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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to greet you as the representative of a continent with which we find that we have, through its Latin roots, long-standing affinities that are still very much alive. I also want to pay a tribute to you as an historian, economist and statesman whose training and experience will surely be invaluable to the pursuit of our work. I wish you, as indeed I wish us all, complete success in it and I assure you that you can count on our total co-operation.

2. By recalling the eminent qualities of our Secretary-General and paying a tribute to his tireless dedication, I am not simply conforming to some kind of ritual. It is only natural that the outstanding debt the international community owes him should be acknowledged publicly and that we should tell him once again how grateful we are to him for serving the goals of our Organization with such wisdom, enthusiasm, energy and competence.

3. One year ago from this very rostrum¹ I observed that the world situation was neither good nor reassuring. Alas, the events that have occurred in the past 12 months are scarcely reason to alter that view. The main points of tension persist; new ones have emerged; still others have reappeared. Economic imbalances and inequalities remain and at times have even widened. While the guiding principles of our Charter are not contested, one has to admit that their application is still inadequate. Finally, human rights are still subject to many violations.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 10th meeting, paras. 153-214.

4. That observation may seem severe but it is not intended to be pessimistic. The United Nations today is representative of almost the entire world community. It has been enlarged again by the admission of Solomon Islands, which we are pleased to welcome. Mindful of the countless ties it has long had with the Pacific region, France hopes to enjoy the best of relations with that new State.

5. As our Organization draws still closer to being universal it is acquiring growing influence in world affairs. As a founding Member of the United Nations, and having fully integrated its goals and principles into our own political philosophy, France welcomes this course of events. As we have shown just this year, we are prepared to associate ourselves directly with the efforts of our Organization on behalf of peace. Indeed, now more than ever France is convinced of the value of collective action and the need for genuine international co-operation, without which our quest for peace and prosperity would be but an illusion.

6. France pursues that policy first and foremost in its natural environment, Europe. With its eight partners, France is continuing the work begun more than 20 years ago to build a prosperous and peaceful community able to make its own contribution to international life. The current President of the European Community has described to the Assembly our views on the main questions it is to debate this session [*see 8th meeting, paras. 135-200*]. He expressed our shared determination to steer the development of our peoples on a course that is more rational and more generously open to the world. The many countries of every continent that are associated with the Community, as well as those nearby that are preparing to join, are aware of the determination behind this endeavour. They know the price and appreciate the difficulties in the present economic situation.

7. Beyond the context of the nine countries members of the Community, France applies in Europe the principles of détente which it helped define and to which it remains deeply committed. Whatever the vicissitudes or stumbling-blocks, that policy is still the only reasonable one; therefore it must be pursued and developed to the full dimensions given to it by the Final Act of Helsinki.² It must also be extended elsewhere in the world, for clearly areas outside Europe must not become the object or stakes of a confrontation between the major Powers, or the very process of détente will be imperilled.

8. Long ago we established without reservation ties with European nations having social systems different from our own, and my country reaffirms its commitment to co-

² Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

operation with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. In the same way, it welcomes the development of its relations with the People's Republic of China. It intends to make those relations commensurate with the physical, human and political dimensions of that great country.

9. "To maintain international peace and security": that is the principal goal the Charter assigns to our States. Now, even more than last year, persistent tensions or current conflicts are jeopardizing international peace. We are all aware of them. They are located primarily in the Middle East, in Africa and in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The draft text on peace-keeping, which my colleague from the Federal Republic of Germany presented on behalf of the European Community [A/SPC/33/L.19], deserves the full attention of the Assembly, because it invites us at a very opportune moment to lend the Organization our assistance in this essential matter of collective security. Occasions for doing so, I am sorry to say, are not lacking.

10. In view of the crisis provoked by the Israeli intervention in southern Lebanon, my Government decided last March to participate in UNIFIL. Its decision to make a contingent available to the Organization was a concrete expression of its often stated commitment to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that friendly country and of its support for President Sarkis's efforts to strengthen the authority of the State and reconcile the communities within Lebanon. Who can fail to see that a free and united Lebanon is an indispensable element for the equilibrium of the entire region? But who can fail to see also that its tradition of freedom and openness exposes it more than any other State to the impact of the tensions and crises that surround and penetrate it?

11. It was therefore justifiable for the international community to give the people of Lebanon, who had already been so severely tried, direct evidence of support following the occupation of southern Lebanon by Israeli armed forces. The operation undertaken by the United Nations has unfortunately not attained all the objectives set for it. Although the withdrawal of Israeli troops was achieved, they are still overtly supporting rebellious elements along the border which refuse to submit to legitimate Lebanese authority and keep tension alive by dangerous acts of harassment. Security has not yet been restored to the entire area, mainly because it has been impossible for the units of UNIFIL to deploy along the border.

12. With regard to restoring the authority of the Government of Beirut, the obstacles to this are not ones that UNIFIL has the mission or the means to overcome. The Force cannot take the place of the Government in the exercise of its sovereignty. While the Force—and we should pay tribute to it since the difficulties of the task are unprecedented for an operation conducted by our Organization—may draw on all the resources available to it in the framework of its mandate, it is not its job to maintain law or to impose a settlement the implementation of which would require also the co-operation of forces outside its sphere of action.

13. UNIFIL would be diverted from its real goal if the protection it provides permitted the *status quo* to continue

and the parties to become immured in their intransigence, deaf to the suffering of the people and blind to the dangers of allowing the wound to fester. This was the meaning of the Security Council's resolution 434 (1978) of 18 September to renew the mandate of the Force for four months. The stability of the region requires measures to be taken without delay to restore the authority and sovereignty of Lebanon, and everyone who understands this will find encouragement in this extension of the Force's mandate. But the time-limit imposed on the mandate should serve as a warning to those who entertain the illusion that the presence of the Force will from now on be a permanent factor in the situation.

14. I do not want to leave the subject of Lebanon without stressing my Government's concern at the persistence of tensions in other parts of that country, particularly in Beirut. I should like to remind you once again of our constant position: that there can be no solution to the crisis in Lebanon unless it is founded on respect for the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of that country. Any undertaking that did not recognize this requirement would be doomed to failure and would risk destroying, along with itself, the very cause it claimed to serve.

15. The situation in Lebanon cannot be dissociated from the Middle East situation, which has greater repercussions on that country than on any other in the region. After the historic initiative taken by the President of Egypt, Mr. El-Sadat in going to Jerusalem last fall, a new situation emerged. Both those who approved and those who disapproved recognized it. Everyone realized that what was at stake was no longer Israel's existence but the terms of its coexistence with the Arab countries.

16. This breach in the wall of distrust that had separated Israel and its neighbours for 30 years was not turned to as much advantage as had been hoped; the process begun last winter stalled too quickly. The President of the United States, Mr. Carter, tried to inject new life into it, and I want to pay a tribute to his courage and tenacity in his personal involvement in the Camp David undertaking. This meeting, unprecedented in style, has ushered in a new phase. Clearly, there is still great uncertainty in it. But we would like to hope that, under the shadow of ambiguities, precaution and silence, the complex texts adopted by two of the parties directly concerned can be used to further progress towards the necessary settlement.

17. We believe that, for this phase to be decisive and to lead to peace, it must pave the way to an over-all settlement, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), with which all the interested parties would be associated, including the representatives of the Palestinian people. This settlement, may I repeat, must be based on withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, on recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland, on consideration for the legitimate concern for security of all the States in the region, naturally including Israel, as well as on the mutual recognition of boundaries and on the gradual establishment of peaceful relations among the States concerned. Only respect for these principles can bring about the just and lasting peace to which all the peoples of the region aspire.

18. We deplore the fact that in Cyprus the renewed efforts of our Secretary-General have had little success in breaking the stalemate. In order to strengthen the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and to restore trust between the communities, these communities must resume their talks and must be prepared to conduct them on a reasonable basis. The *de facto* state of affairs must not become law; pre-conditions cannot lead to negotiation. My country is too closely linked with that part of the Mediterranean not to know how deep and firmly rooted the concerns of each party are, but our own historical experience has shown us how much can be overcome by the determination of leaders and peoples. It is this impetus that we urge the parties to find, and we are always ready to encourage them to do so.

19. Africa has suffered new ordeals this year, without a settlement being found for certain problems too long discussed by our Organization. That continent, one of the cradles of humanity, has begun a new chapter in its history. Many recently independent States, which have not yet firmly established internal equilibrium, today find themselves involved in rivalries which are not their own and which thus hurt their chances in the only struggle that is worth while, the struggle for development.

20. In Rhodesia the recent turn of events has increased the dangers. The illegal régime in Salisbury continues to defy the international community. The agreement reached last March between Ian Smith and certain nationalist leaders with the aim of promoting a so-called "internal solution" only deepened divisions and heightened tensions. The application of the Anglo-American plan³ drawn up last year at this time would doubtless have paved the way for Zimbabwe's independence to be accepted, but we see today that violence is on the rise. Only direct negotiations among all the interested parties under the aegis of the administering Power could make it possible for Zimbabwe to accede peacefully to independence. But time is passing, intransigent positions are becoming more entrenched, and a storm is brewing. It is high time to listen to reason.

21. In rejecting the implementation of the plan to settle the question of Namibia—a plan it had accepted four months previously—South Africa has created a crisis that could have grave consequences if the Government in Pretoria does not reconsider the position it has taken in defiance of international opinion.

22. France again asserts that there is no essential difference between Mr. Waldheim's proposals and the settlement plan of the five Powers. In finding fault with some adjustments that alter neither the spirit nor the basic terms, the Republic of South Africa seems to be looking for pretexts to back out. In agreement with its Western partners, France has asked that the Security Council meet as soon as possible in order to adopt the Secretary-General's proposals.⁴

23. Confident as it is of the support of the African countries and, above, all of those the front-line countries,

and mindful as it is of the suffering of the Namibian people, who have waited too long for the right to self-determination to be accorded them, and assured as it is, along with its four partners, of the support of the international community, France again most solemnly calls upon South Africa to refrain from setting out on a dead-end road which can lead it only to suicidal isolation. Let me add that Namibia's independence will be effective only if prepared in co-operation with the international community.

24. In the Horn of Africa, where violent clashes occurred last year, the situation is still disturbing. It is high time that the disputes that are setting Africans against each other were left to the Africans alone, so that they may seek the paths of a settlement through procedures of their own. Accordingly, it falls to the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to continue its efforts at rapprochement, without which tension and resentment will persist.

