



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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear an address by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea. 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. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of Democratic Kampuchea, I have the honour to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly and the conduct of the business of this important session.
3. Your brilliant election is a well-deserved tribute by the international community to you personally, to your country, the Republic of Panama, and its valiant people, and to the whole of Latin America, whose historic contribution to the elaboration and formulation of the noble principles of the Charter and to their defence has constantly had a positive effect on the destiny of the Organization.
4. Allow me to greet the Secretary-General and to convey to him, on behalf of my country and its national coalition Government, our sincere admiration and profound gratitude for his courageous, resolute and clear-sighted action in the service of justice and peace in an uneasy world.
5. Finally, I warmly welcome, on behalf of Democratic Kampuchea, the entry of the sovereign State of Saint Christopher and Nevis into the Organization, and pay a tribute to the States Members of the United Nations which, faithful to the noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, and going against the wind and the tide, support an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea and maintain the rights and legitimacy of our Government within this Assembly. I feel it my duty to state here that the United Nations is the last hope of attacked, oppressed and colonized peoples such as mine, who are the victims of hegemonistic and expansionist Powers.
6. It is to the credit of the United Nations that the General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, continues to see that Democratic Kampuchea receives justice. Some Governments friendly to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam now wish to oust Democratic Kampuchea and replace it by a régime which, as everybody well knows, has been installed in our capital by the Vietnamese army. As all people of good faith have noted, this régime represents only its foreign masters. It consists of mere puppets whose strings are pulled by Hanoi. Is it conceivable that these puppets could become Members of the United Nations?
7. By contrast, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, its Administration and its armed forces have gathered around them, in resistance to the occupiers, all Khmer patriots, men and women, from all sectors and of all ideological or political tendencies.
8. Our Government is not in exile. Its Ministers are working and carrying on the struggle on the national soil of Kampuchea, which at the present time comprises several liberated zones, not only near Thailand's border, but also in the south-west, the north-east and other parts of the country. Our liberated zones are controlled by the armed forces of our tripartite Coalition, whose fighters increase in number year by year. At present they consist of about 60,000 armed men capable of operating far from their bases. Hundreds of thousands of men, women, old people and children live in these zones. At least 300,000 people live near the Thai-Kampuchean border.
9. Those in foreign circles hostile to my Government have asserted that it "controls no territory". I would point out to them that in April and May 1983, at the height of the Vietnamese offensive against our main bases, I received on the national territory of Kampuchea six ambassadors from friendly countries, who presented their credentials to me in the presence of radio and television teams and correspondents from the international press.
10. Foreign personalities who doubt the vitality of our national resistance may, if they wish, accompany me in January 1984 to free Kampuchea to meet our people, our soldiers, our Buddhist monks and our Muslim and Christian compatriots. They will also have the opportunity to witness the arrival in the liberated area of Kampuchea of at least four ambassadors coming from friendly countries to present their credentials to the President of Democratic Kampuchea.
11. It is therefore obvious that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, an important military Power, has not succeeded in taking control of the whole of Kampuchea, despite massive aid from the Soviet Union.
12. I would add that during the last dry season the massive, murderous offensives launched by the Vietnamese army against our bases and our liberated zones met with a military setback. To take revenge for that setback, the enemy attacked our civilian population and massacred a large number of elderly people, women—including pregnant women—and children who could not be evacuated in time from the villages close to the front.
13. The Vietnamese armed forces are, and will remain, incapable of wiping out Kampuchean patriots on Kampuchean soil. If the United Nations were to expel from its midst the Government of a country which is the victim of aggression and which defends with courage its inalienable right to freedom and self-determination that would be tantamount to repudiating its Charter and everything that justifies its existence.
14. I well understand that the United Nations attaches the greatest importance to the problems of underdevelopment, to the painful plight of refugees throughout the

world, to North-South co-operation and to other similar vital problems.

15. In my humble opinion, however, we must not permit a situation in which we cannot see the wood for the trees. The problem of refugees, for instance, cannot be resolved while its root causes, which are primarily political, remain.

16. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], said: "The problem of refugees can be resolved only with a settlement of the root political causes". The question of the Kampuchean refugees cannot be resolved without the settlement of its root problem—the political problem of Kampuchea. If hundreds of thousands of Khmers have sought refuge outside their country, it is clearly because they did not, and do not, support domination by the Vietnamese.

17. Since 1979 the General Assembly has adopted each year, at each of its sessions, just resolutions on Kampuchea. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its allies have rejected those resolutions, despite the fact that they are Members of the Organization and should be the first to respect them conscientiously.

18. At present, the Kingdom of Thailand has to bear the heavy burden of sheltering hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees who obstinately refuse to return to their villages where they would live under Vietnamese domination.

19. Even now, every day dozens of my compatriots fleeing from the Vietnamese occupiers come at great risk to take refuge in the Thai-Kampuchean border areas, thus creating increasingly serious social and economic problems. Those problems are tackled, with boundless devotion and great difficulty, by a number of compassionate countries, in particular Thailand, and various international organizations such as UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNICEF, UNDRO, *Médecins sans Frontières* and other humanitarian organizations.

20. The countries which have taken in the Kampuchean refugees have done their duty nobly, but most of them have let us know that from now on it will be difficult for them to accept any more refugees.

21. The United States of America and France alone have already given shelter to more than 100,000 of our compatriots. Tens of thousands of others have taken refuge in Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, China, Hong Kong, Macao, Japan and Senegal and other countries of Africa. Overall, about one million Kampuchean refugees have been scattered to the four corners of the world or live in the liberated zones of Kampuchea among the local population, which shows that my compatriots absolutely refuse to live under the yoke of Vietnamese colonialism.

22. The propaganda of Hanoi claims that my people reject Sihanouk and his Coalition Government. If that is so, why do Viet Nam, its allies and its friends persist so steadfastly and vehemently in refusing to allow the Kampuchean people to choose freely its own form of government through general elections held under international supervision as advocated by the United Nations? That categorical refusal is irrefutable evidence of the fact that the people and the nation of Kampuchea demand the departure of the Vietnamese and the removal of their puppets and lackeys in Phnom Penh.

23. It is my hope and that of all Kampuchean patriots that at the present session of the General Assembly the

delegations of all countries committed to justice, independence and peace will support my country by voting overwhelmingly in favour of its rebirth as a sovereign, neutral and independent State, free from all foreign occupation.

24. The present situation in Kampuchea is worsening as a result of the fact that in addition to the 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers and the thousands of "technicians" and "advisers" from Hanoi who control a part of our country, there are about 600,000 Vietnamese settlers who have been sent to our country to exploit our lands and rice fields, our villages, forests, lakes, rivers, coasts and other natural resources.

25. That figure of 600,000 Vietnamese settlers dispatched to Kampuchea has been confirmed by our Thai neighbour. At a meeting with the international press at Bangkok, on 16 September 1983, Mr. Jetn Sucharitkul, a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, said that Viet Nam "has sent nearly 600,000 Vietnamese immigrants to settle in Kampuchea."

26. The sending of Vietnamese settlers by the Hanoi Government physically to vietnamize my country has been carried out at a dramatically accelerated rate.

27. The *Nation Review* of Bangkok, on Friday, 11 March 1983, wrote, *inter alia*, the following:

"According to intelligence reports, the migration rate was on the rise last year without any sign that the massive flow would slow down in the near future. With the resettlement of the Vietnamese immigrants in resource-rich areas—some of which, if not all, are their exclusive zone—along the Viet Nam-Kampuchea border, around Tonle Sap and in the capital of Phnom Penh, growing conflicts between them and the local people have been reported, prompting the Heng Samrin régime to issue at least two sets of directives late last year to minimize the conflicts. Still, the announcements, particularly the one released on 10 October, made it clear that the régime would continue to be committed to the policy on the Vietnamese immigrants and 'widening the scope of exchange of views between the two peoples and promoting their connections, which will lead to co-operation and unity of the two countries'.

"Vietnamese troops who defected to the Moulinaka resistance movement on 1 April last year were also quoted as saying that Hanoi was pursuing every available means to get the Vietnamese people resettled in Kampuchea—as many of them as possible."*

28. In addition to that physical vietnamization of Kampuchea, there is an odious cultural vietnamization of the life of our colonized people.

29. Mr. Colin Campbell, who was in Phnom Penh seven months ago, wrote an article on that subject that was published in *The New York Times* on 3 April 1983. He said, among other things, the following:

"More than four years after its invasion of Cambodia, Viet Nam has extended its influence deep into the daily lives of the Cambodian people.

"In the marketplace and the rice field, on the stage, in the classroom, in Government offices and elsewhere, Viet Nam's influence over the Cambodians is far-reaching . . .

. . .
 "Politically, the Vietnamese-installed Government of President Heng Samrin . . . is still deeply dependent

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

for its basic policies and ideology on Vietnamese advisers and Vietnamese patterns.

“[Cambodian] students, when greeted in French by the reporters, appeared not to know the language.

“And since the new Cambodian school system does not offer French, the country’s acquaintance with medical and other technical world literatures would seem to be at an awkward stage.

“The Minister of Education, Pen Navuth, said later in an interview that learning Vietnamese was part of the ‘mutual co-operation’ between the two nations.

“The study of Vietnamese takes place not only in the medical faculty but in all ministries’, he said.

“To date, the books have all been printed in Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon.

“They teach literature and history by . . . praising the long ties between the ‘progressive forces’ of Viet Nam and Cambodia, the unity of Indo-China and its deep friendship with the Soviet Union, and by explaining the ‘two revolutionary tasks’ of Viet Nam and now of Cambodia: the defence and construction of communism.

“The portraits on the library wall are of Marx, Lenin, Heng Samrin and Ho Chi Minh.

“Gratitude towards Viet Nam [is] repeated on the Government radio and amplified morning and night, wherever there are loudspeakers across Cambodia.

“At the Royal Palace . . . young dancers in Cambodia’s national ballet can be seen varying traditional sequences with new ones of a political sort. In one dance, three young women flow onto the stage in the traditional clothes of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

“The flag of international communism serves as the unifying symbol in a performance at the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh. At a park, a plane in a children’s ride bears the Vietnamese flag and the date of the friendship pact between Cambodia and Viet Nam. In the capital, a sober educated Cambodian pulled a Western reporter aside and told him, simply and desperately, that the Vietnamese were ‘very bad’.

“Derogatory Khmer terms for the Vietnamese are heard regularly in private conversations. And a few Cambodian officials are said not to have enjoyed the company of their Vietnamese advisers. The Chief of Staff in 1979 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chea Tra, was said by two defectors to have grown so angry at his Vietnamese adviser that he shot him dead.”*

30. Among the prominent foreign personalities who particularly sympathize with the unspeakable sufferings of the Kampuchean people, I should like to quote Mr. Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, who said the following from this rostrum last week:

“In South-East Asia we are witnesses to ruthless cultural destruction in which the proud Khmers continue to suffer the occupation of their country. A rich and ancient civilization, nurtured patiently over several centuries, is being mercilessly destroyed and the genius of the Khmer people is being regimented out of existence. We are appalled by the lack of concern shown by the world for what has become an endangered

people and a civilization facing extinction. The fact that this sore has festered for eight years does not in any way attenuate the urgency of finding a solution to it. We call for the immediate termination of the foreign occupation of Cambodia, the restoration of its non-aligned status and the re-establishment of the Cambodian people’s right to self-determination in a truly independent country.” [8th meeting, para. 180.]

