



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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will hear an address by Commander-in-Chief Samuel K. Doe, head of State and Chairman of the People's Redemption Council of the Republic of Liberia. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. DOE (Liberia): We live in a world of constant transformation, where even the ideals that motivate mankind have been rapidly changing. Yet those visions of national identity, freedom, justice and equality and the aspiration to a better standard of living tend more and more to dominate the human horizon.

3. My own country, the Republic of Liberia, grew out of these compelling human hopes and aspirations. However, the expression of these aspirations has become increasingly frustrated over the years. Thus it was not by accident that, three years ago, the enlisted men and women of the armed forces of Liberia ushered in our popular revolution. Our primary objective has been the building of a new society based on justice, equality, freedom and equal opportunity for all of our citizens.

4. We note that the historical antagonism between the settlers and indigenous elements manifested itself at the onset of the revolution. However, we have always kept in focus the need to narrow the economic and social disparities within Liberian society and to promote genuine national unity.

5. Barely three years after coming to power we can proudly boast of having no political prisoners in our country. We have endeavoured to pursue conscientiously a policy which guards against the abuse of human rights.

6. We now stand proudly at the dawn of a national rebirth, as we have moved steadily ahead in our constitutional process for a return of the country to civilian rule in 1985.

7. Looking forward to a new era of confidence and accommodation at home, I appear before the Assembly today as the first indigenous head of State of the Republic of Liberia, a country which has stood for over a century as the symbol of Africa's invincible soul and the flame of Africa's resurgence.

8. We have come with pride to speak not of conflict but of reconciliation; not of division, but of unity; not of hatred but of love; not of war but of peace; not of action based on self-interest but of genuine co-operation based on a vision of global development.

9. Our presence here is a reflection of our profound sense of the historical significance of Liberia's role in world affairs. For in the span of time since we assumed

power, we have experienced dramatic civil stress and economic frustrations, yet we have realized tremendous national success.

10. Our people have made significant advances from the grip of servitude on to frontiers of dignity, from the deep paths of exploitation on to the councils of human upliftment. However, we do not see this new emergence only as the attainment of an inheritance long denied; we see it also as a challenge to rekindle that vision which united the various elements of the Liberian population over 130 years ago. All of our people have, therefore, been propelled to rise from a state of slumber to make a truly unique Liberian contribution to international peace and understanding in a troubled world. There is a new momentum of activity within our embrace, born of uncertainties but crowned with opportunities. We shall strive for unity at home, solidarity in Africa and peace throughout the world.

11. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we extend a hearty welcome to the State of Saint Christopher and Nevis, which has been admitted to the Organization as the 158th Member.

12. We wish to express to Mr. Jorge Illueca, a distinguished son of Panama, sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the Assembly. His outstanding ability and his vast experience as a diplomat and statesman assure us that under his leadership the Assembly will face up to the great challenge of promoting peace and protecting the welfare of mankind everywhere.

13. We wish to record a well-deserved tribute also to his outstanding predecessor, who presided with such wisdom over the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His performance won for him the great approbation and esteem of all.

14. At the same time, we express commendation to the Secretary-General for the very effective and conscientious manner in which he has performed his duties since his election. We urge that he be given all necessary support in his efforts to reorganize and strengthen our cherished Organization. Let me reaffirm the continued support and co-operation of the Government of Liberia as he performs his duties.

15. The search for peace, the most important mission of this great Organization, remains a major preoccupation of mankind. Yet, reflecting upon events of the recent past, we must make the sad admission that peace continues to elude us. Violence and terrorism, undeclared war and rumours of war, social injustices and fanatic actions undermine the restraint and moderation which should characterize contemporary international relations.

16. The shooting down of an unarmed Korean commercial aircraft by the Soviet Union, killing all 269 passengers and crew members, is a cruel act against humanity. It is in contravention of established and accepted rules of international law and civil aviation regulations. Such action reflects a sad spectre of the dangerous extent to which order and harmony in inter-State relations have eroded.

17. Our world map is checkered with flashpoints and areas of tension.

18. In Africa, Chadians are locked in a bitter civil war, aided by those bent on subverting the sovereignty of that African State.

19. In southern Africa, the diabolical system of *apartheid* still survives, while the national independence of Namibia is being delayed by South Africa's intransigence.

20. In the Middle East, hopes for the reconstruction of Lebanon and the full restoration of Lebanese sovereignty are being frustrated by the renewed intensification of fighting, principally among the Lebanese themselves. This situation poses a dangerous threat to world peace and stability. We are therefore pleased by the news of the cease-fire just announced in Lebanon. We congratulate President Gemayel, the Lebanese people, the Saudis, and all other parties concerned on this development. We hope it will be the beginning of permanent peace in that war-torn country.

21. Nevertheless, the Iran-Iraq war continues, now in its third year. Already, untold numbers of men, women and children have perished, and billions of dollars' worth of property have been lost in that senseless and protracted conflict.

22. In Asia, the people of Afghanistan continue to wage a valiant struggle for their freedom and independence from foreign domination.

23. Also, a just and lasting political settlement has not been found to the problem of Kampuchea, and the sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of that country remain compromised by the presence of foreign troops.

24. In Latin America, the situations in El Salvador and Nicaragua continue to undermine peace and stability in that region.

25. These developments point to a disquieting trend in international relations. If unchecked, they could lead towards a global disaster with the potential of causing greater horrors and sufferings for mankind.

26. We must realize that terror and intransigence are inimical to productive interdependence; we must utilize our precious and limited resources for the good of mankind, rather than for the promotion of conflict and violence.

27. The voice of Liberia, the oldest independent African Republic, singularly rang out for many years, from these very halls, pleading for freedom and liberation for Africans and all peoples still under colonial domination. We therefore feel it incumbent upon us to call again on the international community to give every support to the freedom fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and to speed up the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for the independence of Namibia.

28. With respect to the Middle East, my Government recently took the decision to resume diplomatic relations with the State of Israel, at the ambassadorial level. In 1973, Liberia felt obliged to join other member States of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in severing relations with Israel, in solidarity with Egypt, a member of the OAU whose territory had been forcibly occupied by Israel. That decision was taken because of our strong opposition to the acquisition of territory by force of arms and in consideration of our role as a member of the OAU. We believe that the condition for a continued break in relations with Israel no longer exists. The occupied Egyptian territory has been restored to Egyptian sovereignty—significantly, through negotiations between Egypt and

Israel. The two countries have, further, established diplomatic relations and have exchanged ambassadors. Thus, we believe that a policy of the continued isolation of Israel is no longer useful in the search for peace in the Middle East.

29. We are convinced that it is now time to start a new momentum for peace in that region.

30. Thus, during our visit to the State of Israel last month, we told our hosts of the need for a decisive move towards mutual recognition on the part of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. We also expressed the conviction that, in order to achieve a lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem, the terms of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) must be fully implemented. If genuine peace is to be achieved in the Middle East, we believe that due recognition must be given to the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a State of their own.

31. We live in a rapidly changing world. We therefore cannot and must not take refuge in the buried past. With new expressions of modern anxieties, we cannot and must not take comfort in a complacent present. We must not allow ourselves to be held to ransom by hatred, mistrust and suspicion. Let us keep our perspective towards the building of a more dynamic future, responsive to living realities, not hopeless illusions. It must be a future which is more realistic, with positive responses, not threatening consequences.

32. It is encouraging to note from recent reports that there are positive signs of a recovery by the industrial economies. However, we reject the notion that such a recovery, by itself, can lead the world economy out of the present crisis. We are convinced that the problems of the present world economic system are structural in nature and require determined and concerted global solutions.

33. It was in this connection that my Government expressed dismay at the less than satisfactory outcome of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which convened at Belgrade in June this year.

34. Therefore, in the spirit of the Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983 [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2], and the Buenos Aires Platform of the Group of 77,¹ we urge the Assembly to take the necessary action for the launching of the global round of negotiations.

35. Meanwhile, we insist on the adoption of a programme of immediate measures in areas of critical importance to the developing countries, including finance, trade, raw materials, energy and food, in order to stimulate economic growth in those countries. At the same time, we urge the continued intensification of efforts for South-South co-operation within the framework of collective self-reliance.

36. In this increasingly interdependent world, the economic development and political stability of developed and developing countries have become inter-linked. Development requires an atmosphere of peace, but peace cannot be maintained for long when there is a widening gap between an affluent few and a vast majority that survives on the edge of poverty and deprivation. Thus we cannot over-emphasize the urgent need to halt the arms race and divert needed resources to constructive use for the betterment of mankind.

37. When we assumed power, the Liberian economy was in shambles. We inherited a staggering debt burden where funds borrowed were invested largely in unproductive and prestigious projects. Also, many of the loans

were obtained on short-term commercial arrangements. In addition, there has been a collapse of demand in world markets for Liberia's principal export products, while the country has also experienced a flight of capital. With overall stagnation, a decline in economic activity, critically rising unemployment, decreasing revenue and an increasing fuel import bill, the country lacks the means to pay for essential imports of food and other commodities. Moreover, the country has very little infrastructure, inadequate housing, a poor health delivery system and a very high illiteracy rate. It is against that background that we have appealed to the international community for urgently needed assistance.

38. We wish, on behalf of the People's Redemption Council, the Government and people of the Republic of Liberia, to express deep appreciation to all those Member States of this world body that have responded positively to our appeal. We should also like to thank the World Bank, UNDP and all international organizations and institutions for their assistance. For our part, we have felt that the recovery of our economy and the development of our country are first and foremost the responsibility of every Liberian. We view external assistance only as a means to supplement our own efforts. Thus, we have instituted drastic cost-saving and revenue-generating measures. In spite of those measures, the economic situation of Liberia remains critical.

39. In recognition of the magnitude of our economic problem, the General Assembly, at its thirty-sixth session, adopted resolution 36/207 requesting the Secretary-General, among other things, to dispatch an inter-agency mission to Liberia. The mission was sent in March 1982 and produced a report describing Liberia's immediate needs for financial assistance.² It also emphasized the critical requirements for rehabilitating and consolidating the Liberian economy and strengthening its infrastructure.

40. At its thirty-seventh session the General Assembly, on the basis of the report, adopted a follow-up resolution [37/149] calling for the convening of a roundtable conference of donors for Liberia. The conference is scheduled to take place from 24 to 27 October 1983 at Geneva, under the auspices of UNDP. A document for participants in the conference has been prepared by UNDP in collaboration with the Liberian Government. It indicates that over the next three financial years, total aid disbursement requirements will amount to \$975 million. Of that amount, \$356 million will be needed for direct balance of payments support. The rest will go towards public investment and technical assistance to stimulate renewed economic activity.

41. We express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and the members of the inter-agency mission, who have contributed to the organization of this conference. We also extend appreciation to all friendly Governments, donor agencies and institutions for their assistance in this undertaking.

42. We now extend a sincere invitation and indeed appeal to members of the international community fully to participate in the conference and help us arrest the downward trend in the Liberian economy.

43. I could not conclude this intervention without reaffirming my country's commitment to the principles and goals of the United Nations. As a founding Member, Liberia remains convinced of the soundness of its guiding principles and ideals. Whatever its weaknesses, we believe it is our best hope for world peace and security. It is the

duty of each of us, its Member States, to ensure that the United Nations system works.

44. In this connection, we wish to express our concern over the manner in which the veto is used by the big Powers in the Security Council. The exercise of the veto was intended to provide a system of checks and balances and to preserve the integrity of the Organization. However, it has often been misused by the major Powers to enhance their own self-interest. This situation tends to prevent the vast majority of Member States from effectively participating in the decision-making process of that important organ of the United Nations. It seems to reduce the rest of us in the world body to the status of mere observers, with only a voice but no vote. We therefore call for an urgent review of the veto power and a reformation of the decision-making process in the Security Council.

45. Liberia will continue to pursue a foreign policy designed to foster international peace and goodwill. We shall not relent in our support of the drive to put the scarce resources of the world to positive and constructive use and harness its energies, through unity and reconciliation among people, through accommodation and co-operation among nations, through the practice of love and the pursuit of peace, for the building of a more prosperous and just world order.

46. Let us, at this session, take a step in this direction by producing decisions and resolutions that will be geared towards rolling back the ever-expanding wasteland of poverty, misery and deprivation in our world.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the head of State and Chairman of the People's Redemption Council of the Republic of Liberia for the important statement he has just made.

48. Mr. AGUIRRE LANARI (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you upon your election to your high office at the present session of the General Assembly. I am sure that your contribution as President will be invaluable in ensuring our success in carrying out the tasks entrusted to us, especially in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which you have yourself so often defended in your capacity as a representative of your country in this forum and in the Security Council.

49. Furthermore, my country wishes to congratulate, through you, the friendly sister nation of Panama, with which it is linked by a close and fruitful relationship based upon historical, cultural and political ties that indicate a joint Latin American destiny of sovereignty, development, justice and peace.

50. Nor can I fail at this time to take note of the outstanding performance of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary, Mr. Imre Hollai, and say how much we value the ability and efficiency with which he discharged his delicate task.

51. Today the world is confronted with a situation fraught with growing injustice, threats and insecurity that can only be the harbinger of new conflicts at the expense of the peace and the development of the peoples.

52. The Argentine nation is convinced that the attainment of universal peace and justice will be possible only if a democratic system of international relations is established. This can be achieved only through the elimination of super-Power confrontation, the abandonment of aggressive and expansionist policies, the eradication of the *apartheid* régime and any other régime of discrimination based on race, creed or religion, and the final

elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and any other form of foreign domination.

53. The world cannot be regarded solely and exclusively as a stage on which East and West engage in a permanent conflict of ideological, political and military power. This would be to ignore the unjust system of relations between developed and developing countries. This North-South dimension is so serious that it demands special attention on the part of the great Powers which would make possible the establishment of a genuine dialogue and exchange that would benefit the whole international community.

54. Furthermore, within the present structure of power relations in the world it is the developing countries that suffer the adverse effects not only of a clearly inequitable international economic order but also of the military adventurism of extra-regional Powers, the plundering of parts of their territory, the foreign exploitation of their natural resources, the establishment of military bases upon their soil and the maintenance of anachronistic colonial situations.

55. What are the obstacles that must be overcome in order to bring about the necessary changes in present world circumstances?

