

28.9.83



PERMANENT MISSION OF GREECE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
733 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10017

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STATEMENT BY
THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF GREECE
MR. YANNIS HARALAMBOPOULOS.
ON BEHALF OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.
AND ITS TEN MEMBER STATES
IN THE GENERAL DEBATE OF THE 38TH SESSION
OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TUESDAY, 27 SEPTEMBER 1983

Mr. President,

I have the honour of addressing the General Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its ten Member-States.

It is with particular pleasure that I congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the Presidency of our Assembly. For many years you have distinguished yourself at the service of both your country and the international community, thus earning the general esteem and respect. I am sure that you will carry out your duties with efficiency, objectivity and dexterity, thus contributing to the success of an assembly which meets at a critical juncture.

I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the European Community to the outgoing President, Mr. Inro Hollai, for the great skill with which he has guided the deliberations of this body over the past twelve months.

We also wish to commend the Secretary General for his intellectual and moral probity, the high concept he has of his mission and his dedication to peace and the ideals of the Charter.

Finally, let me extend our warmest

congratulations to the new member of our Organization, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

Mr. President,

The European Community was born of the desire of several States cherishing the same democratic values to base their relationship on new forms of solidarity, in order to face challenges which it would have been difficult to take up in isolation. This is why the ten countries for which I speak today are fully committed to respect for the Charter and view the United Nations as a vehicle for creating a better and safer world. Through regular concertation on international problems and constant efforts to define a common policy, the Ten as individual states and as a Community intend to continue and strengthen the cooperation with the United Nations and its Secretary General.

Mr. President,

Last year, speaking from this rostrum on behalf of the Ten, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark described the situation prevailing in the world in "sombre colours", as he said.

At the start of the 38th session of the General Assembly it must be admitted that this assessment remains unfortunately valid.

How, it might be asked, could the situation basically improve as long as member states continue to violate the most fundamental principles of the Charter and to ignore the repeated appeals addressed to them by this Organization to refrain from the use or threat of use of force and to put an immediate end to the conflict in which they are engaged? It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that none of the old conflicts has been resolved and that ominous signs of new tensions are looming on the horizon.

Mr. President,

Relations between East and West have been gravely affected these last years by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the situation in Poland, as well as by the continued Soviet military build-up. A further cause of aggravation has been the shooting down of the Korean airliner by a Soviet fighter. The Ten deeply deplore this act, which resulted in the loss of many innocent human lives. They have asked that the appropriate international instances undertake a thorough investigation of the circumstances of the incident. They welcome the decisions of the ICAC Council, adopted in Montreal on September 16th. They support the proposals submitted to ICAO for ensuring greater safety of civilian aircraft in future, including the prohibition of the use of armed force.

Our countries, peoples and governments are ready to improve relations with the Soviet Union and her allies, provided they abide by the internationally accepted standards of behaviour, so that international confidence can be restored. Only then could there be a better understanding among the European peoples and an atmosphere conducive to the consolidation of peace and stability on our continent.

It is in this light that we have viewed and continue to view the situation in Poland. The Ten have taken note of the measures adopted by the Polish Government on July 22, 1983, some of which go in the right direction while others provide the authorities with the legal means to repress more effectively possible dissident activities. In a spirit of friendship towards the Polish people, the Ten hope that these steps will be followed by further measures leading to reconciliation, dialogue and reform, in accordance with the aspirations of all the national and social elements of the population.

Mr. President

The successful conclusion of the CSCE negotiations in Madrid is a cause of satisfaction to the Ten. Our approach at the Conference was guided by the endeavour to promote respect for the Helsinki Final Act, to ensure its full implementation and to pursue the aims of the CSCE

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process through dialogue and cooperation. The presence of all our Foreign Ministers in Madrid bore testimony to this commitment. Although the concluding document does not represent the maximum that could have been achieved, it was substantial and balanced. We attach as great an importance to the human dimension of that document as to its provisions concerning the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe. Which brings me to the wider issue of disarmament.

It is an issue of the utmost importance to the Ten and of increasing concern to public opinion, since it affects the survival of mankind. It also is a very complex problem. Experience has shown how difficult it is to achieve disarmament in an atmosphere of distrust, fear and prejudice. To preserve peace it is necessary not only to reduce armaments but to remove the causes of conflict as well.