31. Before touching the last part of my statement, which will be devoted to our foreign policy, I shall quote to you from one of the numerous foreign reports on the vitality and development of our national resistance to the Vietnamese occupation.

32. The following are excerpts from the article entitled “The New Indochina War” by Mr. Al Santoli, author of the book *Everything we had—An Oral History of the Vietnam War*, published by Random House. This article was published in the magazine *The New Republic* on 30 May 1983:

“In the four and a half years since the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in December 1978 . . . they and the puppet government they installed have not won what the Americans used to call the hearts and the minds of the people. Resistance throughout the countryside has been growing considerably . . .

“Despite the presence of 200,000 Soviet-armed and Soviet-advised Vietnamese troops and with little aid from the outside world, each year resistance activities increase, even near the capital and the Vietnamese border. In an eerie echo of earlier wars, the Vietnamese control the day but fear the night. In Phnom Penh and in provincial capitals, early evening curfews are enforced. The current Phnom Penh Government, which calls itself the People’s Republic of Kampuchea . . . depends almost entirely on Vietnamese troops for its survival.

“Except for the terror attacks on civilian camps, this war has not gone well for the Vietnamese. They have suffered tens of thousands of casualties, and officials in Hanoi admit that troop morale has faded. Phanat Nihom camp in Thailand holds hundreds of Vietnamese military deserters. Nguyen Xuan Han, a defector who fought against the Americans in Viet Nam and marched victoriously into Saigon in 1975, told Ronald Yates of the *Chicago Tribune* last May: ‘The war will never end in Cambodia. Instead, the blood of Viet Nam turns the rice paddies red and Cambodia has become Viet Nam’s grave.’ Another Vietnamese, Mr. Pham, said: ‘The Cambodian nationalist soldiers are tough. They believe they are fighting to keep their culture from ending. And they are right. What Hanoi is doing is not according to the socialism I was taught. Instead, it is just killing off our young people.’

“The army of Heng Samrin’s puppet government has tried conscripting men from 14 to 45 years of age and women from 18 to 45. But many defect because they do not want to fight their own people. Those caught trying to flee to resistance-controlled areas have been severely punished by the Vietnamese. Some have been executed . . .”*

33. We sincerely hope that a political solution can be found for the problem of Kampuchea, one in keeping with the just resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on Kampuchea.

34. We call upon the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union to respect those resolutions and to

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

participate in the International Conference on Kampuchea in order to solve this problem for which those two Powers bear the major part of the responsibility in Kampuchea.

35. Viet Nam has never stopped saying that it will withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea when the so-called Chinese threat has disappeared. All honest observers can testify that there is no "Chinese threat" either in my country or near it. The only threat in our region, South-East Asia, comes from the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union.

36. The best guarantee that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea can give to those two Powers is the following. First, our Kampuchea, once completely liberated, will be strictly neutral and non-aligned. Our country will be as neutral in Asia as Switzerland and Austria are in Europe. Secondly, the general elections in Kampuchea will be held under United Nations supervision.

37. In this respect, we approve and will implement point 4 of the Joint Statement by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], circulated recently as a United Nations document [A/38/441], which reads as follows:

"... following the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people must be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through internationally-supervised elections in which all Kampucheans shall participate and all political groups in Kampuchea should be encouraged to work towards the goal of national reconciliation."

38. Thirdly, there will also be reconciliation and friendship with Viet Nam and its allies if they once and for all stop interfering in Kampuchea's internal affairs and respect the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of our country.

39. The struggle for national liberation that is being carried on by our people is inseparable from the struggle of other peoples that are the victims of injustice.

40. However difficult our own situation may be, it is our duty to show our complete solidarity with our valiant brothers.

41. Our most sincere good wishes go to our brothers and sisters of Laos, whose legitimate aspiration is to recover their national independence and freedom.

42. We reiterate our firm support for the Afghan people who have been struggling heroically against Soviet invasion and occupation for about four years. We call for the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, to enable the Afghan people to exercise freely their right to self-determination, and the Afghan State to regain its sovereignty and status as a genuinely non-aligned country.

43. We express once again our unwavering support for the Korean people who, with confidence, courage and tenacity, have been striving for years to establish the conditions necessary for the reunification of their homeland. We reaffirm our strong support for the just, realistic and wise proposals put forward by Marshal Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

44. Our solidarity with the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples struggling to recover all their territories occupied since 1967 has never wavered.

45. We remain convinced that peace and security in the Middle East cannot be re-established without a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Palestinian problem, worked out with the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the legitimate

representative of the Palestinian people and nation. Such a solution can be found only by implementing the relevant United Nations resolutions and the Declaration of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held recently at Geneva.¹

46. Further delay in solving the Palestinian problem can only increase tension in the region. This has been proved by the worsening of the situation in Lebanon. It is urgently necessary that all foreign forces whose deployment in the country is not authorized by the Government of Lebanon withdraw and that the independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon be respected by all States.

47. We earnestly hope that the Lebanese people will be able to resolve their problems without foreign interference and in national harmony.

48. We also hope no less earnestly that genuine reconciliation will soon make it possible to put an end to the bloody war between the two neighbouring, brother countries of Iraq and Iran.

49. We reaffirm our strong solidarity with the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and other African peoples in their just struggle against the racist régime of Pretoria, and we hope that Namibia will soon achieve independence, with territorial integrity.

50. In this respect, allow me to congratulate the Secretary-General on his commendable efforts and initiatives aimed at ensuring the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions on Namibia.

51. The international community is also worried about the situation in the Horn of Africa. In this regard, we support the just stand adopted by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], and the States concerned, aimed at the restoration of peace in that region. We reaffirm our strong solidarity with the people of Somalia, who are waging a valiant and legitimate struggle to safeguard the independence and ensure the territorial integrity of their country.

52. We reaffirm our fraternal support for the people and Government of Chad in the just struggle they are waging to safeguard the territorial integrity and defend the independence, sovereignty and national unity of their land. We hope that the people of Chad soon gain peace by means of national reconciliation, and live in security within the frontiers internationally recognized since the decolonization of their country.

53. Finally, the situation in Central America and the Caribbean remains of concern to the international community owing to the increasing tension that prevails there. We support the sincere efforts and initiatives of the Contadora Group aimed at finding a peaceful solution.

54. In conclusion, I wish the delegations participating in the present session of the General Assembly full success in their noble and important tasks.

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

56. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I congratulate you, Sir, upon your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I feel certain that your intimate knowledge of the United Nations and your wide experience in international matters will contribute to the success of our deliberations. I wish also to express our appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Imre Hollai, who presided with skill and diligence over the work of the Assembly last year.

57. On behalf of my Government I should like to reiterate our full confidence in the Secretary-General. His wisdom and profound experience are invaluable assets for the Organization. We find that the stimulating analysis of the world situation contained in his report to the General Assembly [A/38/I] deserves the most serious consideration.

58. We also welcome the most recent Member, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

59. For several years we have been meeting in an atmosphere of anxiety and desperation. The scope of the nuclear menace to the human race defies our imagination, and yet we see that the level of resources allocated to the arms race has doubled since the first special session on disarmament in 1978. It has now reached the staggering amount of \$800 billion. Ironically, during the same period, the transfer of resources from the developed countries to the developing ones has diminished, both in absolute and relative terms. The awareness of the interdependence which is required to solve global problems is sadly lacking. Tensions, conflicts and preoccupation with narrow national interests dominate the world today. The non-nuclear-weapon countries watch helplessly as the nuclear Powers seem oriented towards a new competition in the arms race. The recourse to force and the threats of the use of force are multiplying. Tens of thousands of people die in armed conflicts every year, and many more are suffering from the devastation and inhumanity engendered by wars.

60. Lebanon is, in this respect, a tragic example. As our attention is focused again on the Middle East, we deeply deplore the events unfolding in that country. The Israeli aggression against Lebanon last year not only has caused vast human losses and untold suffering for the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, but has also created conditions in which it is extremely difficult to restore peace, stability and national unity in Lebanon. Everything possible has to be done to prevent a civil war. We welcome the recent cease-fire and congratulate all those who contributed to it. Effective supervision of this cease-fire is indispensable, and we urge the Security Council to act without delay in this matter.

61. The present situation in Lebanon is without doubt precarious. National reconciliation and the safeguarding of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon require a radical change of attitude on the part of the countries which have the power to influence developments. Lebanon cannot solve its problems under foreign occupation. The Israeli forces should withdraw promptly and in conditions acceptable to Lebanon. The other forces should also evacuate Lebanon. The continuation of the present situation can only lead to fragmentation and the *de facto* partition of Lebanon, with adverse consequences for the peace and security of the Middle East as a whole.

62. While the primary concern is with Lebanon at this stage, we cannot overlook the broader problem of the Middle East. This issue is central for the entire international community. The plight of the Palestinian people epitomizes one of the great injustices of our era. The United Nations has been committed from the very beginning to the creation of a Palestinian State and it cannot acquiesce in the usurpation of Palestinian lands by Israel. In particular, effective pressure should be exercised on Israel to put an end to its policies of modifying the demographic character and the institutional structure of the occupied Arab territories. We condemn these policies, which constitute a major obstacle in the search for a peaceful solution.

63. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held recently at Geneva, identified the main elements on which a viable and just solution of the problem should be based. We believe that the opportunity provided by the balanced approach of this Conference should not be missed. Turkey has repeatedly made clear its firm stand on the question of Palestine. We again express our support for the valiant Palestinian people and the PLO. We continue to believe that a comprehensive, durable and just settlement can only be based on the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, on the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and on the safeguarding of the right of every State in the region to live behind secure and recognized boundaries. There can be no valid negotiating process without the participation of the PLO.

64. It is regrettable that the peace initiatives undertaken last year have lost their momentum. We earnestly hope that they will be revived and vigorously pursued. Yet for any effort to succeed there must be a fundamental change in the mentality of the Government of Israel. No country has the right to seek security by creating conditions of complete insecurity for its neighbours, for the region where it is situated and for the whole world. History has shown that the arrogance of military power is very costly for the countries which indulge in it.

65. Since it started three years ago, the war between Iran and Iraq has been a source of profound concern to us. We deplore the heavy loss of life and the destruction it has caused. Its continuation would only aggravate the threat to peace and security in the region, exacerbate in the long run the elements of destabilization and inflict more suffering and devastation. The two countries, with which we have historical ties of friendship, owe it not only to themselves but to the region as a whole to end this armed conflict as rapidly as possible. Turkey took the view from the very beginning that as a neighbour of both countries it was its duty to maintain strict neutrality in the conflict. We have scrupulously adhered to this line and shall continue to do so in the future. We have also taken part in the multilateral efforts to stop the fighting. We have launched individually numerous appeals to the parties and indicated that we are ready to do whatever we can to help the peace process. We appreciate as well the initiatives of other countries and of the Secretary-General. We consider that new efforts should be undertaken to initiate a substantial and coherent peace mission which would have the support of the international community and the confidence of both Iran and Iraq.