56. In the sphere of disarmament, for example, the international community must face up to a truly dire situation. It is paradoxical that when public opinion most energetically expresses its growing concern at the threat of a potential nuclear conflict, when the leaders of the major Powers publicize their apparent interest in reaching and desire to reach agreements on disarmament and when there is a universal consensus that this is a fundamental and pressing problem, the activities in the field of disarmament have yet to yield tangible results.

57. As we know, Geneva is the theatre of bilateral and multilateral disarmament negotiations, particularly in the area of nuclear disarmament. Obviously these negotiations are making no headway, and the efforts of the Committee on Disarmament are out of all proportion to the scant results obtained.

58. Unfortunately the present situation and trends do not encourage us to hope for a brighter future. Nuclear arsenals are increased and improved day by day, so that the possible use of nuclear weapons poses the clear danger that any conflict could turn into a catastrophe that would spare no one.

59. Moreover, not only are nuclear armaments being shipped without any restriction throughout the world; they are also being introduced into legally prohibited geographical zones, thus posing an unjustifiable threat and creating an atmosphere of insecurity that affects, first and foremost, those countries that do not belong to the major military alliances.

60. Until very recently Latin America felt secure under the protection of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, but it can no longer feel free of suspicion since in 1982 the United Kingdom, in violation of its commitments, introduced nuclear armaments into the region of the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, thus creating an alarming and dangerous situation.

61. In this connection it is especially significant that at the eighth General Conference of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, which was held in Jamaica last May, the introduction of British nuclear weapons into the zone and areas surrounding the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands was again denounced. Moreover, that Conference expressed its concern at the fact that the United Kingdom

used nuclear-powered submarines in warfare within the zone established by the Treaty of Tlatelolco.³ Both cases constitute unprecedented and extremely serious acts that must be noted by the relevant organs of the United Nations because they call into question the very essence of the concept of nuclear-free zones. As a result of the painful lessons learnt since last year it is imperative to create mechanisms to verify the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken by the nuclear Powers.

62. I am aware that I am not the first to draw attention here to the crisis in international economic relations or to emphasize that the developing countries are paying the highest price. But I cannot fail to emphasize that in spite of the efforts of these countries—Argentina among them—to ensure the establishment of more just economic and political relations guaranteeing for them more equitable participation in the international sphere, some industrialized nations are determined to prevent this. Thus there has been a resurgence of protectionism in the large decision-making centres and discriminatory and selective policies have been established, on the pretext that they are based on a concept of “graduation”, which create arbitrary and damaging differences for developing countries. Moreover, the emphasis on bilateralism in international economic relations has seriously eroded the multilateral framework of co-operation.

63. And, as if all of this were not discouraging enough, we continue to perceive a tendency on the part of certain developed countries to use economic measures for political purposes, pressuring peripheral countries to make themselves subordinate in the exercise of their sovereign rights. My own country has been subjected to such unjust practices in the recent past.

64. At the regional level, there was an understanding within the Latin American framework from the start—which was ratified by decisions of the Council of the Latin American Economic System—that the vulnerability of Latin America in the face of concerted pressure from the developed world had to be diminished. It was submitted that all nations have the sovereign right to follow their own path in the economic, social and political spheres in peace and freedom, free from external pressure, aggression and threats, and free from embargoes, blockades and any other coercive measures imposed illegally and arbitrarily. That is why Argentina has enthusiastically supported the important initiative of the President of Ecuador, Mr. Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea, aimed at mobilizing the energy and resources of the Latin American countries and recently ratified in the Santo Domingo commitment.

65. In order to face up to this profound international economic and financial crisis we need fundamental solutions and the joint elaboration of principles and instruments for a new order in international economic relations. Along these lines, the developing world, represented by the 125 States members of the Group of 77, drafted what is called the Buenos Aires Platform¹ at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group, held this year in my country. That platform stressed the urgency of adopting, at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, a programme of concerted and sustained economic reactivation and promotion of the accelerated development of the countries of the Group. Unfortunately, the industrialized nations preferred to take more rigid and opposing positions, and no satisfactory conclusions were reached at the sixth session of the Conference. Nevertheless, the solidarity of the Group of 77 was strengthened at Belgrade, and during this session of the Assembly the Group's members must act accordingly in order to face in a co-ordinated manner the acute international crisis. In this regard, the presence and

remarks of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who carries on with great dignity the far-seeing efforts of her illustrious father, Jawaharlal Nehru, will be of paramount importance in this forum, for, as chairman of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries, she will voice the message of a majority of States which have a will to negotiate and which aspire to a world of justice and peace.

66. The most obvious consequence of the exceptional situation affecting Latin American countries is their high external debt and the heavy burden of servicing that debt. We have constantly shown our willingness to make the sacrifices necessary to fulfill our obligations and to avoid moratoriums. But all the efforts being made to aggravate the already very onerous process of adjustment that has been carried out so far could strain the political and social tolerance of our peoples, which could have the most serious and unpredictable consequences.

67. I wish also to state here the position of my country regarding some of the most serious current international conflicts. As a Latin American country, Argentina has a serious fraternal concern regarding the critical situation in Central America, which is characterized especially by political destabilization, violence, the constant threat of armed conflict among sister nations, and foreign intervention. In the face of this situation, my country once again reiterates its unchangeable position of full respect for the fundamental principle of non-intervention. It is that spirit that has from the beginning inspired my country's firm support for the Contadora declaration [A/38/68], signed by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, and for the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America, of July last [A/38/303], which resulted in the encouragement of negotiations and contacts at the highest level on the part of the parties directly involved in the conflict.

68. At the same time, the Argentine Republic wishes to make clear its conviction that the crisis in Central America is the result of many complex causes, such as anachronistic political, social and economic situations which have eliminated justice as the guiding principle of social organization, persistent violations of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, and wrangling within the struggle for world power.

69. My country, therefore, is especially interested in finding speedy and just solutions to save Latin American nations from these tragic problems. Similarly, we hope that Latin America and the Caribbean will not be dragged into a struggle for political and strategic objectives that are not in accordance with the genuine interests of their peoples.

70. When speaking of our continent I cannot fail to mention the historic meeting of reunion between Spain and Latin America which took place in the presence of King Juan Carlos during this year's celebration at Caracas of the bicentenary of the birth of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, whose ideals of liberty and integration for our peoples we most strongly sustain.

71. We are also deeply concerned about the attitudes of governments which persist in implementing policies that run counter to the Charter of the United Nations and to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

72. My country attended the recent International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva, with the firm objective of helping to achieve a just and equitable settlement of that problem. Our presence attested to our conviction that it is possible to find a just and peaceful solution which takes into account the interests

of all the States and peoples of the region. We reiterate today that such a solution demands the acknowledgement of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination and independence and to the establishment of their own sovereign State. Moreover, it requires the acknowledgement of the right of all the States of the region, including Israel, to exist and to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries; withdrawal by Israel from all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including the Golan Heights; and the recognition of a special régime for the Holy City of Jerusalem, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 303 (IV). We thus reaffirm the need for a peaceful negotiated solution, with the participation of all interested parties, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

73. Argentina has already condemned the violations of the fundamental principles of international coexistence of which Lebanon has been a victim. My country has strong and long-standing links with that noble and suffering nation. Today I wish to stress as vigorously as before that the attainment of peace in Lebanon is one of the elements of security and stability in the Middle East and that the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon must be strictly respected. I wish therefore to express today my Government's satisfaction at the auspicious announcement of a cease-fire between Syria and Lebanon, achieved with the mediation of Saudi Arabia. We hope that this will be the first step leading finally to peace in the region.

74. The situation in southern Africa is also one of serious concern for the Argentine people and Government. My country, supporting the struggle of Africa against colonialism and racism, has repeatedly condemned the intransigence of South Africa and its aggressions against neighbouring States, in particular against Lesotho, Mozambique and Angola, part of whose territory is still under South African military occupation. We are also convinced that international action on Pretoria must be accompanied by practical measures by the Security Council to eliminate the whole régime of racial discrimination and achieve genuine independence for Namibia.

75. In this context I wish to reiterate the importance of the Latin American Regional Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Caracas this month, whose declaration [see A/38/451] has been fully endorsed by my Government.

76. Similarly, my country took part in the International Conference in Support for the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris in April, whose Declaration and Programme of Action⁴ we wholeheartedly supported.

77. We wish to express again our backing for the independence plan for Namibia approved by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978), for it is the only way for the Namibian people, through its legitimate representatives recognized by the General Assembly, truly to exercise their right to national self-determination and independence, with full respect for the territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. In the same context, any internal settlement or other constitutional plan that South Africa may wish to impose upon Namibia to perpetuate its colonial domination must be rejected. We further reaffirm that the independence of this Territory cannot be subject to the fulfilment of any preconditions. The Argentine Republic fully agrees with the statement of the Secretary-General, in his further report⁵ presented in accordance with Security Council resolution 532 (1983), that no real progress

can be made until a precise date is set for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and a cease-fire enters into effect.

78. I must also take this opportunity to recall that Argentina supports the General Assembly's call to Iraq and Iran to put an end to their prolonged and tragic war.

79. Furthermore, we wish once again to declare our support for and solidarity with the people and Government of Cyprus in their search for a just and equitable solution that respects the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of that country, pursuant to the relevant General Assembly resolutions. In this respect we also continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General.

80. I cannot remain silent about the tragic fate of the South Korean commercial aircraft which brought about the irreparable loss of 269 human lives. This deplorable event has deeply shocked the conscience of the Argentine nation, which finds this yet another reason why it is imperative to create an atmosphere of global confidence based on respect for the law and linked with the maintenance of international peace and security, because this is the only way to avoid the tragic and senseless loss of innocent lives in the future.

81. In my statement I have repeatedly touched upon situations that affect peace and justice in the world, two values without which no society can fully prosper. I have also briefly listed some of the most important international conflicts, and now I must refer to the one that vitally affects my own country.

82. There is no need to set forth again at this time the legitimate title upon which Argentina bases its claim over the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands. It has been explained repeatedly at the United Nations and other international forums and has been specifically recognized by Latin America and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The latter has, ever since the 1975 Declaration adopted at Lima, constantly and unceasingly called for the restitution of the Argentine territories illegally occupied by the United Kingdom.

83. Furthermore, the General Assembly and the Special Committee on decolonization have recognized the existence of a sovereignty dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom and are convinced that the negotiation process recommended by the General Assembly itself is the best way of settling the dispute and the other unresolved questions between the two countries. That is to say, the international community, through the General Assembly, has unequivocally decided how those territories are to be decolonized.

84. For almost 17 years my country has unsuccessfully sought to obtain London's compliance with General Assembly resolutions 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49 and with the Assembly's four consensus decisions on this matter. During this long period of time, the British Government showed not only a lack of political will or ability to solve the sovereignty dispute, but also an incomprehensible lack of sensitivity in failing to appreciate the importance of this question for the Argentine people.

85. Recent official British documents clearly reveal that successive governments of the United Kingdom had an interest in delaying any diplomatic solution to the conflict while the Argentine Government was made to believe that *bona fide* negotiations were under way. This deception was furthered by defects in the international system, which does not provide for a truly effective procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes brought about by illegal and unjust situations, and the difficulties are

further aggravated when one of the parties has the right of veto in the Security Council.

86. The attitude adopted by the United Kingdom, the consequences of which we are all well aware of, not only remains unchanged but is now accompanied by a dangerous policy of militarization of the territories usurped from Argentina. This clearly dangerous policy includes the establishment of a military base on the islands, the illegal and arbitrary maintenance in Argentine jurisdictional waters of a zone excluding vessels and aircraft from my country, and the repeated resort to provocative attitudes and statements against Argentina. It seems as if the British Government is assuming that the United Kingdom can prolong its colonial presence on our continent indefinitely. Nothing could be further from the truth. The decolonization and recovery of the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands are a permanent and priority objective of the Argentine people, whose legitimate rights and vital interests are seriously affected by this colonial presence. Moreover, the restitution of the islands to effective Argentine sovereignty is a common cause for Latin America.

87. The British policy of military expansion in the South Atlantic has been seriously and dangerously escalated by the recent decision of the United Kingdom to establish a strategic air base on the Malvinas Islands. According to British sources, the cost of the installation will exceed \$600 million, and more than a thousand workers will be employed on its construction. This is the approximate population of the islands. South Africa will be used as a base to provide support for this enterprise. Argentina has already denounced to the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the General Assembly the danger which the construction of this strategic air base implies for the security of the Latin American region.

88. The United Kingdom has said in a note addressed to the Secretary-General [A/38/577] that the aim of this escalation is to defend the islands against a supposed Argentine aggression. That is false, because my country has indicated that there is a cessation of hostilities which it respects, has respected and will continue to respect and that it believes that negotiations are the appropriate means for settling the sovereignty dispute.

89. Moreover, the features of the strategic base show the disproportion between the supposed Argentine threat and the means used to counter it. Therefore, we must infer that the true purpose of the United Kingdom, a nuclear Power and a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], is no less than the extension of its global strategic interests to the South Atlantic. These assumptions were fully confirmed by the British Secretary of State for Defence, Mr. Michael Heseltine, at a conference held under the auspices of the Center for Strategic Studies of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., on 14 September. As recently as that, this senior British official stated, among other things, that the Malvinas Islands were not at present an objective of the Soviet Union but that they would be in coming decades, and then the strategic value to the West of constructing the new airport on the islands would be clear. Perhaps with the intention of reassuring his audience, the British Defence Secretary added that the British commitment to the islands would not prejudice the role of the United Kingdom in NATO, because the expenditure of \$600 million had been added to the normal defence budget, rather than subtracted from the expenditures provided for the alliance. Mr. Heseltine also pointed out that the victory in the Malvinas had demonstrated the credibility of the Atlantic alliance's power of dissuasion and that, as a

result of one of several conclusions drawn from the Malvinas war, the British Government had decided to improve its strategic capacity and air mobility to support operations outside the geographical scope of that alliance.

90. What I have just highlighted clearly shows the seriousness of the situation and the dangerous effects of transforming the South Atlantic into a new source of conflict between East and West, which would do irreparable damage to Latin America.

91. My country believes that it is the responsibility of the Atlantic allies of the United Kingdom to dissuade that country from the dangerous adventure it has embarked upon and to dissociate themselves from it publicly, to reassure the Latin American continent and all the nations represented at the General Assembly.