25. Three other situations especially hold our attention: they involve Chad, Western Sahara and Zaire. I will discuss these at somewhat greater length because France's position has not always been understood, nor has there always been a desire to understand it. Because France has on three occasions been led to give direct assistance to the countries concerned, it has been claimed in some quarters that France sought to play some kind of role as "gendarme of Africa". I want once again to refute these accusations, which show little understanding of the reasons for our policy, which is based on two principles that I have already explained on several occasions but that I should like to reiterate.

26. First, it is for African countries themselves to settle their disputes. This means that their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity must be free from all interference that would make Africa the arena for rivalries from outside the continent; it means that they must remain free to decide their political options for themselves.

27. Secondly, it is with strict respect for the sovereignty of States that France shows its solidarity with Africa. "Africa for the Africans" does not mean rejecting this solidarity or erasing friendships.

28. Though France did intervene on the African continent, it was always at the express request of the recognized Government of the country in question, and the extent and duration of French assistance were limited according to the necessities of the situation. In each case France was responding to an appeal from States which were victims of aggression originating from or supported from the outside; these States were trying to defend themselves within their borders and did not yet have the military means to ensure their own security.

29. Accordingly, my country remains true to the policy of non-interference and of co-operation that it has always followed; no one can accuse France of straying from it and following supposed neo-colonialist or other designs.

30. These supportive actions do not of course imply that we have taken any position on the substance of the issues or made any attempt to impose a solution. To our mind, the settlement of disputes is the exclusive domain of the parties concerned.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

31. In Chad, unmistakable aggression developed this past spring in violation of the Sebha and Benghazi cease-fire agreements; this aggression was clearly backed from the outside and led the Government of Chad to request our support. The sole objective of our action was to make it possible to restore the security necessary to the quest by the people of Chad—and by them alone—for national reconciliation. Today this endeavour is well under way, as everyone can see.

32. In the different situation that prevails in the western reaches of the Sahara, France similarly answered an appeal from Mauritania, a country without substantial material resources or military forces which was the victim of aggression supported from the outside on uncontested national territory. In this matter France, which has long-standing ties with all the States involved in the conflict, has but one wish, and that is to see these States re-establish friendly and fruitful co-operation with each other. Accordingly, we note with interest the recent turn of events that is more favourable to restoring calm. We hope this trend grows. Since we had no part in the Madrid agreements,⁵ we would not be party to the dialogue that might begin. But we are prepared to encourage such a dialogue so that a peaceful solution might at last be found, with the help, if need be, of international organizations. As for us, it is in the forum of the United Nations that we have stated our commitment to the self-determination of peoples.

33. For the second consecutive year, Zaire has had to endure bloody incursions in Shaba province by elements from the outside. To all indications, the toll of this attack in human lives and material terms would have been even heavier without rapid international support. Since our soldiers have long since returned to their bases on our territory, who today can question the strictly humanitarian concerns that motivated us?

34. France's action in Africa has never been aimed at jeopardizing the sovereignty or security of any country on that continent. Our sole ambition is to contribute, when the desire for this is expressed and when we are asked, to the development and well-being of the peoples of Africa, who have as much right as anyone else to stability and security.

35. As for the Comoros, I emphasized last year⁶ that France had a feeling of solidarity with countries to which it was especially bound by history, and that we were ready to demonstrate this feeling toward the new State. I am therefore pleased that diplomatic relations have now been established between the Comoros and France and that the door is thus open for co-operation. Our co-operation can only facilitate better understanding between the Comorians and their neighbours in Mayotte, who have freely chosen a different path but who, I repeat, will have another opportunity to express their wishes regarding their future.

36. Therefore, was it necessary to enter the question of Mayotte on our agenda again? Allow me to express some

doubt about the usefulness of such a debate if in fact the aim is, as everyone must hope and work for it to be, the restoration of an atmosphere of trust between the peoples in question.

37. In South-East Asia, France can only deplore the fighting that has resumed on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, so long afflicted by war. This fighting is between two peoples with which we have historically had very close relations and for which we still feel deep friendship today. We hope that all the States of the region can devote themselves to the priority tasks of development and establish true co-operation between themselves, with respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each of them, free of all undue interference from Powers outside the area.

38. One of the most painful consequences of the situations of confrontation that we deplore is the exodus of part of the population. France, traditionally a land of asylum, could not remain unmoved, especially when this ordeal involves peoples that were once linked to it. This is why we took in 150,000 refugees, nearly one third of whom came from the Indo-Chinese peninsula; and we are keeping our doors open to other refugees from this area to a limit of 1,000 a month. Since this is an eminently humanitarian endeavour, we hope the burden can be shared to a large extent by the members of the international community.

39. With the fate and protection of the human being at stake, how could we fail to mention the pledge made by our States when they adhered to the Charter, namely, to respect human rights?

40. We must be exacting in this, but also humble. Human rights are too sacred to be used for partisan ends; and they are precious enough for respect to be demanded for them everywhere.

41. France has not forgotten that it was in Paris on 10 December 1948 that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted; we are celebrating its thirtieth anniversary this year. But who would venture to claim that this is also the anniversary of its application?

42. In view of the continued violations of these rights, we are forced to admit that there is still a wide gap between the most solemn statements and actual behaviour.

43. Political persecution, racial discrimination, torture and arbitrary sentences are still a painful reality today. The news offers too many examples of something that is all too common. There should be no hierarchy of arbitrary priorities in human rights, whether individual or collective. To tolerate selection would be to legalize all violations in advance.

44. Unless there is respect for the supremacy of the individual, no progress can be made toward human equality and dignity; both would be flouted, here in the name of economic imperatives, there in the name of security requirements. Neither the cause of peace nor the cause of development can justify the persecution of individuals or groups who ask only that international texts endorsing their basic rights be respected.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975*, document S/11880, annex III.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 10th meeting, paras. 153-214.

45. In this connexion I should like to recall our staunch condemnation of the policy of *apartheid*. We denounce it not only as the manifestation of indescribable disdain for human beings but also as a potential detonator of dangerous conflicts. France has associated itself with the sanctions taken last November against a régime whose blindness makes a constant policy of such disdain. We therefore strictly apply the embargo on arms sales to Pretoria.

46. Granting individuals and peoples every civil and political freedom and the means to enjoy it in peace was already the goal of our States a few decades ago. Today we all agree that it is important for them to have the economic means to exercise those freedoms. Furthermore, development, which should remedy the most blatant economic inequalities, is itself a factor for peace. Has it not been said at this very rostrum that development is the new name for peace?

47. Nevertheless, when we speak of development, let us beware of taxing the peoples' patience. We are nearing the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade. What contribution has it made to the most impoverished among us? What has been its real impact on world hunger? Have we at least established the conditions that could, on the basis of national economic take-off, generate a process of self-development? Alas, that hardly seems to be the case.

48. If public opinion in the developed countries and in countries benefiting from co-operation for development is not to become discouraged, the third development decade will have to respond in a more concrete manner to the needs of peoples and will have to be expressed more consistently in practical ambitions that mobilize support. It is important that the next decade attest to the commitment of the international community to deal realistically—that is, in the concrete terms in which they are presented—with the acute problems that confront a number of Governments daily and affect the lives of hundreds of millions of individuals. Therefore this decade must usher in, if not another type of development, at least a more pragmatic and diversified approach, and it must reject fruitless discussions on the nature of basic needs.

49. In this regard we welcome the agreement reached recently at the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries in Buenos Aires; it opens up new prospects for international technical co-operation to further development.

50. New elements may also be expected from the fifth session of UNCTAD, which is to be held in Manila next year, from the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development and the Third General Conference of UNIDO. Those elements should be integrated into a comprehensive whole and should be guided by master plans that serve to enlighten the mind and mobilize the spirit of determination.

51. Instead of waiting passively for guidelines from the 1980 special session of the General Assembly, it is our duty to start thinking now, individually and collectively, about an outline for the third decade. While the objectives of the present Decade, which were defined globally [resolution

2626 (XXV)], will undoubtedly establish the general frame of action for the 1980s, changes in the world economic situation and the lessons learned from experience should none the less make certain priorities clearer.

52. By the same token, the fight against the most dire effects of poverty is certainly a task in keeping with the possibilities of our Organization, and one that would enable it to respond to the hopes people place in it.

53. The basis for such a project exists. It is the programme of action, adopted unanimously in 1976 by the tripartite world employment conference.⁷ But the programme should be expressed in terms of strategy by an effort of planning and by wide-ranging consultation, in particular with a view to eliminating any misunderstanding. The way was opened, *inter alia*, by the Conference of non-aligned countries which met last July in Belgrade.⁸ That Conference pointed out [see A/33/206] that the policy defined in Geneva—and I agree with this view—is based on the need to promote a new international economic order; it noted that such a policy did not dispense with the need for a global strategy designed to accelerate the economic growth of the developing countries; and, lastly, it stressed that those countries themselves were responsible in the first place for their own development and particularly for satisfying the basic needs of their peoples.

54. I might add that that policy, rightly attentive to rural development and to the problems of unorganized urban concentrations, must not be used as an excuse for neglecting the indispensable geographical redistribution of industry.

55. I have mentioned the necessary industrialization of the developing countries. I hope they will know how to control it and will avoid the mistakes we made in our own industrialization.

56. Moreover, we, like the developing countries, are opposed to any international division of labour, old or new, that would imprison certain peoples in certain tasks. Faced with competition in some sectors from young industries in the third world, we decided, at the price of imposing real sacrifices on our companies and workers, to reject the facile solution of protectionist measures. We have allowed adaptations and reconversions to take place in the context of free trade and realistic pricing. We believe that by so doing we have served honestly the interests of all.

57. The third development decade, as I have said, needs some master plans. It also needs a sense of method and instruments for its implementation. With respect to this, the current restructuring of our Organization's machinery in the economic and social domains, which has included the creation of a high office in the Secretariat, entrusted to Mr. Kenneth Dadzie, increases our confidence in the capacities of the system. The implementation of the General Assembly resolution [resolution 32/197] should be con-

⁷ Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution, Social Progress and the International Division of Labour, held at Geneva from 4 to 17 June 1976. See document E/5857.

⁸ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978.

tinued, especially with regard to strengthening the role and increasing the effectiveness of the Economic and Social Council.