66. We continue to be distressed by the situation in Afghanistan. Out of a population of 15 million, about 5 million Afghans now live as refugees in neighbouring countries. Nothing could better illustrate the fact that the Afghan people reject categorically the foreign domination imposed on them by military intervention. We fully support the efforts of the Secretary-General to obtain a negotiated settlement. Such a settlement should restore Afghanistan's independence as a non-aligned country, enable the Afghan people to exercise their right to self-determination and ensure the withdrawal of foreign troops and the return home of the Afghan refugees. We appreciate the efforts made by the Government of Pakistan to facilitate a peaceful settlement.

67. We feel equally concerned about the stalemate and the dangerous situation in southern Africa. The illegal occupation of Namibia offends the conscience of the world community. The International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris in April, emphasized the common

desire for an early settlement. The efforts made by the Secretary-General during his recent useful visit to South Africa provided a fresh insight into the present situation there and the nature of remaining obstacles to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. As a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Turkey reaffirms its solidarity with the struggle of the people of Namibia for independence under the leadership of SWAPO. Turkey also shares the dismay of the international community about the lack of progress in the fight against *apartheid* in South Africa. The contemptible and inhuman practice of *apartheid* constitutes an affront to mankind.

68. Central America is another region burdened with overt or potential political and economic conflicts. The present serious situation there is a source of particular concern. In fact, any military escalation in the region may have far-reaching consequences for global peace and security. Consequently, we believe that dialogue and negotiations constitute the only sensible way to bring peace and stability to that tormented region. We commend and fully support the recent efforts of the Contadora Group.

69. Kampuchea is another international problem whose parameters have basically remained unchanged. The solution of the problem requires the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and the recognition of the right of its people to self-determination. A search for a just and comprehensive political solution within this framework should be encouraged. In this respect, the efforts of the members of ASEAN are to be highly commended.

70. I would also like to say a few words about the situation on the Korean peninsula. The division of Korea and the problems of the dispersed families have been painful for all Koreans for more than three decades. We believe that the Korean question should be settled peacefully through direct negotiations between the parties concerned, without outside interference. It is our earnest hope that further efforts will be made to start such a dialogue to reduce tension on the peninsula and pave the way for a peaceful settlement of the question in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and so that the national aspirations of the Korean people may be fulfilled.

71. A just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question continues to be one of the principal objectives of our foreign policy. The present Turkish Government has concentrated its attention on a rapid resolution of the question and has always firmly supported the intercommunal negotiating process.

72. The Turkish community has also from the very beginning approached the matter constructively. In August 1981 the Turkish-Cypriot side submitted comprehensive proposals on all aspects of the problem. These proposals included a map indicating the Turkish-Cypriot negotiating position on the territorial aspect. It was in the light of this development that I voiced some optimism from this rostrum at the last session. I indicated that as a result of the sustained efforts of the Secretary-General the intercommunal talks were proceeding within a comprehensive framework encompassing fundamental aspects of the Cyprus problem. At the same time, I expressed some concern by saying:

“The two communities should now intensify their efforts to reshape their relations within a federal structure. They should concentrate their attention on the dialogue. They should not be swayed by the counsel of those who would prefer a continuation of the conflict for their own selfish ends.” [15th meeting, para. 15.]

73. Unfortunately, the Greek-Cypriot side has been swayed by such counsel. Recently they left the negotiating table and requested a debate in the General Assembly, knowing only too well that the Turkish community, because it has no opportunity to address the General Assembly, would feel extremely frustrated. The result was that the good faith created by uninterrupted intercommunal talks since 1980 was seriously eroded. The one-sided, unbalanced, unfair and unrealistic nature of resolution 37/253, adopted on 13 May 1983, served only to increase the resentment of the Turkish-Cypriot people. The Turkish Cypriots rightly reminded world public opinion that they were as much entitled as the Greeks of Cyprus to exercise the right of self-determination. They have so far chosen to exercise this right with the aim of contributing to the creation of a partnership between the two communities within the context of a federal State. But if the other side rejects this partnership, they will have no choice but to reshape their own destiny themselves.

74. The Turkish Government perseveres in its support for a just and lasting settlement of the question through intercommunal negotiations. We hope that the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about the resumption of the intercommunal talks on the existing mutually agreed basis will be successful, despite the misgivings that we feel about the ambivalent attitude of the Greek-Cypriot side which emerged during the recent controversy within the Greek-Cypriot community. When members of his administration and the political parties supporting him question the good faith of the leader of the Greek community, the Turkish community's suspicions and anxieties should come as no surprise.

75. Only a few days ago President Rauf Denktaş informed the Secretary-General that the Turkish-Cypriot side was in favour of the early resumption of the intercommunal talks on the existing mutually agreed basis. Mr. Denktaş also suggested that a new summit meeting between himself and Mr. Kyprianou should be arranged under the auspices of the Secretary-General with a view to paving the way to further progress in the intercommunal talks. This constructive attitude on the part of the Turkish-Cypriot side should be seized as a historic opportunity to achieve a negotiated settlement. We hope that through the efforts of the Secretary-General the early resumption of the intercommunal talks on the existing mutually agreed basis will be possible. In this connection, I wish to reiterate our heartfelt thanks to the Secretary-General for his determined and untiring efforts to bring about a solution to the problem through intercommunal talks.

76. At a time when great efforts are being deployed to put the two communities on the road to dialogue and conciliation, the Greek Government unfortunately adopts a negative stand. Only a few days ago the Foreign Minister of Greece declared from this rostrum [7th meeting] that a political solution to the question of Cyprus was quasi-impossible. He rejected the very basis of the negotiating process under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In doing so, he accused Turkey.

77. Let me say openly that the historical responsibility for what has happened in Cyprus since 1963 rests squarely with Greece. The present conflict has been the result of the constant political and military intervention of Greece and of her ambition to dominate the island. None other than the Greek Prime Minister himself admits this in his book entitled *Democracy at Gunpoint*.² In it Mr. Papandreou gives a detailed account of the clandestine shipment of 20,000 Greek officers and men to Cyprus. That was in 1964. Ten years later, it was the late

Archbishop Makarios who denounced before the Security Council what he called the Greek invasion of Cyprus.

78. During the years preceding 1981 the Greek Government adopted a more restrained attitude and decided to support the intercommunal talks. This position was reversed by Mr. Papandreou's Government. The latest statement of Mr. Haralambopoulos, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, confirms that Greece opposes a negotiated settlement.

79. International terrorism remains a priority concern for Turkey, as it should for the entire international community. This scourge takes a high toll of innocent lives, challenges the internal peace and stability of countries, exacerbates international relations and disrupts the conduct of normal diplomatic activities. Turkey was afflicted by a wave of terrorism prior to 1980. We have been able to eradicate it and in the process have discovered that it has substantial foreign ramifications and strong links with arms-smuggling and drug-trafficking operations. The same underground organizations are engaged in all these activities.

80. Although we have been able to deal effectively with political violence and its related activities within the borders of our country, we continue to face another sort of terrorism, now directed against Turkish targets in other countries by Armenian organizations. This type of terrorism can only be suppressed through international co-operation.

81. I dealt at length last year with Armenian terrorism and the propaganda campaign, based on a gross distortion of history, which is behind it. I am not going to repeat what I said then. Let me only point out that since I spoke last year eight Turkish nationals have been killed and more than 50 wounded as a result of Armenian terrorist attacks in various countries. But the victims were not only Turks; there were also French, Yugoslav, United States, Portuguese and German citizens among the murdered and injured.

82. Some countries have reacted resolutely to such criminal acts. They have understood that only a determined stand can prevent the repetition of such terrorist attacks. As a result, in the past year, six terrorists have died while perpetrating their odious crimes. Some others have been arrested and convicted. A number of Armenian terrorists await trial. In contrast, the countries which have faltered by allowing their territory to be used for activities against other countries, have themselves become the hunting ground for all kinds of terrorism.

83. Armenian terrorism is bringing disgrace and shame to the Armenians throughout the world. Those who publicize and glorify the murder of innocent people, of women and children, are providing the best denial of the unfounded Armenian allegations. They show that history repeats itself and that Armenian extremists are again dominated by the urge to commit large-scale massacres as they did in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We repeat that this violence will lead nowhere and will only bring greater stigma to the Armenians. As we appeal again for greater and more effective international co-operation to combat international terrorism, we also stress that the Armenian militants and those Armenians who support them should overcome their obsession with a myth based on the falsification of history, should stop being oblivious to their own sins, crimes and mistakes and should understand that their political ambitions are nothing but delusions and illusions.

84. The record of the disarmament efforts in the past few years gives us little reason for satisfaction. A mood of pessimism and disillusionment characterizes this

period. The ever-increasing incidence of armed conflicts all over the world aggravates the widespread feeling of insecurity and fuels the arms race.

85. The two major nuclear Powers bear a special responsibility in the field of disarmament. They have a pledge, a moral and legal commitment in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to pursue negotiations on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date. Success or failure in their efforts will determine the future of mankind.

86. Consequently, the current negotiations at Geneva between the United States and the USSR on strategic and intermediate-range nuclear forces hold vital significance for all of us. A breakthrough in these negotiations can change fundamentally the present strained relationship between the East and the West. Therefore, we welcome and support the new United States proposals for the intermediate-range nuclear force talks at Geneva announced to the General Assembly at the beginning of this session [5th meeting]. We sincerely believe that they constitute a very important step and will be instrumental in the elaboration of a fair and equitable agreement in this area. I wish also to express our satisfaction at hearing last night that the new negotiating position referred to as the "build-down" proposal is to be advanced by the United States at the strategic arms reduction talks at Geneva.

87. There has recently been an encouraging development. After three years of negotiations and dedicated efforts the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has reached a successful conclusion at Madrid. The agreement obtained at Madrid in spite of serious obstacles is important. It demonstrates that, even under adverse conditions, understanding and compromise on sensitive issues are still possible.

88. In this context, the loss of innocent lives in the very regrettable incident involving the Korean airliner should be a reminder of the urgent need for collective efforts to reinforce basic rules of safety in civil air traffic with a view to preserving the process of détente from serious and unexpected setbacks.

89. We welcome the agreement reached at Madrid to convene a Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. We believe that the establishment of confidence among States is a prerequisite for the success of any disarmament initiative. That conference will determine in its first stage a set of militarily-significant, binding and verifiable security-building measures. In our view, the conference will be the first comprehensive endeavour in the field of conventional forces with the aim of initiating a gradual process of disarmament. The mutual and balanced force-reduction talks held at Vienna during the last decade have been limited to central Europe. This new conference will cover the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. We believe that it will constitute a realistic and promising undertaking.

90. Turkey has always followed the work of the Committee on Disarmament with utmost interest. We hope that next year that unique multilateral negotiating body will be able to accelerate its deliberations on all its agenda items, particularly, the negotiations on chemical weapons.

91. Regarding the world economy, we are still confronted with grave and complex problems. The world economy continues to be under the influence of recessionary forces. Although we are detecting signs of recovery in some of the major developed countries, the danger

exists that the trend could be only a temporary one. A cyclical upturn cannot be regarded as sufficient.