92. Obviously, it is all the more urgent and necessary that, with the help of the Secretary-General and in accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/9, Argentina and the United Kingdom begin their negotiations as soon as possible. Argentina has repeatedly declared its resolve to negotiate. My country has publicly and officially accepted General Assembly resolution 37/9 and has offered the Secretary-General its full co-operation in the renewed good offices mission entrusted to him by the United Nations, but to this date this positive attitude has not been echoed in the least by the British Government, which has not only ignored the resolution but has at the same time implemented a policy based solely upon force and provocation.

93. No excuse can justify the refusal of the British Government to comply with the fundamental obligation that it has, as a Member of the United Nations and by virtue of both the Charter and the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, to find a peaceful, negotiated settlement of its problems with Argentina and to refrain from adopting provocative measures which contribute to increasing tension in the South Atlantic. The British Government's obligation to co-operate actively in achieving a peaceful settlement of this conflict is all the greater because the United Kingdom is a permanent member of the Security Council—that is, it is a country with a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the British Government should fail to find arguments in reply to those who, like my Government and some responsible circles within the United Kingdom itself, bring to its notice this serious violation of its international agreements and of the principles and rules governing international coexistence.

94. The violation of the Charter by the United Kingdom cannot be justified even by the alleged need for Argentina to comply with formalities not required by international law—much less so when, as is known, the attitude adopted by my country in relation to the cessation of armed hostilities has conformed with General Assembly resolution 37/9 and the provisions of the Charter regarding the peaceful settlement of disputes.

95. Furthermore, the 14 and a half months that have elapsed since the cessation of hostilities confirm strict compliance with the resolution and the Charter. How, then, can one explain the British insistence on artificially putting this already solved aspect of the 1982 crisis at the heart of the problem? The only conclusion is that the only real explanation is the intention not to negotiate and to consolidate its illegal occupation by the establishment of a military base on the islands, as part of a policy of strategic expansion. Naturally, if the United Kingdom were to comply with the Charter and with resolution 37/9, refraining from implementing that aggressive design and

putting an end to the illegal exclusion zone, the situation would improve.

96. Argentina, responsibly and sincerely, calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to re-examine its position, to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and to resume in good faith the negotiations to settle the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas. At the negotiating table, with the invaluable assistance of the Secretary-General, we shall be able to find imaginative solutions that will satisfy both parties and the interests of the inhabitants of the islands, thus ending a conflict that seriously affects our two countries and the Latin American region, and that, as I have already said, may have unforeseeable consequences.

97. My Government also attaches great importance to Antarctica, an item included in the agenda of this session. For reasons of sovereignty, geography and history, my country is very closely linked to that continent.

98. As far back as 1904 Argentina established an astro-nomic and scientific observatory on the Orcadas Islands. Since then a great number of scientific stations have given evidence of our active presence in the area. In 1959 my country was one of those which furthered and subscribed to the Antarctic Treaty,⁶ and, within the framework of its provisions, we have carried out a great many activities.

99. The achievements of that Treaty should be emphasized here, since they have led to a genuine international co-operation for the benefit of mankind and the promotion of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. By means of the Treaty the Antarctic has been preserved as a zone of peace, where all military measures and tests of any kind of weapons, including nuclear ones, are prohibited. Scientific co-operation and exchange of information have been promoted and encouraged for the benefit of all States.

100. One fundamental concern of the parties to the Treaty is the protection of the environment. This is reflected in the Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources, which has been in force since last year.

101. Bearing in mind the substantial contribution of the Treaty to the international community, my country firmly believes that any initiative by this Organization should lead to the consolidation of its provisions and the maintenance of a system that has proved effective.

102. We are also determined to find a solution to the territorial dispute with the Republic of Chile in the southern zone, with the most valuable intervention of His Holiness John Paul II as mediator. His advice will surely lead us to a final settlement, acceptable of course to both parties, which will put an end once and for all to the dispute and consolidate the traditional links between the two peoples.

103. In various international forums the Argentine Government has announced its intention of bringing about the full institutional normalization of our country by a specific date. This process has begun and the political parties representing all political trends have been reorganized. At the present time they are campaigning actively, in complete freedom and with the full guarantee of non-interference by the Government, for the election on 30 October of all future national, provincial and municipal authorities, ensuring the effective operation of a republican, representative and federal system of government.

104. In 35 days my Government's commitment will be carried out definitively, showing how faithfully it

keeps its word. I wish to reiterate this before this world parliament.

105. There is no better way of helping people to enjoy complete democracy and freedom than by collaborating with them in ensuring their economic progress and social well-being, which are indispensable elements of their cultural and political advancement. By the same token, there is no better way of delaying and hindering such progress than by interfering from outside in the internal changes of those countries with the purpose of imposing upon them structures and customs that cannot be copied or invented but must be rooted in the unique character of each people.

106. In the world's present exceptional and serious circumstances, the international community has no more urgent task than to assist the developing nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

107. The world that is taking shape, the variety and number of new peoples, is an indicator for the future of mankind, because our immediate and long-term ideals and interests coincide with the universal aspiration to harmony and peace.

108. Mr. STRAY (Norway): I should first like to associate myself with all previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the great office of President of this session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in the fulfilment of your important tasks.

Mr. Tindemans (Belgium), Vice-President, took the Chair.

109. One of the most famous works of the great Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen is *Peer Gynt*. Through the character of Peer Gynt, Ibsen gave life to an inclination which we find in all of us—the inclination to evade the problems that we face. States Members of the United Nations seem to suffer from the same weakness as Peer Gynt. It is now nearly four decades since the United Nations was established, but we have still not been able to make it an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. This situation will continue as long as we do not take our commitments to the United Nations more seriously and take the necessary steps to make it a better and more efficient organization.

110. In his report on the work of the Organization to the General Assembly last year the Secretary-General appealed to the Member States to take urgent action to enable the United Nations to fulfil the responsibilities outlined in its Charter. Subsequent international events have clearly demonstrated the need for the measures he called for. The most alarming feature is the continued tendency to resort to the use of force to settle international disputes.

111. In order to support the Secretary-General's efforts to strengthen the United Nations, Norway, together with other Nordic countries, has presented a report with some ideas to this effect [see A/38/271]. Let me briefly mention some of the recommendations contained in the report.

112. First, the efficiency of the Security Council should be improved. Procedures should be developed for initiating action by the Council at an early stage of conflicts. The idea of holding periodic meetings of the Council at the ministerial level to review the international situation should be considered again. Such periodic meetings could be useful both for early-warning purposes and for review of decisions taken previously by the Council. Decisions of United Nations organs should be the beginning and not the end of governmental concern and action, as rightly stated by the Secretary-General. All Member States have assumed an obligation under the Charter of

the United Nations to respect and to implement the decisions of the Security Council. The members of the Security Council, and particularly its permanent members, ought here to feel a special responsibility.

113. Secondly, the Nordic report expresses support for a strengthening of the role of the Secretary-General. It is especially important that he should be able to act in the first stage of a conflict, and the report therefore strongly supports his idea of developing a wider and more systematic capacity for fact-finding in potential conflict areas. Further, it encourages him to make more use of his powers under Article 99 of the Charter to bring matters to the attention of the Security Council.

114. Thirdly, the ability and capacity of the United Nations to launch peace-keeping operations should be strengthened. Past experiences have shown us that all peace-keeping operations must have a clearly defined and operationally feasible mandate. It should be a precondition that all parties to a conflict are ready and willing to co-operate with the peace-keeping force in discharging its mandate. The collective responsibility of all United Nations members for the financing of peace-keeping operations must be respected. Let me add that the Nordic countries have for many years had stand-by forces earmarked for United Nations peace-keeping operations. We are prepared to share our training programmes for the forces with other countries.

115. The East-West relationship plays a dominant role in international affairs. Its impact is felt worldwide, but is of particular significance to the European countries, because it has a direct bearing upon their security situation.

116. East-West relations in the early 1970s were characterized by the efforts to promote détente. This was above all marked by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975.⁷ We had hoped that this event would lead to moderation and restraint by all parties—also in the military field. However, a dominant feature of the European security situation in the last part of the 1970s was an increasing military buildup by the Soviet Union. West European countries observed with growing concern the development of a new generation of medium-range land-based Soviet SS-20 nuclear missiles, targeted on Western Europe, adding drastically to the existing Soviet military superiority in Europe. This development took place at a time when the Soviet Union had achieved parity with the United States in strategic nuclear arms. Against this background the countries of NATO found it necessary to counter the increased Soviet medium-range nuclear capacity and adopted in 1979 the double-track decision. It was decided to deploy in Europe 572 new United States missiles of a similar kind from the end of 1983 onwards, while at the same time offering negotiations in order to reduce or preferably eliminate the need for such weapons.

117. These negotiations have now been going on at Geneva for more than two years. In this period the Soviet Union has continued to deploy its missiles. The number now stands at approximately 350 missiles with more than 1000 warheads.

118. In his statement earlier today [5th meeting], President Reagan outlined the main elements of the new United States proposals in Geneva. These proposals demonstrate the firm will and determination of the NATO countries to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion as soon as possible. They have, as President Reagan also mentioned, been subject to extensive consultations in the NATO alliance and have Norway's full support. We hope that the Soviet Union will respond to this initiative in a constructive manner. Our objective

is not only to stop the nuclear arms race, but to achieve substantial reductions in these weapons. A general freeze on nuclear weapons is not an adequate solution, as by definition it would mean freezing the present imbalance, and this would probably weaken our possibilities of achieving real disarmament.

119. In the United Nations context there has obviously been a tendency to focus our disarmament discussion mainly on nuclear weapons and to ignore the role played by conventional arms. As pointed out by the Secretary-General in his latest report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], it is necessary to keep in mind that the many millions killed in war since Hiroshima and Nagasaki have all died from conventional weapons. We also know that the greater part of the vast resources spent on armaments all over the world—frequently to the detriment of essential needs—has been used for conventional arms.

120. In Europe, the question of conventional arms has been subject to negotiations in the mutual and balanced force reduction talks at Vienna. A successful outcome of these talks would significantly promote confidence and stability between East and West. Furthermore, conventional arms reductions to equal and lower force levels would raise the nuclear threshold.

121. The Madrid meeting on security and co-operation in Europe also aimed at achieving more openness and confidence among the States of Europe. It is encouraging that these talks have now concluded positively. This provides a basis for further progress.

122. The negotiations within the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva and disarmament deliberations in the General Assembly provide an important and necessary supplement to the direct East-West negotiations.

123. The General Assembly will set in motion the preparations for the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which is to be held in 1985. The upholding and the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime must remain on our international agenda as a task of high priority. Emphasis also must be put on the achievement of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Norway believes that such a treaty would represent an important disarmament measure.

124. Likewise we attach considerable importance to the efforts to reduce and ultimately prohibit other weapons of mass destruction. It is particularly important to expand the present prohibition on the use of chemical weapons to include production and stockpiling, as well as a permanent and credible machinery for verification.

125. We note with satisfaction that the question of prevention of an arms race in outer space has been placed on the agenda of international disarmament negotiations. We shall welcome all realistic proposals put forward with this objective in mind. They must be based on mutually agreed, balanced and verifiable formulas and include proposals prohibiting anti-satellite weapons.

126. The tragic incident of the South Korean passenger aircraft which was shot down near the island of Sakhalin by Soviet military aircraft has shocked the world community. The use of armed force against international civil aircraft is incompatible with elementary considerations of humanity and with the rules, standards and recommended practices of the 1944 Chicago Convention.⁶ All efforts must now be made, through ICAO, to prevent such a tragic incident from ever happening again. Norway fully endorses the resolution adopted at the special session of the Council of ICAO on 16 September calling

for full investigation of the incident and measures to improve procedures relating to the interception of civil aircraft. The Soviet Union has a particular responsibility to co-operate fully with the competent international aviation authorities in this matter.

127. We find a number of international conflicts on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. The Norwegian delegation will refer to them all at the appropriate time. At this juncture, I shall address only one particular question, namely the situation in Lebanon. For a long time now we have been receiving daily reports on extensive fighting, civilian tragedies and failed efforts to restore peace. The situation has been such that it could easily reach proportions which might have consequences for peace and stability beyond the borders of Lebanon. We therefore warmly welcome the cease-fire which was announced last night. We urge all parties fully to respect the provisions of this cease-fire agreement. However, a lasting peaceful solution to the conflict in Lebanon can be achieved only if some basic principles are observed by all parties concerned. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be respected. The request of the Lebanese Government for withdrawal of foreign forces must be met.

128. Violations of human rights continue to take place to an alarming extent in many parts of the world. We are regularly confronted with reports of summary and arbitrary executions, racial discrimination, torture, involuntary disappearances and denial of basic political and civil rights. In many parts of the world such violations seem to be the rule rather than the exception. This is a situation which the international community must not tolerate. The realization of the dignity and equality of all human beings is an indispensable precondition if we are to strengthen and obtain international peace and security. The question of whether or not a State can be trusted is to a great extent influenced by its record in the field of human rights. Clearly, the major responsibility for promoting and protecting human rights rests with Governments themselves within their area of jurisdiction. On the other hand, we share an international responsibility to oppose and prevent violations wherever they occur. The international community cannot accept the principle of non-interference in internal affairs as a justification not to act. The application of basic human rights standards must be truly universal and not subject to political expedience.

129. Against this background, it is important to strengthen the institutional machinery of the United Nations in order to increase its ability to deal promptly with serious cases of human rights violations. The establishment of a post of high commissioner for human rights is such an instrument. We hope the recent decision by the Sub-Commission of the Commission on Human Rights⁹ has brought the establishment of such a post closer to realization.

130. Finally, let me say a few words about the North-South issues which constitute an important part of our agenda. In spite of all efforts to bring the dialogue forward, we regretfully have to note that little progress has been achieved during recent years. Signs of economic recovery have been noted in some industrialized countries, but there is still widespread uncertainty about its underlying strength and durability. Even if we were to obtain increased and sustained growth in the developed market-economy countries, this alone would not be sufficient to bring about the reactivation of the development process in most developing countries. Recovery by itself cannot solve the problems of capital shortage, international indebtedness and protectionism.

131. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, took place in a constructive atmosphere, but it did not achieve the results we had hoped for. The Conference did, however, provide for common ground for tackling some of the most acute problems. It is now our hope that the joint meeting of IMF and the World Bank, which is currently taking place in Washington, will be able to bring the most pressing problems the developing countries are facing a step forward. We hope this meeting will give impetus to a positive result from the ongoing negotiations on the seventh replenishment in the International Development Association. Norway for its part is ready to participate in a seventh replenishment of the Association, which, in our view, ought to be at least as great in real terms as the sixth.

132. Within the United Nations there is a need to ensure more concerted action by the organizations of the system in dealing with the important issues of development and international economic co-operation. For UNDP the resource problem is acute. Reductions in UNDP have serious repercussions not only for the entire United Nations development system, but also for the United Nations itself. I therefore appeal to all donors to maintain and, if possible, increase their contributions.

133. Norway intends to maintain an active role in the work for a new international economic order. We regard the concept of a new international economic order as an effort to achieve the necessary combined strategy to foster just and equitable economic relations between rich and poor countries.

134. Mr. BODSTRÖM (Sweden): Confrontation and suspicion characterize relations between the great Powers. They seek security in advanced weapons technology and in the threat of mutual destruction. They hold us in constant fear that their nuclear weapons may be put to use.

135. One of the few gleams of light in the international situation is the recently concluded follow-up meeting at Madrid of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The result of the Madrid meeting can be the beginning of improved co-operation and greater understanding between the States of Europe, and between East and West. My country is honoured to host the 1984 Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. We shall endeavour to make this Conference a stepping-stone in the arduous work of turning distrust into confidence and of reducing the risk of armed conflict in Europe, so that, in time, it may prove a valuable contribution to a disarmament process.

136. The great Powers confrontation has impeded the solution of regional conflicts in the world. Tensions between the super-Powers have long hampered the ability of the United Nations to maintain peace and security. There is an increasing tendency among States to resort to force. Frequent violations of the borders and territorial integrity of States take place in disregard of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Nowhere can such actions be defended.

137. Last autumn, a debate on the strengthening of the United Nations was initiated in the Assembly, largely inspired by the Secretary-General's clear-cut analysis of the Organization's problems. In the view of my Government, it is essential that this debate be continued. It should be pursued with the definite aim of producing constructive, realistic contributions to the solution of United Nations problems, thus strengthening the ability of the Organization to resolve conflicts. The five Nordic

Governments have sought to make such a contribution in a joint study [A/38/271].

138. As members of the Assembly, we must seriously consider whether the resolutions we adopt are likely to promote solutions of conflicts. We must avoid using the Assembly for shortsighted and tactical purposes. Political tensions must not be allowed to influence the role of the United Nations as a forum where all interested parties can take part in the discussions on equal terms.

139. The results of the two international conferences recently held at Geneva are a source of encouragement in this context. The constructive co-operation in negotiations at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was a definite step forward in comparison with the Conference in 1978. My Government also appreciated the spirit of co-operation and compromise shown by the participating States that led to the outcome of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The recommendations of that Conference merit serious consideration by the United Nations organs concerned.

140. Our debate on the problems of the United Nations is particularly focused on the Security Council, which according to the Charter bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace. The privileged position of the great Powers in the Council places upon them a special responsibility for upholding the principles of the Charter and for the proper functioning of the Council. Sweden regrets the inadequacies shown by the Council at present in following up its own resolutions and in dealing with conflicts in time to prevent violence, as well as its inclination to hand over difficult and sometimes impossible tasks to the Secretary-General without giving him the necessary support.

141. In his recent report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], the Secretary-General refers to the obligations of the Security Council and points out that threats to international peace are of such importance that they should override the differences of interest and ideology which separate the members of the Council. The significance of this cannot be over-emphasized.

142. My Government welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to give priority in the coming year to an examination and appraisal of the administration of the Secretariat with a view to its improvement. The Secretary-General has questioned whether he still commands sufficient authority to meet effectively his responsibilities as chief administrative officer of the Organization. We share his concerns, but our answer is clear: the authority is there, vested in him, according to the Charter.

143. Nowhere has the involvement of the United Nations been greater than in the Middle East. There have been important achievements, not least through the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Throughout the years, Sweden has taken part in these operations and in various mediation assignments. This year we are commemorating my countryman, Folke Bernadotte, who was murdered 35 years ago during his mission as a United Nations mediator in Palestine.

144. We have been concerned and depressed to see how large-scale violence has broken out once again in Lebanon. Lebanon's sovereignty and independence must be respected, and all foreign forces remaining in the country contrary to the wishes of the Lebanese Government must be withdrawn. It is the sincere hope of the Swedish Government that the agreement just announced in Lebanon will mark the end of the violence and the beginning of constructive negotiations towards national reconciliation.

145. The civilian population in Lebanon is suffering greatly from the chaotic situation in the country. Palestinian refugees also run the risk of new attacks. It should be the urgent duty of the United Nations to ensure the legal and physical protection of these refugees.

146. The situation in the West Bank and Gaza is also cause for continuing concern. Israel's occupation policy, particularly its illegal settlements, is a serious impediment to a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict.

147. The conflict in the Middle East can be solved only if the legitimate right to self-determination of the Palestinian people is fulfilled, including the right, should it so wish, to form a state of its own in the West Bank and Gaza.

148. Israel has a right to exist in peace within secure and recognized borders. The parties should meet in direct negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In these negotiations the PLO must be accepted as an equal party.

149. It is high time that the great Powers restored the Security Council to its central role in the efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict.

150. South Africa persists in flouting united world opinion and international law in an unparalleled manner. In order to protect the repugnant social structure known as *apartheid*, South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and escalates its attacks and pressure on neighbouring States. For five years the negotiations on the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, unanimously adopted by the Security Council, have regrettably come to serve as an argument against putting South Africa under the pressure of sanctions. My Government maintains that the Security Council should exert the pressure on South Africa which is necessary to ensure that the negotiations yield results. No country deserves more than South Africa to be subjected to sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

151. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is now in its fourth year. Acts of war are continuing. Fundamental human rights are being constantly violated. More than 3 million Afghan refugees are waiting in vain to return. The occupation is particularly serious considering the position of the Soviet Union as a permanent member of the Security Council, which entails a special responsibility for the observance of the Charter. The talks in progress under United Nations auspices must continue and lead to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and to the exercise by the Afghan people of their right to self-determination.

152. There is a danger that the conflicts in Central America will turn into general war. In the present situation, the initiative taken by the countries of the Contadora Group stands out as particularly important in turning developments to another course and in strengthening efforts to find political solutions. Sweden supports the endeavours of the Contadora countries and finds it encouraging that more and more countries are becoming convinced that the path towards a solution of Central America's problems goes via negotiations and not via military escalation.

153. The present situation in Central America has its roots primarily in the economic and social injustice in the region. The countries there must be given the opportunity of building up their societies in peace and in a state of national independence. A first step in reducing tensions must be the cessation of all deliveries of weapons, all arms traffic and all military assistance to and within the region.

154. Ten years ago democracy was crushed in Chile. Since the military took power, the people have seen their conditions of living drastically deteriorate and have been deprived of their civil rights and liberties. However, the people of Chile have shown that they will no longer tolerate the suppression of their traditional freedom. Today, the dictatorship is shaken. In this crucial phase, the international community should continue to support efforts aiming at the restoration of democracy and respect for human rights in Chile.

155. In my country's neighbourhood, in Poland, we have seen the process of democratization being shattered. Without a real dialogue between different groups of the society a better future for the Polish people is hardly possible. The repeal of martial law last summer will therefore have to be followed by further measures in the same direction.

156. It is 35 years since the General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Along with the Charter and a number of international conventions, this morally binding Declaration lays down the rights of the individual which all States have the duty to respect. These documents provide the basis for the self-evident right and duty of the United Nations to engage in the protection of human rights.

157. Violence between States often has a connection with violence within a State. The violence which consists of oppression of the individual by the authorities and machinery of government can become the root of international tension and conflicts. Efforts to safeguard human rights are part of the work for international peace.

158. However, it is not primarily the risk of international tension which guides our involvement in efforts for human rights. Our interest is focused on the situation of the individual. Attention should be drawn to violations of these rights wherever they occur. It is gratifying to note that these problems have taken an increasingly central place in the activities of the United Nations. At the same time, we see that violations of human rights continue on a frightening scale throughout the world. We must find ways and means to improve the efforts of the United Nations in this field.

159. Torture is a particularly abominable violation of human rights. I urge all States to play their part in the speedy realization of the convention to combat torture which the United Nations has so long been trying to finalize. I also appeal to all States to make financial contributions to the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture, so that this Fund can effectively alleviate some of the great needs in this field.

160. Some States are examined by the Assembly for violations of human rights. The Assembly's attention in these matters, however, leaves an impression of selectivity. My Government regrets this. In the Assembly we must not refrain from dealing with governments' violations of human rights when the conditions for doing so are at hand.

161. No nation has escaped the effects of the international economic crisis. As always, the poorest countries are the hardest hit. The patient efforts of the United Nations have led only to a partial alleviation of their situation.

162. There are signs today of an economic recovery. However, that recovery appears weak and uncertain. It is difficult to argue that any significant upswing is under way as long as unemployment continues to rise. At any rate, the recovery needs to be supported by a well-balanced and co-ordinated economic policy. A stable recovery of

the world economy requires the involvement of the economies of the developing countries. This will not least necessitate increased financial support to and a greater solidarity with the developing countries, *inter alia*, in order to reduce their debt burden. Economic growth in these countries is essential in itself, but it also serves to promote recovery in the industrialized countries. We are not lacking ideas—both the Brandt¹⁰ and the Palme¹¹ Commissions have presented guidelines for action.

163. Sweden regrets that so far it has not been possible to start global negotiations within the framework of the North-South dialogue. However, the dialogue has not come to a standstill. The ministerial meeting of the GATT Contracting Parties in the autumn of 1982 laid the foundation for deepened co-operation in the field of international trade. A decision has been taken on a certain strengthening of the resources of IMF.

164. Furthermore, the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has generated concrete results in some important issues and given impulses for continued practical work. It remains to be seen with what degree of determination Governments will follow up, in UNCTAD and other international organizations, the concrete decisions made. Sweden has adopted a programme of action to give substance to the follow-up of these common undertakings. The developing countries' readiness for dialogue and consensus must be met by a readiness of the industrialized countries for practical co-operation.

165. In the field of the environment, Sweden attaches significance to the efforts to reactivate and intensify international co-operation. This co-operation is vitally important to our common future well-being. My country gives its full support to the proposal for a special commission entrusted with the task of formulating long-term environment strategies which can contribute to a stable social and economic development.

166. The overriding problem in today's world is nuclear weapons. Our entire existence is put in jeopardy. We must create the political conditions necessary to ensure that these weapons of mass destruction will never be used. The goal is a world free of nuclear weapons. One important step in this direction would be the introduction of a comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests. The Assembly year after year has stated that a comprehensive test ban is a crucial measure in the efforts to halt the nuclear arms race. We attach the greatest importance to this issue. After very detailed preparatory work, Sweden therefore put a draft comprehensive test-ban treaty¹² before this summer's session of the Committee on Disarmament.

167. In the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty¹³ three of the nuclear-weapon States undertook to stop all nuclear-weapon tests and declared their determination to continue negotiations to this end. They confirmed that commitment in the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. We find it deplorable that the nuclear-weapon States concerned have not fulfilled their commitments. We appeal to them to enter without delay into serious negotiations for a comprehensive test-ban treaty. If they do not, this will also increase the risks of a proliferation of nuclear weapons. Peace and stability in different parts of the world will be endangered. The responsibility rests heavily on the nuclear-weapon States concerned.

168. Achieving a test ban is a central element in the efforts that must be made to freeze nuclear-weapon arsenals at their present levels and to proceed to reductions. A freeze is not intended to alter the approximate parity

that exists between the great Powers. Last year the Assembly called upon the Soviet Union and the United States to initiate a freeze on nuclear weapons immediately [*resolution 37/100 B*], a call which both these Governments have so far ignored. This appeal is no less urgent today.

169. Progress in the on-going negotiations at Geneva on the limitation of intermediate-range missiles in Europe would be an important step towards controlling the nuclear arms race. The Swedish Government believes that no further deployment of nuclear weapons should take place and that a substantial reduction should be made in the nuclear-weapon systems already in place. In this context a balance in conventional weapons must also be achieved at a lower level. The goal of parity should be sought at a lower, not a higher, level.

170. For more than a generation the search for security in Europe has been guided by the concept of deterrence. The existence of nuclear weapons may have led to a degree of caution on the part of the two super-Powers in dealing with conflicts, but the doctrine of deterrence and its logical consequence—the accelerated arms race—have created insecurity and mutual suspicion. Suspicion heightens the risk of war breaking out by mistake or misunderstanding. This risk is increased by the rigid procedures automatically set in motion for protection against surprise nuclear attack. The Soviet shooting-down of a civilian airliner has been condemned by Sweden in the Security Council. This tragic incident is a reminder of how close we are to a situation in which the forces of destruction can be released.

171. No sensible military or political goals can be achieved by using nuclear weapons. If they are used, the nuclear exchange that would follow would be virtually impossible to control and to limit. Yet a dangerous ambiguity remains about the role of nuclear weapons in military planning. Is their role only to deter their use by the opponent or will they be used in certain circumstances to redress a military situation? The technological development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, the continuous modernization of nuclear forces in Europe and elsewhere and their deployment in forward positions give the impression that limited nuclear warfare is considered a possibility.

172. In the long run, nuclear deterrence offers very poor protection for mankind against the horrors of nuclear war. Other paths must be tried. One guideline must be respect for the security concerns and interests of the opposite party. States must realize that in the nuclear age the search for military superiority is futile. States must develop mutual understanding, confidence and co-operation across ideological and political barriers if the nuclear threat is to be removed. Those are the principles on which the concept of common security is based.

173. It is particularly important to recall these principles at a time like this, when tensions have increased and the great Powers confront each other. Now more than ever there is a need for negotiation, for mediation and conciliation in order to settle conflicts. It is now, when the task is so difficult, that patient and determined efforts are needed. We should not let the great-Power confrontation overshadow the work of the entire international community. The general debate of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly should be seen in that light. In my view, this is a very important debate, for it will set the tone for the international dialogue in the months ahead. That tone may be one of increased confrontation, which means increased danger, but it can also be a tone that reflects an effort to transcend the ideological boundaries and to seek dialogue and détente.