58. I should, however, like to point out one serious and paradoxical short-coming in our complex system, and that is the lack of any framework for genuine discussion on the fundamental issue of energy. By that I mean not the "energy crisis" that made headlines in the press but the crisis facing us, the one that must compel us all to adopt an active policy to conserve energy, which my country has embarked on with determination and success; the crisis that forces us to make a difficult, yes, but inevitable choice between various sources of energy with due regard for the balanced development of the entire planet, for the protection of our natural and man-made environment and for nuclear energy by guaranteeing that it will be used for peaceful purposes. To this end, while France has banned the export of sensitive equipment that could facilitate access to nuclear weapons, it is also anxious not to deprive any country of the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy or the advantages of the most promising technologies. For this reason we have agreed, pending the results of consultations under way in the framework of the international nuclear fuel-cycle evaluation programme, to provide our eventual partners with every service in the fuel cycle.

59. The problem of energy, therefore, needs to be approached globally, without any spirit of confrontation, in order to take into consideration the interests of the international community as a whole. I thus welcome as a positive element resolution 1978/61 passed by the Economic and Social Council which retains the principle of an international conference on new and renewable sources of energy. The French Government will take an active part in preparing that conference.

60. With regard to the 1980 special session of the General Assembly, we regret that the work of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, is to be suspended, this being an irreplaceable forum for pursuing the North-South dialogue to which France is committed. Certainly starting such a dialogue on economic and development problems at the world level is an ambitious and arduous undertaking whose difficulties I underestimate less than anyone. Some divergences have become apparent on the interpretation of certain aspects of the mandate of the Committee. Nevertheless, the formula that found acceptance at the start of the month with a large majority of delegations is still entirely valid, in our view, and should enable the Committee, with the active collaboration of one and all, to tackle the main problems at last.

61. Without the security to which our nations are rightfully entitled, no development is in effect possible. Yet security should not command an excessive share of our resources. In other words, the disarmament undertaking is an obvious necessity and one that should concern us all.

62. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, by making it quite clear that disarmament should be the affair of the entire international community and not of just a few States, has at last placed the debate in its real perspective.

This is not the only thing to its credit; it also provided us with the means to pursue the undertaking.

63. In this matter, no one should entertain doubts about France's determination. The participation of the President of the Republic in person in the work of the special session attests to this. The presence of France in the place reserved for it in the new Committee on Disarmament, a presence that I now officially announce from this rostrum, confirms that this momentum will be maintained.

64. The recognition of the central role that should fall to the United Nations and the concomitant reform of the machinery for negotiation and deliberation, with greater participation, better regional equilibrium and more democratic functioning through the dismantling of the co-presidency in Geneva, guarantee, in our view, that a new phase can now be entered. It has, therefore, become possible for France to join the Committee. It has become necessary for us to assume the role dictated by the importance of the stakes for all our States.

65. I should like to pay a special tribute at this point to the President of the special session, who was also the President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, whose political understanding, dedication and great competence were invaluable to him in successfully carrying out the mission entrusted to him by the Assembly.

66. With the help of revised machinery, the work envisaged last June could now begin. A set of principles and a time-table have already provided useful reference points, although we believe that in certain areas, notably in the nuclear domain, a different wording would have been better suited to the realities of the situation. This document, which is an attempt to cover a set of particularly complex and sensitive problems, nevertheless bears witness to a remarkable consensus within the community of nations on several key points.

67. Let me mention: the right of all States to security; the special responsibility that must be shouldered by the great Powers in the area of disarmament, since they themselves recognize that they have arsenals far in excess of the requirements of strategic balance; the importance not only of nuclear but also of conventional disarmament, in view of the fact that the build-up of conventional weapons, particularly in Europe, constitutes an increasingly serious threat to peace; the need for effective monitoring of disarmament measures; and, finally, the allocation of funds thus freed for economic and social development.

68. France has, moreover, presented concrete suggestions on some of these points which should be studied right here or in specialized bodies. I am referring to proposals for a satellite monitoring agency⁹ and a disarmament fund for development,¹⁰ as well as the establishment of an institute for disarmament studies,¹¹ all initiatives whose usefulness has been widely recognized.

⁹ See document A/S-10/AC.1/7.

¹⁰ See document A/S-10/AC.1/28.

¹¹ See document A/S-10/AC.1/8.

69. The realistic approach to disarmament that should be encouraged leads us to recommend that measures of a regional nature be studied. It is within this framework that balanced solutions can be found which take into account the role deterrence plays in the security of part of the planet. We have therefore proposed to the countries interested in the security of the European continent that a conference on disarmament be convened.

70. A regional consultation could also bolster efforts to limit the transfer of conventional arms. The geographical entity that a region constitutes is most often an arena for threats just as it is for co-operation. So it is at this level that the exigencies of each State's right to security and those of non-discrimination among partners must be assessed. Real progress cannot be made from the outside, by some cartel of producers or through unilateral actions. It can be based only on the common will of the interested States and their common understanding of the purpose and scope of a verifiable regional agreement. In this context the initiative recently taken by a group of Latin American countries sets an example and should be commended.

71. I am addressing this Assembly as the representative of a country that is mindful of its independence and intent on preserving it. But mine is also a country convinced of the growing solidarity which links together all the countries of our planet. In the face of the crises, upheavals and threats of all kinds to which our peoples are exposed, none of us—whether a small, medium-sized or even very large Power—can expect to act alone and emerge unscathed. Co-operation is no longer a choice; it is a necessity that we must accept. Let us give it the means to grow stronger here.

72. We must of course be realistic. Disunity too often pervades this privileged gathering place. Resistance to change is tenacious. And much imagination and political determination will be needed, it is true, to ensure that man, wherever he lives and whatever his race, religion or national origin, will enjoy personal dignity, a fair share of the world's resources and a part of the responsibility for decisions that concern him.

73. "As the strange dawn of the third millenium draws closer", as the President of the Republic said in this very forum last May,¹² the undertaking offers enormous scope for our intelligence and efforts. France for its part is determined to take part in it.

Address by Mr. Rodrigo Carazo, President of Costa Rica

74. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Costa Rica. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Rodrigo Carazo, President of the Republic of Costa Rica, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

75. Mr. CARAZO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As I address this Assembly of the Organization in which mankind has placed its highest hopes for the

preservation of peace, the development of the peoples of the earth and the prevalence of respect for the rights of the human person, it is with deep satisfaction that I extend a respectful greeting to the honourable representatives of the sovereign States which participate as members, with identical rights, in the deliberations of this supreme body of the most prestigious international organization. And to you, Mr. President, as one who ranks high among the intellectuals and men of outstanding insight who have lent distinction and renown to our Latin American spiritual community, I wish to express my heartfelt satisfaction at the well-deserved recognition accorded to your merits by your election to preside over this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in a year so crucial to that noblest of endeavours, the advancement of human rights, a cause to which your country and my own attach such great importance.

76. This year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the unanimous adoption of both the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man,¹³ signed on 2 May 1948 in Bogotá—the cultured capital of Colombia—and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on 10 December of that same year in Paris, that city beloved of all free men since the historic day when from the barricades in its ancient streets arose the immortal cry of "Liberty, equality, fraternity". And now, as if to attest to the strength of their belief in this noble cause, a group of States Members of the United Nations is preparing for the forthcoming inauguration of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, whose seat is to be in Costa Rica, a country which was also the seat more than 70 years ago of our first regional court of justice, the Central American Court, which was given competence to hear grievances and accusations by persons who considered that their rights had been violated by any of the Governments of Central America.

77. Thirty years will shortly have elapsed since the Universal Declaration was written. Much progress has since been made in this unfinished struggle to secure recognition and respect for the rights of the human person in every corner of the globe. That Declaration, a valuable yet limited expression of the legal conscience of mankind, gave way to the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted in this very hall on 16 December 1966 [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*]. Over 90 countries have secured the inalienable right recognized by the United Nations freely to determine their own destiny. Discrimination among men for reasons of race has wholly disappeared from the law of many countries, where the separation imposed by social custom has also diminished or abated. Although today one nation or another may still cling to the laws and practices of *apartheid*—abhorrent though they may be to all who believe in the oneness of the human race, the innate equality of men and the ideals of the United Nations—we may be certain that no such laws or practices can long endure, for they are infringements of the most sacred of the rights of the human person: respect for the dignity of man, which is both the wellspring and at the same time the foundation of the legal doctrine of human rights. We

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 3rd meeting, para. 72.

¹³ See *The International Conferences of American States, Second Supplement, 1942-1954* (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States, 1958), pp. 263-270.

therefore welcome the news which has recently reached us that the biracial Government of Zimbabwe has adopted a series of measures that constitute the first step towards the abolition of all rules and measures implying unequal treatment of the inhabitants of that long-suffering country merely by reason of the colour of their skin.

78. The work done by the United Nations in this field, which affects so many millions of men and women, as well as other innocent beings, such as children and adolescents, has been great and fruitful. Worthy of special mention is the arduous work done by the Commission on Human Rights and the sub-commissions, committees and sub-committees created to deal with related problems. But this is not enough. Here and there in every corner of the earth there continue to occur frequent cases of violation or non-recognition of rights which the universal conscience and the United Nations consider sacred, because the domestic peace of States and, in the final analysis, peace among nations, rest upon respect for those rights.

79. In this connexion, Costa Rica has, for more than 12 years, tirelessly advocated the establishment of the post of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, which, like that of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, would strengthen, through specific personal action, the application of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Covenants on the fundamental human rights and freedoms, which is essential to enable all men to enjoy peace and the blessings of progress and civilization.

80. We have once again pressed for the inclusion of this item [item 86] because we feel that its continued presence on the agenda of the General Assembly will serve constantly to underscore its importance to the world. This, however, does not imply that we underestimate in any way the major role which has been played, with respect to this item and to human rights in general, by the special committee entrusted with studying the item and reporting to the General Assembly.

81. A fortnight ago, my country, which has made peace a habit and a way of life, was the victim of the violation of a fundamental human right, the right to peace.

82. My country's Constitution forbids the establishment of an army and allows only a police force to keep the peace. Resources earmarked by other nations for maintaining military forces are allocated by us to education. Costa Rica is thus able to appropriate one third of its national budget for education at all levels.

83. Costa Rica has no arsenals, military forces or economic might. Yet it is not by default but by conviction that my country has clearly chosen a civilian vocation, one which places right over might, and the search for the riches of the spirit over the desire for dominance. Costa Rica's strength lies in its lack of force.

84. On 12 September aircraft of the Nicaraguan Air Force violated the border with Costa Rica and proceeded to strafe the only army our country has: its students and teachers. The order was given by the Government of Nicaragua, and the target was the innermost heart of our nationhood.

85. My Government, which is based upon the rule of law and respect for international agreements, repelled the attack with its finest weapons: the moral courage of its people and reliance upon international treaties. It immediately appealed to the Organization of American States /OAS/, invoking its Charter, and supported the open and exemplary initiative of the Government of Venezuela, which called for a meeting of American Foreign Ministers. My Government brought its case before the OAS, as a regional body, before appealing to the United Nations Security Council.