92. We need to find solutions to the structural elements of the crisis which has acquired unprecedented proportions. The effects of this deep and prolonged recession have been particularly acute in the developing countries and especially in the poorest among them. While their population grows at a rapid pace, many of them face a fall in their gross domestic product and tremendous increases in unemployment. The very low levels of their production and trade, accompanied by stagnant markets and poor returns on their commodity exports, have weakened the capacity of many developing countries to service their growing external debts.

93. Against this difficult and uncertain background, it is no longer possible to limit ourselves to the palliative measures of recent years. Our problems today require long-term solutions based on the reality of interdependence between North and South. Indeed, no one country or group of countries can provide the answers alone.

94. We have witnessed throughout 1983 a number of summit meetings of the developed and developing countries alike. They have all addressed a wide range of world economic issues, such as the resumption of global recovery and expansion, the financing of renewed growth; the assurance of liquidity for the middle-income countries, the financing of development in the low-income countries, and the revitalization of the international trading system. To our disappointment and, I believe, to the disappointment of many others, these efforts have produced very little. The results have failed to bring any visible relief to the world economy.

95. We more than ever need to intensify co-operative efforts among nations and institutions, both public and private, to overcome our common problems. We cannot afford to be paralysed by inaction. A search for concrete measures must go on in each and every forum that has a chance to succeed. We can venture to proceed in two strides—one in the short term, the other in the long term. The first would comprise immediate measures and the other structural adjustments, since the management of interdependence is based on the recognition that both its cyclical and structural aspects are parts of the same whole.

96. In this context, we believe that South-South co-operation, that is, economic co-operation among developing countries, can positively contribute to the process of structural adjustment. Turkey, which is actively involved in economic co-operation on a regional basis, fully supports all realistic efforts that would be instrumental in the enhancement of activities in the field of economic co-operation among developing countries.

97. Finally, the key approach, in our view, would be the revitalization of the North-South dialogue and the establishment of responsiveness to changing needs. Present structures were created by human imagination. They can again be changed by human vision.

98. In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm our strong support for the United Nations and the principles of the Charter. We will persist in upholding these principles in our foreign policy and endeavour to enhance to the maximum extent possible the cause of peace and international co-operation. The inadequacies and deficiencies of the United Nations cannot be attributed to the Organization. They are the result of the lack of political will on the part of Member States. We have to maintain our faith in the United Nations. To do otherwise would mean that we have lost faith in the future of mankind.

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by

Mr. Fernando Schwalb López Aldana, First Vice-President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Peru. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the Assembly.

100. Mr. SCHWALB LÓPEZ ALDANA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the delegation of Peru takes great pleasure in congratulating you most cordially on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly, an election which is a tribute to your personal qualities and merits and a just tribute to the sister Republic of Panama.

101. At the same time, I wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Imre Hollai, whose work at the last session was highly appreciated by the international community. I also wish to extend a warm welcome to the sister republic of Saint Christopher and Nevis on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations.

102. Lastly, I wish to convey to the Secretary-General our esteem for the work which he has done with such wisdom and dedication for the cause of peace, security and international co-operation for development.

103. I wish to make a brief personal digression to say that 20 years ago I was here in this same hall as the Minister for Foreign Affairs under President Fernando Belaúnde, and I had then the same privilege of addressing the General Assembly. If I were asked what was my impression after 20 years, I would say that I was not so inclined to judge things by results, because the work of the United Nations for peace and international justice is permanent and long-lasting. I also see the value of the effort made by the international community to hold a dialogue and an exchange of views without obstacles or impediments in the Organization. This is a valuable contribution to peace, and that is why we have such faith in the United Nations. That is why we believe so much in its endeavours; it is not because of its results—I repeat—but because these assemblies and meetings are a means to dialogue and a means of seeking solutions to difficult problems, motivated by a sincere desire to establish peace and justice in the international community.

104. I wish to begin my statement by reaffirming Peru's unswerving support for the principles of the Charter and its firm belief in the successful outcome of current efforts to make progress and to restore peace where it has been disturbed and to bring about justice where it has been thwarted. The continuity of our foreign policy in this direction and its contribution to the satisfaction of common yearnings are the best testimony of our loyalty to the Charter and our vocation to the service of the ideals of peace and security of the international community. In this respect, we believe that the principles of the legal equality of States, non-intervention and self-determination of peoples, and respect for treaties, are essential for the maintenance of international peace and security. Peru, as a peace-loving country which maintains and desires to maintain the best relations with neighbouring countries and with all countries, will remain faithful to these principles which are inviolate, and will not depart from them at any time or under any circumstances.

105. On the occasion of the celebration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, my country reiterates its full support for the principles enshrined in that Declaration. Peru has approved and applies without any restriction all international instruments which call for respect for human rights and has incorporated them into its own constitutional texts, in order to make sure that they are fully implemented. For this purpose there exist special juridical instruments, procedural mechanisms for recourse and a

tribunal for constitutional guarantees whose task is to restore the provisions of the Political Charter wherever they have been disregarded.

106. We are a democratic country and live in a state of law. The law guarantees the full independence of the branches of power and the periodic succession of Governments through free exercise of the suffrage to elect political authorities, members of the legislature and local government.

107. My country is adversely affected by the international economic crisis and by a succession of natural disasters of unprecedented magnitude. However, the determination of our population to work and to overcome these effects remains intact. The people desire to live in peace in order to redouble their efforts in the task of reconstruction and development. That is why they reject the outrages committed by a group of terrorists who are conspiring against these objectives and who, paradoxically, call themselves the "Shining Path", when in fact they should call themselves the "Dark Path", as they were very properly called by Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

108. The criminal activities of this group which have claimed victims among persons of the most modest social and economic strata, among men and women, old people and children, are concentrated in a zone in the hinterland of my country, representing 2.5 per cent of the national territory.

109. The Government, exercising its constitutional powers and seeking to protect endangered human lives, has been obliged to declare a state of emergency. The forces of order are acting resolutely to counter this threat and are bringing the captured culprits before the judiciary, which, as I have said, is fully independent. Unfortunately, there have been many casualties on both sides in these actions.

110. As a free and democratic country, Peru keeps its doors open to those who wish to come and verify these terrorist deeds for themselves and to draw their own conclusions. In this respect, we find it unacceptable that an organization such as Amnesty International should irresponsibly disseminate fanciful versions of the situation, whose inaccuracy has been reliably demonstrated.

111. We believe that the greater the moral authority claimed by a body that says it is defending human rights, as the above-mentioned organization does, the greater is its obligation to verify the accuracy of its information, so as to avoid making incorrect statements which mislead public opinion to the detriment of the good reputation abroad of a Government which deserves respect because its conduct is in keeping with the Constitution and the law. The defence of human rights does not allow of a double standard. It is not right to remain silent about the crimes of terrorists while denouncing the custodians of public order for fulfilling their duties under the law when they take action against the terrorists for their crimes against civilization.

112. We nations which are the heirs to the legacy of Simón Bolívar celebrated this year the bicentenary of the birth of the Liberator. At the invitation of the President of Venezuela, the Presidents of the Bolivarian republics met at Caracas last July to reaffirm the principles of unity and solidarity bequeathed to our nations by the illustrious Venezuelan.

113. On that occasion, important instruments were signed within the Andean framework. The principal document provides new guidelines at a high political level for the subregional integration programme, in the light of the experience of recent years. On that occasion, the

Presidents declared their interest in the initiatives taken by the President of Peru, Mr. Fernando Belaúnde for the creation of an Andean peso as a unit of account designed to facilitate transactions within the zone, for the establishment of the principle of free transit of persons within the Andean area, and for the linking up of the energy networks and waterways of the continent. The viability of that project was demonstrated by the recent journey of President Belaúnde himself along the rivers which make up the Amazon and Orinoco river basins.

114. For some years now, countries have been making increasingly gloomy assessments of the international situation and increasingly pessimistic predictions about the future. Unfortunately, it must be recognized that there are reasons for this. It is not that the international community is being overwhelmed by alarmist and negative sentiments; it is that it has reached the objective conclusion that the conditions for international understanding are rapidly deteriorating or that efforts to improve them have for various reasons proved fruitless.

115. One important reason for this concern is the critical economic situation of the majority of countries, whose opportunities for development have been largely blocked by the burden of external indebtedness, by protectionist practices, by the shortage of credit on reasonable terms, by the decline in commodity prices, and by the unacceptable inequality of terms of trade. Such a state of affairs is unprecedented in an interdependent world which should be moving swiftly along the path towards international solidarity. Unfortunately the very opposite is happening.

116. Furthermore, there is a lack of will on the part of some States to conduct their foreign relations in a harmonious manner, with respect for the rules that have been established precisely in order to guarantee peaceful and orderly international coexistence.

117. This dangerous situation is a result of hegemonistic leanings and is promoted by the power politics being played with alarming frequency in various parts of the world.

118. It is all too commonplace to hear of violations of the fundamental principles of international coexistence that are explicitly set forth in the founding Charter of the Organization. Instead of conciliatory attitudes, we are met with positions of strength and acts of overt or covert intervention which violate the sovereign equality, independence and sovereignty of States. The principle of self-determination for peoples still under foreign domination is being threatened; responsibilities assumed in solemn commitments are being disregarded; the threat or use of force is resorted to and in some cases goes as far as aggression, invasion and military occupation; *apartheid* and other forms of racial discrimination continue to be practised; fundamental human rights are endlessly violated; the arms race continues; and, there is clearly a lack of determination to join in the effective co-operation which would make possible the justice and the new international economic order so loudly demanded by the majority of nations.

119. Very recently the fragility of the concept of international security was made clear by the shooting down of a Korean Air Lines aircraft. This was a tragedy for the Republic of Korea for other countries and for civil aviation that should never have happened and could have been avoided. Motives of security and national sovereignty, however worthy of respect, should never imply any risk to the lives of passengers or the safety of international air transport.

120. We must recognize that the situation I have been describing affects the survival of mankind, for nothing

and no one can assure us that unresolved or exacerbated crises, or others which could come about in the future, as well as the increasingly immoderate power politics, and our growing inability to settle disputes in a speedy, peaceful and reasonable way, will not give rise to the great conflict from which there will be no return.

121. Thus it is clear that the fundamental theme of our times is international peace and security. But we must not only avoid and resolve situations which endanger international peace and security; we must also try, through collective action, to achieve the goals of the economic and social development to which all the peoples of the world are entitled. If we fail to make rapid progress in this area, peace is in danger. We must therefore shoulder our full responsibilities without delay and with a clear awareness that these responsibilities are not the same for all, even though they are inescapable if we want to guarantee the security of all, which is one of the fundamental purposes of the Organization.

122. My country, motivated by these convictions, aspires to contributing to the work of the Security Council, a task which requires a noble and firm commitment to the purposes of the Organization.

123. The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1] is a document which by the wisdom and profundity of its analysis gives us much food for thought. We fully share his grave concern about the international political situation. We agree with his description of 1983 as a disappointing year in respect of the quest for peace, stability and justice. But we also agree with his view that the United Nations continues to be the best, if not the only, instrument at our disposal for the achievement of those ends. We hope that the Member States, particularly the great Powers with special prerogatives in the Security Council, will shoulder their responsibility at this stage of history and take fully into account the note of alarm sounded by the Secretary-General.

