me to make one remark first. I wonder whether it really makes any difference if the delegation of Iran is present or absent, because it seems even when they are present they do not listen to what is being said in this particular Hall. I did not say at all that they had engaged in a futile attempt to discredit the régime in my country. What I did say was that in his Friday sermon this morning, the Foreign Minister of Iran engaged in a futile attempt to gain credibility for his discredited régime, only to prove once again its hypocrisy, deception, abuse and defiance.

345. The way in which the mentality of the mullahs twists even what is clearly said to them is indicative of the policy of the régime of the mullahs in Teheran and the way they proceed with their international relations, and the attitude of that régime towards this Organization. That goes for the so-called international Islamic tribunal with their set-up in Teheran, and that also goes for what they claim to have been a lie on our part. They should read the Charter. They are bound by the Charter.

346. Our challenge is still there. We challenge them to submit to the will of the Organization, to the provisions of the Charter and the resolutions adopted in the United Nations.

347. Mr. ABOUASSI (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I simply wish to add that the principles of the withdrawal of foreign troops from illegally occupied territories and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States are two essential principles recognized by the international community. The application of these two principles should ensure that no further involvement in war and destruction will take place in my country.

348. As for Libya, the admission by Colonel Qaddafi of the presence of Libyan troops in Lebanon and his declaration of the willingness of these forces to participate in the war is enough of an answer to what has been said about the war in Lebanon.

349. The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to a statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him pursuant to General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) and on the basis of earlier precedents.

350. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon in his statement this afternoon, which was rather venomous, resorted to a little sugar-coating when he referred to the recommitment of Lebanon to the Palestinians whose presence in Lebanon is legal and reaffirmed that they would enjoy all the rights and privileges provided them by law.

351. However, something has been omitted in his statement. He did not at all say that the presence of the

Palestinians in Lebanon is not by choice of the Palestinians but as the result of an aggression against the Palestinians and their expulsion at the point of the bayonets of the Israelis. What he said about the Palestinians being in Lebanon in the wake of the establishment of Israel is, in a way, true, but it is not the whole truth. I would have expected him to say that they were there as a result of their forced expulsion from their homeland and were seeking a temporary refuge.

352. Be that as it may, the Palestinian presence in Lebanon is regulated through bilateral agreements with the Government of Lebanon, which have been ratified by the Lebanese Parliament and which also refer to the Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon to defend the Palestinians against foreign aggression. Those agreements have been endorsed in the Cairo and Riyadh Protocols. Apparently these things have escaped his memory, and I do not blame him.

353. The Palestinian refugees, we are proud to say, have converted themselves into freedom fighters. They have done this to exercise their right to resistance and their right to return to their homes from which they had been expelled. We would have expected everyone to help us in the exercise of that right and not to put obstacles in our way.

354. The Foreign Minister of Lebanon referred to a letter sent by President Gemayel to Chairman Arafat, asking him for the withdrawal of our armed forces from Lebanon. He reminded us that the PLO had to withdraw its fighters from Lebanon, as our leaders had agreed to do.

355. It is on record in one of the resolutions of the Security Council that in June 1982 the PLO had decided to transfer its armed elements from Beirut in order to spare Beirut further destruction and bloodshed. We honoured our commitment. We were prevented from leaving Beirut from June until the end of August. This explains the further destruction of Beirut by the Israelis, with thousands more of victims. It is not because the Palestinians were there. It is because there was a plan by the Israelis and their lackeys to destroy Beirut and physically eliminate the Palestinian armed elements.

356. I would recall here that on 26 June 1982, the representative of the United States in the Security Council<sup>9</sup> used his veto against a draft resolution calling for a cease-fire in Beirut.<sup>9</sup> He specifically mentioned his reason for the veto was because that draft did not refer to the concept of the elimination of the Palestinian armed elements. When we offered to withdraw in June 1982 we were prevented from doing so because they wanted to eliminate us. As we know, the elimination of human beings is a fascist Nazi doctrine, as the members of the United States delegation have stated in the Security Council.

357. The PLO has withdrawn its troops from Beirut according to its commitment. The result is well known: the genocide at Sabra and Shatila, the murdering of hundreds of our people, innocent women and children. We keep our arms because we have to exercise our right to defend our people and to spare ourselves and the world another holocaust like the one we had in Sabra and Shatila—a criminal act that was glossed over by the international community without even being condemned and without any action taken against the perpetrators or the defenders of the perpetrators of that crime.

358. Chairman Arafat has very clearly expressed to President Gemayel that the PLO is more than willing to sit down to discuss and negotiate with the Lebanese authorities the future of our presence and the presence

of the Palestinians in Lebanon. Until this day we have not received a reply from the Lebanese authorities extending an invitation to us or even responding to our invitation to sit down together and negotiate.

359. I repeat: our presence is regulated by an agreement. A revision of the provisions of that agreement can only come about through a bilateral discussion between the two parties concerned.

360. We are also grateful for the present cease-fire in Lebanon, but would it not have been much better for that cease-fire to have come two weeks ago, through the Security Council, which would then have faced up to its responsibilities? Instead, a cease-fire was concocted outside the Security Council, thus permitting an avoidance of the rule of law and the recourses we have in the United Nations.

361. The Foreign Minister of Lebanon says that the Palestinian problem poses a threat to peace in the Arab East. He knows better. The threat is not posed by the Palestinian problem, but by the Zionist expansionist aims. Has he forgotten that since 1954 Israel has made it very clear that it wants to occupy south Lebanon and appoint a Christian officer—even if he is a major—as their lackey in that area? So he was distorting or misrepresenting history.

362. Naturally one could speak about cause and effect, one could speak about a lot, but time is short.

363. I think the Foreign Minister of Indonesia in his statement said:

“... the key to the preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon is to secure the immediate and total withdrawal of all Israeli forces and the scrupulous observance of non-interference by all outside Powers. This would ... facilitate efforts in encouraging all contending Lebanese factions towards negotiations leading to national reconciliation.” [See *para. 235 above.*]

364. The problem lies also in national reconciliation. Let us admit it; there is a lack of national reconciliation,

but on top of all there is an Israeli presence that prevents that.

365. Finally, I fully agree with him when he referred to the Lebanese dream of leading simple, ordinary lives. That is exactly the dream of the Palestinians; to lead a simple, ordinary life, to return to our cities—this is what we are trying to do. So we appeal to the world to help us return to our cities, to our towns, to our villages, and we hope, finally, that the realization of the dream of the Lebanese will not take as long a time as we the Palestinians have had to wait, not only for the realization of our dreams but for the maintenance and realization of rights, of our inalienable rights in our beautiful and peaceful Palestine. We look forward to having peace in our homeland.

*The meeting rose at 9.15 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *North-South: a program for survival*, report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

<sup>2</sup> *Common Crisis North-South: cooperation for world recovery*, the Brandt Commission 1983 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press).

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943.

<sup>7</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, 2381st meeting*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982*, document S/15255/Rev.2.