This applies as much to Europe as to other parts of the world. The ten countries of the European Community are making every effort to reduce the level of military forces in Europe while maintaining undiminished security for all states. Hence the importance they attach to the full range of ongoing or scheduled negotiations, particularly the talks between the United States and the Soviet

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Union in Geneva on strategic and intermediate nuclear forces. Given the size of the nuclear arsenal of these two countries, it is generally recognized that progress on nuclear disarmament is closely related to their agreeing on substantial and verifiable reductions.

The Ten, therefore, give full support to both the START and INF negotiations. It is our sincere wish that it will prove possible for the two major nuclear powers to come to an agreement in the near future. The objective of such an agreement should be to strike a balance at the lowest possible level.

While nuclear arms control negotiations are taking place in order to halt the vertical proliferation, the maintenance and strengthening of the present non-proliferation regime, which so far has been successful in halting the further spreading of nuclear weapons, is a very significant element in the disarmament equation.

However, we should not lose sight of the fact that the control of nuclear forces is only one side of the coin. It is of the utmost importance to reduce the level of conventional armaments. The spectre of nuclear annihilation should not lead us to underestimate the terrible casualties and

intensifying current negotiations in the Committee. They underline the importance of early progress towards a comprehensive and reliably verifiable ban on all chemical weapons, in order to eliminate this whole category of weapons. The Ten also support the examination, at the Committee on Disarmament, of questions related to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Finally, the Ten consider the United Nations as an essential and most valuable forum for the worldwide discussion of disarmament and arms control matters. They believe that the dialogue aiming at security and peace for all peoples must be pursued vigorously.

Before concluding my remarks on this vital issue, I would like to stress our firm conviction that, in parallel with disarmament efforts, all states, big and small, powerful and weak, nuclear and non-nuclear, should adhere to the provisions of the Charter and international law in general, for the renunciation of force and the threat of force and for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

In this context we consider the adoption, last year, of the Manila Declaration by the United Nations General Assembly as a positive step. The Ten express the wish that the goals of the

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Declaration, which are of vital importance to international peace, may be achieved through the joint efforts of all members of our Organisation.

In the Middle East the consequences of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which the Ten have vigorously condemned, are still with us. The country has found itself in the throes of a conflict which could have led to its desintegration. The civilian population has suffered greatly in the crossfire of the warring factions and by the intervention of foreign elements. The Ten, who have always supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the authority of its Government, welcome the ceasefire which was put into effect yesterday. They express the hope that the dialogue about to be initiated will lead to national reconciliation and ensure the unity of the country. They also stress the need for early progress towards the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces, with the exception of those whose presence would be required by the Lebanese Government. They themselves are ready to work for these objectives, jointly and individually.

A direct consequence of the stalemate in Lebanon is that no progress has been made towards the solution of the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. It is the view of the Ten that peace will not prevail unless the security and legitimate interests of all states and peoples are taken into

account. To be more specific, a lasting peace can only be built on the right of all states in the region, including Israel, to a secure existence and on justice for all peoples, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination with all that this implies.

A way to peace was indicated by President Reagan's initiative of 1 September 1982, and the Arab Summit Meeting at Fez demonstrated a readiness for it. The Ten appeal to all the parties in the conflict to move forward from a readiness for peace, which all of them have expressed in the past, towards mutual recognition as partners in genuine negotiations on the basis, inter alia, of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. These negotiations will have to embrace all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian people, and the P.L.O. will have to be associated with them. The threat or use of force must be renounced by all.

In the interest of the search for peace, the Ten ask Israel to abandon its policy of gradual annexation and of unilaterally creating new facts in the occupied territories, in particular its settlement policy which is contrary to international law and a major and growing obstacle to peace efforts.

For their part, the Ten are closely associated with such efforts as demonstrated, among other things, by their continuing support of the peace keeping role of the UN and the multinational forces. Having a deep interest in the future of the area, they intend to maintain their contacts with all parties and to use their influence to encourage movements towards compromise and negotiated solutions.

Another aggravating factor in the Middle East is the continuing war between Iran and Iraq. The Ten strongly deplore the lack of progress towards the solution of this conflict, which constitutes a serious threat to the stability of the region and international security and entails heavy suffering for the two peoples involved. They urgently appeal to the two belligerents to spare the civilian population and to abide by all international conventions applicable in time of war. In this respect they

welcome the report of the U.N. mission which visited areas subjected to attacks. On the other hand, the Ten deeply regret that none of the peace initiatives undertaken hitherto has succeeded in bringing the fighting to an end. They take this opportunity to call once more for a cease-fire, the cessation of all military operations and the withdrawal of forces to internationally recognized frontiers and for a just and honourable settlement, negotiated in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and acceptable to both parties. The Ten confirm their readiness, if requested by both parties, to participate in the efforts aiming at restoring peace in the area.