124. Peru shares responsibility for the historic trend that the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has generated in international relations. We attended the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, determined to take part in the search for effective solutions to the problems affecting the security of all countries and the development of the people of the third world.

125. That recent meeting represented a very important milestone in the movement's work. From a genuinely non-aligned and realistic position we made an analysis of the most pressing problems of mankind and appealed to all members of the international community for a joint search for solutions.

126. As a developing, non-aligned, peace-loving country, Peru reiterates its profound belief in the need to limit and control the arms race. This is the obligation of all countries, but some have a greater responsibility in this regard than others. We advocate a firm policy, in this regard, as a serious and sincere contribution to peace that will make it possible to allocate to the priority aims of development part of the colossal financial and technological resources now being devoted to unproductive purposes which pose a threat to the peace of the world.

127. It is for the medium and smaller Powers to act as spokesmen for the moral conscience of mankind, which demands nuclear disarmament and the prohibition of chemical, incendiary and other similar weapons. Similarly, the use of outer space should be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

128. It is Peru's firm conviction that it is possible to find peaceful solutions that will eliminate the grave

tensions in the Central American region. Indeed, we believe that this is essential. Such solutions must be based on a recognition of the economic and social problems that the inhabitants of the region confront, on respect for the sovereignty and independence of the States concerned, that is, non-intervention, on the self-determination of the peoples, and on the agreement and reconciliation of the parties, as advocated by the Contadora Group, which my country resolutely supports.

129. We are therefore very much opposed to turning Central America into a battlefield where alien ideologies can fight it out. We do not want to see the great Powers supplying the weapons and the countries of the area providing the dead in a dispute for which there is no rational justification.

130. Peru supports and will continue to support the legitimate claims of the brother Argentine Republic to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. The situation requires a prompt solution through negotiations, as urged by the international community.

131. As a country linked by many factors, and particularly by geographical factors, to the Antarctic region, Peru reiterates its legitimate interest in everything connected with the problems of that continent and its future use, and will strive to devote to the debate on the matter the attention that it deserves.

132. My country profoundly regrets the persistence of the grave situation in the Middle East. The delay in finding a solution to the problem of Palestine is the cause of the tensions and confrontations in the region. Therefore, we believe that efforts to find a permanent and just settlement must take into account the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence. Similarly, it is indispensable to reaffirm the right of all States of the region to live in peace and security within internationally recognized frontiers.

133. We condemn the intervention in and military use of Lebanon, and call for the full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. We reiterate our support for respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We share the international community's rejection of the continued foreign military occupation of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, two non-aligned, developing countries. We are sure that the Korean question can be resolved by peaceful means by the parties directly concerned. We reject colonialism and all forms of neo-colonialism, and support the just cause of the independence of Namibia, within the framework of United Nations resolutions; we are convinced that the Secretary-General's recent efforts will promote the attainment of that noble objective. We condemn and reject the policy of *apartheid*, which we regard as an inhuman system which runs against the current of history. That view accords with the feelings of our people and article 88 of our Constitution.

134. There appear to be signs of an economic recovery in some developed countries as this year draws to a close. However, these indications of a possible recovery in one sector of the world economy and of a slowing down of inflationary trends have not yet had an impact on the developing countries.

135. It is therefore disturbing to note that policies are still being applied, mainly in the industrialized countries, which act against the recovery of world trade. This can be seen not only in the financial conditions imposed on countries deficient in resources, but also in the protectionist practices which impede the normal flow of trade. Excessive control of financial liquidity because of the

expectation of pronounced fiscal imbalances in capital-exporting countries is keeping interest rates at very high levels. This jeopardizes the development efforts of countries with large foreign debts.

136. Commodity prices remain very low and there are market difficulties, in that external financing for development needs is hard to come by and terms are excessively onerous. In such conditions, how can the developing world overcome its problems? With what resources can it meet its external obligations? Effective forms of co-operation between creditor and debtor countries must be found, because there is a mutual interest in resolving this grave problem. If it is possible to find any positive aspect of the present crisis, it is that it has highlighted more than ever the interdependence of all nations, so that they are all seen to need and to complement one another.

137. Another aspect related to the foregoing is the need to ensure that norms applicable to operational policies of the international financial institutions will be revised on the basis of a consensus among Member countries, which duly takes into account criteria more in keeping with present-day realities. Without that meaning the abandonment of practices of discipline and sound financial and fiscal management, it is advisable that countries in need of funds have easier and more timely access to those sources of easy financing. That would enable them to deal adequately with their immediate problems and to embark upon medium- and long-term development policies with greater assurance. It is urgently necessary to update institutions as useful as those, which were created in earlier times in order to deal with other realities. There is an equally urgent need to provide them with the resources they need to carry out their functions fully.

138. The unification of negotiating criteria for the problem of external indebtedness is an advisable policy in the critical conditions in which the developing countries now find themselves. There are common denominators and individual experiences which should be exchanged for the mutual benefit of those concerned.

139. At the last session of the General Assembly my country raised the question of the need to reach agreement on a co-ordinating programme for the recovery of the world economy, for dealing with the immediate problems of the developing countries and facilitating the recovery of the world economy while directing it towards a sustained growth. The essence of that initiative was embodied in resolution 37/252, the implementation of which we look forward to in the near future.

140. The heads of State of the non-aligned countries, meeting at New Delhi, recognized that never before had the economic destiny of the developed and the developing countries been more closely linked and that the economic revival of the North is quite simply impossible without the survival of the South.

141. Since then the Summit of Industrialized Nations took place at Williamsburg, and we, the developing countries, hoped it would be the other watershed of dialogue and accord. There was also the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, whose results were not only discouraging in a world in crisis as ours is but also inexplicable, given the lack of understanding and political decision on the part of the industrialized nations.

142. Economic co-operation among developing countries, as embodied in the Caracas programme of action,³ is very important. In the present state of affairs, the strengthening of economic and political links among developing countries is imperative.

143. The meeting of the heads of State held on the initiative of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in her capacity as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has just been concluded. My country very strongly endorses the genuine principles which inspired the movement. The informal dialogue that was held with the heads of State and Government present at the meeting leads us to hope that a greater sensitivity towards and a clearer perception of the problems will make possible the adoption of immediate and concrete measures for the well justified and urgent demands of the developing countries and also the development of a common will to initiate global negotiations.

144. Peru, as a coastal State of the eastern Pacific, is convinced of the present and future importance of the Pacific basin, towards which new and visionary expectations on the part of mankind appear to turn. That region is showing economic and political dynamism by virtue of its abundant natural resources, the appearance of new industrial societies and the emergence of numerous States. That is a very large geographic, economic and political area for which we see a promising future. The Pacific Ocean should be a model of peace and co-operation from which nuclear testing and military confrontation would be excluded, and in which all forms of international co-operation and solidarity would be promoted. The area comprises new countries with great expectations. Peru attaches the greatest importance to the efforts being made to achieve a better knowledge of that basin and to identify areas of co-operation. We are establishing diplomatic relations with many countries of the region and are participating in various regional forums, because we believe that the centre of gravity of the world economy is tending to shift towards the Pacific basin. We must seek, from the very outset, to have peace, solidarity and justice implanted there as norms of conduct among the nations of that vast area, as well as in the rest of the world.

145. On behalf of the people and Government of Peru, I should not wish to fail to convey our gratitude for the sympathy and assistance received from the international community on the occasion of the recent natural disasters which devastated large regions of my country. I wish to emphasize the valuable initiative of the Secretary-General in convening a special conference to channel aid to the brother peoples of Bolivia and Ecuador, as well as Peru, in connection with those disasters.

146. We have sought to emphasize some of the principal problems engaging the attention of our Governments, and, therefore, of the Organization, problems which require just and prompt solutions in order to safeguard the international order now in danger, through sincere dialogue and expression of our desire for order and world peace. The persistence of some of those problems casts a shadow over our future, but that should not in any way weaken our faith and our determination to arrive at formulas to attain peace and security, which are the objectives of the international system and which it is the responsibility and duty of all of us to protect.

147. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the First Vice-President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Peru for the important statement he has just made.

148. Mr. HAYDEN (Australia): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you upon your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The experience of Panama—and your personal role in that experience—ensure that you will serve in this high office with distinction.

149. The Australian Government also warmly welcomes Saint Christopher and Nevis, now the 158th Member of the United Nations.

150. In this year's report on the work of the Organization [*ibid.*], the Secretary-General observes that the drive towards an effective, peaceful and more equitable world order has slowed, that the incentive to develop international institutions has weakened, that political will has dissipated.

Mr. Conteh (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

151. He has urged a return to the far-sighted diplomacy of the founding years of the Organization and a recommitment by all of us to the Charter. The regaining of that vision and that commitment has become an urgent responsibility. We must recognize the extent to which we have drawn on the credit and credibility which underlie the whole operation of the United Nations. We must act with a genuine sense of urgency to re-establish the vitality and the authority of the Organization.

152. It is true that millions around the world have better lives—have lives to live—because of the work of the United Nations agencies. It is equally true—and we must accept the consequences—that in the past 38 years a very significant proportion of the world's population has grown up judging the United Nations by what it has not been able to do. They are not just the people predisposed to scoff at the noble aspirations defined at the founding Conference at San Francisco. They include the most passionate believers in the civilized world community for which the United Nations stands. They have suffered too long being deprived of what this body can offer them.

153. We have the Charter. We have the principles. What we lack is the consistent will to implement them—a sufficient commitment to this institution which is the real and only expression of the international community. There are notable achievements on the United Nations record, but we cannot overlook any longer those many unfulfilled expectations.

154. Mr. Evatt, one of the first Presidents of the General Assembly and a distinguished predecessor of mine, sought to guarantee the position of the middle and small Powers because he knew that they would need the United Nations most. He wanted limitations on the use of the veto in the Security Council and enhanced powers for the General Assembly. The importance of these ideas for an effective, participatory United Nations is undiminished.

155. Realistically, Australia accepts that it is not possible to go back literally to the structure and procedures envisaged in the 1940s. While it is true, for example, that the powers given to the Security Council to deter, prevent, punish and terminate aggression were thought practicable then, they are no longer so. Those sections of the Charter providing such powers were based on a great-Power consensus that was always fragile and, in the event, was short-lived.

156. Today the Security Council must operate by persuasion and consent, but it must operate better. A number of suggestions have been made in this regard—most notably by the Secretary-General and by the Governments of the Nordic countries [A/38/271]. It is the earnest hope of the Australian Government that the specific proposals to come forward during this session will be firm and practical, and that they will be acted upon.

157. Obviously, the Security Council is at the nub of any proposition to make the operation of the United Nations more effective, and the crucial element in what happens there is the state of relations between the super-Powers. It is clear to us all, and acknowledged by the

parties themselves, that the relationship is going through a difficult phase. I do not doubt that the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union are aware that a serious mistake or a breakdown in the management of that relationship could destroy us all in this age of nuclear weapons.