This is our responsibility. I have the privilege of speaking from this rostrum on the first day of the general debate. Let me conclude by saying that as far as my Government is concerned we pledge to do our best to contribute to a constructive dialogue.

174. Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): I extend to Mr. Illueca the felicitations and good wishes of Sri Lanka on his election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. It has been my personal pleasure to have known him. His achievements, first as representative of Panama to the United Nations, then as Foreign Minister and now as his country's Vice-President, leave no doubt that this difficult session is in very good hands. The thanks of my delegation are also due to Mr. Hollai of Hungary for the admirable manner in which he conducted the thirty-seventh session as its President.

175. I should also like to associate my delegation with those who have welcomed the State of Saint Christopher and Nevis into the United Nations.

Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

176. When the United Nations was first established over three decades ago the world was recovering from the ravages of the Second World War. There was then an essential unity of purpose in the determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. While the world has, since then, been spared the horrors of another universal war, conflicts nevertheless rage in various parts of the world, and the threat of a global conflagration has never been too distant. In fact, the nuclear aspect has now added a terrifying new dimension to every threat or potential threat to international peace and security.

177. The need for massive economic regeneration was a prime imperative in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. Three decades later strategies for global economic recovery still languish, unfulfilled, on our agendas and the world continues to remain remote from real economic prosperity. Unfettered national interest, which had been pushed to its arrogant extreme during the Second World War, is today being pursued in a multitude of forms and constitutes a major obstacle in many areas of international co-operation and the search for peaceful solutions.

178. The Charter of the United Nations enshrines at once mankind's noblest collective aspirations and the limits to which the national options of Member States need to be subject if we are to be sensitive to wider concerns. Member States, however powerful or sovereign they may be, cannot be permitted selfishly to pursue narrow sectarian interests if this infringes on the sovereignty and concerns of other nations or runs counter to obligations assumed under the Charter. The Charter must remain the basic framework within which Member States must conduct their relations with other States and with the international community as a whole.

179. The *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues to cling to its pernicious privileges in cynical contempt of the Charter and all it embodies. The régime's ruthless suppression of the freedom struggle of the majority population has frequently swollen into desperate wars of aggression conducted with impunity against the independent front-line African States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The régime continues to control neighbouring Namibia, despite decisions of the International Court of Justice and the United Nations which have clearly declared such control to be illegal. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) gave promise of a unique exercise in co-operation involving the peoples of Namibia,

the United Nations and even the South African régime, which had sought to force its own unilateral and illegal solution to the Namibian question. However, resolution 435 (1978) and the collective enterprise spelt out in it remain unimplemented, and the Secretary-General's recent visit to South Africa, I am sorry to say, does not offer much new hope.

180. In the Middle East ironies abound. Israel, itself a creature of United Nations fiat, dishonours the Charter of the very Organization which gave it birth. Claiming it is in a state of siege, Israel has arrogated unto itself the right for its armed forces not only to strike deep into the territory of independent Arab States like Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, but also in effect to colonize large areas of these countries. The inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people have been accepted by virtually all Members of the United Nations, and a series of peace plans has accordingly been put forward with a view to reaching some form of negotiated settlement on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and the principles of the Charter. The Arab peace plan adopted at Fez, at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference,¹⁴ as well as the Programme of Action of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine,¹⁵ held last month at Geneva, provide blueprints that would guarantee the peace and security of all States in the region, including the Palestinian State. Without the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, peace will remain a stranger to that region, the Middle East.

181. The continued presence of other foreign forces in the northern section of the Republic of Cyprus has been, for that troubled State, the major obstacle to the full exercise of its independence and the preservation of its territorial integrity. Sri Lanka does not in any way condone the fragmentation of a unitary non-aligned State which has been recognized by the United Nations. We call once more for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cyprus. We support all efforts, particularly those of the Secretary-General and the contact group of non-aligned countries on Cyprus, to find a lasting solution to the question of Cyprus. Sri Lanka's position on Cyprus was stated in the Assembly in November 1978, during the thirty-third session:

"... the Government of Sri Lanka does not subscribe to the principle that any State is justified in using its armed forces, however justifiable it may itself believe that to be, in the settlement of international disputes. My delegation considers it utterly deplorable for any State to use its armed forces to interfere in the internal affairs of any neighbouring State, however much compassion and feeling there may be for a fellow ethnic or communal group in that neighbouring State. Such action cannot be justified in any circumstances."
[47th meeting, para. 40].

182. The internal upheavals in two fellow Asian States, both members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—Afghanistan and Kampuchea—have not been completely eased by the introduction of foreign forces. Although the two questions are not identical, Sri Lanka calls for a comprehensive political solution to these two questions on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign forces, strict respect for non-interference in the internal affairs of the two countries and satisfactory guarantees to ensure full respect for their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and freedom from foreign interference.

183. In the region of the Indian Ocean, it was the determination of the peoples of the littoral and hinterland States to preserve their independence and to resolve their

problems in conditions of peace and tranquillity which led in 1971 to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVII)]. The States of the region have called for the co-operation of the great Powers in establishing the peace zone, and we have endeavoured within the framework of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to finalize all preparations for convening the Conference on the Indian Ocean early next year at Colombo. This Conference would bring together the Indian Ocean States, the great Powers and other States that are major maritime users of the ocean. We do not expect the establishment of a peace zone overnight; but the Conference at Colombo would be a first step in a bold venture in international co-operation which would benefit not only the States of the region but also the great Powers and, indeed, the world at large. The regional States have achieved a major degree of agreement on seven principles for the implementation of the peace zone. These include arrangements for the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes among regional States.

184. We were ushered to the threshold of a new era of international co-operation in ocean development with the conclusion, a year ago, of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. The task before us now is to translate the concepts of that multilateral framework into reality through appropriate programmes for implementation. To many developing countries like my own, the full benefits of the Convention on the Law of the Sea can be reaped only if we are able to develop capabilities for exploiting the oceans and their unbounded resources. This can be done through the advancement of marine affairs capabilities in developing countries, particularly in the field of marine science and technology. Here, too, a co-operative endeavour within the United Nations system could provide a response to those needs through a central co-ordination of information, advice, assistance and services at the global and regional, as well as national, levels.

185. From the deep frontiers of the oceans, man has turned his gaze to the outer reaches of space. We hope that this last frontier of mankind will be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the common benefit of all mankind. Sri Lanka supports all initiatives to prevent the militarization of outer space and the extension of the arms race to its reaches.

186. The vast continent of Antarctica has great economic potential and should not become the scene or object of international discord. This area should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, in the interests of all mankind. Sri Lanka supports the initiative of Malaysia and others to have the General Assembly undertake a comprehensive study on Antarctica with a view to widening international co-operation in the area.

187. It is our hope also that the many initiatives being taken to bring an end to the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq will bear fruit. For Sri Lanka, which has excellent relations with both these countries, the continuation of the conflict is a matter of very great concern, and we hope that the international community will be able to contribute in some way towards peace between these two countries.

188. The mounting tension in the region of Central America causes us concern. Initiatives for a peaceful settlement by the Contadora Group deserve our every encouragement.

189. I seek your indulgence to make a reference to the recent events in my country which have been publicized in the media and have received the attention of the international community. Let me at the outset say what has

been widely acknowledged even by our critics, namely, that Sri Lanka is a parliamentary democracy with over half a century of universal adult franchise, with a multi-party system and with every citizen having his individual and constitutional rights guaranteed and made justiciable in the Constitution.

190. When we speak of the Tamil question in Sri Lanka, a distinction must also be made between the Sri Lanka Tamils who have settled in the north and the relatively more recent Tamil immigrants from India, who were brought to Sri Lanka by the former colonial administration to work on tea and rubber plantations. After independence, the status of that group brought from India was resolved through a series of consultations which led to an agreement with our neighbour, India, under which a formula was accepted by which my country would absorb a number of them while a certain number of others were to be repatriated to India. While we do not wish to make pronouncements on the problem of immigrant labour elsewhere, we believe that the arrangement we have reached for absorbing such large numbers from a non-indigenous community into the mainstream of the country's national life has no comparable precedent.

191. As far as language goes, the two main minorities in Sri Lanka—the Tamils and the Muslims—both speak the Tamil language. The identity of the minority communities does not appear merely symbolically on the national flag of Sri Lanka; the Tamil language has received a recognition not seen or heard or experienced by Tamil-speaking communities settled in any other country. The Tamil language and the Sinhala language of the Sinhalese majority that constitutes 74 per cent of the population are both national languages. The Tamil language appears on Sri Lanka's stamps, on its currency and in all official publications. The Moslem community and the substantial section of the Tamil people residing in the northwest, the east, the northeast and the south of the country are, as demonstrated in repeated elections, vehemently opposed to separatism or a division of the country. However, alongside the advocacy of separation by the Tamil United Liberation Front, a terrorist group pursuing the same aims employs violence—including arson and damage to public property, armed robbery of Government and private financial institutions and murder of political personalities opposed to its views and of Government law-enforcement officers from the police and the armed services—for the purpose of establishing a separate State.

192. It was against this violent background that on 23 July this same terrorist group ambushed and killed 13 army personnel on patrol and provoked the communal violence that followed during that week. That week's violence, which we see as an aberration in our civil and political life, we condemn without reservation. Certain sections of the foreign media made the unfounded allegation that the Government itself had turned a blind eye or had even condoned this violence. The fact is that during the first three days a section of the armed services was reluctant to open fire and to enforce law and order against the rioters and looters, who claimed that they were avenging the deaths of the 13 men of the armed services. Governments in other parts of the world which have undergone similar experiences know only too well the delicate nature of such situations. In such an environment, when the administration and law-enforcement machinery hangs by a flimsy thread, one wrong move could invite only greater chaos.

193. That President Jayewardene was able to bring such a difficult and delicate situation under control within a week has been barely acknowledged. The media's desire

for sensation in similar situations is not unknown, but certain non-governmental organizations, basing themselves on *ex parte* accounts, have sought to put Sri Lanka on trial and have depicted this unfortunate ethnic conflict as one between the Government and the Tamil people. A Government which has taken into custody over 5,000 people suspected of rioting, looting and breaking the law could hardly be accused of condoning or of being a party to this violence. No Government in independent Sri Lanka has tried harder to resolve this problem by accommodating the claims of the minority Tamil community. On the one hand, the Government has been severely criticized by the majority Sinhalese community for the efforts and concessions it has made. On the other hand, the representatives of the Tamil minority proclaim to the outside world that their civil and human rights have been violated, and therefore their answer is a separate State. Perhaps this dissatisfaction of both the majority and the minority communities is in itself evidence that the Government has been both balanced and impartial in its handling of this difficult question.

194. I have taken much time in this narration of the background and events that have brought us to this sorry pass. But I cannot leave this forum without stating unreservedly that for the Government and people of Sri Lanka—and among these people I include the overwhelming number of the minorities in our population—the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity of Sri Lanka are not negotiable. In short, under no circumstances can we or will we accept the division of the country. It was in reaffirmation of this that the Parliament of Sri Lanka adopted a Constitutional amendment which requires of its citizens allegiance to a unitary State. I shall conclude these remarks with the assurance that the Government of Sri Lanka will continue without reservations its efforts to restore communal harmony and to ensure for all its people the rights and guarantees which have been clearly set out in our Constitution.

195. The Charter of the United Nations is the basic framework under which all nations must function. The principles embodied in the Charter are relevant not only to the conduct of inter-State relations but also have a vital bearing on the internal affairs of States as well. The goals to which an individual Government dedicates itself and the manner in which it seeks to ensure for its people conditions conducive to the development of their collective national identity take place within the overall context of international relations. The international environment must therefore be one which provides adequate peace and security so that Governments may be unhindered in articulating the aspirations of their peoples. Therefore a duty lies on each of us to strive for the creation and preservation of such an environment. The Charter is the only international instrument which provides a comprehensive blueprint for the creation of such international conditions. We must therefore rededicate ourselves to the purposes and principles of the Charter, individually as well as collectively.

196. Mr. DA GAMA (Portugal):* I should like to begin by congratulating the President, the representative of a country of the Group of Latin American States, with which we have traditional ties of friendship, on his election. I wish also to present my compliments to the former President and to welcome the admission of a new Member State, the republic of Saint Christopher and Nevis.

*Mr. Da Gama spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

197. It is with a sense of responsibility and deep concern that once again I see the Assembly starting its work at a time when in several parts of the world there are more situations of violence and tension, brought about in clear disregard of the norms and principles established in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such disregard leads to a general climate of suspicion which makes it more difficult to achieve understanding among the peoples of the world.

198. Despite the fact that Europe is not exempt from periods of greater or lesser tension, we must recognize that, in the midst of a world afflicted by hotbeds of tension and violence, Europe is the one place where efforts to find peaceful solutions have been relatively lasting and fruitful and where there is a climate of confidence and co-operation among the peoples. The just-concluded Madrid meeting on security and co-operation in Europe, held as the follow-up to the Helsinki Conference, deserves mention, not only because of the work actually accomplished and the indications that the way has been opened to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act,⁷ but also because it will make possible more serious and sincere co-operation and understanding.

199. Two aspects of paramount political importance must be stressed in particular. At the Madrid meeting, 33 European countries as well as the United States and Canada confirmed the agreements reached in the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. The meeting was also able to strengthen and broaden the determination and the spirit of the Helsinki document, to evaluate the present situation and lay down ways of improving it by establishing principles and formulating rules intended to regulate various national policies so as to make possible unrestricted practical co-operation among participating countries and to ensure within those countries the exercise by their respective citizens of their political and civil rights. Furthermore, and of no less importance, the meeting proved that dialogue is possible between States with differing political and social structures so long as the political will and mutual credibility exist.

200. Within the context of the dialogue established and the political will shown, I should like to emphasize the decision to organize at Stockholm the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. That conference will take place soon and will be a step towards mutual trust and disarmament in Europe.

201. Arms control is a decisive factor—on both the regional and the world level—in the attainment of the climate of security and trust essential for the development of stable and fruitful international relations and thus for the cultural, social and economic progress of peoples.