86. In this matter my Government has enjoyed the resolute and effective support of the Governments of Venezuela and Panama, which have shown themselves ready to come to the aid of a country which has no army and no weapons, as well as the support of other friendly nations. Before this world forum I convey to them the gratitude of my Government and my people.

87. How great a task lies before us in the field of human rights when a country can be attacked because it lives in peace. How great is our responsibility when dedication to culture, to education, health and development can be greeted with a treacherous aggression. How much yet remains to be done to uplift the minds of men and nations when weapons, in the hands of a foreign ruler, can be raised against children, teachers and students walking joyously and peacefully through the fields of their homeland organizing the celebration of their independence day, as has just occurred in my country.

88. Members of the Assembly, compare the character of the attacker and the position of the attacked, and ask yourselves whether this case leaves any room for doubt as to who is in the right.

89. My Government and people solemnly undertake, before this forum of universal expression and dialogue, to continue publicly to demonstrate their support for the cause of human rights and the cause of peace, and to strive without respite to secure respect for the law and for human dignity in the face of aggression, genocide, violence and the stifling of liberty. This is my Government's reply to those who, in word and deed, have left the stain of their treachery upon our land.

90. I am confident that the international community will recognize who is right and will issue a just verdict as an expression of its faith in its principles and as a demonstration of their faithful application.

91. The International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights, of 16 December 1966, which Costa Rica had the honour to sign, approve and ratify before any other country, are an embodiment of the inalienable right of peoples freely to exercise self-determination in the political, economic and social domains. Both Covenants, using the same wording, place this right in paragraph 1 of article 1, to indicate thereby that the legal framework of respect for human rights and peace among nations rests fundamentally upon recognition of the right of peoples freely to determine their political status. Thanks to this sound principle, we have today in this General Assembly representatives of a great

many States which secured independence, recognition and sovereignty after 1945, among them the newest State Member of our Organization, Solomon Islands, to which I wish to extend my Government's heartfelt congratulations and our best wishes for the development and prosperity of that new nation. Costa Rica cannot conceal its satisfaction at having contributed, on all previous occasions, to ensuring that the aspirations of different groups of human beings to govern themselves freely and independently should be recognized by other nations and by our Organization.

92. With respect to the Middle East, my Government publicly expresses its joy at the signing by President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel of a preliminary peace agreement,¹⁴ under the auspices of the President of the United States, Mr. Jimmy Carter, which augurs an historic change in international relations in the Middle East, provided good will, the pursuit of the ideal of peace, and direct dialogue between the two countries continue.

93. It is the fervent hope of my Government that in the long-awaited settlement of the very delicate problems of the Middle East the right of the Palestinian people freely to determine its own destiny will, as the Camp David document suggests, be exercised in the near future. My Government similarly reaffirms the right of the State of Israel to have its status as a free and sovereign State acknowledged and guaranteed by all Members of this Organization.

94. The direct dialogue between Israel and Egypt has inspired new hope among all peace-loving men and peoples. Peace is possible. In that conviction, I appeal to all the leaders concerned in the Middle East conflict to join in this effort and pursue this fruitful and exemplary dialogue so that before long they can offer the world imposing evidence of faith in man, and so that once again, as in Biblical times, the dove of peace may take flight and peoples be united. On that day mankind will turn a new page in its history and the blessings of all men of goodwill will be on the leaders who achieved this.

95. My Government upholds the unique effectiveness of frank and cordial dialogue, as shown in the case of Egypt and Israel. We also harbour the highest hopes for Central America, expressing once again the heartfelt wish and concern of the Government and people of Costa Rica to see a speedy solution of the problems still pending between the sister nations of El Salvador and Honduras. Accordingly, I reaffirm my Government's confidence in the mediation mechanism which has been established.

96. Paragraph 2 of article 1 of each of the International Covenants of 16 December 1966 recognizes to all peoples the right freely to dispose of their natural wealth and resources. Nothing could be more right, nothing could be more just. Costa Rica is pleased that the application of that principle and other lofty principles has fortunately led this year to the end of a lengthy process by which the United States, in a praiseworthy gesture of respect for the principles of equity and justice, has agreed to transfer to

the Republic of Panama the inter-oceanic Canal built through a narrow stretch of its territory and which constitutes the most valuable natural resource of that Republic because of the facilities it offers in providing easy communication and the quick movement of goods and persons from one ocean to another. My Government is very pleased by this memorable event, of which Panama and the United States were the protagonists, and this shows that a happy result can be achieved when a spirit of justice prevails over all other considerations, and when there is serenity, perseverance, patience and firmness in presenting a position or a request.

97. My Government hopes that the same spirit of justice will prevail in the deliberations at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has just completed another session, its seventh, as well as in the multilateral negotiations being conducted by several countries concerning the rights and obligations of States which have interests in or carry on fishing activities in the economic zones which the new law of the sea recognizes for coastal States.

98. Costa Rica, whose land territory is small, possesses broad maritime zones in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans which it has claimed for many years, with no open objection by other States, on legal grounds which correspond to those that have already been incorporated in the text which the Conference on the Law of the Sea is working out by consensus. These zones abound in marine species of all kinds—some sedentary, others migratory—all of which are part of the natural resources which both law and equity recognize as the economic heritage of Costa Rica, and which the Government that took office in my country on 8 May proposes to defend with all the force of the law in order to ensure that the Costa Rican people receive their just share of the benefits derived from permitting the exploitation of their fisheries by Costa Rican vessels or by foreign vessels which have previously obtained the necessary permission in accordance with duly established regulations. It is all very well that on the high seas, which are the *res communis* of mankind, fishing fleets of economically powerful nations should take the harvests without sharing the product of their sale with any other country other than their own; it would be inequitable, however, for such fleets to transfer their bases thousands of kilometres away in order to take advantage of the *thunnidae* which abound in the economic zones of other nations without those nations, which are generally under-developed or at an early stage of development, receiving a fair share of the proceeds of the sale of a natural resource taken from their economic zones.

99. It is not right that great industrial Powers should reserve for themselves extensive fishing zones, send their fleets thousands of kilometres away to reap resources lying off the coasts of developing States, and yet not recognize the rights of those States with regard to the exploitation of their marine resources, which are the only resources accessible to their generally poorly equipped national fleets.

100. As I stated during my first visit to our island territory most distant from the mainland, Cocos Island:

"The President of the United States has opened up a new and promising era in international relations by

¹⁴ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

proceeding to the exchange of documents concerning the Panama Canal Treaties. The principles he laid down are categorical and, if the new Canal Treaties are the first sign of this new policy, Costa Rica trusts that those same principles will apply in the case of fisheries, in the interests of justice in relations between our two countries."

101. The resources of the sea are an important part of the national wealth of coastal States. Costa Rica hopes that, at this promising juncture, as nations strive to find just formulas conducive to development, bilateral or multi-lateral agreements can be worked out that will recognize the right of Costa Rica, as of other States that authorizes exploitation of their resources by foreign fleets, to receive the equitable share of the proceeds to which it is entitled by the use of the living resources of its exclusive economic zone.

102. All men who long for peace are concerned about the arms race that has been unleashed among the largest world Powers and which is consuming enormous economic resources and absorbing the efforts of privileged, intelligent men who could otherwise place their inventive genius at the service of peaceful arts and sciences and thus contribute to the worthy tasks of development and the gradual eradication of the ignorance and poverty that persist in many large areas of the globe. My Government, which represents a people known for its love of peace, cannot fail to reiterate its hope that the major military Powers will find a formula which will enable them to earmark for peaceful purposes a substantial part of the financial resources and man-hours which are now being devoted to the construction of ever more sophisticated instruments of death and destruction.

103. As we enter the closing years of the twentieth century and near the dawn of the third millennium, the question of disarmament as the basis for the establishment of peace in the world must, in my Government's view, be accompanied by a new vision of peace.

104. The purpose of global efforts for disarmament is to eliminate the principal physical instrument of war. All things considered, what is involved is a world-wide decision and a world-wide struggle which may fail to alter the fundamental problem: the absence of a collective and positive will for peace.

105. The struggle for disarmament must therefore be accompanied by a pedagogy of peace: in other words, education for peace. Disarmament may serve to avert imminent disaster; education for peace is a permanent attitude. Disarmament means discarding an instrument of war in order to achieve the objective of peace. Education for peace means creating the real conditions for a peaceful world. Consequently disarmament should advance hand in hand with education for peace.

106. I therefore propose to this thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly the creation of a university for peace, within the framework of the United Nations University network, as a concrete expression of this new vision of a triumphant and dynamic peace, this new vision of peace as a result of education and consciousness.

107. That university would be a great centre of higher learning, open to all peoples and all men of goodwill, whose primary objective would be to contribute, through research, teaching, dissemination and free inquiry, to the cause of peace, to mutual knowledge for men throughout the world, and to the promotion among all men of a spirit of understanding, tolerance, and peaceful coexistence, in order to stimulate international co-operation and eliminate any situation which could imperil universal peace and the progress of peoples.

108. The United Nations is, by definition, dedicated to the cause of peace; that is its supreme and inescapable purpose.

109. The United Nations has created various bodies to perform specific tasks in economic, social and cultural development. However, it lacks the supreme institution, that from which it derives its essence and its reason for being—the institution of peace. The United Nations was created to safeguard peace and the entire Organization is oriented towards that central goal. Nevertheless, for historical reasons, its concept of peace has been closer to the notion of peace as the absence of war than to that of peace as the supreme achievement of man as a continuing task in the domain of learning. Accordingly, I propose the creation of an institution to prepare men and nations for peace.

110. Every positive and concrete effort against the arms race meets with opposition from those who wield the old Latin principle "*Si vis pacem, para bellum*"—"If you desire peace, prepare for war". Today, however, preparing for war has a different goal—not the achievement of peace, but the prevalence of fear, as the means to world equilibrium. This, then, is world peace founded on an act of fear, not on conviction or on an act of conscience. I therefore propose not a military maxim but a human one: "If you desire peace, prepare for peace."

111. Peace is a dynamic concept. It is a condition of life and, consequently, one of the fundamental human rights. Viewing the matter in this way, it becomes a question not of keeping the peace but of achieving it. Peace is a right of the human species, but it is also a duty. It follows that every man, and mankind as a whole, must be not only the object but also the subject of peace. Men may enjoy this right, but they must at the same time keep it in existence. Peace is the work of justice and the fruit of love, but it must also be the product of education; or, to put it better, education must be one of its most effective instruments of action.