158. The United Nations was planned to be a forum for discussion of the major issues of concern to the world. But there is a responsibility we all share—particularly the super-Powers, but also the countries of the North and South, East and West—to avoid undermining this institution by allowing it to become merely another venue for the pursuit of sterile objectives such as bilateral competition between the super-Powers or empty rhetoric by one group making unrealistic demands of another.

159. I appeal to both sides in all earnestness and good faith to pay regard to the wider significance and potential of this single all-embracing institution of the world community. The United Nations is all of us. I do not suggest a retreat from reality, only an effort to minimize the potentially crippling impact upon this body at a time when it is, we have to acknowledge, debilitated.

160. Obviously, the United Nations can never be fully effective without normal relations between the super-Powers. I suggest only that we try to maintain it in the best condition possible until that time arrives.

161. There is one sense in which the super-Powers live in a world exclusive of others. They deal with each other on issues and on a plane that others cannot share. Yet all our destinies are potentially at stake in their relationship. And it is here in the United Nations that we who are not great Powers see our best opportunity to make known our shared concern.

162. It seems to us that these great and threatening tensions arise from fundamental misconceptions. The difficulty is to find adequate means of addressing those fundamentals when there are such compelling distractions in the flow of events within the relationship.

163. There is no ambiguity in Australia's position in the broad picture. We are allied with the United States. We are a democracy. We support democratic institutions and those that share our values. The Australian Government, like Governments of other democracies, expresses the will and the interests of the people who elect us. When the Soviet Union chose to destroy an unarmed Korean airliner we condemned its action in the strongest terms—and that, manifestly, was the feeling of our people. The same was true of the reaction in democratic societies to the invasion of Afghanistan. Democratic Governments reflect their constituencies, or they do not survive. By virtue of that same process, we can assure the Soviets with utter certainty that the people of our democracies have no interest in confrontation.

164. Whatever judgement Soviet leaders may make about the system in the West, they have no justification for a view that it is bent on the destruction of the Soviet people's security and welfare. In their theoretical analysis of the world and their vision of the future, those Soviet leaders must concede a secure and lasting place to the West and to the non-aligned and developing countries. It is not legitimate to seek the subversion and overthrow of these countries.

165. In the West, as we also assess future prospects, we must concede a proper place for the Soviet Union—not only in terms of power but also as defined by the legitimate concerns and aspirations of the Soviet peoples. The extent to which those peoples have suffered in war and invasion—and not only in this century—is something almost beyond the comprehension of most of us. Yet that

experience greatly influences Soviet judgements and policies, and must be understood. To understand is not to exculpate, however, when transgressions of proper international conduct occur.

166. Essentially, I am suggesting that wherever possible, we encourage and assist the super-Powers to moderate antagonisms, to obtain new understandings, perhaps to find new mechanisms for political action and consultation, and that all of us rid ourselves of dangerous stereotypes and misconceptions. The United Nations must be capable of providing some of those mechanisms. Unquestionably, the need is even greater now than at the time of the founding of the Organization. From this distance we may judge that there was excessive enthusiasm then for a body with the authority of a final arbiter. Today, we cannot expect it to be that.

167. Since the fragile consensus of the greater Powers disappeared, the Security Council has had to operate by persuasion and consent—a situation unlikely to change in the near future. Security Council members have a privileged position in the United Nations system. This is even more true of the five permanent members, and especially true of the two super-Powers. It is the view of the Australian Government that additional responsibilities accompany that privilege. The greater the privilege, the greater the responsibility. I hope the Council will begin to look more often to its composition.

168. I am pleased to note the Secretary-General's efforts to work more closely with the Security Council and hope that they will be reciprocated. It may be timely to review the whole body of procedures and mechanisms employed by the Council. Periodic and private meetings of the Security Council, as envisaged in earlier times, could be useful in the present climate. Private meetings may be helpful in developing arrangements for the informal examination of a dispute in its early stages.

169. The habit of having public debates after the fighting has started has not, as a general rule, been beneficial. When the Security Council meets during an outbreak of hostilities, it is difficult not to regard a demand for the cessation of hostilities as a minimum demand. Yet, the truth very often is that the demand is not practical and might anyway give an advantage to the aggressor.

170. One of the trends that has weakened the authority of the United Nations in recent years is the bypassing of the Security Council, usually for one of two reasons: the certainty of a veto or the likelihood of insubstantial action. On the latter point, it is not beyond us to devise a better methodology, taking into account the practical possibilities of information-gathering, United Nations involvement, initiation of discussions or negotiations between the parties and follow-up. As to the veto, valid arguments have been presented frequently for and against it, but it remains with us. In my view, however, we are entitled to expect that those who hold such power will use it with restraint and on the basis of considerations that go beyond mere self-interest. It does not exist to promote immobility.

171. The Charter was designed as a practical instrument as well as a statement of principle and the veto power is one practical recognition that all States are not equal in terms of power. It is a practical reminder that some Members are able to exercise a stronger claim on our attention than others. On the other hand, the Charter created a democracy in the General Assembly. Here, our common interests predominate. The Assembly and the Security Council should be mutually supportive in their relationship. The overall results should provide, for those many countries who need it, the assurance that the highest

priority can be the well-being of their people rather than a costly pursuit of security.

172. To provide this assurance, I suggest, the United Nations must find the capability and the will to mount effective peace-keeping operations. As I stated earlier, the Organization has been notably weakened by being bypassed when such a need arises; yet there can be no expectation of effective United Nations action. Perhaps the most obvious feature of past peace-keeping ventures by the United Nations was that the war was already under way when the peace-keepers were sent. In these times when grass fires can so readily become conflagrations, we must surely think carefully about the scope for more pre-emptive action.

173. Along with remedial action in respect of peace-keeping, there is desperate need for revitalized United Nations activity in the areas of disarmament negotiations and the defence of human rights.

174. A fundamental area of concern to the United Nations and to all decent people is the need for vigilance in the preservation of human rights. The reality is that the United Nations and its Members have made great progress in this field, whether it is defined in terms of fundamental political freedoms, action against racism, action against sexism, or the general development of law and legal practice affecting human rights. But human rights, individually and collectively, are still violated daily. One of the fundamental tests of a principled organization like the United Nations will be its ability to protect the rights of individuals as human beings. Human rights are gravely challenged by deteriorations in economic and political conditions. Seeking to guarantee them in law is essential, but we must stop the common phenomenon of human rights being the first casualty of economic and political difficulty. We must stop this not only because it is wrong, but also because the seeds of a second round of violence are sown when human rights are ignored. Central to the policy of all Governments must be a determination to pursue economic and social policies compatible with the preservation of the rights of the individual.

175. The debate about the right to development, in the United Nations bodies concerned with human rights, is important in the North-South economic debate. We understand that human rights in the absence of economic rights seem hollow to the poor of the world. Poor men, after all, are more impressed with the provision of bread than with the abstract wisdom of Western thought. They are, however, best served when they benefit from both. Similarly, struggling developing nations are more inspired by guaranteed access to export markets, better pricing policies, adequate credit on reasonable terms and a fair flow of investment funds with which to promote their development than by the cold comfort of homilies about the fictitious free flow of market forces in international trade.

176. I have noted the emphasis placed by many speakers on the fragility and dangers inherent in the present international economic situation. The nature of these problems, as well as the need for the rich countries of the world to respond generously—and indeed, in their own interests—to the economic difficulties of the developing nations, including the indebtedness of many third-world countries, is clear. If I can expand on a metaphor of Claude Cheysson, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, which likened the potential economic failure of some developing countries to an aircraft stalling at the point of take-off, I would add that should crash landings occur, they would be in the midst of substantial slabs of developed nations' economies. The effect would be mutually crippling, not only in terms of the impact of

failed major financial institutions, but also as a consequence of the disastrous impact on two-way North-South trade flows. In fact, if we fail to help remedy the economic problems of the developing world, we shall invest deeply and unwisely in policies which may well disable the developed world itself.

177. In these circumstances, the proposals for the new international economic order, the Brandt Commission report⁴ and the principles of the North-South dialogue should command more constructive and determined responses from the developed nations of the world than they have so far been ready to make. Some of the key proposals contain economic and logistical problems, but these difficulties are not reason enough for doing nothing—or, at most, precious little—about them.

178. As a democratic socialist Government, the Government of Australia is firmly committed to working constructively and practically in pursuit of the objectives set down in these various programmes and we wish that there would be an unambiguous declaration of renewed intent on the part of all industrialized nations to work towards these ends. In this way, we feel, the moral compulsions in defence of human rights are directly linked with a demonstrated and genuine concern for economic rights.

179. But nothing threatens human rights, life, or a decent standard of living more than war and armaments. During the last year we have witnessed in all parts of our heterogeneous world a rising voice against the arms race. That voice must be heard, especially by those in government who have the responsibility for making decisions.

180. What is at issue is a fundamental refusal by people all over the world to accept that humanity will be defeated and destroyed by technology. The question is—do we run the machine or does it run us? Will the awful arithmetic of the atomic bomb overwhelm us and destroy us?

181. It is more than a rhetorical comment to say that nuclear weapons represent a genocide of the human spirit. Their destructive power is overwhelming. They represent an expression of the genius of man in science and technology. But to allow the genius to turn against humanity is to admit the final genocide.

182. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report to the General Assembly, the principles of the Charter are no more closely tied to the survival of humanity than in the field of disarmament. Interestingly, he has said that we need a recommitment to those principles. In this single word he has drawn our attention to a fact of vital significance, that is, that the principles are there, they exist in the Charter and that they held a livelier place in our imagination and our actions in the past than they do today. That place must be restored and strengthened. We must recommit ourselves to the maintenance of peace with the lowest possible level of armaments and to disarmament as one of mankind's highest practical goals. The need for this is urgent and this is what the people of the world are telling us. They will not accept that the system is out of control. They will not accept the arms-race mentality. The stakes at issue are far too high and the possibility of error leading to global catastrophe grows daily and in direct proportion to the introduction of every new nuclear-weapon system.

183. The Australian Government is committed to the arms control and disarmament goals of the United Nations, as enshrined both in the Charter and in the substantial fabric of international law that has been developed since the Organization came into existence. That body of law should be developed further and adhered to universally. One of the Australian Government's first

actions following its election was to make policy decisions in the disarmament field which elevated disarmament and arms control goals to the required level of priority within our foreign policy, particularly in relation to our role within the wider world community. It did this motivated by the certain knowledge that this was what the Australian people wanted.

184. Australia is determined that there will be an end to the nuclear arms race and a reduction in the number and kinds of nuclear weapons held by nuclear-weapon States. We are determined that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons shall be strengthened and adhered to universally. Linking these two objectives, we are determined that there should be an end to nuclear testing in all environments for all time. We will seek, with all the vigour possible, an international agreement to ensure that the arms race does not extend to outer space.

185. Nuclear issues are central to the survival of mankind, but people die daily, and in alarming numbers, through the use of conventional weapons. The arms trade is running at some \$700 billion a year. This is a major threat to life and human rights. It provides no security. It is manifestly an illusion to believe that security stems from the barrel of a gun, and the allocation of resources to this trade, instead of to development and the promotion of decent standards of living, is a scandal of monumental proportions.