202. As we approach the end of 1983, arms control takes on special relevance in terms of the security of Europe and the development of closer East-West relations. We are thinking of the need for a minimal balance in the European theatre. The nuclear escalation is a cause of special and profound concern. We believe that nuclear weapons can and must be dispensed with, but on the basis of equitable agreements which would maintain an adequate balance of power at the regional and world levels, and not on the basis of unilateral options. Decreased dependence on nuclear force is imperative for the existence of a constructive peace policy.

203. Recent developments in the strategic arms reduction talks and in the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions lead us to believe that the possibility of achieving significant results remains open. If these two processes and the negotiations on intermediate-

range nuclear forces are not obstructed, the prospects for the success of the Stockholm Conference, arranged in the context of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, will certainly be increased.

204. Portugal affirms the need to arrive at an acceptable compromise at Geneva which will result in military balance and the reduction of arms and armed forces to the lowest possible levels, while guaranteeing the objectives of peace and security in Europe.

205. The recent inexplicable destruction of an airborne Korean aircraft, which resulted in the death of 269 innocent people, did not help to persuade the world public of the existence of goodwill or inclination to engage in dialogue. In perpetrating that act the Soviet Union committed a crime against humanity without precedent in the history of commercial civil aviation and jeopardized the cause of détente. It is therefore urgently necessary that it give a satisfactory explanation to the international community. Portugal will endorse all measures leading to the strengthening of commercial aviation security and to the introduction into the Chicago Convention⁸ of norms which will prevent military aircraft from attacking civilian aeroplanes carrying defenceless passengers.

206. The vitally necessary reactivation of the principle of collective action by full use of the mechanisms provided for in the Charter of the United Nations presupposes the contribution of all Member States to the search for compromises and solutions which will eliminate the various hotbeds of tension. It was precisely the desire to participate in international efforts likely to give the United Nations the active role it should have in the preservation of international peace and security that led Portugal to attend this year's International Conference on the Question of Palestine and the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence. In both cases my country's presence reflected its commitment to co-operate in the clarification of possible means of negotiation which could contribute to the achievement of one of the main purposes of this Organization.

207. My country advocates the accession of Namibia to independence on a just and realistic basis. Portugal has on many occasions expressed its unequivocal opposition to all acts which could slow down the process intended to assure the Namibian people that it will be able to determine its own future in a sovereign and free manner. Therefore, we cannot but feel apprehensive at the delays in the practical implementation of the plan set out in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), to promote the rapid implementation of which the Council unanimously adopted its resolution 532 (1983) of 31 May 1983. The delay in carrying out the political decisions which resulted from a previously achieved international consensus intensifies the danger of the outbreak of new confrontations, with unforeseeable consequences for international stability.

208. The Namibian people and the countries of the area cannot go on paying the price, in human lives and in the resources necessary for their development, of the perpetuation of situations which are a clear violation of the most fundamental human rights. The Portuguese Government and Portuguese public opinion are particularly sensitive to the suffering resulting from the repeated acts of aggression and from the illegal occupation of a part of the territory of Angola and Mozambique, countries with which we have the deepest sympathy in their efforts to resist any policy of repression and intimidation. Respect for the national identity and for the right to

development of those countries, which are so deeply threatened by the situation prevailing in the area, is a priority objective of the co-operation which Portugal has offered them, an offer which extends also to the other States of the area. Such co-operation covers all areas, bilateral and multilateral—in the latter case, with particular relevance to the objectives set out at the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. Our initiatives are not aimed against any country; they are in the interest of peace and development in the area.

209. The centuries-old relations of my country with the African continent justify the attention which we devote to its political, social and economic development. It was particularly gratifying for us to follow the recent efforts of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in June, the results of which reaffirmed the traditional African ability to seek solutions to common problems through collective dialogue.

210. The proposed agreement on the Western Sahara problem is most encouraging for the attainment of peace in other areas of the continent where the use of force jeopardizes the viability of the peaceful co-operation essential to the advancement of African peoples. Therefore we hope that the same spirit of conciliation and solidarity will prevail in the present conflict in Chad, bringing about African solutions for African problems.

211. The Palestinian problem is at the core of the Middle East crisis, and its solution is a pre-condition in the search for a global, just and comprehensive solution that will guarantee the right of all peoples in the region to live in peace within universally recognized and respected boundaries. It is urgently necessary that the situation created for the Palestinian people be brought to an end and that they be guaranteed the effective exercise of their right to self-determination. My Government has tried to encourage all formulas that might lead to understanding and conciliation and open up prospects which will make it possible to break the vicious circle of violence and overcome the psychological barriers of mistrust and intransigence.

212. It is in this context that the participation of Portugal in the recent International Conference on the Question of Palestine must be considered. In our opinion, the results of the Conference represent another significant step towards a global solution of the problem that will, within the United Nations and in the context of the international legitimacy frequently recognized by the international community, make possible a basic understanding that will lead to serious and concrete negotiations among all parties involved in the conflict, with due respect for the security of all countries of the area.

213. The condemnation of the use of force, so often used in this area, entails Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the breaking up of settlements established in those territories, as well as the departure from Lebanese soil of the foreign forces not entrusted with an international role. The international community of States has a duty to restore to Lebanon the legitimate and universal right to territorial integrity and to the free exercise of national sovereignty. Portugal will continue to support all diplomatic activities and efforts aimed at the full implementation of all pertinent resolutions of the Security Council, in the conviction that only peaceful and negotiated solutions of the problems afflicting the region can stop the present escalation of violence and avert the implicit danger to international

security, namely, that resulting from a disproportionate involvement by the super-Powers.

214. My Government has followed with concern the tensions created in Central America by the peculiarities of a political evolution determined by a large number of factors, in particular the extremely unfavourable social and economic conditions. The need to avoid in this part of the world also the extreme recourse to the threat or use of force makes the search for political solutions urgent. These will have to take into account the social and cultural realities of the Latin American peoples and their yearning for pluralist models of society and must also respect the principles of non-interference, the inviolability of the frontiers of the countries in the region, and the reduction of the accumulation of conventional weapons. Portugal therefore supports the efforts of the Contadora Group and all initiatives aimed at the establishment of a climate of mutual trust, dialogue and non-confrontation which will allow all interested parties to safeguard their legitimate interests by means of active negotiation.

215. The elementary norms of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, which ought to be respected by all Member States, continue to be infringed on in countries such as Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where the continued intervention of foreign military groups hinders the free exercise of the sovereign will of their respective peoples. The oppression unleashed in those countries to stifle their legitimate aspiration to freedom and national independence has provoked the flight of refugees to neighbouring countries, with dire consequences for their social and cultural balance and an ever-increasing risk of the armed conflict spreading. We sincerely hope that the signs already perceived of a political solution to these problems will find concrete expression, and we support the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General to that end, not forgetting the positive participation of the neighbouring countries, especially those giving shelter to refugees, in their attempts to promote the cause of peace.

216. The cause of peace has not yet found an echo in Iran and Iraq, which are still locked in armed conflict. I renew here my appeal to them to cease hostilities and search for a settlement of their differences by peaceful means.

217. My country's firm devotion to the principle of the peaceful and negotiated resolution of conflicts using all the mechanisms provided for in the Charter of the United Nations led Portugal to be a sponsor last year of a resolution adopted by the Assembly requesting the Secretary-General's intervention in the question of East Timor. Portugal continues to believe that the framework outlined in resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982 is suitable and therefore respects the Secretary-General's decision to defer to the next session of the General Assembly the effective fulfilment of the mandate he received to find a solution to the problem. The international community, whatever its interests, cannot suppress the right of a people to its cultural, social and political identity or violate decisions of the United Nations. The General Committee, when deferring the debate to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly and keeping the subject on its agenda, was offered no opposition, a fact which cannot but be considered as a clear reinforcement of the role of the United Nations in the treatment of the item and of the mandate of the Secretary-General, who has now substantially broadened his basis of legitimacy and his effective possibilities of action. We hope that next year the Secretary-General will be able to take the appropriate action and that it will not meet with uncalled-for

resistance by any Member State. Portugal will continue to have an open mind and will give its total support to the Secretary-General's actions.

218. Recent news of the increase of military operations in East Timor and of the difficulties raised concerning the intervention of the International Red Cross justify a growing concern on the part of Portugal and of the world public. Indonesia, because of its past role in the process of decolonization and in the creation of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, should cease immediately all activities which are not in accordance with international law and should adopt a position consistent with the principle of self-determination enshrined in the Charter. Portugal, which undertook a vast task of decolonization, would wish, as administering Power and in co-operation with the Secretary-General, to see the process completed in relation to East Timor, for the greater prestige of the United Nations and the universal heritage of decolonization. The dramatic situation of a people whose right to existence is unequivocally threatened cannot be met with silence or with hypocrisy. The coherence of principles and not mechanism of powers must guide the conduct of Member States in judging this question.

219. The thirty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is being celebrated this year, a fitting occasion on which to remember that the Organization is above all an institution at the service of mankind. Thirty-five years is a short period of time in terms of history, but the experience acquired with regard to the need to protect fundamental human rights is of the utmost importance. The passing of time has conclusively confirmed what the Universal Declaration already anticipated, that is, that such basic matters as the peace, security and prosperity of the world are strictly related to the recognition, protection and advancement of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

220. In the field of human rights such a perspective lays on the Organization a dual responsibility: the definition of principles and the enunciation of a code of conduct on the one hand, and the supervision of their effective implementation on the other. With regard to human rights in particular, the law that we would wish to see become the rule must be universal. All States are called upon to play a role in the establishment of that law.

221. The Government of Portugal has already shown in practice its deep commitment to the achievement of that goal, as Portugal has become a party to the main international instruments concerning human rights.

222. The work of the United Nations in the creation of a code of conduct in the field of human rights, while of the utmost importance, is not sufficient. We believe that there are still several gaps to be filled. I am thinking of the right to life, enshrined in article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and of the possibility of elaborating in the framework of this Organization a second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights with a view to abolishing the death penalty. As a pioneer in this matter, Portugal has very actively supported this initiative and will continue to do so.

223. The conference held this year in the context of the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination is undoubtedly an event of great significance to the international community and deserves from us a twofold evaluation. On the one hand, our participation in the conference and our favourable vote on the final documents indicate Portugal's firm support for its traditional conviction with regard to all international efforts to

eliminate *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination. On the other hand, we regret that the introduction of elements extraneous to the goals initially agreed upon for the Decade made it impossible to take advantage of this opportunity to create a consensus of the international community on the abolition of *apartheid*. Even though we wish, in the name of values of co-existence historically acquired and defended, to see the *apartheid* system completely eradicated, we cannot support formulations in the Programme of Action adopted at the conference [see resolution 38/14, annex] which do not aim primarily at favouring and stimulating the necessary changes in South African society. Divided, we shall not serve the elimination of racism or the abolition of racial discrimination.

224. As for the preparatory activities for the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, the international community has wisely taken the path of consensus. When speaking of international activities to eliminate discrimination based on sex, I cannot fail to mention the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women [resolution 34/180], which enshrines as international law the principle of equality between men and women. The Portuguese Government follows with the greatest interest the evolution of this important international instrument and expresses its satisfaction at seeing a Portuguese woman among the experts elected to the committee which controls its implementation.

225. The world economic situation and its political repercussions are also a cause of concern to my Government. The complex picture of the world economy reveals contradictory signals. There are signs of recovery in some industrialized economies, but unfortunately the main features of the world's worst economic crisis since the Second World War persist. The interdependency of the global economy has today become a clear reality, which is finally beginning to be recognized at the highest political level. The recession in the industrialized countries led to the stagnation of international trade and the reduction of the flow of capital to the developing countries. Those negative effects in turn caused the increase of unemployment and the worsening of the crisis in the more developed economies. Whilst it spares no country, the recession has affected the least developed countries more dramatically.

226. The global problems affecting us urgently demand a global approach and global solutions. From the outset Portugal has supported the holding of global negotiations which would allow comprehensive and integrated discussion of the various questions. We continue to support this project, and we hope that the results of the important meetings which took place this year, such as the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi, the Summit of Industrialized Nations at Williamsburg and the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will be translated into concrete results, paving the way to a real improvement in the world economic situation.

227. My Government believes in joint, concerted action aimed at restoring economic growth and full employment in a more just world economy and at revitalizing the North-South dialogue. It is necessary to create conditions for a healthy and lasting expansion based on awareness of mutual interest and interdependence. The harmonization of economic policies must be carried out so as to reconcile the efforts of each country and to ensure their real effectiveness in trying to achieve a revitalization of the global economy, promotion of employment, increased

production, stabilization of the financial market, strengthening of the financial system in general, maintenance of open trade relations and the normalization and increase of the flow of capital and transfer of resources to support and improve the development process.

228. My country, which is at an intermediate stage of economic and technological development, has striven for recognition of the existence of different real levels of development. Such recognition is essential and would be beneficial. Portugal is simultaneously donor and recipient of assistance essential to national development. We therefore understand not only the difficulties affecting the more developed economies, but the needs of the developing world.

229. The problem of energy, which has extremely adverse consequences for my country's balance of payments, the need for investment and technology, the effect of certain protectionist measures and the difficulties of the international financial system constitute limitations to which Portugal is particularly sensitive and which hamper the implementation of measures necessary to our development process.

230. Portugal's adherence to the European Communities is one of the first objectives of my Government's policy and is actively supported by the Portuguese people. But whilst it is true that political, economic and geographic ties closely bind my country to Europe and make our integration entirely valid, Portugal also believes that its presence and active participation in the European Communities will give a new dimension to its relations with countries and peoples from other continents to which we are no less bound by indestructible historic and cultural ties. I stress our relationship with Africa, which we consider especially important—in particular, with the Portuguese-speaking African countries.

231. The horizons opened up to us are vast, and we congratulate ourselves that the existing potential is being translated into solid reality. This co-operation has had a predominantly bilateral basis, but, given the economic dimensions of our country, we have also tried to resort to and increase the means of trilateral co-operation, not just with third donor countries but also with international institutions on the basis of previous agreements between the recipient countries and Portugal.

232. Taking into consideration the fact that in an interdependent world information is a decisive factor in the economic, social, cultural, moral and spiritual development of societies and States, it is vital that the international community create conditions which permit an increasing free exchange of information and an improvement in the world system of communications without any hegemony leading to loss of character. The Portuguese Government understands, and cannot but support, the collective yearning, many times voiced in international forums, for a new world order of information and communication based on the development of a human and technical infrastructure favouring constructive dialogue and co-operation between Governments, regions, local communities and citizens.