112. At this point in the twentieth century we are being called upon to face, in all their tragic urgency, the needs of mankind. However, we must at the same time face up to the requirements of our species. The university for peace must be the laboratory of the spirit of peace, the crucible in which we must form the new mentality of peace over the decades to come—for the twenty-first century shall be peaceful, or it shall not be at all.

113. Peace is not the end of a conflict or an interlude between wars; it is a constantly renewed challenge. It must be our supreme objective and, as such, we must provide concrete means for affirming it, recalling that the present

generation reserves its trust for words that are accompanied by deeds.

114. Peace, like war, is not the result of historical predestination; it springs from man's freedom. Peace is within man, but it urgently requires measures to safeguard and create it: diplomatic relations, covenants, agreements, treaties, economic and social resources, means of information and education, laws and, finally, a vast machinery to give visible and tangible shape to this ceaseless quest of man on earth. What would become of the human species without all of these institutions, to which my Government now proposes the addition of a specific institution dedicated to preparing for peace and training for peace two decades before the new millennium?

115. Peace is not merely a matter of noble sentiments. By its very nature it requires some measure of precise and diversified knowledge, both theoretical and practical. That is why it is urgent that man's intelligence and culture be directed towards peace. What is involved, as has been proposed by one eminent person, is marshalling all man's intellectual faculties, all the cultural and scientific heritage of mankind, in order that we may become an instrument of peace. What this implies, finally, is preparing and training man's will and intelligence for peace.

116. Peace is made, not found. Peace is not rest. It is not another word for fear. Peace is the pulse of life.

117. Settlements imposed by fear do not constitute peace. The institutions of peace we have today were born in the wake of the Second World War. They were inspired by pain and fear; but, as the pain and fear of that holocaust subside, the possibility of a new war looms ever greater. Why is this happening? Because, as the old Latin maxim would have it, we are still preparing for war in order to bring about peace. Thus, the vicious circle continues and mankind is never prepared for peace.

118. With this in mind, what I offer for representatives' consideration is an institution not to be built on fear but on a triumphant and vigorous idea of peace. The world must instil a dynamic mentality of peace in adults, children and young people. To that end, we must put to use one of the greatest and most effective means of ennobling and transforming man—education. In this way we may forge in man the thoughts and habits of peace, bringing peace first into the minds and hearts of men, and then into world politics.

119. My Government will submit a specific draft resolution on the subject¹⁵ requesting the General Assembly to consider the initiative of creating a university for peace along the lines that I have described as the contribution of a peaceful people to the cause of peace, the supreme goal of the United Nations, on the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved at Paris.

120. As a token of goodwill and of the desire to take part in the creation of the university for peace, I offer my country, Costa Rica, as its host. I hope that representatives of Member States will view this offer as testimony to our

faith and trust in the ability of this Organization to find new ways of strengthening and nurturing a flourishing and positive peace in the world through the education of mankind. Let us rally to peace.

121. Costa Rica places at the disposal of the United Nations architectural drawings and study programmes which we have already developed, as well as a site which is ample and ideal from ecological and geographical points of view for the carrying out of this project. The tropical features of the site, coupled with its refreshing altitude, produce a spring-like climate. Largely surrounded by virgin forest, the site is an ecological paradise.

122. The area set aside for the university for peace enjoys a climate which from the physical and biological standpoints is particularly well suited to the implementation of a historic project for peace.

123. Soon 35 years will have elapsed since the signing in Moscow on 30 October 1943 of the four-nation declaration on general security, which for the first time recognized:

“... the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.”¹⁶

124. That Declaration planted the seed which, finding fertile soil in a mankind racked by bloodshed and destruction, was to grow into this General Assembly of sovereign States, the largest and most exemplary organ of international action that the centuries have ever witnessed.

125. I call to mind here the illustrious names of so many eminent persons of the old world and the new, of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, from strong countries and weak countries, leaders of Christianity and of other spiritual movements, who have spoken at this rostrum and who have contributed so much to this Organization's endeavours to fulfil the hopes that led to its creation.

126. May I once again extend to all present my respect and esteem.

127. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Costa Rica, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo, for the important address he has just given.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

128. Mr. MONTES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it gives me great satisfaction to congratulate you most warmly on behalf of the Government of Argentina on your unanimous election to the presidency of this General Assembly. Your election, which is a clear recognition of your personal and professional

¹⁵ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.2/33/L.44.

¹⁶ See *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1946-1947* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.47.I.18), p. 3.

qualifications, has a special significance for Argentina, since you belong to and are an outstanding representative of a country bound to my own by close links of brotherhood and understanding. We are certain that your presidency will be an important factor in the advancement of our work and the achievement of the best results. My delegation wishes to extend to you the assurance of its fullest co-operation in your difficult task.

129. I wish to take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, of Yugoslavia, for his excellent and hard work during the last regular session and this year's three special sessions of the General Assembly.

130. I should also like to emphasize my Government's satisfaction concerning the official visit that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, paid to my country. His opening address to the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries enhanced the prestige of that significant event and contributed to its success.

131. The spirit of universality that inspires our Organization is evident now with the presence of Solomon Islands, a new Member of the United Nations to which we extend a heartfelt welcome.

132. The intense work of the Organization, as summed up in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1], and a review of the matters that concern us show a picture of the world situation that is hardly encouraging.

133. We are again called upon to examine international situations in which the United Nations plays a preponderant role, particularly in relation to one of its fundamental purposes, the maintenance of international peace and security.

134. As we review the events that have taken place since the previous general debate, we cannot help noticing the seriousness of certain situations and the existence of growing tensions in critical areas, the persistence of which threatens world peace. In this context, we are concerned by the turn taken in relations between the super-Powers, in which elements characteristic of the cold war era have reappeared, thus slowing down the process of détente initiated not long ago. Judging from the bilateral negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms, we could say that it has not yet been possible to achieve an agreement that would warrant the hope of lasting peaceful coexistence. But this assessment is applicable not only to the strict framework of relations between the most powerful States, but also to other bilateral relations, where certain Powers follow conditional and restrictive practices, particularly when they deal with developing countries.

135. In our review of the critical areas of the world, we are prompted to start with the question of the Middle East, where a complex set of circumstances combines to pose one of the most serious threats to international peace and security.

136. We remain convinced that the principles contained in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973)

provide the guidelines that inevitably will have to be followed as the basis for negotiations leading to the establishment of peace in the area.

137. The initiative of the President of the United States seems to have opened new ways to the negotiations. We can but hope now that the arrangements to be concluded will adequately take into account the rights and interests of all the peoples of the Middle East, in an effort to make possible a comprehensive, just and lasting peace.

138. Argentina, which maintains with Lebanon close links of blood and culture, cannot fail to express its deep concern for the human and material losses that unbridled violence has provoked, with no end in sight. We solemnly call on all the parties involved in the conflict to do everything in their power to put an end to this sad bloodshed.

139. In southern Africa, the situation has alarming features, particularly if we consider the difficulties faced by our Organization as a consequence of non-compliance with its resolutions by those who rule the territories there.

140. The situation in Namibia gives rise to doubts even now as to the future of that Territory. Firm in our conviction that colonial questions have to be solved through negotiations, and firmly believing in support for the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, we reiterate our hope that goodwill and a sense of responsibility will prevail among the parties, so that this problem may be solved peacefully and in accordance with those decisions.

141. We particularly wish to see the prompt realization of those adjustments that are indispensable for the implementation of the proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council,¹⁷ proposals that embody an initiative that was endorsed by that body.

142. Argentina wishes expressly to state its intention, if these proposals are actually carried out, directly to co-operate in the actions to be undertaken by our Organization in the process of Namibian independence. Those actions will need the support of all the parties directly involved and that of the international community as a whole.

143. A last, unavoidable reference to the situation prevailing in southern Africa leads us to mention one serious problem outstanding in the area. I speak of the persistence of discriminatory practices that are an offence not only to the peoples of Africa, but to the conscience of all mankind.

144. The Argentine Republic, which has invariably rejected racism and discrimination in all its forms, cannot but express once again its concern over the continuation of the policy of *apartheid*, and therefore we reiterate the call to put an end to a system incompatible with contemporary ethical and social values.

145. It was because of this concern that we participated in the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was held in Geneva last August.

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

146. In our time, it is very difficult seriously to think of a secure and lasting peace when the efforts to halt the arms race continue to be hampered by barriers erected with senseless blindness.

147. It is premature as yet to make a full evaluation of the results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament. Yet it is possible to identify some positive elements in its proceedings and decisions. Among the assets, we can essentially point to its sound conceptualization of the principle of non-proliferation and to the fact that, as a result, it put the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) on the same plane with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. However, it must be pointed out that while the former is not of a discriminatory nature, the latter is.

148. The full participation in the deliberations at the special session of the People's Republic of China and of France opens up a new era in the disarmament negotiations, and warrants our our fervent hope that in this field, too, the United Nations will achieve universality, which is a necessary pre-condition for its effectiveness.

149. The composition and organization of the new Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, as well as the reactivation of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, are in themselves no substitute for the indispensable political will that the big Powers should display in order to start on the road towards nuclear disarmament, but they do create a suitable framework, so that if that will exists it can be channelled in accordance with the interests of other nations.

150. The support given by the Assembly to the inalienable right of developing countries to acquire nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and to carry out their national programmes in this field according to their national priorities, interests and needs, constitutes a step on the road to the elimination of restrictive and discriminatory practices that, unfortunately, have characterized international co-operation in this sphere.

151. Argentina has recently been designated one of the co-ordinating non-aligned countries on questions related to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. We will exert our efforts to the best of our ability and capacity so that co-operation in this field among developing countries may be as efficient as possible and be smooth and flexible enough to ensure mutual benefits.

152. The outline and consolidation of the declared principles that should govern international relations have made it possible to achieve better coexistence in the world. However, new obstacles seem to emerge periodically, threatening the march along the road to peace and solidarity.

153. In this context, I cannot but refer to the unscrupulous and formidable menace which the world now faces: that of criminal terrorism.

154. This phenomenon constitutes one of the greatest perils threatening the modern State: the irrational violation

of the citizen's right to life and the permanent threat to collective security.

155. The international community must categorically condemn this indiscriminate violence, channelled through criminals under no flag, who are thus clearly unconnected with the struggle for freedom and national independence waged by peoples affected by various forms of colonialism, with whose struggle they claim to be identified.

156. Argentina has suffered, and is still sporadically suffering, from the bitter consequences of this display of violence, and in the exercise of their right to self-defence, my Government and people have striven to re-establish order and guarantee the existence of full security.