Mr. President,

If in the Middle East the situation has deteriorated over the last twelve months, in a number of other international problems little or no progress has been registered.

In Afghanistan the Soviet occupation continues in spite of successive resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations. The Ten remain deeply concerned by this continuing violation of the independence of a traditionally neutral and non-aligned country. They condemn the attacks committed against Afghan

civilians by the Soviet forces, and remain gravely concerned at the plight of the Afghan refugees who have been driven from their homeland as a direct result of these actions. These persons represent the largest concentration of refugees in the world, and their suffering must not be forgotten.

The Ten stress the urgent need for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a negotiated settlement which will permit Afghanistan's independence and non-aligned status to be restored, allow the Afghan people to exercise fully their right to self-determination and enable the Afghan refugees to return home in safety and honour. They follow with great interest the indirect contacts between Pakistan and Afghanistan held under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to finding a solution in accordance with the resolutions adopted by this Assembly. While recalling their proposal on June 1981, the Ten are prepared to support any constructive initiative aimed at a satisfactory political solution. But the key requirement of any such solution remains the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

Kampuchea was invaded five years ago and is still occupied by Vietnamese troops, who not only suppress all resistance but also attack the camps of refugees and displaced persons in increasing frequency and intensity. All efforts to end this occupation with all its consequences for the

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present and the future have foundered on the refusal of Vietnam to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Ten wish to congratulate the ASEAN countries for their initiative to convene the International Conference on Kampuchea. They consider that the declaration adopted by the Conference, with whose principles they agree, constitutes a very good basis for a genuine political settlement. It calls, as we all know, for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, the right of the Kampuchians to determine their own destiny through free elections supervised by the United Nations, the respect of the independence, neutrality and non-alignment of Kampuchea and the commitment of all states not to interfere in its internal affairs. The Ten regard the establishment of the coalition of Democratic Kampuchea, under the Presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as a significant step.

In Korea the stalemate persists, thirty years after the armistice agreement was signed. The Ten believe that the peaceful reunification of Korea should be pursued by means of dialogue and negotiations, based on the communique of 1972 between the South and the North.

The situation in Cyprus constitutes a potential danger for the peace and stability of the whole area. The Ten reaffirm their position as reflected in General Assembly resolutions 3212/74

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and 3395/75, which call for the respect of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. They hope that no action will be undertaken which would run counter to these principles. They have consistently supported the efforts of the Secretary General, under whose auspices intercommunal talks were established on a regular basis. They welcome his renewed personal involvement in the search of a just and viable solution.

Mr. President,

In Southern Africa, Namibia continues to be illegally occupied by South Africa in defiance of international law and United Nations resolutions. The Ten have firmly and repeatedly expressed their conviction that the people of Namibia must be allowed to determine their own future through free and fair elections held under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435. We reiterate this conviction today and express our full support for the efforts of the Contact Group, thanks to which a settlement has been within reach for some time now. We also wish to express appreciation for the efforts of the front line states.

The Ten also thank the Secretary-General for his efforts in fulfilling his mandate under Security Council Resolution 532, and will continue supporting his contacts with the parties. They

urge all parties concerned to facilitate the conclusion of the negotiations without further delay and to refrain from any action which could endanger an agreement.

I may add, Mr. President, that the problem of Namibia should be viewed strictly as a problem of decolonization - in fact, the last remaining vestige of colonialism in Africa. The people of Namibia must be given an opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination without delay. Their independence has been denied them for far too long and should not be delayed further because of extraneous problems.

In South Africa itself, the country's black majority unfortunately continues to be the victim of blatant oppression. The Ten wish to reiterate their unequivocal and vigorous condemnation and rejection of the system of institutionalized racial discrimination known as "Apartheid" and their determination to use, as in the past, their collective weight to influence South Africa in order to help put an end to such an inhuman system and establish a society in which everybody without exception will enjoy equality, freedom and justice.

The Ten remain concerned with many aspects of the South African policies. In particular, they have condemned the homeland policy and the

violation of human rights resulting from bannings and other similar measures.

In other parts of Africa, internal strife is sometimes an obstacle in the long and difficult road to economic and social development. Such strife is too often exacerbated by outside factors.

One such case is Chad. The Ten are gravely concerned by the external intervention to which this country fell victim and its consequences. They firmly support its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and are against any kind of interference in its internal affairs.

