



*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. JORGE (Angola) (*interpretation from French*): A few days ago, we had the legitimate satisfaction of learning that the international community had elected to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly a remarkable African diplomat and worthy representative of Zambia. Mr. President, while this choice testifies to the recognition of your merits and is a just reward for the untiring efforts you have made, in particular in defence of the right of peoples to liberty and independence, it also constitutes a tribute to your country, which is known for its commitment to noble ideals and causes and with which the People's Republic of Angola has excellent relations of friendship, solidarity and co-operation. Hence, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, we are very pleased to join in the warm congratulations addressed to you, Sir, and to wish you the greatest success in carrying out such lofty responsibilities.

2. Allow us to take this opportunity to express to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, our deep appreciation and admiration for the worthy and far-sighted way in which he carried out his mandate and our best wishes for success in his presidential functions and for the prosperity of the Panamanian people.

3. We should also like to repeat to the Secretary-General our deepest gratitude for his clarity and exemplary seriousness in the defence of the fundamental principles of the United Nations, as well as the laudable action he has undertaken for lessening tensions and settling numerous conflicts, in spite of the glaring lack of resources made available to him.

4. The United Nations family has just admitted a new Member, Brunei Darussalam. The Angolan Government joins all those who have welcomed that country and wished it a prosperous future.

5. In the hope that sooner or later a growing number of States Members of the United Nations, and not just some, will equally and duly be taken seriously when they address the General Assembly, we are obliged to repeat what we have already said, to the extent that no significant or positive change has taken place which would counteract the progressive deterioration in the international situation during these last four years.

6. At each session of the General Assembly, all of us come to reaffirm our adherence to the noble purposes

and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to repeat our commitment to the cause of freedom, peace, justice, democracy, solidarity, development and co-operation.

7. At the beginning of each statement, almost invariably it is emphasized that the session of the General Assembly is taking place at a very critical moment, even as the international situation has worsened to the point where it seriously threatens the survival of mankind.

8. But between the fine words or the best of intentions and respecting them or carrying them out, it cannot be denied that there is a gap which becomes wider at each session. And all we do each year is repeat ourselves, thus testing the spirit of tolerance or resistance of those who have to do the listening and the credibility of those who are addressing the Assembly.

9. Several times from this very rostrum we have expressed the deep concern of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola over the impotence, the resignation or the abdication of the competent international bodies with regard to facing up to the proliferation of hotbeds of tension, fomented directly or indirectly by the imperialist Powers.

10. No one here should be unaware of the causes and agents responsible for such a dark international picture. We repeat the question: how long will the peoples and Governments that cherish peace and justice have to wait for the adequate bodies existing within the United Nations truly to meet their responsibilities and firmly take the most effective measures—which, by the way, are available to them—with regard to those who violate the fundamental principles of the Charter; carry out colonial wars and foment aggression of every kind, directly or indirectly, against States which take independent and progressive positions; practise economic plundering in the underdeveloped countries and persist in preventing the gradual bridging of the gap between the wealthy or developed countries and the poor or underdeveloped countries; deliberately hinder the serious efforts made by the socialist countries and the progressive and democratic forces to achieve détente, general and complete disarmament, a comprehensive ban on the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons; encourage the arms race, thus assuring fantastic profits for their military consortia and leading to growing increases in military budgets and expenditures; multiply the carrying out of huge military manoeuvres intended to intimidate or even to commit aggression against certain peoples or States; do not respect the relevant resolutions or decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity [OAU]; undermine the authority and the efforts of

the Secretary-General in carrying out his lofty responsibilities by failing to provide him with the necessary means; threaten international peace and security by military intervention and illegal occupation of territories, by interference in the internal affairs of other States and by not respecting the principle of non-recourse to force and of the settlement of disputes by negotiations?

11. All these aspects, but especially the unbridled arms race with its spectre of a nuclear war, involve a phenomenal increase in expenditures, which in turn increases inflation, causing huge budgetary deficits and further reducing the already shrinking volume of economic assistance provided to the underdeveloped countries, a factor which in itself has greatly contributed to the present economic crisis, one which can be solved only by taking measures to establish a new international economic order, a measure already advocated several years ago by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

12. Given this alarming situation, which clearly endangers the future of peoples, and faced with the growing tragedy that is being experienced by millions of human beings who are still deprived of their freedom and their right to choose their own destiny and who do not possess the ways and means to counteract slavery and humiliation, tyranny and poverty, famine, ignorance and disease, it is imperative that at this session the General Assembly commit itself to the search for effective ways and means to solve the problems which afflict mankind.

13. In looking at the problems that face the African continent, we feel once again that the current situation in southern Africa must be given very special attention at this session of the General Assembly, since we are confronted by a type of deadlock in the development of the independence process for Namibia. No one is unaware that the Namibian question was broadly discussed last year in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in the Security Council and in the General Assembly and that, subsequently, diplomatic efforts were undertaken by the interested parties in order to secure, in accordance with the Lusaka understanding of 16 February 1984, the unilateral disengagement of South African troops from Angolan territory and to create adequate conditions for negotiations between the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the Pretoria régime, under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

14. In spite of the serious commitment by the Angolan side and SWAPO, the South African military disengagement, which was planned to take place within 30 days, has not been completed. A series of pretexts have systematically been presented by the Pretoria régime during the seven months that have already passed. It is becoming clear that there is a lack of seriousness on the part of South Africa, which is deliberately trying to delay or prevent the independence process of Namibia by attempting now to establish a double linkage, that is to say, to subordinate the completion of the withdrawal of its troops to the results of the negotiations under way with SWAPO, on the one hand, and to make the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) conditional upon the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola, on the other.

15. In this regard, we feel that it would be useful to recall a passage from the joint declaration of the Angolan and Cuban Governments made on 19 March 1984:

"In the context of this peace effort on the part of Angola, the joint declaration of 4 February [1982] remains in full force and constitutes a basis of principle for any negotiated situation that will eliminate the current tension and ensure peace and full independence for the nations of this region.

"Having strict regard to what is laid down in the above-mentioned joint declaration, the Governments of Cuba and Angola reiterate that they will reinitiate, by their own decision and in exercise of their sovereignty, the execution of the gradual withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist military contingent as soon as the following requirements are met:

"1. Unilateral withdrawal of the racist troops of South Africa from Angolan territory;

"2. Strict implementation of resolution 435 (1978) of the United Nations Security Council, the accession of Namibia to true independence and the total withdrawal of the South African troops which are illegally occupying that country;

"3. Cessation of any act of direct aggression or threat of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola on the part of South Africa, the United States of America and their allies."

"4. Cessation of all aid to the counter-revolutionary organization UNITA and any other puppet group from South Africa, the United States of America and their allies . . .

"Satisfaction of these demands would mean respect for the rules of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations and observance of the many resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity." [See *A/39/138, annex.*]

16. It is therefore clear that the Angolan and Cuban Governments have never questioned the principle, as such, of the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces. It is also clear that the Angolan Government has always taken a flexible attitude as long as doing so does not call into question the guiding principles of its foreign policy and its national interests. Angola has put forward constructive proposals on several occasions. We therefore reject any responsibility for the present deadlock which we find in the independence process for Namibia. Such responsibility lies fully with South Africa and the United States.

17. It seems useful for us to emphasize once again that Namibia is a trust territory of the United Nations and has been one for more than 30 years. This means that every State Member of the United Nations has direct responsibilities with regard to the independence process of that Territory. Unfortunately, it seems that a large number of States Members of the United Nations have forgotten those responsibilities, for when they leave this heavy burden on the shoulders of the Angolan Government they do not act in accordance with the mandate.

18. Furthermore, in 1967 the General Assembly adopted a resolution by which it decided to establish or constitute the United Nations Council for Namibia and to define its mandate [*resolution 2248 (S-V)*].

19. Thus, the following questions arise. Who has prevented the United Nations Council for Namibia from fulfilling its mandate and for what reason? Since 1967, numerous resolutions have been adopted with regard to Namibia's accession to independence and the illegality of its occupation by South Africa. Why did Namibia not accede to independence before November 1975? Was it the fault of the Angolans, who were not even independent, or of the Cubans, who were not even in Angola? How can the responsibility for the delay in the Namibian independence process now be put on the Angolan Government by evoking its alleged intransigence? Has the Security Council nothing to say about the failure to ensure the implementation of its own resolution 435 (1978)?