157. Unfortunately, other sectors in the world do not react appropriately to terrorist minorities that perpetrate criminal acts, depriving innocent people of their freedom of their lives. On the contrary, they seem to be welcomed in some European capitals as if they were the victims of an unjust social order. This indicates an overt and deliberate, politically motivated lack of understanding.

158. It is high time that the principles of law became actual practice. We should not limit ourselves to establishing elaborate mechanisms for faits accomplis. That is why I appeal to the universal conscience to recognize the need to establish suitable bases for ending this scourge. In this connexion, we recall the proposal of a European country according to which "States have an obligation not to tolerate on their territory those terrorist associations which premeditate and carry out such acts. We cannot ignore the danger to the normal development of relations between States that the presence of these groups on their territories entails.

159. Equally serious is the attitude adopted by some States which, being totally unaware of the problems of others, arrogate to themselves the right to stand in judgement of the behaviour of other States and of realities which they do not understand, seeking to monopolize the cause of human rights. Reluctant to respect the basic principles of international law, such as that concerning the internal sovereignty of a State, they point an accusing finger and resort to methods of political and economic coercion on the basis of subjective selectivity.

160. In such cases, as we have said on other occasions, the international community is faced with a deplorable abuse of power the consequences of which cannot be ignored, for its danger lies not only in the resentment it provokes, but also in the great damage it can cause to entire populations for the moral responsibility awakened by those acts should be no less important than that evoked in the defence of human rights.

161. Argentina considers this question to be of special significance. But I hasten to reiterate that our country feels that the genuine defence of those rights can only be carried out if we begin by abandoning sterile recriminations and strive together to undertake an exercise in honesty and mutual respect.

162. With regard to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, we view with concern the attempts

to reopen questions that have already settled, which only serves to hold up negotiations.

163. One threat to the negotiating process, though not the least, lies in the present drafts of unilateral legislation which would allow certain industrialized countries to exploit the international sea-bed, in total disregard of the resolutions of this General Assembly, which expressly provide for the exploitation of the sea and ocean areas by an international régime for the benefit of the entire community of nations.

164. It is encouraging to see that the United Nations has directed its most vigorous and positive action to the field of decolonization. This was not an easy task. In the first place, we must remember that the fact that each Territory is a separate entity with its own distinctive features made it advisable not to adopt a fixed set of rules for mechanisms and principles to govern the actual decolonization process.

165. The fact that those very specific features of each Territory have been adequately dealt with in the decisions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples constitutes definite proof of the seriousness and efficiency with which this work has been conducted.

166. The Republic of Argentina, true to its origin as a country born to full independence after a long struggle, has invariably given its firm support to those decisions of United Nations bodies aimed at putting an end to colonialism. This position is compatible with its status as a country still suffering from the usurpation of part of its territory by a foreign country.

167. Argentina reaffirms its sovereign rights over the Malvinas Islands, and reiterates its firm determination to secure their effective restitution. It also reaffirms its political will to solve the problem created by the illegal British occupation of the islands through the peaceful means of negotiation.

168. Negotiation is, moreover, the means chosen by General Assembly resolutions on the Malvinas Islands, which, it should be recalled, were adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes.

169. On the basis of our attachment to the principle of negotiation and to the recommendations of the General Assembly as contained in resolutions 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII) and 31/49 the Government of Argentina has undertaken bilateral negotiations with the British Government. These negotiations began in Buenos Aires in February 1977 and have continued through three new rounds, which have revealed some areas of understanding.

170. I cannot help mentioning that they follow a pace that is not in step with the importance that my country attaches to this question, and are far from responding to the sense of urgency given it by the General Assembly. However, we are confident that with the good sense and political vision shown by the United Kingdom in other instances we shall be able to arrive at a just settlement of this conflict, which is now more than a century old. Still on

this question, we must make a final and very special reference to the non-aligned movement which, at the Belgrade Conference, once again reiterated its firm support for the just Argentine claim to those islands and urged the parties to continue negotiations with a view to reaching an early solution to the dispute. My country expresses its gratitude for this new show of support for its position and trusts that such a categorical pronouncement, coming as it does from a group representing practically two thirds of the international community, will not be ignored by the British Government.

171. My country is deeply concerned about the way the economic components of international relations have been evolving recently. Inflation, accompanied by a regressive process, affects not only developed but also developing countries and the measures taken by the former to combat some of its consequences have created a new source of world-wide tension.

172. While the economically powerful countries try to bolster the employment levels of their countries by applying protectionist measures to their foreign trade, the weaker countries, thus prevented from increasing or even maintaining their export earnings, have to resort to a greater degree to foreign indebtedness.

173. The ever more apparent trend of the industrialized countries to resort to import limitations is a sad feature of the present times and it is aggravated by the fact that such protectionist measures are rarely applied among those countries themselves for fear of launching a trade war, so that the whole burden is unloaded mainly on the least economically developed countries. They, because of their inherent weakness and lack of joint action, cannot take reprisals to defend their legitimate interests, or, if they do take them, they are not significant for the industrialized countries.

174. Thus, those countries, while proclaiming in every forum their spirit of solidarity, the need to help the underprivileged nations and their support for criteria that take into account the power and national wealth imbalances in international economic relations, in fact apply a policy devoid of all those considerations and vitiated by the mistaken belief that in a closely interrelated world they can overcome the economic crisis by exclusively taking care of interests within their borders.

175. That is why Argentina considers that it is necessary firmly to reject this protectionist trend among the developed countries. Naturally my country hopes that what was a fact a few years ago, the practice of a gradually wider and freer world trade, which has apparently been partially discarded now, will be re-established, because we deem it to be most appropriate to the interests of every nation, irrespective of its degree of development.

176. Another fact that worries Argentina is the recent failure of the negotiations conducted in the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, which resulted in the adjournment of the session. That prompted a feeling of general frustration which does not augur well for the dialogue between developed and developing countries.

177. The economic relations established on a world-wide level in the post-war period played a significant role in the evolution and development of all countries. However, if we consider the present condition of those relations and the problems besetting them it is possible to conclude that the life cycle of many of the elements in that framework of relations has come to an end and that therefore it is necessary to readjust the structure of international economic relations to present-day realities. That aim is nothing other than the establishment of a new international economic order, and that entails the need to undertake progressive and profound reforms.

178. A definitive failure of the negotiations in the Committee would constitute a serious blow to the prospect of substantive understandings among nations in different stages of development. Argentina will continue to participate actively in the decision-making process with a view to reactivating the dialogue among all nations because we consider it to be the sole valid system to solve the problems that the present situation poses for international co-operation.

179. In May 1979 the fifth session of UNCTAD will be held in Manila. This uniquely important event will constitute a significant stage in the negotiations directed to the establishment of a new international economic order, and in those leading to the formulation of the international development strategy for the decade of the 1980s. My country will do its utmost to see to it that the meeting does not disappoint the developing countries, which expect a great deal from that international gathering, and to ensure that it shall produce the guidelines needed to solve the serious problems which affect trade and development today.

180. To that effect we consider it necessary that all States at Manila should strive with clear political determination to achieve positive results and prevent the resolutions to be adopted from becoming mere expressions of good will.

181. We believe that that is possible. We consider that world conditions, albeit difficult, can lead to a consensus that can be implemented in practice. This position does not reflect an empty optimism. Only a few days ago, at the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, of which my country had the honour to be the host, we found that a consensus of that kind could be achieved.

182. In the course of that Conference the countries of the developing world had the opportunity to establish mechanisms to extend the links that existed among them already in part with a view to co-operating in the fields of technology and, therefore, in culture and economics, as an expression of a sovereign assertion of individual and collective self-reliance as the basis for development. I will not now review the results of that Conference in detail; suffice it to say that the quality of the debates, the political and intellectual stature of the delegations that participated and the intensity of the negotiations which led to positive and satisfactory results for all countries, irrespective of their stage of development, must be a source of satisfaction to all

participants. In fact, the Buenos Aires Plan of Action¹⁸—as it came to be known—represents significant progress for the entire international community since it proves the existence of a genuine interest in making of the United Nations system an effective instrument for the well-being of the developing countries.

183. We consider that the unanimous support of the developed countries for the decisions taken is proof of their awareness of the global benefits that this new dimension of international co-operation can generate.

184. I would not wish to end this brief review of the main economic factors of international relations without referring to a practice which my country wishes to condemn once again on this occasion.

185. I am speaking of a powerful new weapon by which certain industrialized countries try to exert pressure bilaterally as well as at the multilateral level, namely, the tying of financial operations to the circumstances of the domestic policy of recipient countries.

186. My country maintains that international credit which, after export earnings is the second source of development financing, should be free from political ties of whatever kind, and that the only acceptable parameters for granting or refusing development aid should be purely economic. To admit other factors would simply mean to legitimize the use of economic power to serve the ends of political hegemony.

187. The international community must consider that there are no conflicts or disputes that cannot be solved through co-operation and an open exchange of ideas if there is real political will.

188. That is why, on behalf of my Government, I wish to reaffirm before this Assembly our conviction that peace among men and nations will be attained only when we are ready for a free and open dialogue based on the principles of justice, equality and mutual respect, which are the pillars on which the Argentine Republic has built its actions throughout all its history.

189. Mr. OLEWALE (Papua New Guinea): Mr. President, I wish to join the previous speakers in congratulating you on your unanimous election to the high office you now occupy. My delegation is confident that under your able leadership and guidance this thirty-third session of the General Assembly will be a successful and fruitful one. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Mojsov of Yugoslavia, on the efficient manner in which he performed his duties during the last session of the General Assembly.

190. Year after year we gather here in order to express our concerns over the issues facing our world today. These issues are so numerous that one could not possibly discuss all of them in this world forum at one time, let alone find

¹⁸ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11), chap. I.

solutions to them. Therefore, I propose to highlight only those issues which my delegation considers are in urgent need of positive action by this world body. These issues are human rights; the situations in southern Africa and in the Middle East; decolonization; disarmament; and the new international economic order.

191. The question of human rights, being an important issue, has occupied a central position for my Government and indeed for many other Governments represented here today. It is particularly pleasing to my delegation to note that in some countries adequate measures have been taken to restore basic human rights. However, in others there still exist inhuman practices and an appalling denial of the human rights of people living there. It is the hope of my Government that the international community will condemn those who insist on perpetrating these activities.

192. We note that this year the international community will be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This will provide us with a unique opportunity for assessing the records of the United Nations and the international community in the human rights field. My Government hopes that each Member of the United Nations will do the same.