233. Portugal considers that freedom of opinion and freedom of expression constitute the basis of all democratic societies, inasmuch as they are the guarantors of respect for other fundamental rights of man. It is the duty of States to provide the institutional conditions which will permit freedom while respecting plurality of opinions. These being values and objectives which Portugal defends and, indeed, implements, my Government would like to have them shared by a larger number of States, since their affirmation, enshrined in the Charter of the

United Nations, is one of the fundamental duties of the Organization.

234. The persistence of situations of conflict, in violation of universally accepted international law, confers particular importance on the collective efforts at objective evaluation of hotbeds of tension in the present international scene. That is why I do not want to end this intervention without referring to the heavy responsibility resting on the United Nations, precisely because it is the most universal of all international organizations, and especially on its Secretary-General, whose report is once again proof of the distinguished and well-balanced way in which he has carried out his mandate.

235. The efforts made here will determine the real possibilities of co-operation among nations, co-operation which, given the increasing ties of interdependence, is ever more essential for international security and prosperity and for a corresponding climate of justice, peace and harmony between people. Let us be more loyal to the United Nations. Let us fight for the establishment of a world order of law, which is a permanent aspiration of all peoples of the earth. Let us make of this institution a real instrument of harmony, and not a systematic stage for confrontation. Let us be faithful to the Charter of the United Nations.

236. Mr. HALLGRÍMSSON (Iceland): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate Mr. Illueca on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that his vast experience in this forum and in world affairs will be of great help to him in guiding the Assembly towards solutions of the many problems to be dealt with at this session. I am particularly pleased to see a distinguished representative from the Latin American region presiding over this session, and I sincerely hope that the United Nations will be able to contribute significantly to current efforts aimed at resolving burning issues in that part of the world.

237. I should like to take this opportunity to welcome to the Organization the 158th Member State, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

238. I should also like to seize this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General and his staff for their unselfish but too often unrewarding efforts in helping to solve the manifold problems which beset the world community and fall within the scope of the Organization.

239. Earlier this year, members of the Icelandic Government and government officials had the opportunity to discuss some of these questions with the Secretary-General during a most useful official visit that he undertook to the Nordic countries.

240. Ever since Iceland became a Member of the United Nations in 1946 our participation in the Organization has been a cornerstone of our foreign policy, and this was recently reaffirmed by the new Government which took power at the end of May. In the beginning it was our hope that the Members would have the good fortune to make the Organization strong and influential enough to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes and prevent conflicts. This hope has unfortunately not been realized, as demonstrated by the current state of world affairs. It is for this reason and because of a constant threat of war that Icelanders have been obliged to adopt a security policy based on the inherent right to self-defence, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

241. More than three decades ago the Icelandic Government deemed it necessary to join NATO and to conclude a defence agreement with the United States. By doing so we joined an alliance of friendly nations which share the same ideals of freedom and democracy. We still

need this alliance. It is therefore untimely, in the opinion of a large majority of my countrymen, to contemplate any change in policy in this respect. All of us look forward to the day when such special defence arrangements will no longer be necessary, but we are determined to maintain our vigilance as long as necessary while also supporting the United Nations in fulfilling the role which we originally expected the Organization to discharge. We wish to add our small but sincere contribution to the efforts to create a basis for peace and freedom for all nations.

242. To be sure, the situation around us is not bright, and any solution seems distant. There are violations of human rights in Eastern Europe and elsewhere around the world. There is a war in Lebanon which we hope will end following the cease-fire. A war between Iraq and Iran goes on. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan continues, in spite of United Nations resolutions, and the Vietnamese still remain in Kampuchea. South Africa maintains its policy of *apartheid* and completely disregards decisions by the United Nations. Central America is threatened by war. And the cruel act of the Soviet Union in shooting down a Korean passenger aircraft has demonstrated the use of methods which must not be tolerated or repeated.

243. While this state of affairs continues, it is estimated that \$800 billion will be spent on armaments this year—which certainly could have been better used for other purposes. It is estimated that that sum of money equals the income of 1.5 billion people in the world's poorest countries.

244. Although it is unfortunate that the United Nations has not been as successful as we originally had hoped, we must not give up. These fateful issues that concern war and peace must continually be under discussion and consideration by the United Nations in the General Assembly and the Security Council. The nations of the world must continue to consult, and arms and might must not be allowed to resolve the issues. It is particularly important for small nations like ours that the United Nations act decisively, even though it may take a long time before the rule of law and order is respected in relations between nations. The United Nations must be successful in avoiding the dangers of armed conflicts and must change its methods to resolve disputes.

245. The difficulty lies in resolving the mutual distrust that reigns among the nations of the world. Some States—fortunately few—appear to be building up their military potential to follow up the policy of domination and expansion, and others, as a result of this, are compelled to take corresponding defensive measures.

246. The crux of the matter is the increasing policies of domination and interference by States in the affairs of others, coupled with widespread disrespect for human rights and an unequal distribution of the wealth of nations.

247. Soon the thirty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be celebrated. Recently, many of us who are gathered here agreed to the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting, which reiterates the Helsinki Final Act⁷ and adds several provisions regarding human rights, human relations and measures to ensure trust among nations and peoples.

248. Our belief in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person is confirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These declarations must not continue to be a dead letter, as has been the case in most parts of the world. The gap which separates solemn obligations and their implementation must

be bridged. This will best be achieved by instituting and strengthening the system of democracy, in which the rights of the individual are observed and secured and government is the servant of the people and not their master.

249. I once visited one of the greatest zoos of the world in the company of its director. I asked the director which animal was most difficult to keep. He instantly replied: "*Homo sapiens*". Even though such an answer gives food for thought, we do not want a world where people are kept behind bars. We do not want closed borders that turn whole countries into prisons. We believe that freedom of information and human interrelations across borders remove suspicion and that democracy gives protection against those who govern. In democracies, the leaders must obtain a majority to appropriate funds for armaments, as opposed to the practice of dictatorships. Democracy is therefore a means toward disarmament, but democracy must not become its own undoing, while dictatorships continue their arms buildup.

250. We must maintain our demand for mutual and complete disarmament under effective international verification. The development of the arms buildup has been such that arms reduction and disarmament will not be a simple matter. There is some argument as to how a balance may be defined and achieved in this respect. And the possibility that a scientific breakthrough in this field may alter the overall situation as did the atom bomb in the Second World War encourages the super-Powers to spend huge amounts on military research and development.

251. These facts should further demonstrate the dire need for tangible results in the ongoing negotiations between the super-Powers in Geneva relating to strategic weapons and intermediate-range missiles. We welcome indeed the new United States proposals which President Reagan explained earlier today [5th meeting]. Now it is up to the Soviet Union to respond in a positive manner.

252. We Icelanders base our economy first and foremost on the resources of the sea. We are therefore deeply concerned about the military buildup in the oceans. A minor mishap, not to mention any major disaster, could have the gravest consequences for our fish banks, and thus on the whole on our economy. But not for us alone. The oceans as a foodstore for mankind, millions of whom are starving, makes their preservation our common concern. Let us bear this firmly in mind and act accordingly.

253. Iceland and the other Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, all regard the United Nations as having a key role to play in our efforts to improve the international situation. The noble goals set out in the Charter have as yet to be realized, but the Charter and its goals remain nevertheless valid. We, individually, must all renew our vows to fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by us under the Charter. Some measures are also required to strengthen the ability of the United Nations to play its key role, and in particular to act effectively to halt conflicts and settle crises in order to preserve peace in the world.

254. This last question has of late been the subject of a study undertaken jointly by the five Nordic countries. That study produced a report which was transmitted to the Secretary-General on 10 June last and, at the request of the five countries, circulated by him as an official document of the General Assembly. I shall cite here two points we consider especially important in the conclusions of this Nordic report, which we hope will be closely studied by other delegations:

"The efficiency of the Security Council should be improved. The Council should develop procedures for initiating action in an early stage of conflicts in order to prevent the use of force. The Council should also devote more attention to the implementation of its decisions. Periodic meetings of the Council in accordance with the Charter should be seriously considered.

"Relations of trust and co-operation between the Security Council and the Secretary-General are of crucial importance for the ability of the United Nations to prevent or to solve conflicts. The Secretary-General should be given all possible support in his endeavours to make full use of the role assigned to him by the Charter in this field." [See A/38/271.]

255. Our hopes will, however, not be realized unless the atmosphere of hostility which now exists is improved. These strained relations are reflected in the work of the Security Council and, indeed, in that of the whole United Nations system, and they impede the efforts to find solutions to immediate as well as long-term problems.

256. I have deliberately dwelt on issues that our nations and the Organization have not been able to solve. I have chosen to discuss the issues generally and on a wide basis, rather than to go into particular matters. But in spite of disappointment and near desperation over the many unresolved issues with which the world community is faced, let us not forget the progress that we have made on the issues we have been able to solve.

257. One of the most notable accomplishments of the United Nations is the conclusion of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea signed in Jamaica nine months ago, after long and arduous negotiations. This result is a matter for great satisfaction, and it is hoped that the Convention will enter into force as soon as possible. It not only marks an end to numerous disputes over the law of the sea but offers a framework for the settlement of such conflicts. It also stands as a monument and as proof, reminding us that with patience and endurance complex problems facing the world community can be peacefully solved. As such, the Convention is a source of both satisfaction and encouragement, and holds out promise for the future.

258. We all hope that the United Nations may prosper and grow in influence in years to come.

259. Mr. FARAH (Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): It is an immense pleasure for me to congratulate Mr. Illueca, on behalf of my delegation, on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly. His election is a tribute to his country and decisive proof of the profound confidence which his remarkable qualities as a skilled diplomat have inspired in his colleagues. We are convinced that he will be able to exercise the necessary skill in conducting the work of the Assembly, which has the difficult task of resolving at this session the complex issues before it.

260. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Imre Hoilai of Hungary, whose efforts and devotion assured the success of the preceding session.

261. May I also pay a particular tribute to the Secretary-General for his constant and unceasing efforts to discharge the difficult and sometimes dangerous duties incumbent upon him in safeguarding the lofty ideals on behalf of which the Organization was founded.

262. My delegation is pleased to congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on its independence and most warmly welcomes its admission into the always growing family of the United Nations. We wish Saint Christopher and Nevis every success and we look forward to working in close co-operation with this country.

263. Every year we meet in the Assembly to review our experiences and exchange views on current international questions in order to try to determine a course of action which could promote international peace and security.

264. We are concerned and uneasy at the extremely unfavourable situation in which the world finds itself because of the escalation of hostilities and the aggravation of tension on practically all continents.

265. We are taking part in the work of the United Nations in the profound conviction that the Organization can and should be the best possible forum for bringing about a climate of tolerance and justice and creating the foundations for a new harmony in international relations. It is in this spirit that the Republic of Djibouti remains firmly devoted to the principles and purposes of the United Nations and that my country joins other States in proclaiming its readiness to co-operate and work in full solidarity for the success of this session. We are convinced that if all countries were more resolutely devoted to the Organization and its Charter, they could make progress towards peace and justice and that co-operation would be based on the principles of independence, equality and human dignity.

266. Thanks to the Almighty, the Republic of Djibouti and its Government, guided by the political experience and wisdom of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, have adopted a policy aimed at granting to all, within the available resources, the exercise of basic social, economic, political and religious rights, as well as full enjoyment of freedom.

267. The Republic of Djibouti is resolved to create and develop the bases of its economic and social structures, in keeping with the principle of collective self-sufficiency, in order to achieve its national objectives. My Government is endeavouring to resolve the very serious economic difficulties impeding progress towards those aims.

268. The economy of the Republic of Djibouti consists mainly of the service sector. This service economy is entirely dependent on trends in international trade, which are beyond our control. The urgent need to offset the risks of the dependence involved in this kind of economy has prompted the Government of Djibouti to launch a comprehensive programme to revitalize and modernize its tertiary sector and to create a sound foundation for the development of a productive but diversified economy by promoting new sectors, such as industry, agriculture, livestock farming and fisheries.

269. The recent inclusion of Djibouti on the list of least developed countries emphasizes the fact that it is urgently necessary to help Djibouti overcome its economic difficulties.

270. In order to resolve its economic problems the Government of Djibouti has decided to adopt a development strategy with various goals. The development targets of the Republic of Djibouti are set forth in the Economic and Social Guidelines Law and comprise the development of Djibouti as a major maritime port, efforts to combat poverty in urban and rural areas, industrialization and reduction of food dependence and energy dependence. If these targets are met, Djibouti will have not only the solid foundations so essential for developing its economic activities but also a better chance of reaching a level of economic viability that will enable it to contribute to efforts to achieve collective self-sufficiency, as reflected in the action being undertaken to bring about viable economic co-operation among the developing countries.

271. The Republic of Djibouti cannot, however, successfully carry out this development strategy solely by

its own means, without the financial, material and technical support of the international community. In this connection the Government of the Republic is organizing a pledging conference, to be held in the city of Djibouti from 21 to 23 November 1983, in order to set out its development programme and its financing needs in the hope of winning the support of Member States and international organizations. The Republic of Djibouti is pinning all its hopes on the success of this conference for the launching of its socio-economic development programme and the consolidation of its national independence. The implementation of its development programme will also help Djibouti to play a full regional and international role in efforts to promote peace and stability.

272. I now turn to the question of refugees. Efforts to find a solution to this problem have always been a major concern for my Government, since there is practically no capacity to absorb refugees in Djibouti. The actions now being taken as a result of an agreement between the Governments of Djibouti and Ethiopia and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in order to find a lasting solution to the refugee problem are encouraging. Repatriation freely consented to by refugees is the most appropriate solution. The process of repatriation on a strictly voluntary basis is backed up by a programme to rehabilitate refugees in their countries of origin. The programme is spread over several months. Initial operations started on 19 September 1983, and 700 refugees have already been resettled in their villages of origin.

273. Since the achievement of our own objectives has taught us to coexist with all countries in a genuine spirit of co-operation and understanding, we are equally devoted to the principle of good-neighbourliness, and we reaffirm our desire to maintain a prudent policy of positive neutrality in our international relations.