20. As has been emphasized by the President of the People's Republic of Angola,

"This process, which is unfolding very slowly, is linked to the recent failure of the negotiations on the cease-fire between SWAPO and the Pretoria régime and this makes it difficult to preserve the present atmosphere of détente on the border between Angola and Namibia. It is therefore essential to increase the pressure of international public opinion on South Africa to respect its commitments, establish a cease-fire agreement with SWAPO and announce the date for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978)."

Nevertheless, as also stated by President José Eduardo dos Santos,

"In the southern part of our continent, the People's Republic of Angola continues to be the main target of the global strategy of the imperialist Powers, which are trying to destabilize and paralyse the legitimate nationalist Governments of African countries which are fighting to affirm their identity, independence and national sovereignty."

21. On the other hand, everyone is aware of the progressive deterioration of the internal situation in South Africa, as the contradictions within the hateful *apartheid* régime increase. The valiant fighters of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] persist heroically in their political and military actions, the fundamental rights of the overwhelming majority of the South African people continue to be trampled upon and the brutality and arbitrary detentions escalate. All this could be seen just before and after the adoption of the so-called constitutional reforms.

22. Thus, the time is now propitious for each State Member of the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities and its commitments—if only in the interest of the credibility of this international body—and consequently for each State Member that is able to do so to give assistance of various kinds to SWAPO and the ANC; to provide, individually or collectively, as a matter of urgency, all possible material and financial assistance to the People's Republic of Angola; to begin, at the international and national levels, an intensive, permanent campaign demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory; and to exert every form of pressure on the Pretoria régime and also on its "friends and allies", including comprehensive mandatory sanctions—so often advocated but so far prevented by certain Western Powers from being applied—with the object of bringing to an end the illegal occupation of Namibia and ensuring the implementation of Security Council resolution

435 (1978) without any further delay and without any absurd pre-conditions.

23. We should like now to state or reiterate the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola on a number of specific political questions which continue to disturb international relations and threaten world peace and security.

24. With regard to the situation prevailing in Chad, we feel that it is for the Chadian people to resolve their own problems without any foreign military interference or intervention. We believe that the representatives of that country should be able to decide their own future through negotiations, seated around a table, without constraint or hindrance, in conformity with the efforts and resolutions of the OAU.

25. We reiterate our conviction that the resolution of the conflict between the Frente POLISARIO<sup>1</sup> and the Kingdom of Morocco is to be found in the implementation of resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX)<sup>2</sup> on Western Sahara, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 198<sup>2</sup>. It is to be regretted that the Kingdom of Morocco obstinately refuses to embark upon direct negotiations, which indicates insolent disdain for the sovereign decision of the Heads of State and Government of independent Africa. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with the heroic people of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and particularly with the valiant fighters of the Frente POLISARIO.

26. We reaffirm our unshakeable solidarity with the heroic Palestinian people and their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], in their continuing struggle to regain their homeland, usurped by the Zionist entity, and to establish an independent State. Furthermore, we reaffirm our dedication to the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights, adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which was held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983.<sup>3</sup> We demand once again the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and we salute the efforts of the Lebanese people to ensure their unity, their sovereignty and their territorial integrity. In this context, we are in favour of a Middle East peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation, on a basis of equality, of all the parties concerned or interested.

27. With regard to the tragedy which has befallen the people of East Timor because of the occupation by Indonesian armed forces, it is time for the international community seriously and unambiguously to commit itself to a search for a lasting solution to the problem, which has been dragging on for nine years.

28. Thousands of patriots have been and continue to be imprisoned and tortured. Others have died in armed confrontations or been summarily shot. Yet others die of hunger. The International Committee of the Red Cross is forbidden from entering East Timor in spite of its purely humanitarian mission. As part of the framework of the solution of the conflict through negotiations and in keeping with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), the leaders of the Democratic Republic of East Timor have pro-

posed a peace plan, including direct or indirect talks between Portugal, Indonesia and FRETILIN,<sup>4</sup> under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to debate the establishment of a multinational United Nations force to ensure the operation of a transitional administration, the implementation of adequate provisions for the stationing of belligerent forces, the organization of free and democratic consultations of the Maubere people and the setting of a date for the transfer of sovereignty.

29. It is regrettable that the Portuguese Government is not clearly and firmly meeting its historical, political and legal responsibilities for East Timor and that the Indonesian Government is turning a deaf ear to the peace proposals already presented by FRETILIN, which deserve the unreserved support of the international community.

30. None the less, it is comforting to note the concerns expressed by United States congressmen and senators and also by Pope John Paul II over the genocide of the Maubere people, as well as the positions taken by the workers' parties of Australia and New Zealand.

31. We urge the Secretary-General to continue his efforts until a definitive solution to this situation is found, and we appeal to the member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to identify themselves with and support the struggle of the valiant people of East Timor.

32. Central America has been undergoing extremely alarming developments as a result of the threats and military intervention of the United States Administration, notably in Nicaragua and El Salvador. What is needed in this region is a search for peace through a negotiated political solution. For this purpose, we support the courageous positions taken by the Government of Nicaragua as well as the efforts of the Contadora Group, reflected in the contents of the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex].

33. In order for peace to prevail in Central America, there must be peace in El Salvador and an end to the aggression committed against Nicaragua and El Salvador. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional and the Frente Democrático Revolucionario, which are the only legitimate representatives of the Salvadorian people.

34. We renew our unfailing support for the Cuban revolution and denounce the aggressions and threats against the Cuban people. We reiterate our feelings of solidarity with the peoples of Panama, Grenada, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia and Puerto Rico in their just struggles for their national interests, their independence and their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

35. We reaffirm our support for the efforts to have the dispute over the borderlines between Guyana and Venezuela resolved through bilateral negotiations. On the other hand, and in keeping with General Assembly resolutions, we register our hope that there be, in the immediate future, a start of negotiations between the United Kingdom and Argentina with a view to restoring to Argentina the Malvinas Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands.

36. We also reaffirm our support for the efforts of the Indo-Chinese countries to ensure peace and stability in South-East Asia without any foreign intervention, and for a constructive dialogue among

the parties to the conflict. None the less, we regret and consider it inconceivable that the Kampuchean people are still not represented in the United Nations by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This is an injustice that must be remedied.

37. We reiterate our solidarity with the just cause of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of their country without any foreign interference and with the call for the withdrawal of the American troops from the southern part of Korean territory. To this end, we support the proposal concerning the holding of tripartite negotiations and the adoption of a peace agreement as a substitute for the Armistice Agreement.

38. We also reaffirm our support for the position and efforts made by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the search for the normalization, through negotiations, of the situation in that country.

39. We reiterate also our full solidarity with the people and Government of Cyprus and support their efforts to maintain their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

40. Once again we make an urgent appeal to the Governments of Iraq and Iran to put an end to the war and find a negotiated solution to the dispute that separates them.

41. It is unpleasant to note that the Angolan Government once again finds itself forced to devote the greatest part of its human and material resources to the defence of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The undeclared war that has been imposed upon us by the racist and Fascist South African régime must stop.

42. The Angolan people dearly wish for peace. They have never committed aggression nor do they wish to commit aggression against anyone. They want only to live in peace and work to build a future of progress and happiness in a just society that they have freely chosen.

43. The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

44. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lebanese Republic, Mr. Rachid Karamé, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

45. Mr. KARAMÉ (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of Lebanon and on my own behalf, allow me at the outset, Sir, to associate myself with those delegations that have preceded me in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your wisdom, wide experience and ability will enable you to conduct the work of this session with success.

46. I wish also to express appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Jorge Illueca, for the able manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-eighth session. My own appreciation and that of my country also go to the Secretary-General for his laudable efforts and for his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1].

47. I welcome to the United Nations the newest Member, Brunei Darussalam; we wish its delegation all success in representing its country and defending its rights.

48. Lebanon witnessed the founding of the United Nations and contributed to the elaboration of many of its principles and methods. It attaches paramount importance to the future of the Organization and to the need to secure its objectives and develop its machinery and institutions so that it may become the haven envisaged by the authors of the Charter of the United Nations and the framework in which the world can look towards a better future and permanent peace.

49. The United Nations has acquired a universal character, but at present it finds itself threatened by less and less compliance with its resolutions; indeed, there is increasing defiance of those resolutions. My wounded country knows that, to the extent that the United Nations recovers its ability to solve world problems, so will Lebanon be able to recover its potential to solve its own problems. Hence, Lebanon attaches paramount importance to the process leading to the immediate implementation of the resolutions concerning Lebanon, particularly Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). Through that process, our confidence and world confidence in the Organization will be restored.