193. My delegation is pleased to note that there has been progress on the question of Namibia. We understand the people of Namibia will attain their independence in December this year. Papua New Guinea will not accept anything less than that. The United Nations should be proud of itself for not letting up on the racist régime of Vorster. We hope the free elections will ensure equal participation in the running of that new nation. We shall certainly be looking forward to seeing Namibia among us in a very short time.

194. I turn now to the question of Zimbabwe. In view of the mounting unrest and violence in Zimbabwe, my Government is convinced that there can be no acceptable solution until majority rule is established in accordance with the principle of "one man, one vote". Unilateral action will not bring about a lasting solution; it will only make the situation worse. Initiatives taken by the front-line States together with the United Kingdom and the United States have been helpful.

195. In relation to *apartheid*, institutional racial discrimination in South Africa still causes concern to my Government. We have stated in the past and will state once again here and now, in the strongest terms, that the policy of *apartheid* in southern Africa is abhorrent. There is no indication whatsoever that the racist Government of South Africa is moving away from its policy of separated races. Opponents of *apartheid* are victimized; African leaders and organizations are banned; basic human rights are denied to the black African people. We know, too, that leaders such as Steven Biko have been gaoled and murdered by the racist régime. How long will these inhuman acts go on? The time bomb is ticking. Unless we defuse this bomb, it is going to explode.

196. The situation in the Middle East causes grave concern, not only to those who live in the region but also to all peace-loving peoples of the world. My delegation

supports the efforts being made by Egypt and Israel towards a workable solution in that region. We understand the issue is a very complicated one, and a solution will not come overnight. However, we do believe that there should be some compromises and concessions. Papua New Guinea has always remained neutral on this question because deep in our hearts we sincerely want to see peace and security in that region. We hope that what has been achieved at Camp David will give impetus to the process of peace in the Middle East.

197. Papua New Guinea is an ardent supporter of decolonization. My Government has, therefore, earlier welcomed with great pleasure our nearest neighbour, Solomon Islands, to this Organization of Nations. I am particularly happy to see representatives of that country take their seats here. I am also happy to say that another island territory in the South Pacific, namely, Tuvalu, will become independent on 1 October this year. The Gilbert Islands expects to achieve its independence next year. In the years to come other small island countries in the Pacific will achieve self-determination.

198. My Government welcomes the progress of decolonization that is taking place in the South Pacific and looks forward to the day when the remaining Territories under colonial administration become independent. Some colonial Powers represented here today have seen fit not to give people under their colonial rule the chance to express their views in line with the various United Nations resolutions on decolonization. As a country in that region, Papua New Guinea hopes that these metropolitan Powers will change their attitudes towards decolonization in the South Pacific and will ensure that the people in those Territories under their administration will be given the opportunity to exercise their rights to self-determination and independence. With that in mind, my delegation endorses the statement made at the previous meeting by Mr. Owen, the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, concerning Tuvalu, the Gilbert Islands and the Anglo-French condominium of the New Hebrides.

199. It is my Government's sincere desire that these Pacific neighbours of Papua New Guinea should attain the status of full independence, as this will greatly increase the number of sovereign nations in the South Pacific region.

200. On the question of disarmament, my Government is deeply concerned at the fact that the arms race consumes some of the most precious resources which we believe could be better used in the social and economic development of mankind.

201. Man has always sought a peaceful existence within secure boundaries; in order to achieve this, he has always had arms. However, man has, through the arms build-up, particularly that of nuclear weapons, created a situation where he is no longer secure. Each State now seeks to have more advanced and sophisticated weapons in case of attack by others. As we all know, this process is threatening the existence of mankind.

202. The time has come for this world body to act positively towards reversing this dangerous trend. We should call a halt to the arms race immediately. We agree

with those who say that political will is needed to achieve real disarmament. However, we also say that a certain amount of trust and perhaps faith in each other is needed in our endeavours towards the achievement of this complicated task.

203. Ending the arms race and achieving real disarmament are very important and urgent tasks facing us today. The desire of a small nation such as mine is for the peoples of this world to have peace and security. This could then leave us free to concentrate our efforts on bettering the lives of our people—that is, eradicating disease, improving standards of living and providing enough food for the starving masses.

204. Those of us in the developing world are faced with problems of having enough resources for the development of our peoples. Needless to say, there are people starving, people in need of medical care, people in need of education, people in need of good housing. We are not saying that resources saved in the disarmament process would solve all problems; what we are saying is that it would lighten our burdens if some of those resources could be used for those purposes. This would also contribute to the realization of some of the goals of the new international economic order.

205. There are those who argue that an end to nuclear testing would not bring about disarmament. We disagree. We are opposed to nuclear testing because, first, we strongly believe that such opposition is a step towards disarmament and, secondly, no one has been able to tell us—at least up to the present time—what are the effects of radiation on man and his environment. The latter point concerns us most because we are situated in that part of the world—the South Pacific—where nuclear testing is taking place. There is one fact that we know for sure, and that is that man and his environment will never be the same. We have been told that radiation effects are insignificant. This we find hard to believe. We in the South Pacific have repeatedly expressed our opposition to testing in our region. However, our protests fall on deaf ears and testing still continues. We therefore call on those who are responsible for this unforgivable state of affairs to cease their irresponsible activities.

206. The international community today recognizes the need to move quickly towards a new international economic order, even though there exist differing views on some specific aspects of the major proposals being put forward. My delegation is deeply concerned at the slow pace of the long-awaited world economic recovery. Unstable commodity trade, persistent world inflation and a chaotic international monetary system are still the order of the day. If meaningful progress is to be achieved, developed industrial nations must address themselves to the question of improved access to their markets for the goods of developing countries.

207. It is a recognized fact that developing countries are an important market for the exports of industrialized countries. If these markets are to remain open, greater efforts must be made to enable third-world countries to increase their export earnings.

208. Primary commodities are the mainstay of our economies. We are therefore very concerned to see the

negotiations on a common fund move forward. We are also watching with interest the developments in the commodity agreements, and we are hopeful that these negotiations will contribute to freer trade, particularly in agricultural products.

209. The development of an international marketing system, which provides reasonable returns to primary producers in developing countries—particularly to small-holders—is of the utmost importance to the economies of the developing countries.

210. We should also address ourselves to the question of the reform of the world monetary system as soon as possible. We support the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system. We note that during the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly it was decided in resolution 32/174 to convene a special session of the General Assembly in 1980, at a high level, in order to assess the progress made in various forums of the United Nations system in the establishment of the new international economic order. We hope that we can then take some positive action for the promotion of the advancement of developing countries and international economic co-operation. In the meantime, we should not spare any effort to keep the dialogue going. The Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 should be used as the focal-point for keeping the North-South dialogue alive.

211. As my Prime Minister stated in his statement at the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly last year,¹⁹ the South Pacific region is often thought to consist of many small island-nations without a regional identity. This is no longer true. The region now has an identity with the coming into being of the South Pacific Forum seven years ago. This is an organization which strives to solve problems that confront our peoples in the South Pacific region and to consider various ways in which economic growth can be achieved in the region. The proper utilization of our natural resources, in particular fish, is one such way by which this goal can be reached. The South Pacific contains what may be the world's only under-utilized supply of tuna fish, and for several South Pacific nations this represents the only natural resource available. As such, it is vital to their future economic growth. It is for this reason that the South Pacific Forum is seeking to establish the South Pacific Region Fisheries Organization, which would ensure that maximum benefits from the vast stocks of tuna that live in our waters would go to the peoples of the South Pacific and not the major distant-water fishing nations.

212. I should like to draw the attention of the United Nations to the question of East Timor. My Government recognizes East Timor as an integral part of Indonesia. I visited East Timor earlier this year and I was convinced that, during the long period when that Territory was under the previous administration, there was little or no development in the social, economic or political field. However, while acknowledging the fact that East Timor is now an integral part of Indonesia, Papua New Guinea would like to

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 28th meeting, paras. 2-24.

reiterate its previous position, that is, that the people of East Timor were not allowed their right to self-determination. My Government would have also liked the international community to have had more say in the matter. We regret that this did not happen and that the international community was not properly consulted.

213. The question of refugees has been preoccupying my country during much of the last year and is still doing so. I should like here and now to thank the United Nations for agreeing to give us financial support through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to help feed and provide medical care for Indonesian citizens crossing into Papua New Guinea territory. My Government is not in a position to look after everybody, as these people in the last couple of months have been coming in larger groups. This includes the last group, which numbered 700 persons. As a Member of the United Nations and acting within the spirit of the various United Nations conventions on refugees, we are committed to helping these people by utilizing our limited resources, which could more effectively be spent elsewhere.

214. I have briefly touched on a few of the issues which my delegation considers in need of urgent and positive action by this body. It is my delegation's hope that during this session some positive steps towards solutions will be found.

215. Mr. FORLANI (Italy):²⁰ Mr. President, it gives me particular satisfaction to salute you as the representative of a country and a continent with which Italy shares both a common civilization and centuries-old ties of friendship. The very name of your country is a symbol of this historic friendship. I wish to assure you that my delegation will give you its fullest co-operation in the fulfilment of the delicate task which has been passed on to you by your most able and worthy predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov. And we are fully confident that under your experienced guidance the General Assembly will be able to achieve significant progress on the many important items on its agenda.

216. The Italian Government welcomes the admission of Solomon Islands to this Organization as its one hundred and fiftieth Member, and looks forward to close and fruitful co-operation with this new country. The number 150, and indeed the emergency arrangements made by the Secretariat to provide seats for all Member States in this hall, are evidence of the constant progress we are making towards the goal of universality of the United Nations. My Government considers this progress especially significant, since it is the reflection of the successes marked every year along the road towards the full implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination.

217. I should like to pay a special tribute of gratitude and esteem to the Secretary-General, who again in the course of the last year provided an outstanding example of total dedication to the principles and goals of the United Nations. The best evidence of this lies in his masterful introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] to the thirty-third session of the

General Assembly. I am in full agreement with this historical analysis and his judgement and remarks on political, economic and social issues as well as on the as yet unfulfilled potential of the United Nations. In particular, I should like to express my strong support for his appeal to foster sentiments of human solidarity so as to overcome national self-interest in the achievement of global objectives.

218. The international framework in which our peoples have to live continues to be characterized by political, economic and military tensions.