The Ten believe that this problem is an African affair and should consequently be settled by the Africans themselves, in order to avoid the escalation of the conflict into an international crisis. They underline the role which the Organisation of African Unity could play in restoring peace. This, of course, should not preclude similar action by the competent organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council and the Secretary General.

As I mentioned the O.A.U., I should like to pay tribute to that Organisation, which is celebrating this year its twentieth anniversary.

In the course of the past twenty years, it has proven a very important factor for political stability and progress in Africa and for world peace.

Mr. President,

The ten countries of the European Community are historically linked by close human, economic and cultural ties with Latin America. I wish to stress the importance we attach to further promoting these ties. A few months ago we celebrated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Simon Bolivar. We pay tribute to that great man and his struggle for the independence and freedom of the Latin American peoples. We also welcome the growing trend towards democracy in the sub-continent, while deploring the continuing and grave abuses of human rights and restrictions of political freedom in certain countries.

I would like now to turn to the serious situation in Central America, which could have repercussions extending well beyond the region itself. The endemic social inequalities, injustice and economic underdevelopment are at the root of the present crisis, which is aggravated by outside interference. In some countries violence and the violation of human rights have become a fact of everyday life.

Last June in Stuttgart the ten Heads of State and Government clearly stated the principles for remedying this situation. They include non-interference, the inviolability of frontiers, the establishment of democratic conditions and the strict observance of human rights. The Ten are convinced that the problems of Central America cannot be solved by military means but only through a political settlement springing from the region itself.

The Ten are prepared to contribute, in whatever way they can, to this end. They fully support the Contadora initiative. They note that the Cancun Declaration of July 17th contains many useful suggestions. They also recall the support of the efforts of the Contadora Group by Security Council Resolution 530, which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. President,

The protection of human rights is a cause to which the Ten are deeply committed. Because their observance lies at the very foundation of all truly democratic societies, which are the best guarantee for international peace and stability.

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We must acknowledge that during the last decades nations with different traditions, ideologies, cultures and political systems moved towards the adoption of common standards as well as of appropriate - though not altogether adequate - procedures for putting these standards into effect.

It is, however, a matter of deep regret to the Ten that thirty five years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights its implementation is far from satisfactory. A growing number of serious and massive violations of these rights occur in various parts of the world. Many countries seem to have made arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, torture, disappearances, killings and political executions an integral part of their political system. Human beings are persecuted solely on ideological, religious or racial grounds, or even simply because they have the courage to defend the cause of human rights. Large numbers of political prisoners, including trade union activists, remain under detention and are denied the respect of their status, as well as their right to defense. Others are denied the right to leave their country or return to it. Faced with such serious abuses, the United Nations has a duty to secure compliance with the obligations of the

Universal Declaration and to react promptly to all violations of human rights. The Ten stand ready to approach the governments of the countries where violations of this kind occur in order to alleviate human suffering.

All states should adhere to and implement legally binding international instruments on human rights, as well as accept appropriate measures for their enforcement. The Ten are taking an active part in the elaboration of new such instruments and in particular the draft convention against torture.

Moreover, it is their view that, together with civil and political rights, social and economic rights also need to be guaranteed as essential elements of an integral system of protection of the individual.

Mr. President,

A major event this year has been the Summit of the non-aligned countries held in New Delhi last March. The movement of the non-aligned nations, with some hundred members, has become a powerful influence in international affairs. This is fully recognized by the Ten, who appreciate the important role which the movement plays.

One of the main preoccupations of the Third World is the present economic crisis and the measures that should be urgently taken to help developing countries overcome the difficult - and in some cases desperate - situation they find themselves in.

Mr. President,

The world economy finds itself at a critical juncture. It shows some signs of recovery in a number of major industrialized countries, most notably the USA and Japan, whereas in Europe the prospects are less certain.

More specifically:

- Unemployment remains high and is on the increase, its effects being mostly on young and urban workers.
- Uncertainty for the future and the prospect of high public deficits, are among the elements which maintain real interest rates at high levels, thereby diverting resources from productive investment to financial management; this reduces the prospects for a synchronized upturn in economic activity and an investment-led and sustainable recovery.
- Exchange rates continue to be volatile and this increases uncertainty and limits the room for a consistent economic policy.
- The global recession has left its mark on

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developing countries. Their debt has increased sharply, their development efforts have been undermined and their capacity to participate fully in the international economic system impaired. They face a severe reduction of their imports and are confronted with sluggish markets for their exports, unfavourable terms of trade and sharply higher debt servicing costs.