50. Lebanon brings before the Assembly today its concerns and preoccupations because, to a large extent, they are an expression of so many of the concerns and preoccupations of today's world.

51. The tragedies that have befallen our people have not prevented it from looking optimistically towards a better future. For the Lebanese optimism has never meant wishful thinking but has always been an expression of genuine possibilities and an effective will. The people of Lebanon, which has experienced the most difficult challenges and faced the worst attacks and acts of aggression, has never given in to despair or despondency and never considered its situation inevitable. Instead, the will of our people has crystallized in the restoration of our cohesion and unity among the various factions of the Lebanese people. This will has resulted in the Government of National Unity, over which I have the honour to preside.

52. The Government of National Unity, which includes all the essential and effective forces in the Lebanese arena, came into existence after much suffering and labour, almost unparalleled in contemporary history. It has renewed hope in closing ranks to pursue the objectives it announced in its ministerial communiqué. These objectives are: security, liberation, political reform and reconstruction. Our Government is determined to deal with the root causes of past events and to reveal to the whole world the will for reform inherent in Lebanon, as were revealed the weaknesses of the past decade. Once our Government has restored confidence in the unity of our country as an essential path to ending conflicts and disputes, it will go on to tackle directly everyday problems with effectiveness and seriousness so that Lebanon's prolonged suffering may be brought to an end, thus leading the country to an oasis of hope, safeguarding stability and gradually restoring normalcy.

53. I am referring to the circumstances surrounding the emergence of the Government of National Unity because that Government has been entrusted not only with the tasks that any Government is usually entrusted with but, in addition to striving to maintain the unity of the Lebanese and restoring security

and stability in Lebanon, it must also endeavour to secure conditions of stability, security and peace in the whole region.

54. Hence, we are conscious of the historical responsibility that we have to bear at this particular juncture, in view of the fact that the tasks entrusted to our Government in the present circumstances affect the situation in the region and are affected by it as well. Therefore, while we are well aware of our energies and potentials, we are also well aware that those potentials have limitations. Consequently, we see that the realities of the Lebanese question are at one and the same time separate from and connected with the basic issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

55. The Lebanese crisis is passing through a very delicate and crucial stage in its arduous course. Lebanon has started to overcome various contradictions which emerged violently a few years ago and to take measures necessary to secure the withdrawal of occupation forces from its territory. It is on the threshold of solving its problems by peaceful means. I find it imperative to focus in my statement on those positive developments, in view of their importance and of the fact that they have a direct bearing upon our destiny and upon the whole region.

56. The immediate priority goals for our Government are: security, liberation, political reform and reconstruction. Obviously, these goals have to be attained as soon as possible, by the most peaceful means and with the assistance of the United Nations.

57. With regard to security, the Government has already drawn up and completed a comprehensive security plan that has led to the extension of the territory under the control of the State. It succeeded quickly in unifying the capital, Beirut, without bloodshed. It has also put heavy weapons under control and forbidden people who are carrying weapons to take to the streets. The Lebanese army and internal security forces have taken on the responsibility of maintaining security in Beirut. Both the harbour and the airport in Beirut have been reopened. The Government is striving to implement the next stage of its security plan, which is aimed at opening the international routes, consolidating security and stabilizing the economy.

58. There is no doubt that a new awareness has started to govern the political conduct of the Lebanese and to guide them in their practices. This awareness has been forged by successive disasters and pain. The Lebanese have come to realize that they have to face their accumulating problems by themselves and that the responsibility of saving their country and restoring peace and stability is, in the first place, that of the country's people and leaders. They have already embarked upon the course designed to overcome their country's plight and have succeeded in laying the solid and practical foundations that should enable them to establish a new social, political and legal infrastructure on the basis of which they can live and work in the future. However, their patient efforts are still obstructed by extraneous elements beyond their will and control. Undoubtedly, the continued Israeli occupation of Lebanese territories is the most prominent and dangerous of those elements.

59. I turn now to the question of liberation. The continued Israeli occupation of part of my country is of a unique and tragic nature that transcends the

magnitude of any regional or border dispute experienced by the Middle East for decades.

60. The magnitude of the invasion to which a small country like Lebanon has been subjected, its disastrous effects on innocent civilians, the massive destruction that has struck the whole country have made of this invasion a very serious and violent phenomenon that has to be tackled separately and brought to an end as soon as possible.

61. The continued Israeli occupation of parts of my country threatens its existence and jeopardizes the possibility of restoring its unity and cohesion in the foreseeable future, because Israel is occupying one third of Lebanon and directly controlling one fourth of its population.

62. The question, then, is not one of borders that have to be drawn or posts that have to be controlled. If that were the case, it would be easier to reach an understanding, because the legal background is clear and the principles and texts that confirm the rights of Lebanon in all these fields are available. What is at stake now is the future and existence of an independent State that is a Member of the United Nations, indeed, one of its founders. A country threatened by division and the fragmentation of one of its parts remains under occupation. Therefore, and in order to find the means to eliminate the consequences of the occupation in my country—an occupation that has claimed thousands of lives and caused enormous damage, displacement and agony—I find it necessary to put before the Organization the basic principles of my Government's policy on this vital matter.

63. First, Lebanon is determined to regain control over all its occupied territories within a limited time. It considers that total Israeli withdrawal beyond internationally recognized boundaries is urgently necessary and has absolute priority.

64. Secondly, the people and the leadership of Lebanon fully realize that the continuance of the occupation of a large part of their country by Israel jeopardizes their very existence. They agree on the need for the State to use all the means available and make every possible effort to end that occupation. Those that focus on certain alleged differences and on the failure of some people to contribute to the task of liberation that must be carried out by them show a tragic ignorance of the realities of the present political situation in Lebanon and of the unswerving determination of the whole Lebanese nation, of all factions, to regain its rights and reunify its homeland.

65. Thirdly, the Israeli practices in southern Lebanon constitute a daily violation of most of the principles of the United Nations and the provisions of international conventions which Israel claims to respect. The population of the occupied territories is being subjected to every form of oppression and persecution. This has been verified by several impartial bodies and dealt with in detail in clear and precise reports of organizations whose credibility cannot be questioned. Those practices have also been the subject of numerous complaints submitted by Lebanon as official documents of the General Assembly. The latest of these complaints was that submitted to the Security Council<sup>5</sup>—a complaint whose fate is only too well known to all. The suffering is still continuing in physical, moral, economic and military forms that affect the daily lives of our citizens. Hundreds of innocent people are still in detention camps, held without charge, endlessly awaiting trial.

Measures aimed at isolating the occupied territories from the rest of the homeland have become so severe and arbitrary that the members of a family must wait for long weeks before they receive a permit enabling them to pass through the narrow gates which the occupation forces condescend to open every now and then. The process of destroying the economy of the south is in full swing and includes the well-known projects for exploiting the waters and other resources of that part of the country. All these inhuman practices are a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.<sup>6</sup> Lebanon, while awaiting the total withdrawal, calls once again upon all States members of the Security Council to review its complaint in this context in a spirit of justice and right and to make it possible for the Council to take effective measures aimed at putting an end to all those practices.

66. It was natural that these excesses should lead to the formation of a national movement of armed resistance against the occupation. That resistance is irrefutable proof of the vitality and dignity of the Lebanese people. It is an expression of their determination to regain their rights, sovereignty and freedom. Lebanon is proud of this resistance; it sees in it a pure, shining reflection of the faith of the Lebanese people in their homeland, and the exercise of a legitimate right recognized and achieved by all States and peoples throughout history that have been subjected to occupation and invasion.

67. The attempt to depict Lebanon as a centre of terrorism is a distortion of the facts; it is a way of maintaining the occupation, domination, and interference. Such reasoning is rejected both in form and in content.

68. Lebanon is suffering from acts of atrocity as widespread as the atrocity of occupation, which leads to oppression and the denial of rights. Israel's occupation of the south, western Bekaa and Rachaya and the continuous inhuman practices accompanying that occupation carry with them the seeds of instability and violence. We undoubtedly have to differentiate between the legitimate, heroic resistance in the south and the individual actions of those who, as individuals, resort to violence as an expression of their despair. Surely, resistance is the noblest means of opposing occupation. As for the retaliatory measures, they are but private, suicidal actions taken for personal reasons; they happen in every society, including that of Israel itself.

69. The whole world should know that independent Lebanon is the master of its decisions. Those who challenge this fact are also those who attack its sovereignty and whose aim is to compromise its unity.