186. Military budgets must be reduced. The arms trade must be curbed. Action must be taken to stop the black-market trade in arms. Australia believes that these three goals are ideal subjects for negotiation by the United Nations. Accordingly, we will be promoting action on them.

187. Chemical weapons—the so-called poor man's atomic bomb—are abhorrent. Their effects are devastating and inhumane. They are cheap and easily stored. They are ideally suited to the non-industrial world, and they must be outlawed. Australia will try to see an international convention developed that will have this effect.

188. I should like now to turn to several issues of particular concern to Australia.

189. Australia is and will always be a part of the South-East Asian and South Pacific region. We are naturally concerned that a stalemate continues over the Kampuchean question. This perpetuates a situation of instability between the countries of Indo-China and neighbouring countries, in which the immediate victims are the Kampuchean people themselves. Australia favours a political solution in Kampuchea. We do not support any approach based on a continuation of the present military activity. Any resolution of the conflict will need to include such basic requirements as the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and a form of self-determination for the people of that country. Unfortunately I expect no quick solution.

190. With regard to southern Africa, we fully understand the frustration expressed by many delegations that the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia should have been obstructed for so long. It is clear now that the long-delayed independence of Namibia is being held up by extraneous issues not encompassed in the United Nations plan, such as its linkage with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Australia believes that those extraneous issues should not be allowed to impede Namibia's accession to independence.

191. I am also concerned to note that the repugnant system of *apartheid* continues without meaningful modification in South Africa. It is abhorrent to the human

spirit that a State should exercise such blatant discrimination against its own citizens on the basis of race. This in turn sows the seeds of instability as the State continues to find it necessary to suppress the aspirations of those seeking to give expression to their rights.

192. Last year at this time the General Assembly expressed its anguish at the cruel events which had engulfed Lebanon and its people. It is a tragedy that Lebanon is still in the grip of turmoil and conflict. It is more than ever urgent that the conditions be created to enable the Government of Lebanon to assert its authority over its sovereign territory. We welcome the cease-fire as an indispensable first step towards a peaceful settlement. We sincerely hope that all sides in the conflict will be able to meet in a genuine effort to find a solution to Lebanon's internal problems in the knowledge that Lebanon's hopes for the future lie in dialogue.

193. The tragedy of Lebanon has also served to emphasize yet again the continuing and pressing need for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East dispute. For Australia, this means the need to sustain the right of Israel to exist behind secure and recognized borders. That is an absolute commitment. But, equally, it means recognition of the central importance of the Palestinian issue in any settlement. The Australian Government acknowledges the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, including their right, if they so choose, to independence and the possibility of establishing their own independent State. The Australian Government also recognizes that any arrangement finally agreed upon will evolve from processes involving the peoples of the immediate region, including those of Syria and Jordan. The roles and views of the super-Powers cannot be ignored in any such process.

194. Earlier this year I noted, on behalf of the Australian Government, that Indonesia had incorporated East Timor in its territory, and at the same time I expressed our concern that an internationally supervised and accepted act of self-determination had not taken place. Australia notes the decision of the Assembly to defer consideration of the situation in East Timor until the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We hope that Indonesia and Portugal will be able to use the time between now and the next session to reach a lasting settlement of this question, a settlement which will take into account the best interests of the people of East Timor.

195. Tensions in Central America have increased since the last session of General Assembly. Australia believes that solutions to the problems of this region lie in the maintenance of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and in the efforts directed towards domestic reforms and reconciliation. Australia therefore welcomes and supports the important role the countries of the Contadora Group are now playing in seeking to develop a dialogue and a consensus among the countries of the region.

196. Before concluding my statement, I feel obliged to turn to an issue which is on the agenda of the General Assembly for the first time and which is of particular importance to Australia, namely, Antarctica.

197. The Antarctic Treaty⁵ is a uniquely successful international instrument of co-operation. It is a major disarmament agreement and excludes all military activities. It forbids nuclear explosions in Antarctica and prohibits the dumping of nuclear waste. There is a comprehensive system of on-site inspection, with observers being guaranteed freedom of access at any time to all areas of Antarctica. The resulting demilitarization and

denuclearization of the continent—to which the two super-Powers are parties—is of great value to mankind and of specific value to Australia as a neighbouring continent.

198. The Antarctic régime is also an instrument of conservation and management of resources.

199. I should add that the Treaty is not exclusive. Any State may accede, and 28 nations with diverse economic and political interests have already done so. The most recent adherents to the Treaty are India and China.

200. Australia is concerned about the introduction of this matter into the United Nations lest the substantial achievements of the Treaty system be put at risk. The United Nations was created to solve problems, not to create new ones.

201. It is the opinion of the Australian Government that any attempt to negotiate a new international agreement on Antarctica or to renegotiate parts of the Treaty would prove counter-productive and introduce uncertainty and possible instability into a region of hitherto unparalleled international harmony.

202. The United Nations symbolizes and provides the framework for the steady, almost relentless, growth of a sense of world community. This sense of world community is a unique feature of the twentieth century—a product of communications technology, economic development and political consciousness—and this sense of world community will continue to grow with the inevitable increase in interdependence.

203. In this context, the United Nations is absolutely essential. Indeed, its great achievement has been that for almost 40 years now, it has given effective and continuing expression to this new dimension of the community of nations. It has done this in a period of unparalleled change, including the era of decolonization, over which it presided, and major shifts in the disposition of power. To compare the agenda and compass of this body with those of the League of Nations 50 years ago is to appreciate why one has endured and the other could not. The evolution of this essential institution cannot be allowed to falter now.

204. We cannot escape the fact that the process is becoming more and more difficult—not least because this growing sense of world community sits uneasily with the system of nation States that were chosen as the basis of our political system. The inherent tension between notions of untrammelled national interest and a growing sense of world community present our greatest challenge, as individual Governments and as united nations. We face great enough pressures individually; the United Nations must bear the sum of these conflicts and manage them constructively.

205. The alternatives are limited: a world, in a state of perpetual tension, dominated by a handful of great Powers, or a resort to arms that would leave very little future for any of us. These, I remind the Assembly, were the very things the United Nations was created to eliminate.

206. Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): I should like to begin by extending to Mr. Jorge Illueca my sincere felicitations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. It is a tribute to his statesmanship and to the profound respect that he enjoys in the international community for his dedication to the cause of peace and human dignity. It is also an acknowledgement of his great country's role in upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in the advancement of its objectives.

207. I also convey my delegation's sentiments of great esteem to his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of the

Hungarian People's Republic, who guided the work of the thirty-seventh session with such distinction and success.

208. I take this opportunity to greet warmly the Government and people of Saint Christopher and Nevis on the independence of their country and to welcome the entry of this new nation into the international community. Pakistan looks forward to friendly relations with Saint Christopher and Nevis and to fruitful co-operation with it.

209. It gives me great pleasure to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General. He has brought great distinction and wide experience to this high office and his dedicated efforts towards the solution of the problems confronting the international community merit our deepest appreciation.

210. Last year, in his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General deplored the continuing deterioration of the political and security climate and urged the international community to arrest and reverse this trend by adhering to the principles and purposes of the Charter. It is a matter of grave concern that, a year later, the international situation shows no sign of improvement and the Secretary-General has been obliged to repeat his earlier warning in his current report.

211. We are living in a dangerous world of growing nuclear arsenals, increasing tensions and a worsening economic malaise. We are witnessing a regrettable weakening of the resolve of States to settle their disputes in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. There is an alarming increase in the resort to force. Recent violations of the principles of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign States presage a return to the politics of coercion and pressure against less powerful countries. This poses a serious threat to the sovereignty and security of small nations. Equally evident is the inability of smaller nations to act collectively to protect themselves from the competing interests and designs of the great Powers.

212. The failure of détente and the spiralling arms race, particularly in respect of nuclear weapons, the lack of meaningful progress in the dialogue between the super-Powers and attempts to establish new spheres of influence are developments which have brought the world to the brink of catastrophe. The tragic incident of the Korean airliner and the consequent heightening of tension in East-West relations remind us of the real danger of a single incident causing a wider conflict and also the need to exercise restraint in order to avert a major crisis.

213. The economic landscape is equally bleak. It generates its own tensions which, if left unattended, could prove disastrous for the whole world. The industrialized countries must recognize that the demand for the new international economic order is not an anguished plea for charity but represents the legitimate aspirations of hundreds of millions of people.

214. The ravages of global recession have brought into vivid focus the fragility of the existing international economic system and, even more, the interdependence of all economies.

215. The crisis in the international economic system continues to be a cause for profound concern, both on account of its devastating impact on the economies of developing countries and, more importantly, because of the absence of any real indication that the international community is ready for a common endeavour to seek solutions to problems afflicting all nations. All efforts to seek structural adjustments in the system, or to adopt measures required to alleviate the conditions of

the developing countries, have met with stubborn resistance by the developed countries.

216. Several distinguished world leaders have spoken eloquently on the serious consequences of the present economic crisis. The crisis has frustrated the hopes of the countries of the third world for improvement in the quality of life of their peoples and they are faced with large-scale social unrest which could lead to political upheaval.

217. The failure of the international community to act in concert to deal with the situation has served to aggravate it. The near breakdown in the international financing system is either driving the developing nations towards bankruptcy and default or pushing them deeper into debt liabilities from which they cannot recover. The growing debt problem, which is only one aspect of the international economic crisis, demonstrates the failure of existing institutions.

218. The goal of a new international economic order remains as distant as ever. This is evident from the desultory action in implementing the provisions of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56]. Furthermore, while we have heard many statements expressing a commitment to launch global negotiations, no meaningful development has taken place in this vital area. Successive initiatives to start a dialogue aimed at resolving the crisis in the global economic system have suffered a similar fate.

219. It would be naïve to assume that the signs of recovery visible in some of the industrialized nations represent indications of an upturn in the world economy. While this trend may be welcome, it cannot by itself resolve the problems of the global economic system, and its impact on the economies of the developing countries would be negligible and too slow. On the other hand, the slightest downward trend in the economies of the developed countries violently and disproportionately affects the economies of the developing countries which do not possess the resilience to withstand vicissitudes in the economic situation of the developed world. The quest for the new international economic order envisages a restructuring which is not aimed at the disruption of the economies of the North, but at providing the developing countries with ways and means to contribute effectively to a just and healthy international economic environment that would prove equally beneficial to the developed countries.

220. The interdependence of the world today is so great that it is no longer possible to compartmentalize recovery on the basis of restrictive national needs. The nations of the South as well as the North must seek a more equitable and just system that promotes socio-economic development for all, instead of accentuating existing inequalities. It was to be hoped that the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would have directed its efforts to redressing some of the more pressing problems, but, unfortunately, the results have served to heighten differences and disparities. The stalemate in global negotiations is heading towards a self-perpetuating deadlock. The international community can no longer afford to remain preoccupied with voicing their respective grievances. Mutual recriminations must give way to reconciliation. The time has come for speedy and decisive action. We may not expect to achieve everything in one step, but the North and South together must make a start in dealing with these complex issues.

221. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in March, the President of Pakistan suggested the elements of global

economic co-operation which could combat the crisis confronting the world economy.

222. First, for the revival of the North and the survival of the South, the developed countries which have material and technological superiority over the developing countries should collectively dismantle all barriers to free trade.