It is with a clear understanding of those realities and a sense of deep commitment to the need for coordination and cooperation that the Community has participated during the past year in international negotiations with all our partners.

The difficulties that we have been experiencing over the past few years have made clear to all of us the extent to which our economies are interdependent. The OECD Ministerial meeting in May 1983 highlighted this point very clearly. It recognized the powerful economic links between all parts of the world, which imply a collective responsibility to shape policies so as to strengthen the international trading, monetary and financial systems and to recreate the conditions for sustainable non-inflationary growth. The Williamsburg Summit in June 1983 adopted the same approach in recognizing that "we must act together and that we must pursue a

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balanced set of policies that take into account and exploit relationships between growth, trade and finance, in order that recovery may spread to all countries, developed and developing countries alike".

The open world trading system embodied in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has served the world economy well during more than three decades. It ought therefore to be preserved and further strengthened. At the GATT Ministerial meeting in November 1982 the European Community reaffirmed its commitment to resist protectionist pressures in the formulation and implementation of trade policy, a commitment which was further reinforced by consensus at UNCTAD VI. In this context, it has always been a principle for the Community that differential and more favourable treatment should be extended to less developed countries.

The major event in the North/South dialogue this year has been the sixth session of UNCTAD which the Community approached with a positive, constructive and pragmatic attitude, recognizing that the economic crisis threatens the smooth and effective functioning of the multilateral economic system as well as world prosperity. At Belgrade

the Community, aware of the fact that there is a growing interdependence between developing and developed countries, declared that "there can be no lasting recovery without resumption of the development process and that there can be no new impetus to the development process without real recovery".

In our view - and despite the occasional disappointments and frustrations - the outcome of this Conference was important. We agreed on quite a number of resolutions which were adopted by consensus and which cover substantial issues of common interest. We succeeded - which is politically most important - in keeping the lines of communication open and the international dialogue alive.

In the field of commodities, the Community throughout has supported the agreement on the Common Fund. We therefore welcome the recent increase in the number of signatures and ratifications which, we hope, will lead to its early entry into force. At UNCTAD VI we also took an active part in the important decision to start work on compensatory financing of export earnings shortfalls.

In the field of trade, the Community supported the adoption of resolution 159/VI, which highlighted the importance of the open trading system and agreed to follow policies that would facilitate structural adjustment based on a dynamic pattern of comparative advantage. Increased trade is especially vital for the developing countries. The scheme of the Generalized System of Preferences has improved the access to the EEC markets for all of them. The Community will - as was stated at UNCTAD VI - maintain and further develop its GSP scheme at least until 1990.

In monetary and financial affairs, UNCTAD VI adopted several resolutions. The Community joined in the consensus on a resolution on the crucial issue of the external debt of the developing countries. We declared we were ready to consider appropriate measures to alleviate the servicing of the debts of developing countries on a case-by-case basis and within the existing institutions. The Community supported the renewed commitment on Official Development Assistance targets especially vis-a-vis the less and least developed countries. We advocated the rapid replenishment of the International Development Agency resources to a substantial level and considered that an adequate level of funding of the development financial institutions is essential. The Community also recognizes the

importance of an adequate supply of liquidity for world economic growth. We stressed at Belgrade that a financially strong International Monetary Fund is in the interest of all, in order that this institution can fulfil its role of meeting its members' financing and adjustment needs.

As I said before, UNCTAD VI was this year the major event in North/South relations, but the global dialogue between industrialized and developing countries is an on-going process. It is based on the recognition of increasing links between the different economic sectors such as growth, trade, finance, development and fight against the hunger in the world. In this spirit we continue to support the launching of global negotiations to cover all major issues in the field of the world economy. We hope that it will be possible to reach an early agreement on the launching of such negotiations. In this respect we have noted with interest the declarations of the Non-aligned Summit in New Delhi and the Group of 77 in Buenos Aires earlier this year.

In this context I would recall that the Community has over a long period developed an active partnership with the ACP countries, and we will soon be entering into negotiations for a new Convention.

Another basic feature of the development policy of the Community is to pay special attention to the specific and urgent needs of the less and least developed countries.

Finally I would like to refer briefly to the Convention on the Law of the Sea, which was opened for signature in December last year. The Community and its Member States believe that this Convention constitutes a major effort in the codification and progressive development of International Law in various fields.

This Convention has been signed up to now by five Member States of the Community. Some concern persists with respect to the deep sea-bed mining regime of the Convention and should be dealt with in such a manner as to make the Convention universally acceptable. In fact we attach great importance to the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.