70. Sovereign Lebanon's relations with its Arab brothers have always been and will continue to be the central point on the wider spectrum of its relations with the world as a whole. These relations, besides being historical, cultural and traditional, are also connected with our destiny—to the extent that that word has any meaning.

71. If these relations are the distinctive mark of our relations with all the Arabs, what would one expect our relations to be like with a sister country and a neighbour, Syria, with whom we have distinctive ties uniting us in all fields?

72. Such is the situation of sovereign Lebanon, which belongs to its Arab environment, and such is the nature of the reciprocal responsibilities between it and all the other Arab States.

73. Fourthly, Lebanon considers that the General Armistice Agreement concluded between Lebanon and Israel on 23 March 1949,<sup>7</sup> and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 73 (1949) of 11 August 1949, is the legal basis for Israeli-Lebanese relations. Israel's claim that this Agreement is no longer in force as a consequence of the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 is false. As the United Nations is well aware, in 1967 Lebanon did not take part in the hostilities against Israel, nor did it declare war against Israel. The Armistice Agreement has remained in force, and in compliance with it, there were meetings of military personnel long after 1967, which confirms the fact that it still remains in force. The Lebanese Government considers that the Armistice Agreement has a permanent character and that it will remain in force until it is officially and explicitly amended by the two signatories under the supervision of the United Nations.

74. Fifthly, Lebanon considers that Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) constitute the sound legal basis for the process of Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese territories. It is noteworthy that those two resolutions provide for immediate and unconditional withdrawal. Israel, as a Member of the United Nations, must implement those two resolutions and must cease to ignore them. The international community—especially the Security Council and its members—assumes a heavy responsibility towards the people of Lebanon and the inhabitants of the south, western Bekaa and Rachaya and must take the necessary practical steps to put an end to Israel's disregard of those resolutions.

75. Sixthly, the Lebanese Government is willing to take all the military and administrative measures necessary to ensure the safety of the population in southern Lebanon. It has prepared an integrated plan for the deployment of the army at the border areas in the wake of the withdrawal of Israeli forces. Lebanon welcomes any mediation effort or assistance, whatever the source, with a view to reaching an agreement on the security arrangements to be implemented in the south.

76. Seventhly, Lebanon regards the role of the international forces in the south as central and of paramount importance in supporting the Lebanese army upon the withdrawal of the Israeli forces. Their contribution in this respect is indispensable during the first phases of the Lebanese army's deployment. Therefore, Lebanon calls for measures to support those forces by increasing their number, widening the area of their deployment and reinforcing their effectiveness—in other words, to enable the Lebanese State to re-establish its legitimate authority over those territories extending to the internationally recognized borders.

77. I wish to refer here to the relevant proposals of the Secretary-General, as contained in his report of 9 April 1984,<sup>8</sup> since they form a solid basis for formulating an integrated programme to support those forces, which have played an effective and positive role. Those units have performed their task in very difficult conditions and with limited capacity. Lebanon wishes to pay a tribute to UNIFIL, hoping that it will persevere in the performance of its noble

task. It reaffirms its gratitude to the Governments that have contributed and are still contributing to those forces, despite the difficulties they face.

78. While we reaffirm our commitment to assign to those forces an appropriate role, we state our willingness to define the new tasks that will enable them to shoulder greater responsibilities, whether at the border or inside the camps, even in monitoring the withdrawal and helping the Lebanese army to extend its authority to all the occupied territories.

79. Eighthly, Lebanon is prepared to contribute to any political initiative designed to resolve the whole Arab-Israeli conflict. It subscribes to the proposal to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. However, Lebanon maintains that its cause requires immediate and separate consideration because of its urgency and the highly destructive impact it has on Lebanon's political and social fabric.

80. Ninthly, any security arrangements must respect Lebanon's sovereignty and its rights. They should confirm its solid constituent elements as a sovereign State with inviolable rights and frontiers. Proceeding from this premise, Lebanon will not accept the presence of any military force on the territory of south Lebanon except the forces of the Lebanese army under the legitimate Lebanese authority. Israel's pretext that it does not trust the legitimate Lebanese army and its reliance on illegitimate forces for the maintenance of security there are refutable. If those small groups have proved ineffectual even under the Israeli occupation, what would the situation be if they remained alone to confront the genuine national wrath that is on the increase?

81. Loyalty to Lebanon must take the form of loyalty to the State of Lebanon. The Lebanese leaders and people alike will not recognize any other allegiance. Lebanon considers that the only military force that is entitled to join it in the maintenance of security at the border areas is the international force whose role, activity and deployment are governed by clear and detailed international agreements and resolutions that have a time-limit, with the explicit agreement of Lebanon.

82. On the whole, Lebanon considers that any security agreement to be concluded must of necessity confirm the principle of respect for Lebanon's sovereignty and frontiers. If Israel cannot tolerate the violation of its borders and territorial integrity, Lebanon, which has suffered from the violation of its sovereignty, is equally concerned over the inviolability of its territory and its sovereignty.

83. I have attempted here to explain the position of the Lebanese Government *vis-à-vis* the issue of Israel's occupation of a part of the territory of Lebanon and its refusal to withdraw despite its repeated declarations in this respect. I am confident that stressing the principles to be respected will render the negotiating process easier and more effective. We are awaiting the results of the ongoing endeavours, whether on the part of the Secretary-General or of the United States or other friendly countries, and we call upon them to make all possible efforts so that Lebanon may find a way out of its present ordeal.

84. I have already referred to the new spirit inspiring the Lebanese people in their efforts to resolve their problems by themselves. In the mean time, we appreciate the assistance rendered by our numerous

friends, who have extended help and counsel as well as moral support in the most difficult circumstances. However, the Lebanese people realize that the difficulties they face in certain areas make it incumbent upon them to appeal to those friends to continue their assistance and intensify their efforts, particularly as concerns economic assistance.

85. All these years of crisis have caused a great deal of destruction and weakened the economy in both the public and private sectors. These years were severely detrimental to the infrastructure, which was the fruit of hard work throughout the last decade. Preliminary estimates indicate that the damage exceeds \$20 billion, a matter which makes reconstruction an enormous process far exceeding the modest resources of Lebanon at the present time.

86. The Lebanese Government and its competent organs have drawn up many projects, some of which have already been launched according to their priorities. The high priority given to reconstruction and rehabilitation on the part of the Government of National Unity is due to our conviction that such reconstruction is not to be achieved after security has been maintained; rather, it is a tool for maintaining security. If it is acknowledged that security has precedence over reconstruction, then the turning-point that now confronts Lebanon makes it imperative for Lebanon to regard reconstruction as a means for ensuring security. To invest in reconstruction will create confidence in the future success of the security scheme and will lend impetus and vitality to it.

87. The reconstruction policy that we pursue aims essentially at lifting Lebanon from its tragic situation and turning it into a dynamic workshop of building and reconstruction.

88. This is in fact a large-scale process that requires the assistance of all friendly countries, international organizations and specialized agencies that appreciate the difficulties facing Lebanon and are willing to help it overcome its ordeal so that reconstruction takes the place of destruction. While Lebanon expresses its thanks to those countries and organizations, it appeals to them to take part in the enormous efforts required for this process in the near future. Lebanon is quite confident that its Arab brethren will set an example for other countries.

89. We have so far attempted to give an outline of the policies we pursue, as well as our national and international commitments. We strive to ensure that these commitments will conform to the provisions of international legitimacy and to the resolutions and the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, Lebanon's desire is to see that the United Nations remains the focus of serious attention and that its organs are reinforced. This would be conducive to greater objectivity and deeper understanding in relations among States as well as to a stronger resolve to face problems and overcome persistent or potential crises.

90. Lebanon has always been a meeting-point of intellectual and cultural interaction. Therefore, Lebanon has always been at the forefront, playing an effective role throughout contemporary history; this role should be resumed, especially in view of its sufferings throughout the last decade, which make it recognize that violence breeds violence and that man can ensure his rights through dialogue but wastes them through violence. The Lebanese people has endured untold sufferings. As a result, it has become more determined today than ever before to overcome

the crisis which has placed such a drain on its energies. It has come to the conclusion that diversity enriches its national unity, provides a creative impetus and must never be allowed to lead to dismemberment.

91. It has never occurred to us to abandon our hope that Lebanon will recover its strength and resume its mission, even in the dimmest of conditions. We have never lost sight of the light at the end of the tunnel. Thus, the glimmer of hope has become a reality and our vision has become truth. This has always been and will always be the goal of Lebanon. We have inherited Lebanon as a haven of freedom for humanity. This is our cherished legacy to be handed over to succeeding generations.