223. Secondly, for resolving the gigantic problem of international debt that affects the North as well as the South, the two should evolve by common agreement an orderly and equitable system of debt management.

224. Thirdly, the South should accept the need for better economic management and efficient utilization of its own natural resources. It must increasingly mobilize its own creative energies, both on a national and on a collective basis, and for this purpose prepare a concrete blueprint for South-South co-operation.

225. Fourthly, it is necessary that all countries give full support to the concept of multilateralism and to increasing the capacity of the international financial institutions to enable them to play a more effective role in initiating world economic recovery and in accelerating the economic advance of the developing countries.

226. Fifthly, in view of the huge and urgent needs of the developing countries for energy investment, serious consideration must be given to setting up arrangements encompassing contributions from Governments, private banks, and suppliers of equipment for financing the capital-intensive and technologically-complex projects in the energy sector.

227. These are some of the measures which, in our view, can go a long way in helping a transition towards a more equitable system of global economic relations.

228. Peace and security are basic elements for the progress of mankind. After witnessing two destructive world wars in this century, humanity cannot afford a third conflict. But unfortunately the international political climate is marred by a growing turbulence, and world peace and security, the fundamental objectives of the United Nations, are being increasingly threatened through blatant violations of the sovereignty and independence of small States.

229. The unresolved Middle East problem constitutes the most serious obstacle to world peace. It is a threat that can, at any time, lead to a major catastrophe. It is also the saga of resolute determination by the brave Palestinian people not to be subdued by the might of Israeli arms. The recent history of the Middle East is one of continuing aggression by Israel against the Palestinian and Arab peoples, the latest victim being Lebanon, whose sovereignty and territorial integrity have been flagrantly violated in utter disregard of all principles of international law and conduct. We believe that any durable and lasting solution to the Middle East problem must ensure Israeli evacuation from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and must restore the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in their own homeland.

230. History has repeatedly demonstrated that oppression cannot endure. A valiant and determined people invariably defeat their oppressors. The future will confirm the lessons of the past. We salute the courageous Palestinian people who, through their undaunted heroism and sacrifice, have provided eloquent testimony to the justice of their cause.

231. We would also like to pay tribute to the sagacity and wisdom of the Arab leaders who came out with far-reaching proposals in the Fez plan⁶, which contained a

comprehensive framework and provided a major initiative for the attainment of peace in this strife-torn region. The Arab heads of State thus demonstrated, yet again, the willingness of the Arab world and the Palestinian people to attain peace with dignity and honour. Israeli rejection of the plan has only served to confirm once again its aggressive and expansionist policies.

232. In our immediate neighbourhood, a small independent non-aligned State, Afghanistan, has been subjected to foreign military intervention. True to their traditions, the people of Afghanistan have, by their indomitable courage, demonstrated that massive force cannot vanquish a people determined to preserve their independence and identity. For four years now, their tenacious resistance has continued with sustained intensity throughout the length and breadth of the country. Yet they also look to the international community to ensure respect for the sacrosanct principles of non-use of force and non-intervention in international relations and to help them regain their sovereignty and freedom.

233. A direct and tragic consequence of the foreign military intervention in Afghanistan is the continuing exodus to neighbouring countries of millions of helpless men, women and children, who have been forced to flee from oppression at home and to seek shelter abroad. Nearly three million Afghans have sought refuge in Pakistan. This has placed an enormous burden on our limited resources, but we have willingly accepted it as our Islamic and humanitarian duty. We are grateful to international organizations and friendly Governments that are assisting us in this task. We do, however, look forward to the day when these Afghan refugees can return to their own country without fear of persecution and in conditions of safety and honour.

234. As a country directly affected by the crisis nearby, Pakistan has a vital interest in a peaceful solution of the Afghanistan problem. The essential elements of a peaceful settlement are: the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan; the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever; and the creation of necessary conditions to enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honour. This is the framework that has received the overwhelming support of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations itself. It is within these parameters that Pakistan is engaged in sincere efforts to achieve a political settlement of the Afghanistan problem and is participating in the process of indirect negotiations through the intermediary of the personal representative of the Secretary-General.

235. From the very beginning, we have participated in these negotiations with sincerity and a deep commitment to finding a peaceful political solution. We seek a comprehensive settlement based on the principles endorsed by the international community. Our primary purpose is to uphold these principles, not to apportion blame. During the last year, through an intensive negotiating process, substantial progress has been made in identifying the elements of such a comprehensive settlement and in elaborating the interrelationships among them. A number of crucial issues, particularly the time frame for withdrawal of foreign troops, remain to be solved, and we must hope that further negotiations in the coming months will result in satisfactory agreement on them.

236. We fully endorse the Secretary-General's assessment that valuable and indispensable work has been accomplished during the past year. We must build on that. Pakistan, for its part, remains committed to the diplomatic process initiated with so much wisdom and statesmanship by the Secretary-General. I wish to assure him of our determination to pursue it in a positive and constructive spirit and to co-operate fully with the untiring efforts of his personal representative, Mr. Cordovez.

237. The conflict between Iran and Iraq, which has drained the precious human and material resources of those two States, remains a matter of deep concern and anxiety to the people of Pakistan. The war not only poses a serious threat to the stability of the entire region but could, in the long run, lead to outside involvement, the consequences of which would be grave and far-reaching. We have, therefore, spared no effort to facilitate an early cessation of hostilities and have participated in and extended full support to all initiatives, including those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, to bring this tragic war to a speedy end.

238. In the same quest for peace and stability, we have been sincerely and steadfastly pursuing efforts to improve the climate of relations in the South Asian region and, in particular, between Pakistan and India. We are determined to work towards a future different from the past. With trust and confidence, we can gradually build an edifice of permanent peace based on mutual regard for sovereignty and independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Such a relationship, based on reciprocal restraint towards and recognition of each other's sensitivities, would be in consonance with the aspirations of our peoples, who seek peaceful relations and good-neighbourliness in order to enable them to devote their energies single-mindedly to resolving the monumental problems of poverty and ignorance. In the same spirit, we seek a just settlement of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir, which would remove the last hurdle in the way of full normalization of relations between the two countries.

239. In the context of South Asia, I am happy to report that the seven countries of the region have systematically embarked upon expanding regional co-operation, which is now institutionalized through the important decisions taken at the meetings of the foreign ministers of those countries at New Delhi last August. It is our hope that South Asian regional co-operation will flourish in an atmosphere of mutual confidence which can be generated only by a strict respect for one another's sovereignty and independence and non-interference in internal affairs.

240. The crises and conflicts in our region highlight the relevance of the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and its quintessence, namely the peace and security of the entire region, in which the peoples of the region could devote their energies to building a life of freedom, dignity and progress. We recognize that the proposed conference on the Indian Ocean could become a landmark in our endeavours for the realization of the concept of the peace zone. We believe that the success of the conference can be ensured only through a solemn commitment of the countries of the region to mutual co-operation to resist threats against their security. Similarly, it would be a travesty of the concept if the regional States limited their concerns to outside Powers and remained unwilling to order their own relations on the basis of mutual respect and non-use of force. The issues of peace and security are at the heart of the peace zone concept, which, in the first instance, must be addressed by the regional States in an open-minded and flexible manner.

241. Effects of use of force and military interventions reach far beyond the areas of their occurrence. Accordingly, our concern for peace is not restricted to our vicinity or our region; we are opposed to the use of force, whether it be in Kampuchea, where outside intervention has prevented the people of that country from exercising their right to shape their own future, in the conflict over the South Atlantic, the threat of intervention in Central America or the circumstances of war and intervention in Chad.

242. In the case of Kampuchea, under the pretext of rectifying earlier violations of human rights in that country a régime has been imposed on the people of that country by force of foreign arms. The international community must not brook such violations. Attempts by powerful States to dominate smaller neighbours inevitably lead to conflict and aggravate international tensions. The General Assembly must call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea to enable its people to determine their own destiny.

243. From its very inception Pakistan has been in the forefront of anti-colonial struggles the world over and we are firmly committed to the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism. We also condemn the abhorrent practice of *apartheid*, which is an affront to human dignity.

244. The international community must give unqualified and total support to the just struggle of the people of Namibia and Azania for self-determination and independence. South Africa, emboldened by a vast military machine which is augmented by the resources available to it from some countries of the West, remains adamant in its refusal to transfer power peacefully to the people of Namibia, and is demanding the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a pre-condition for the independence of Namibia. The General Assembly, the Non-Aligned Movement and, most recently, the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence have categorically rejected any linkage between the independence of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, which is a question that is entirely extraneous to this issue. We fully support this position. The contact group of Western countries bears a solemn responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

245. Pakistan will continue to extend total support to the people of Namibia, led by their sole and authentic liberation movement, SWAPO, as well as to the front-line States which have suffered at the hands of South African aggression. The United Nations must take effective measures, including the imposition of military and economic sanctions, against Pretoria to ensure the early independence of Namibia and the attainment by the people of Azania of their inherent right to self-rule.

246. I must touch upon an issue which has a direct bearing on the survival of human civilization. The immense and pervasive threat to mankind posed by the lethal and awesome nuclear arsenals possessed by the nuclear-weapon States is all too evident. Over the years, the United Nations has accumulated an extensive and valuable body of thought and principles on issues relevant to disarmament, although its deliberations still fall short of offering a blueprint. An attempt to outline a comprehensive programme for disarmament at the second special session devoted to disarmament ended in failure, highlighting disagreements, despite the professed urgency attached to the adoption of such a programme.

247. Pakistan believes in an all-embracing approach to disarmament. For us, efforts at the global level, at the

regional level and on the bilateral plane are all complementary and deserve to be advanced wherever circumstances permit. Similarly, we attach value to both long-term and interim measures. We have therefore supported the general ideas of the concept of the freezing and prohibition of nuclear weapons, the strategic arms reduction talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace, and security guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States.

248. Two elements stand out in our perception of disarmament. First, we find an intrinsic correlation between progress towards disarmament and the international political situation. Goals of disarmament cannot be achieved in a political environment devoid of mutual confidence and vitiated by tensions and instances of breaches of peace. Secondly, no moral, ideological or political explanation is sufficiently convincing to justify the diversion of colossal human and global resources to improving and augmenting the formidable existing nuclear and conventional arsenals, which are already capable of destroying all life on Earth.

249. Disarmament, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons, has become an absolute and urgent necessity. The pressing task which confronts the international community is to seek the reversal of the arms race and ultimately to bring about the complete elimination of these instruments of global suicide. The nuclear Powers must be persuaded to desist from the production of these weapons and to channel the vast and invaluable resources so released towards the economic development and well-being of all mankind.

250. There is no choice between peace and war, co-operation and conflict, development and destruction. We must surmount our prejudices and fears. What has taken so long to build must not be allowed to perish in a moment of doubt.

251. I should like to take this opportunity to renew my country's pledge to the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and to reiterate our resolve to persist in our endeavours to promote amity, goodwill and friendship with all nations of the world.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *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.

² Andreas Papandreou, *Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front* (London, Deutsch, 1971).

³ Adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

⁴ *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).

⁵ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.