274. We respect and fully support the tireless efforts being made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to preserve the principles and fundamental ideals on which it was founded, in the teeth of the constant tensions engendered by the international crisis. We are convinced that these ideals are in complete harmony with the principles to which the non-aligned countries intend to adhere both nationally and internationally.

275. We call upon all countries to respect the sovereign and inalienable rights of other countries which are free to choose, without foreign influence, the nature of their political, economic and social systems, as well as the kind of relations they want to have with other States and international organizations.

276. We vigorously oppose and condemn the oppression of one people by another and the denial of the exercise of the fundamental rights of a people. We equally condemn all policies of segregation and racism, including zionism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

277. We are deeply concerned by the constant rivalry between the super-Powers, which are vying for various spheres of influence in many parts of the world. We are convinced that this rivalry fosters tension in these areas, and we make a pressing appeal to them to refrain from undertaking any actions and initiatives which would aggravate an already extremely perilous international situation.

278. Regarding the international economy, the events of recent years have increased the tensions which beset international economic relations, and we are very concerned about the deterioration of the world economic situation. The speed and extent of the effects of the deterioration of the international economic situation

have taken on catastrophic proportions and threaten the peace and stability of the most seriously affected regions.

279. To face the present difficulties affecting the world economy and the structural and adjustment problems in all sectors of the national economy, we must seek the best possible way of working out a new order of international economic relations which will help to promote economic and social stability. No one can gainsay the vital need for economic recovery at a time when three quarters of the world population are in an extremely difficult economic situation, with very dubious economic prospects, and when one third of this population live in a state of poverty and deprivation. The world cannot stand idly by while vast human and material resources are wasted on the arms race. There can be no equitable and viable system of international economic co-operation without a radical change in existing structures.

280. Furthermore, the countries of the third world can no longer accept a status which does not involve them on an equal footing in world efforts to promote genuine economic development in conditions of stability that will give every citizen of these countries the opportunity and the right to enjoy a decent social, economic and political life.

281. The crisis at present besetting the world has highlighted the interdependence of nations, and growth can be ensured only through close international co-operation. The Republic of Djibouti is convinced that only joint action on the part of all countries will make it possible to restructure the world economy and to establish more equitable and sound relations.

282. We are very pleased to see that the international community has been pursuing a constructive and serious dialogue in various international forums in various capitals and other important cities of the world, as part of those efforts designed to resolve equitably the difficulties in international economic systems. We are convinced that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held at New Delhi in March 1983, the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, at Buenos Aires in April, the Summit of Industrialized Nations at Williamsburg the following month and the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at Belgrade in June, have all provided excellent opportunities for seeking better solutions to the international economic crisis.

283. Despite all these valuable efforts, we have noted that the prospects for economic recovery are not very encouraging, particularly in the developing countries, and even less in the least developed countries. Nevertheless, we have not lost hope. In this connection, we would like to give our full support to a positive, world-wide dialogue designed to evolve a concerted and global programme of action which could revitalize the world economy and give it new impetus, while at the same time contributing to the accelerated development of the countries of the third world.

284. I turn now to the Horn of Africa. Since independence the Republic of Djibouti has always felt that only dialogue among the parties involved could establish a peace process in that region and has observed a constructive neutrality in this conflict. We have supported all efforts to bring about direct negotiations between the belligerents. We remain convinced that it is only dialogue among the parties to the conflict which will make it possible to reduce tensions and to find a just and peaceful solution to the problems which prevail in that region.

285. As to the region of the Indian Ocean, the Republic of Djibouti, a littoral State, is particularly concerned

at the growth of tension in that part of the world. The Republic of Djibouti attaches great importance to the aim of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace because we are aware of the security questions raised by that concept, particularly for the littoral and hinterland States. This is why we fully support the desire expressed by these States as well as by other peace-loving countries which intend to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, as clearly provided in the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly. We commend the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to convene the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo in the near future. In this respect, we should once again like to make an appeal to all Member States to co-operate in ensuring the success of this Conference.

286. The situation in the Middle East continues to threaten the stability of the countries in the region, as well as international peace and security. The premeditated actions of the Israeli aggressors against Arab countries and the Palestinian people have taken on alarming dimensions which have unmasked the true face of zionism. Israel, protected by its faithful allies, has not balked at committing increasing acts of violence against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories, particularly by pursuing its expansionist policies by setting up illegal colonies and by endeavouring to modify the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

287. It is extremely regrettable that all solutions hitherto proposed to resolve the crisis in the Middle East have not touched the root of the problem of the Middle East. The entire world is convinced that there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East as long as the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are not fully recognized and exercised, including its right to return to its homeland and to establish its own independent Palestinian state. All the efforts to resolve peacefully the question of the Middle East should involve the full association of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in all negotiations which directly or indirectly affect the fate of the Palestinians.

288. The final declaration of the Third Islamic Summit Conference, which was held at Mecca-Taif in January 1981,¹⁶ as well as the peace plan adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, in September 1982 at Fez,¹⁴ indicate how anxious the Arab and Islamic world is to find a peaceful solution to the problem of the Middle East. This plan takes into account the real intentions of the Arab and Muslim peoples and is in harmony with the resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Palestine.

289. In view of this situation and all the peace efforts, the Security Council should meet its responsibilities towards the Palestinian people and make the necessary arrangements to endorse and to follow up the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held in September.¹⁵

290. Lebanon is agony, seeing its sons dying in a war which is not of its own making. The situation which prevails in this country is, simply, the obvious consequence of the repeated aggression to which this State has been subjected. The whole of international opinion has many times condemned Israel's efforts to undermine Lebanese sovereignty.

291. We stand aghast at the magnitude of the bloody events which are destroying the human and material resources of Lebanon. We stand amazed at the interference which has plunged this country into the shadows. It is high time that the voice of wisdom prevailed and

that the carnage was ended. It is high time for all sides to take into account the major and legitimate interests of the Lebanese people.

292. We welcome the efforts made by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia together with the Lebanese and Syrian brothers which have led to a cease-fire. It is our hope and our desire that this laudable action will be crowned with success and that these efforts will make it possible to resolve the Palestinian problem and will lead to lasting peace and stability in the Middle East.

293. The Republic of Djibouti, which supports all efforts at negotiation and dialogue, is fiercely opposed to all those who want to use this tragic situation as a pretext for splitting up this State. Lebanon must preserve its integrity; Lebanon must maintain its sovereignty; Lebanon is one and indivisible.

294. We are extremely troubled by the fact that the conflict between Iran and Iraq continues. This has inevitably resulted not only in a depletion of the material and human resources of those two fraternal Islamic countries, but in a threat to peace and security in that region and in the rest of the world. Once again we reiterate our full support for the efforts and the good offices of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Gulf Co-operation Council in the search for a peaceful solution to this unhappy problem. We urge them once again to redouble their efforts to reach a cease-fire agreement which will make it possible to re-establish peace in that region.

295. We wish to pay a tribute to the Government of Iraq for having taken the positive initiative of proposing a suspension of military operations against Iran and ending the war. We urge the other party to undertake the same commitment. We appeal to those two fraternal Islamic countries to realize the need to resolve their disputes in accordance with the principles of the Islamic fraternity and the solidarity of States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in order to prevent any further bloodshed and destruction.

296. The prevailing situation in southern Africa is a subject of grave concern to the international community and, more specifically, to Africa. The constant tensions and conflicts in this region cannot be eliminated as long as the *apartheid* system of South Africa is not abolished and as long as Namibia is not completely rid of the illegal occupation of the South African régime. Maintaining its intransigent attitude, the Pretoria régime has not changed its policies or its methods of repression of the African majority in South Africa. Although it has been an object of universal censure, the Pretoria régime continues to defy international public opinion, as well as the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

297. We are profoundly convinced and persuaded that no peaceful change can take place until global economic sanctions are imposed as part of a concerted international plan and until a total embargo on weapons is rigorously applied against South Africa, in accordance with the recommendations of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, which was held in Paris in May 1981.¹⁷

298. The deadlock in Namibia may well have unfortunate repercussions and may permanently endanger peace and security in that region.

299. It has become clear that the South African régime is no longer prepared to accept a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question on the basis of the implementation by the United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978), including the organization of free and

fair elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations. Despite the intensive consultations aimed at facilitating the speedy execution of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, South Africa is deliberately trying to deflect the attention of the world public from these objectives and unilaterally puts forward unacceptable pre-conditions in order to thwart any efforts and to prolong the negotiation process which is supposed to lead to the independence of Namibia under the aegis of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

300. It is regrettable that the Security Council cannot fulfil its basic responsibility by preventing South Africa from continuing to subject the Namibian people to this barbaric treatment and consolidating its policy of occupation of the Namibian territory.

301. We condemn the criminal acts of terrorism and armed aggression of South Africa against the independent States surrounding it, that is, the front-line States.

302. The tragedy in Chad has, to our great regret, become a dangerous situation which may well threaten peace and security in Africa. We have been following with grave concern and great exasperation the vicissitudes of this ill-fated and fratricidal war, which is draining the material and human resources of that country and destroying the infrastructure so necessary to it. We are alarmed at the escalation of the conflict which continues to prolong the suffering of the people of Chad and which may well lead to a serious conflict that could take on unforeseeable dimensions.

303. We consider that any initiative on Chad must be aimed at achieving an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign troops to make it possible for the various factions among the people of Chad to become reconciled and to repair the damage done. We urge these factions to work together to bring about the national reconciliation that would provide a sound foundation for lasting peace in Chad. We insist that any agreement concerning the people of Chad should protect them from any intervention, interference or domination from abroad.

304. Regarding Western Sahara, we reaffirm the right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination. In this connection we welcome the efforts of the OAU to promote a just and final settlement of the problem of Western Sahara. We urge the members of the Implementation Committee, together with the parties to the conflict and in co-operation with the United Nations, to take all the necessary steps to ensure that the recommendations of the OAU are properly applied.

305. It is our hope that the recent diplomatic efforts which have been relentlessly pursued by the Maghreb States will also make an effective contribution to what is already being done by the OAU and the United Nations to resolve the question of Western Sahara.

306. The situation in Afghanistan is a subject of grave concern to us all, and a solution must be found for this crisis. We profoundly regret the fact that the occupying Power has as yet not seen fit to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 37/37. In that resolution the vast majority of the international community called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

307. Military intervention and domination have created a tragic situation in Afghanistan, threatening peace and security in that part of the world and thus contributing to the deterioration in international relations. The continuing presence of these forces has created a precedent

jeopardizing the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, as well as the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the States of the region. We are convinced that the only way to put an end to the tragedy of Afghanistan is to respect those principles and to call for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan so that the people of that country may once again enjoy the right to choose their own political, economic and social system free from outside intervention and so that the Afghan refugees may return freely to their homes in peace and in dignity.

308. The situation in Kampuchea has not changed, despite repeated appeals by the international community and the General Assembly for a speedy, comprehensive settlement of this conflict. The Republic of Djibouti reiterates that it is essential for all foreign forces to withdraw from Kampuchea and that there should be an overall political settlement of this question.

309. With regard to the question of Korea, the Government of Djibouti is firmly convinced that inter-Korean negotiations are the only political course for that country to follow. It is essential that this dialogue, in which neither party imposes its views on the others, be resumed as quickly as possible, given the urgent need to reduce present tensions, to re-establish trust between the parties and to bring about a lasting peace in the Korean peninsula.

310. In conclusion, we hope and trust that peace and prosperity will prevail over tension and war. The Assembly, we are quite certain, will respond to the hopes of millions of human beings who wish to build the future of their nation in peace and to construct a better world, where human life will be more real, more concrete. Human beings, wherever they may be, have not been put on earth to make war but to enjoy peace in justice and equality. Compromise, dialogue and co-operation should be our guiding values in helping us to break the equilibrium of terror and fear. We must all concert our efforts and our actions in order to realize the legitimate aspirations of our peoples.

311. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on any representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

312. Mr. BARRINGTON (United Kingdom): Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing my delegation to exercise its right to reply to the speech of the Minister for External Relations of Argentina. It has been a long day, and I shall say no more than a few sentences.

313. The Minister for External Relations of Argentina chose to use the podium in this general debate for a lengthy denunciation of the policies of the United Kingdom in carrying out its Charter responsibilities towards the people of the Falkland Islands, especially its duty to defend them against external aggression. Although his many and varied accusations were without foundation, my delegation will not rebut them point by point now. There is a separate agenda item on the question of the Falkland Islands which will provide the proper place for detailed debate.

314. For the moment I should only like to express my delegation's continued astonishment at the absence in the Argentine Minister's speech of any reference to Argentina's deliberate and unprovoked invasion of the Falkland Islands last year, while the process of negotiation was continuing, or of any mention of the Falkland Islanders' right to self-determination, on which the process of decolonization is based.

315. Mr. BEAUGE (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina cannot accept what has just been said by the representative of the United Kingdom.

316. The question of the Malvinas Islands is very clear, as was said during this very meeting of the General Assembly by my country's Minister for External Relations and Worship. The General Assembly and Special Committee on decolonization have recognized the existence of a dispute over sovereignty between the United Kingdom and Argentina and have expressly stated that negotiation between the parties, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, is the appropriate means to settle this dispute and questions pending between the two countries. Consequently, my delegation repeats that there is no justification whatsoever for the present position of the United Kingdom in rejecting the General Assembly's mandate. The arguments and references just made by the United Kingdom representative are part of a plan to maintain in the South Atlantic a colonial situation unacceptable to the international community.

317. The General Assembly decided to include the question of the Malvinas Islands in its agenda, and at the appropriate time my delegation will speak specifically on that item.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Buenos Aires Platform, adopted at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held from 28 March to 9 April 1983; see *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

² See A/37/123.

³ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

⁴ See *Report of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, Paris, 25-29 April 1983* (A/CONF.120/13), part three.

⁵ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943.

⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

⁷ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

⁸ Convention on International Civil Aviation (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 15, No. 102, p. 295).

⁹ See E/CN.4/1984/3, chap. XXI, sect. A, resolution 1983/36.

¹⁰ *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).

¹¹ "Common Security—a programme for disarmament", report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (see A/CN.10/38 and A/CN.10/51).

¹² See CD/421/Appendix II/Vol. II, document CD/381.

¹³ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43).

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15510.

¹⁵ *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.

¹⁶ See A/36/138.

¹⁷ *Report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, Paris, 20-27 May 1981* (A/CONF.107/8).