92. At the close of my statement, I wish to appeal to you because of the heavy responsibilities you bear and because you are the source of hope for all the oppressed in this world: do not disappoint the hopes of those peoples. Lebanon is the testing-ground and will witness what you do. May God give you success.

93. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lebanese Republic for the important statement he has just made.

94. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):\* Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you warmly on your election to your responsible office. I am pleased to greet you as the representative of an African country with which the German Democratic Republic maintains friendly relations.

95. I wish you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General success in your activities.

96. The President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Illueca, deserves our gratitude for his work.

97. The German Democratic Republic congratulates Brunei Darussalam on its admission to membership of the United Nations.

98. I must note with concern that a change for a healthier state of world affairs is not in sight. On the contrary, the danger of nuclear holocaust is greater than ever before. The arms race is assuming dimensions which exceed all previously known extremes. As recent developments show, the arms buildup is intended to extend even into outer space. Terms like "star wars" can give us only a vague idea of the threats to which mankind and the planet earth are exposed.

99. This situation has come about neither suddenly nor unnoticed. It is the dire result of imperialist politics seeking military superiority and domination regardless of the cost. Nuclear war and nuclear blackmail are part and parcel of those politics.

100. There was a straight line from the arms buildup decision taken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] in 1978 to the deployment of new nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe. The peoples have not forgotten that this fateful decision was taken in Washington at the same time when, here in New York, the General Assembly, in the Final Document of its Tenth Special Session [resolution S-1012], which was devoted to disarmament, expressed hopes for peace and a cessation of the arms race. From this rostrum, the socialist States—and definitely not they alone—cautioned

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

against the ominous consequences of the arms build-up. They left no doubt that the stationing of United States intermediate-range missiles on Western European soil would inevitably change the situation in the world and entail a new round of the arms race, for that move was, in fact, the initial step towards a destruction of the approximate military balance existing between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. It was bound to be clear to everyone that the socialist States could not tolerate that. For their part, they had to take adequate countermeasures in order to preserve the foundation on which peace rests in the nuclear age.

101. It is primarily due to this strategic military equilibrium that Europe can now, for the first time in this century, look back to almost 40 years of peace. The history of the United Nations and preceding events show that attempts at military superiority, world-wide domination and diktat are bound to result in war. Anybody who negates this experience assumes a heavy responsibility and proves to be opposed to détente and peaceful coexistence.

102. The repeated warnings of the socialist States have unfortunately proved to be justified. The deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons poisons the atmosphere for negotiations on the basic issues of international affairs, disarmament and arms limitation. The danger of war has increased, and it is accompanied by immeasurable political damage, because confidence cannot possibly grow in the shadow of nuclear missiles that are aimed at the Soviet Union and the other socialist States. A heavy strain is thus put on peaceful international co-operation, which was, in particular in the 1970s, so hopefully advanced and of real benefit to East and West.

103. On the eve of the fortieth anniversary of victory in the anti-Fascist struggle for liberation, the peoples are hoping, first and foremost, that a nuclear catastrophe can be averted and peace in the world again be placed on a more secure foundation. The accumulation of ever more destructive types of weapons can and must be halted, and international developments must return to a state of tranquillity and predictability.

104. Firm action to achieve this aim is expected from the United Nations, which undertook in its Charter to do everything "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

105. We share the view expressed by the Secretary-General that all States are obligated to co-operate when peace is in jeopardy. We also subscribe to his perception that the Charter of the United Nations is irreplaceable. Its principles are as valid as ever; they are and will remain mandatory norms of international life.

106. When all States act in conformity with those principles, force and aggression can be removed from international affairs and conflicts between States resolved peacefully.

107. As a representative of the German Democratic Republic, which on 7 October will celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of its foundation and which, like the United Nations, emerged as a result of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War, I reaffirm on this occasion its commitment to the noble purposes of the United Nations. As it has done so far, the German Democratic Republic

will employ and facilitate all possibilities to pursue international dialogue at this assembly of States and to contribute to effective steps in the effort to achieve a secure peace, arms limitation and disarmament.

108. The dangerous evolution of the international situation can and must be checked. What is essential is the joint and determined action of all those interested in peace. As regards the position of the German Democratic Republic in this matter, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, stated when he recently met with representatives of the peace movement:

"In order to avoid a nuclear catastrophe we will join forces with all who are aware that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence between States having different social systems. Anyone of sincere heart and goodwill who seeks feasible means to secure peace will always find the German Democratic Republic a reliable, constructive partner, whatever the ideological or political camp to which he or she owes allegiance."

Should not all of those who are vested with responsibility let themselves be guided by such a principle?

109. The history of two world wars tells us that we must fight the threat of war before the weapons speak. War must be checked before it breaks out.

110. Arms buildup, territorial claims and chauvinism have always gone hand in hand when wars of aggression were being prepared. That is why we come out strongly against all revanchist and neo-Fascist tendencies wherever they appear, wherever they are tolerated or even encouraged. That is why any attack against the accords of the anti-Hitler coalition or the post-war order in Europe, that is, at the *status quo*, must be met with resolve, since any such attack is an attempt to revise the existing balance of forces, which has been the guarantor of peace.

111. We want the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act<sup>9</sup> to be strictly observed; their signature by the authorized representatives of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe about 10 years ago was a reaffirmation of the existing post-war order in Europe.

112. With the same firmness, the German Democratic Republic speaks out against the cancellation of provisions which, in conformity with Allied post-war agreements, imposed arms restrictions on some countries.

113. With the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at Prague on 5 January 1983,<sup>10</sup> the joint statement of leading representatives of those States, issued in Moscow on 28 June 1983,<sup>11</sup> and the Declaration of the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, issued in June of this year [see A/39/323, annex II], the socialist countries have presented a comprehensive programme for the restoration of a healthier international atmosphere. That programme respects equality and equal security, as well as the legitimate security interests of all parties, and is therefore a realistic basis for concerted action. It combines political steps, which are suited to create the necessary climate of confidence, with proposals for arms limitation and disarmament, which would restrict the material potential for military confrontation. Consequently, it is a programme of material and political guarantees of peace.

114. The prevention of a nuclear inferno remains the key issue. The key itself is the renunciation of attempts to achieve military superiority, and this presupposes an immediate end to the deployment of new United States missiles on European soil and the dismantling of the systems already installed. That would make the countermeasures taken by the socialist countries superfluous; the way would be opened for the resumption of negotiations on ridding Europe of intermediate-range nuclear forces as well as operational tactical nuclear weapons.

115. The recent Soviet proposals which Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko outlined last week before the Assembly [10th meeting] not only confirm the Soviet Union's readiness for serious negotiations, but also contain an urgent call for the holding of such negotiations. Those proposals are fully supported by the German Democratic Republic. We are similarly convinced of the necessity and usefulness of political dialogue, particularly in times of tension and danger.

116. Political dialogue can create confidence and in that way produce results to the extent that the parties mutually respect each other's legitimate security interests. Mere declarations of willingness to negotiate cannot calm the international situation. The desire for peace and willingness to disarm can be measured by concrete deeds. What is essential in this context is the will to take practical steps for the prevention of nuclear war.

117. In this regard, an agreement on certain norms to govern relations between the nuclear-weapon States would be of particular importance. Such norms should include: first, a treaty obligation upon all nuclear-weapon States not to be the first to use nuclear weapons—a commitment the Soviet Union has been the first to undertake—because that would reduce the nuclear threat and pave the way to disarmament; secondly, a general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, because that would restrain the development of new types of nuclear weapons; thirdly, an end to the qualitative arms race in the nuclear field and, especially, the prohibition of the neutron weapon, because that would put a stop to the nuclear arms buildup; fourthly, agreement on a programme for nuclear disarmament and proscription of aggressive doctrines of "limited" or "winnable" nuclear war, because that would point the way for joint steps to reduce the nuclear threat; and, fifthly, the conclusion finally, to complement these measures reducing the nuclear dangers, of a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations, which would be a true confidence-building measure.

118. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones or corridors would be of great importance. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its offer to make its entire territory available for inclusion in such a zone, provided that the Federal Republic of Germany is prepared to do the same, in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security. The German Democratic Republic regards the Joint Declaration of six Heads of State or Government from four continents, issued on 22 May 1984 [see A/39/277], as a constructive move, because it is aimed at preventing nuclear war. Its insistence on a nuclear-arms freeze as an initial step towards a further reduction of the nuclear forces is dictated by reason.