I would like to express the hope that the Convention will become a useful instrument for the promotion of cooperation and stable relations between all countries in this field.

Mr. President,

The international economic climate is still far from satisfactory but history teaches us that times of crises can be turned into times of fresh and constructive initiatives. The economic crisis still confronting most of us presents a challenge:

- to promote international cooperation
- to promote social welfare
- to improve living conditions in the world
- and to reestablish confidence in the workings of our international system by adapting to changing realities, accomodating diversity and promoting common aspirations.

We sincerely believe that despite the occasional disappointment and frustration at the lack of an emerging consensus, we have succeeded in keeping the lines of communications open and the international dialogue alive. There were clearly differences in experiences, in perceptions of the problems and in proposals for their effective solution. However, it is only through a process of continuous and frank exchange of views that we can better define and come to accept our common interests as well as our differences. We in the Community are hopeful that the international dialogue will lead to a better economic environment in the future.

Mr. President,

In the midst of a world torn by discord and fraught with fear, the Secretary-General was led to sound the alarm with the report he submitted last year to this Assembly.

I wish to assure him that the members of the European Community have given both that report and the one of this year all the attention they deserve. They share his concern that the United Nations system of collective security often has not been used effectively and that frequent disregard has been shown for the provisions of the Charter.

At the same time the members of the European Community share the view that this weakness is not a result of institutional or structural deficiencies but a consequence of a lack of political will of the parties involved in disputes and confrontations.

While fully aware of the previous and ongoing discussions about the need to strengthen the United Nations, we believe that the political impulse of the report should be sustained. We share the view of the Secretary-General that his

report should not be dealt with bureaucratically or as a matter of routine.

The large echo this report received, going far beyond the usual reaction, testifies to the soundness and correctness of its analyses and observations. As a partial remedy to this disquietening situation, the Secretary General suggested a series of practical measures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the Organization in preventing conflicts. It is encouraging that these suggestions have been thoroughly examined and discussed by the Security Council, which is the organ primarily responsible for ensuring peace and security.

We, members of the European Community, believe that the principles of the Charter, which gives expression to the universality of our Organization, provide the framework for the peaceful settlement of disputes all over the world. It is in this positive spirit that the Ten have already initiated a dialogue with several third countries and some regional organizations or groups. They are ready to extend this dialogue so as to include any new partners who would wish it.

The principles which are the very "raison d'être" of the United Nations cannot continue to be violated with impunity without leading to the

further decline of our Organization, which would become totally irrelevant. Unchecked by the constraints of law, the world would become increasingly torn by violence and wars until the ultimate nuclear catastrophe becomes inevitable. It is our most pressing duty to do whatever lies in our power to prevent such an appalling development, by reversing the present trend.

We, therefore, appeal to all members of this Organization, without exception, to comply and ensure compliance with the obligations freely undertaken under the Charter. What is at stake is more than the survival of the United Nations. It is the survival of mankind itself.

Let me now, Mr. President, in my capacity as Foreign Minister of Greece, come back to the problem of Cyprus. In 1974, as it is well known to all the members of this Organization, the Turkish armed forces invaded the Republic of Cyprus. This flagrant violation of all norms of international law brought with it death and destruction and as a result 200,000 Greek-Cypriots live as refugees in their own country, while the fate of some 1,600 missing persons is still unknown, for lack of cooperation by the occupying authorities. It is, therefore, obvious that the continuing presence of the forces of

occupation in the island renders a political solution quasi impossible. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council, in a series of resolutions adopted either unanimously or by an overwhelming majority, set out the principles which should govern any settlement, if we want it to be just and viable. These principles are the withdrawal of foreign troops, the respect of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and the return of the refugees to their homes. Clearly the meaning of these resolutions was that the problem should be settled by the two communities without outside interference.

It is in this light that the Greek Government views the latest effort of the Secretary General to explore new possibilities for an arrangement that would be mutually acceptable. We hold Mr. Perez de Cuellar in high esteem. Apart from his other outstanding qualities, he has a deep knowledge of the problem, to which he has devoted tireless efforts in the past. He is, therefore, the most qualified person to help the two communities in their endeavours. We wish him every success.

Mr. President;

Cyprus may be a small country but the issues at stake are big. If the international

community cannot show that it has the power to enforce the principles of the Charter in such a blatant case of their violation, then it will have failed in its task very sadly indeed.

Thank you, Mr. President.