119. In the face of the incalculable risks that would arise from an extension of the arms race into outer space, the German Democratic Republic supports immediate action that would prevent the militarization of space and would place States under the obligation to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, as suggested by the Soviet initiative.

120. The elimination of chemical weapons is a task in which the German Democratic Republic is co-operating without reservation. This applies both to a world-wide ban and to supportive regional measures.

121. Arms buildup policies place heavy strains on economic development in the world. Many States, especially the developing countries, have to pay. The high-interest policy of big business to finance immense military expenditures deprives the developing countries of thousands of millions practically overnight. It is only legitimate that resistance to that policy should be growing in all regions of the world, for the tremendous social problems such as backwardness, hunger, poverty and disease can be mitigated and finally eliminated only in a healthy international climate. The reduction of arms budgets is indispensable for that purpose. This is what the Warsaw Treaty States proposed in concrete terms in an appeal to the member States of NATO on 5 March 1984.<sup>12</sup> We also hold that there is no obstacle that would prevent States which are not members of those military and political groupings from being parties to the proposed measures.

122. The socialist countries are working for broad, mutually advantageous co-operation and calling for a normalization of international economic relations. They support the early commencement of global negotiations within the United Nations framework on the crucial international economic problems.

123. In conformity with its foreign policy principles, the German Democratic Republic continues to assist developing countries as much as ever, even though it also has to carry great economic and political burdens because of the imperialist policies of threat and extortion and the continuing impact of crisis developments in the capitalist part of the world.

124. Thanks to greater efforts by its working population, the German Democratic Republic even increased its assistance to developing countries by five per cent in 1983 alone. We strongly demand implementation of the principles contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] and in the Declaration and the Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. Though adopted 10 years ago, these documents are now more topical than ever.

125. There is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence and co-operation of States on an equal footing, irrespective of their system of society, geographical position and territorial size. The German Democratic Republic calls for prudent action to remove acute sources of conflict, scale down tensions and prevent the emergence of new conflicts. It rejects with the utmost firmness the imperialist policies consisting in direct and indirect interference and overt acts of aggression, such as are practised in particular against non-aligned nations in various regions. The German Democratic Republic strongly supports the proposal by the Soviet Union [A/39/244] for the General Assembly to consider the

"inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States" as an important and urgent matter.

126. The people of Grenada fell victim to naked aggression in 1983. Today they are subjected to brutal occupation and their social achievements are being destroyed.

127. The undeclared war against Nicaragua is being carried on through massive political and military aid for the Somoza mercenaries and through secret-service operations. The mining of ports was condemned world-wide as a terrorist act of violence and a gross violation of democratic international law.

128. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Central America. It supports Nicaragua's initiatives, as well as the efforts of the States of the Contadora Group to settle existing problems by peaceful means and without outside interference or even threat, on the basis of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex].

129. The subsisting volatile situation in the Middle East is giving all peoples cause for deep concern. Any comprehensive, just and hence durable solution of the Middle East conflict presupposes recognition of the rights of the peoples and States of that region, including the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent State. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic urges the early convening of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

130. The German Democratic Republic aligns itself with sorely afflicted Lebanon in its quest for sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity.

131. Israel must immediately withdraw from all the territories occupied since 1967. Hegemonist intervention in the region must be ended. Only in this way can peace, security and development be ensured.

132. We support Cyprus in its struggle for national independence and for a peaceful, just and enduring solution to the Cyprus problem based on the relevant United Nations resolutions.

133. The German Democratic Republic condemns the continuing aggressive policy pursued by the South African racist régime with the backing of other imperialist circles. The German Democratic Republic is aligned on the side of all independent African States and of the ANC and SWAPO in the battle against racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and to organize their own lives in peace, security and independence.

*Mr. Benjelloun (Morocco), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

134. We demand the settlement of the question of Namibia strictly on the basis of United Nations decisions in their entirety, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978). This resolution allows of no "ifs" and "buts" and no linkage whatsoever.

135. We sympathize with the efforts of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to find a political solution to the situation in the region, but such a solution requires first of all an immediate end to the policy of interference in Afghan affairs which imperialist forces have been pursuing and to the warlike

action which they have been instigating and directing against the Afghan people.

136. The German Democratic Republic supports the endeavour of the Indo-Chinese States to establish lasting peace and stability in South-East Asia through dialogue and co-operation among all countries of the region, to reject any external interference and to concentrate all resources on resolving the urgent problems of their countries, as stated again at the Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Vientiane last July. The efforts made by the Lao People's Democratic Republic to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation at the Lao-Thai border deserve United Nations support.

137. The German Democratic Republic continues to support all efforts to convert the Indian Ocean region into a zone of peace. The Conference on the Indian Ocean to be held for this purpose must no longer be delayed.

138. We regard as fully legitimate the insistence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and its efforts to bring about the peaceful and democratic unification of the country without interference from outside. The same holds good for the proposal to hold negotiations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United States and South Korea with a view to converting the Armistice Agreement of 1953 into a peace treaty between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States and achieving a declaration of non-aggression by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea.

139. Both the precarious international situation and the forthcoming fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism should give all States Members of the United Nations cause for redoubling their efforts to strengthen international security.

140. The people of the German Democratic Republic, who live at the dividing line between the two biggest military coalitions and know the meaning of war from their own painful historical experience, have a vital interest in the achievement of that objective.

141. Having risen from the ruins of the Second World War, the German Democratic Republic has grown since its inception 35 years ago to become a State of high political stability and great economic, scientific and cultural achievements. Neither the peaceful construction work of our own people nor that of other peoples must be allowed to be destroyed in a world-wide nuclear conflagration. Hence, the preservation of peace remains the overriding concern of the socialist German State. It is therefore the central issue of our relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany. Over the past three and a half decades, it has been the socialist State's peace policy and stability that have proved to be an important factor in ensuring that movements towards détente in Europe and to living together in peace have originated on German soil.

142. It is only natural that we—and not only we—are worried when those in certain quarters, in spite of accepted obligations of international law, question the results of the Second World War and, in the upcurrent created by the deployment of United States first-strike weapons, harp increasingly on an allegedly open German question and talk of "reunification".

143. To make it perfectly clear, let me say that there is nothing open, nor can there be "reunification". The people of the German Democratic Republic have irrevocably opted for socialism. The socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany—which furthermore belong to opposite military alliances—cannot be merged, let alone reunited. It is as impossible as bringing together fire and water. Between the two States there can be relations only on the basis of international law and of peaceful coexistence. There is no peaceful alternative.

144. This is why we fully understand those politicians who orient themselves on facts established by treaties and are worried about and warn against action to the contrary.

145. True service to the cause of peace resides in helping ensure that the situation that existed before the deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe is restored; that the series of European treaties—the Final Act of Helsinki, the treaties of Moscow, Warsaw, Prague and Berlin, and the Quadripartite Agreement—are strictly observed and revitalized; and that post-war realities in Europe are, as a matter of course, made the basis for all action. Merely to call into question the relevant agreements would be to risk war.

146. The United Nations has proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace. Let us, the Member States, begin now to create the best conditions for making it indeed the beginning of a turn towards lasting peace the world over. The German Democratic Republic pledges its active co-operation in that endeavour.

147. Mr. MAESO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first to congratulate Mr. Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. I am confident that under his leadership the work of the thirty-ninth session will produce positive results. His election constitutes, to our great satisfaction, a further reflection of the outstanding role played by the Group of African States in the United Nations and its active contribution to the international community.

148. At this session we have taken another step towards the universality of the United Nations with the admission of the 159th Member, Brunei Darussalam, to which Uruguay extends a most cordial and friendly welcome and offers its full co-operation.

149. In the annual consideration of our agenda, we are faced with a full range of serious problems arising as a consequence of the world economic crisis and the continued existence of a large number of situations brought about by political tension and even by open conflict.

150. In recent years, our world has not become safer, more peaceful or more just: quite the contrary.

151. I should like to refer specifically to some of the questions that are particularly important to my Government.

152. On the occasion of the opening of the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank, at Punta del Este in March of this year, President Alvarez underlined the fact that the opening of the session coincided with "the most painful crisis of the world economic system". He said:

"Latin America is undergoing the deepest crisis of the last half century. Growth has stagnated. The standard of living of every citizen has worsened in the whole region, thus bringing about the inevitable social and political consequences. This situation of unforeseen regional and world-wide consequences is reflected in an unprecedented debt, the servicing and repayment of which constitute a very high percentage of the export revenue, if not all of it.

"In these conditions—and we emphasize this—the problem cannot be solved. Even if we recognize that the work of reconstruction is a responsibility falling on all the members of the community who wish to make progress, it becomes essential that credit institutions and developed countries accept their responsibilities, taking into account their own capabilities and political and financial interests. Their own growth and stability depend in the end on the economic and social well-being of our countries."

He continued:

"The time has come to abandon sterile diagnoses and to undertake co-ordinated action. The terms of payment of our debt must be rescheduled, reducing interest rates in such a way that the debt may be serviced while we keep a level of revenue-producing exports that can safeguard the social conditions of our peoples. In order for Latin America to continue its development and generate wealth—and this seems to be everyone's goal—we should be able to draw on sufficient external financing while at the same time increasing our exports."

153. Nevertheless, it must be said that, in assuming the responsibility of meeting our obligations and carrying out the relevant negotiations in a sovereign manner, the Latin American countries have found in their adverse situation a source of unity and co-operation.

154. In meetings at Quito, Lima, Cartagena and Mar del Plata, we have produced important documents which clearly articulate our strong and responsible common position, on the basis of which we are ready for a constructive dialogue. We have firmly put forward just and realistic guidelines for the repayment of the debt, taking into account the unavoidable and equitable sacrifices that such adjustment entails for all parties concerned.

155. In this context, we once again strongly support the provisions of paragraph 23 of the Cartagena Consensus, signed on 22 June 1984. On that occasion, the majority of the Latin American countries expressed their readiness "to hold a meeting with the Governments of industrialized countries in order to examine jointly the many aspects, and the economic, social and political implications, of the indebtedness of Latin America" [A/39/331, annex, para. 23].

156. The present situation, in all its gravity, confirms once more the wisdom of our long-standing position concerning the need to eliminate restrictions to trade which seriously affect the developing countries. As exemplified by the present situation, one can claim the validity of the equation encompassing external debt and trade, but one must also accept, as has always been the case, the relationship between trade and development.

157. In this perspective, the protectionism of the industrialized countries and their intervention in international markets with subsidized products con-

stitute a very serious development, which adversely affects the developing countries not only at the economic level but also in the social context.

158. It must be clearly stated that those countries which practise such conduct in matters so vital for the life of peoples and the regulation of their relationships have no moral legitimacy in passing judgement on other aspects of relationships among men, nor do they have the authority to question the political, social and economic consequences brought about by their actions.

159. The crisis produced by the external debt has also underlined the weaknesses of the international financial system, which are greatly increased by the relationship among all the factors.

160. It is obvious that these problems affect not only Latin America: in varying degrees, they affect all the developing countries and are added to the critical food situation, especially in Africa. We have not reached the goal of food security. We must continue our efforts to that end.

161. It is sad to observe that the various multilateral mechanisms have not been able to deal with these issues—as they have not been able to deal with financial and monetary questions—in the depth that the situation requires or with the practical efficiency required. We have not made any progress in the global negotiations, in the revision of the development strategy or in the adoption of immediate remedies. We are facing an acute crisis in international co-operation to a degree which threatens not only the vitality of the multilateral mechanisms themselves but their very existence. We are witnessing an acute crisis in international co-operation to such an extent that we note that it has become impossible to discuss and implement overall long-term policies such as would encompass a comprehensive solution to global problems.

162. We think it is necessary to initiate immediate and concerted practical action to find solutions to the most pressing basic problems, such as those of trade, finance and the establishment of appropriate conditions of food security. That would improve the standard of living of the developing countries in the immediate future.

163. The delegation of Uruguay is ready to cooperate actively in the search for multilateral remedies which could help to solve these problems. We must, however, insist on our offer of honest co-operation, even though this might elicit a response only in terms of an echo of the words themselves. Beyond rhetoric, it is necessary to enter into a genuine dialogue, to embark upon practical negotiations to solve pressing questions, and we must show the necessary political will. The paralysis pervading the international scene on questions so vital and urgent for the daily life of peoples could become the factor triggering greater evils with unpredictable consequences.

164. For 20 years, Uruguay has been advocating a legal and peaceful solution to the question of the Malvinas Islands, through dialogue and negotiation within the framework of the United Nations. That has become more necessary than ever in the light of the tragic events of 1982 and in view of the continued tension and risk which this unresolved question entails. Our Government welcomes the statements expressing the will to find a solution. They should be translated into the immediate resumption of negotia-

tions. Uruguay's well-known solidarity with the aspirations of the Argentine Republic does not preclude us, together with other Latin American nations, from formulating the sincere desire for the reopening of negotiations.

165. Our Government has been following with great concern the development of the crisis in Central America. Without wishing to enter into discussions or into ideological confrontations, I must say that it is very moving to see so many people who have suffered for such a long time. The human dimension of the conflict engulfs everything and everyone. This makes it imperative to have solidarity and effective action. The efforts of the countries members of the Contadora Group in this respect deserve our strong support. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [A/39/562, annex] is a document inspired by the rich juridical and political traditions of Latin America. The various instances of dialogue in the recent past are encouraging signs.

166. We trust that the positive action of the Group will continue—Uruguay will offer its firm support to that end—in order that the remaining obstacles may be overcome. It is necessary for us to engage in joint efforts, within the framework of international law, to ensure that the peoples of Central America are guaranteed the free exercise of self-determination, as a viable means for achieving and consolidating peace.

167. With an issue so momentous as the one before us, the contribution of all the countries of the region affected by the crisis is essential. We therefore appeal to them to exert their best efforts and to display the political will necessary to promote negotiation, and at the same time we appeal to them to refrain from any action contrary to that aim.

168. The situation in the Middle East continues to be a source of serious tension, not only for the region but also for international security.

169. Ever since the founding of the United Nations, our country has supported the adoption of solutions that equitably take into account the rights and interests of all the parties in the region. Consequently, Uruguay is in favour of the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and recognizes the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to the full exercise of self-determination and the right of all the States in the region, including Israel, to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

170. The path leading to true and lasting peace requires solutions negotiated among all the parties concerned, with no one excluded, solutions that take the various elements of the question into account in a balanced and equitable manner and thus provide assurances to all the States in the region.

171. The United Nations can, when the time comes, play a significant role in promoting negotiations, by providing an appropriate framework or supplementing their further development or implementation. We support in particular the efforts of the Secretary-General and we encourage him to continue them.

172. With deep emotion we express our solidarity with Lebanon, and, at the same time, we make a very strong political statement of support for its sovereignty, integrity and independence. Our country hopes that the Lebanese Government, with the support and respect of the international community,

will begin to exercise its functions and powers effectively throughout its territory and that, in a climate of national concord, peace will be consolidated with the withdrawal of foreign forces.

173. The attention of the international community should also be focused on other serious issues which affect various areas and which, taken together, bear witness to the precarious state of peace in the world. I am referring to, among other things, the prolonged conflict between Iraq and Iran and to the situations in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Cyprus, as well as to the division and tension in the Korean peninsula.

174. It is appropriate for me to recall the importance my country attaches to the question of the unification of Korea by means of an independent, peaceful solution. This solution must be attained through dialogue and direct negotiation, without foreign interference, which would make possible the creation of conditions favourable to understanding between the parties as well as to the stability of the region. Within that context, the good offices of the Secretary-General, between North and South Korea, should be supported and encouraged. The United Nations must not and cannot be indifferent to, or allow itself to be kept on the sidelines of, this problem. In addition, notwithstanding these efforts and in this spirit, membership of the two Koreas in the United Nations could constitute a very positive occurrence.

175. The persistence of tension in southern Africa gives rise to particular concern. There can be no doubt that the independence of Namibia and the exercise by its people of the right to self-determination have been postponed for far too long. It is necessary to adopt collective measures designed to secure, in that area, the application of international law, as recognized by the International Court of Justice, the Security Council and the General Assembly. Our Government actively supports the Secretariat's efforts to ensure implementation of internationally agreed norms in this respect. The Security Council can make a decisive contribution, taking into account its own powers.

176. The situation with respect to *apartheid* is one about which Uruguay has particularly strong feelings. We totally reject this policy as well as its doctrine, its constitutional enshrinement and its practical application. We fully endorse the recent Security Council resolution which declares that the new constitution of South Africa is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that its implementation would aggravate an already explosive situation in regard to *apartheid* [resolution 554 (1984)].

177. Within the framework of international law, our country firmly supports all actions aimed at putting an end to the policy of *apartheid*, the continued practice of which, moreover, is a danger to peace and security.

178. Our reference to these questions makes it imperative for us to reaffirm our commitment to the defence of the principles of self-determination and non-discrimination on the basis of sex or religion or on any other basis, as well as to the application of both principles everywhere. It is thus appropriate for us to express regret at the persistence of colonial situations, the continued implementation of discriminatory policies and the non-exercise of the right to self-determination.

179. Uruguay, in accordance with a tradition by which it has always abided, considers that multilateral legal instruments are the most effective means for safeguarding and promoting human rights. That is why it is desirable for these instruments to be made universal and for existing machinery to be put into effect. It would be appropriate—always bearing in mind the sovereign decision of each State—to encourage, on the part of all Governments, greater accession to and ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex] and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [resolution 34/180, annex], as well as the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Optional Protocol [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex]. With regard to draft texts, we support the second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, designed to abolish the death penalty, and the draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.<sup>13</sup>

180. Since those instruments constitute a system for the protection of human rights, in keeping with the principles of impartiality and non-selectivity, and since they cover equally the weak and the powerful and every ideology and régime, their adoption would ensure genuine protection of fundamental rights. If they are not adopted, in many instances it will continue to be only those who are more powerful that will benefit and only their political and economic interests will be protected, to the detriment of the interests of those who are weaker and the interests of certain parts of the world. It will indeed run counter to the aims for which these instruments were drafted and, what is worse, they will benefit those who energetically uphold particular philosophical positions that claim to be universal and who will become apostles of discrimination.

181. The strengthening, through the Secretariat, of the procedures of the Centre for Human Rights and the establishment of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights could contribute to ensuring the enjoyment of human rights without distortion and in a truly constructive manner.

182. The increasing number of conflicts and the various areas of tension arising from great-Power confrontation explain why ground has been lost in the international efforts aimed at disarmament. That is why Uruguay considers that the most important factor for the attainment of real progress in this area would be the creation of an environment of greater confidence through systematic respect for international law, the foundation of coexistence among States.

183. In particular, it is necessary that we abide strictly by the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and the peaceful settlement of disputes. We wish to emphasize most strongly the need for strict observance of the principle of non-intervention. In view of the present state of international relations, it is deplorable that intervention in the internal affairs of other States not only has assumed a variety of more or less sophisticated forms but also occurs with such frequency that it has become the hallmark of our times, to the detriment of those countries which are most vulnerable, with destabilizing consequences of serious proportions.

184. It is more than ever necessary for us to heed the call for reflection and a responsible approach. The gravity and intensity of the economic, social and political crisis affecting the vast majority of the peoples of the world has encouraged those who are stepping up their acts of intervention. This generates unnecessary conflicts which enable them to disguise their own ineffectiveness or incompetence. This situation has a particularly adverse impact on the economically weak countries. Every country—with rare exceptions—knows that there are other countries that are more powerful, and this conditions what it does. Thus, the revitalization of the principles of international law would allow everyone to take its proper place in a context of mutual respect.

185. With each instance of direct or indirect violation of these principles, there is not only an attack on international law but also a threat to international peace and security.

186. It is necessary to strengthen the rule of law. We should address ourselves to the biggest problems of our age. I would mention here by way of example the adoption of a convention making it mandatory for all States to resolve disputes by peaceful means before such disputes become uncontrollable and the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations therefore a mere illusion.

187. The powers of the International Court of Justice should be increased, making its intervention mandatory in certain cases.

188. Uruguay, which was responsible for the earliest declaration under the terms of Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, appeals to all those States which are not yet doing so to do everything they can to ensure that the Court is given mandatory power in all disputes covered by that Article.

189. The Security Council can undertake preventive action, which can lead to early solutions, particularly in the more critical cases. Peace-keeping operations should be supported and strengthened.

190. The international community must increase its support for the Secretary-General and for the development of the duties that are implicit in his office, and in the provisions of the Charter.

191. Finally, the General Assembly should adopt precise decisions strengthening the role of the Organization in general and of the General Assembly in particular, taking into account the work in the relevant Committees and the views of Member States.

192. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/39/I], as in previous years, provides us with an objective assessment of steps that could be undertaken to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations.

193. The great Powers, particularly the nuclear Powers, have a responsibility to make a substantial contribution to disarmament and peace. Nevertheless, the magnitude of what is at stake—the principles of international law, the legal structure of the Organization and, in the final analysis, the indivisibility of peace—give each and every one of the Member States the right and the duty to act in this field.

194. It is fitting that we reaffirm, first, the validity of the objective of general and complete disarmament under international control. However, this

should not stand in the way of our trying to promote, wherever and whenever possible, all other efforts undertaken in this area. In our view, the following collateral measures are called for: in the nuclear field, political support for halting and reversing the arms race; the initiation of negotiations between the super-Powers; the extension of the ban on nuclear testing to cover underground tests; the creation and expansion of denuclearized zones and zones of peace; the negotiation of instruments guaranteeing the non-use of nuclear weapons against States which do not possess them; and the universalization of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. In the field of conventional weapons, we believe that agreements aimed at stopping the arms race and banning the production and use of especially destructive weapons, in particular chemical weapons, are also necessary.

195. The political, institutional and legal measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security are closely linked to any process of disarmament, as well as with the indispensable confidence-building measures.

196. The international community can and must use its political influence and call with one voice for new efforts to ensure peace and progress through negotiations specifically aimed at disarmament in all forums.

197. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], which was devoted to disarmament and was held in 1978, was fully endorsed in the Concluding Document of the Assembly's Twelfth Special Session,<sup>14</sup> which was also devoted to disarmament, and continues to provide a firm basis for serious efforts in this area. The comprehensive programme for disarmament, on which negotiations are now taking place, could become the necessary framework; it could mark the successful conclusion of the work undertaken and be a forerunner of the conclusion of that yet to be carried out steadily and without respite.

198. When considering the present situation throughout the world it is easy to grow disheartened, but that situation makes it imperative for the Organization to overcome the crisis. For this there are precedents.

199. The Charter of the United Nations enshrines a system of principles that constitute a new landmark in international law, allowing us to make significant strides in regulating important areas of human endeavour. The Organization has promoted vast decolonization enterprises and has formulated the most modern concepts of economic, social and political development. The Organization, indeed, has become a forum for dialogue and discussion without precedent and with a unique universal character. It has become the forum where all States, large and small, participate in the search for solutions and policies. Increasingly, all opinions can be heard in an irreversible process of democratization.

200. On the main issues of concern to the international community, the United Nations has made substantially correct decisions. One must admit this, even if one disagrees in certain instances or is not satisfied with the implementation in others.

201. If we do not muster the necessary political will to find solutions through dialogue, if we cannot recover the sense of commitment to universal peace that created the Organization, we shall have nothing

left but confrontation through which to solve our disputes. This in turn will breed intolerance and radicalism in those who claim to possess the truth—their truth.

202. Here, among the Members of the United Nations, there is a binding political force that spurs negotiation forward, that demands peace and security, that demands justice and fairness.

203. It is a pleasure for me to express these thoughts on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations and at a moment of particularly historic importance for my country. In the course of a long and trying political process, we Uruguayans have faced terrorist attacks with a sense of sacrifice and dignity, and, as we stated at the thirty-eighth session [25th meeting], we are now ready for the culmination of this stage with the holding of general elections next month that will be carried out on the basis of all the traditional guarantees of my country.

204. Allow me here to reaffirm Uruguay's support for the United Nations, support that has been unswerving from the time of the signing of the Charter to the present. This attitude is not based on any transitory political interest or the position of any given administration. It is a profound conviction held by my people, a people ready to contribute to peace with justice and under law, and thus to live in harmony with all the peoples of the world, in a united effort aimed at co-operation and development.

205. We are still far from making a reality of the dreams and ideals of the founders, but time has confirmed the validity of those dreams and ideals.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>2</sup>For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

<sup>3</sup>*Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A and B.

<sup>4</sup>Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

<sup>5</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1984*, document S/16732.

<sup>6</sup>United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

<sup>7</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 4*.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, *Thirty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1984*, document S/16472.

<sup>9</sup>Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

<sup>10</sup>*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983*, document S/15556, annex.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15862, annex.

<sup>12</sup>See A/CN.10/64.

<sup>13</sup>E/CN.4/1984/72, annex.

<sup>14</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda items 9 to 13, document A/S-12/32.