219. One feature casts a sinister light upon the whole panorama of contemporary events: the continuation of the arms race, which so far appears to be uncontrollable. The expenditure of \$400 billion every year on the purchase of armaments is a shocking reminder of the frightening lack of resources available to fight poverty and disease. And it is not only the great Powers which are engaged in this senseless contest to produce instruments of death and destruction--this massive diversion of resources which could otherwise be used to promote development, in which it is not only the great Powers which play a part.

220. Italy is convinced that mankind will not advance very far unless it becomes more generally and increasingly aware of the futility of any collective struggle for progress which is not accompanied by an effort to reduce drastically the sacrifice of resources consumed on the altar of a dubious security. The results achieved last June at the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament give us ground for some hope, but much remains to be done if effective progress along the path of reducing military forces is to be achieved.

221. The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the consensus reached on the Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] have proved that the international community is aware of the major imperatives of our time. Today more than ever, security--an inseparable component of peace--can be attained only through a process of appropriately balanced and verified disarmament.

222. While encouraging this process, we are none the less convinced that the maintenance of the balance of power remains decisive for the preservation of peace and for the conduct of a constructive dialogue, especially in Europe. For these reasons, the Atlantic Alliance constitutes an essential frame of reference for my country. This frame of reference allows us to make an active contribution not only to the efforts to achieve disarmament, but also to the Vienna negotiations for the balanced reduction of forces in Europe.

223. The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union for the limitation of strategic weapons are of fundamental importance for reducing the boundaries of the realm of terror. We would like to address an urgent appeal to those two Powers in the hope that the expectations of our peoples will find prompt fulfilment in their decisions.

224. But this prospect, although essential, will prove illusory unless it is accompanied by a responsible joint

²⁰ Mr. Forlani spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

effort to reduce the areas of conflict and tension. If this does not materialize, the risk, which may be diminished in terms of a strategic confrontation, is likely to increase as a result of dangerous and destabilizing military interventions.

225. We feel bound, therefore, to appeal to the major Powers in particular to adopt this comprehensive approach, without which all hopes of peace, civil progress and economic development can only remain ephemeral.

226. Mankind cannot rely indefinitely on a balance of terror between blocs of ideologically opposed States if it is to be able to seize the great opportunities presented to it. Although it is true that, following the signing of the Final Act of Helsinki, we were unfortunately faced last spring with some disappointing results at the Belgrade meeting,²¹ a new opportunity awaits us, as Europeans, at the third review session in Madrid in 1980. We have strong hopes that progress will be achieved in the Middle East negotiations as a result of the Camp David meetings. Following other important meetings in the past, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU was convened at Khartoum and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at Belgrade this year. Let us all strive to ensure that international events of such great importance do not remain mere episodes without positive results of equal importance and without bringing about those gradual improvements in the international situation which we all consider indispensable.

227. We are all aware of the existence of grave situations in which regional instability, and sometimes open conflict, are the result of the internal difficulties of newly independent countries coupled with massive foreign intervention. Perhaps certain tense situations would not have reached the breaking-point without the prospect, unfortunately well grounded, of such intervention.

228. Italy respects the identity of the newly independent countries. We, the members of the international community, must adhere to this principle if we wish to provide a credible basis for international equilibrium and the progress of our peoples. This is the line followed by Italy in the design and conduct of its foreign policy of détente and collaboration.

229. The interdependence of nations should encourage us to avoid as far as possible polemics based on preconceived positions and to seek realistically and gradually the conditions for greater comprehension and trust. It would be disastrous if either one of the great Powers thought it could achieve world-wide hegemony based on the strength of its own military force.

230. The possibilities, the size and the political influence of the Soviet Union on the world scene should enable it to take part more boldly and with greater trust in every constructive dialogue aimed at seeking appropriate solutions for outstanding international problems, a task in which the Soviet Union must obviously play a major role.

231. In the meantime, the dynamic foreign policy now being pursued by the People's Republic of China has given

rise to expectations, preoccupations and even open polemics. In my view, this is a development which reflects the specific needs of that great people and it is in the interest of all to encourage this trend.

232. Indeed, the substantial commitment of resources which China has made in order to raise the standard of living of its citizens is in itself a contribution of enormous importance to the strengthening of peace and the development of international co-operation. The more the Chinese strengthen their relations of mutual knowledge with other peoples, the less marked will become that sense of pessimism as to the inevitability of war which has so often characterized Chinese views of the future.

Mr. Maina (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

233. The method of research and dialogue, to which we again draw the attention of this Assembly, is the only way to achieve valid formulas and solutions for the major problems which beset mankind. Through long and often painful experience we have learned that, without a general commitment to the achievement of harmonious coexistence among peoples, cultures and civilizations, there can be no constructive dialogue, and that, if a course of increasing divergence is followed even the limited progress achieved so far in co-operation and détente may be halted or rendered useless.

234. In this respect we must consider as a most serious obstacle the pretext of *raison d'Etat* to impede the free, fruitful circulation of men, goods and ideas.

235. As regards Italy, which has made a substantial contribution to the process of European unification, the global commitment of its forces to the building of the European Community reflects a specific necessity and a clear conviction. It is a commitment to a goal of integration which we consider also as an effective contribution to the positive development of international relations and to the maintenance of peace in Europe and in the world.

236. The basic objective of Italy's policy is, therefore, the European Community which is currently being strengthened by the prospect of new accessions and even broader relations, while the election of its Parliament by universal suffrage is now imminent.

237. Unemployment, inflation, the large margins of unused productive capacity, the indebtedness of the developing countries and monetary instability have added disturbing elements to the general picture and have further impeded the normal development of economic and commercial relations among the different areas.

238. It is now clear that we are not facing a cyclic crisis. It is towards a renewal and reform of structures that our work must be directed.

239. When at the United Nations Italy welcomed the principle of establishing a new international economic order, it expressed the intention to participate in a process designed to promote a profound evolution in international economic relations, and in particular to launch an effort of co-operation among all countries with a view to a better

²¹ First review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held in Belgrade from 4 October 1977 to 8 March 1978.

and more rational international distribution of labour and production. The negotiations taking place in the North-South dialogue must be brought as soon as possible to a positive outcome.

240. Such success may be one of the prerequisites for the rehabilitation of the world economy and for the initiation of a co-ordinated and general commitment to surmount the crisis.

241. We are also profoundly convinced that the strengthening of economic co-operation will make a decisive contribution to the reduction of conflicts and tensions.

242. I do not believe, unfortunately, that since the last session of the United Nations General Assembly the factors of instability have been reduced or have shown a tendency to disappear.

243. No progress has been made towards a settlement of the painful state of confrontation that still exists in Cyprus.

244. The tensions in Lebanon remain tragic and are likely to become even more so. The deployment of the United Nations forces as part of a laudable peace-keeping operation, set up by a timely decision of the Security Council, gives ground for hope that increasingly uncontrollable situations can be avoided. This operation, like all the other operations in the Middle East and in other areas, has the unconditional support of Italy, which has similarly supported all the United Nations peace-keeping operations carried out in the past. We hope that this essential machinery provided for in the Charter will command the increasing support of all Members of our Organization.

245. An intensive effort to reconcile the basic interests involved in the question of the Middle East was set in motion at Camp David as a result of the personal efforts of President Carter and of the response that he elicited from President El-Sadat and the Israeli Prime Minister. This may be an important step along the road that must lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. In order to achieve that objective with certainty, we have always advocated the joint involvement and the contribution of all the interested parties. Italy feels in duty bound to address to each of them a pressing appeal to follow the negotiating approach. It is true that, even if this approach is adopted, risks and uncertainties will continue to exist; but it is also true that for a question as complex and dramatic as that of the Middle East there is no alternative to the gradual method of compromise and negotiation.

246. In Africa also—and we are looking in particular at the events taking place in the Horn of Africa—it certainly cannot be said that the causes of concern have diminished. We are convinced that the countries and peoples of that continent must solve their problems within the African framework constituted by the OAU. Although we are unwilling to pass judgement on intentions, we must point out that in the long run foreign interference is dangerous and fraught with growing and unforeseeable implications. Indeed, it is obvious that solutions based only on the intervention of military forces generate situations in which crises are bound to explode again.

247. In reiterating, as I did last year, Italy's concern at the serious crises which I have mentioned, I wish to refer—in regard to those problems as well as to the others with which the international community is dealing and which are included in the agenda of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly—to the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany in his capacity as current President of the Council of Ministers of the countries of the European Community [8th meeting, paras. 135-200]. On each problem he put forward analyses, evaluations, positions and proposals which exactly reflect those of Italy and of the other countries of the Community.

248. In connexion with the grave problems I have dealt with, which have their roots in the complex reality of today's world, we have heard, in recent days, words of admonition, encouragement and hope from the new Supreme Pontiff, Pope John Paul I.

249. The Pope has defined as an expression of his desire to be of service to humanity the participation of the Holy See in the search for better solutions to the major international problems, where détente, disarmament, peace, justice, humanitarian assistance and development are at stake. For this service the Pope has invited the co-operation of all in order to put an end, within nations, to the blind and destructive violence that merely destroys and sows ruin and grief and, in international life, to bring about mutual understanding among men and the pooling of efforts aimed at progress, at overcoming the hunger of the body and the ignorance of the spirit, and at promoting the advancement of peoples less endowed with material wealth.

250. The solutions we seek at the United Nations are the ones called for in that appeal. We want a better world—a world in which all peoples can choose freely their own destiny and can maintain with each other peaceful and friendly relations; a world in which a new international economic order is established in a context of equilibrium; a world in which each country is allowed to develop in a spirit of justice; also, a world in which human rights and freedoms are recognized as a sacred patrimony and in which the dignity and value of the human person are reaffirmed and defended.

251. A few days ago Italy deposited the instruments of ratification not only of the two International Covenants on Human Rights but also of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 22 A, annex] concerning communications or petitions from individuals and has declared its acceptance of the optional clause provided for in article 41 of the Covenant concerning communications from States. Previously, Italy had already declared its acceptance of the optional clause provided for in article 14 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex]. We are convinced that, just as at the national level the legislative recognition of a right way remain a dead letter unless a citizen is given the possibility of appeal, so the international protection of human rights will similarly remain a dead letter unless the individual is allowed the opportunity of upholding such rights before international bodies and unless any State wishing to do so can challenge any other State and bring it before an international forum.

252. A few months ago Italy lived through a tragic act of terrorism when Aldo Moro was killed after his kidnapping in the course of which all the members of his bodyguard were savagely slain. From this rostrum where Aldo Moro, in his capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, on numerous occasions made significant contributions to the work of the General Assembly, allow me to recall his image, that of a great Italian statesman and of a man passionately committed, with all his strength, to the attainment of the ends of the United Nations Charter: a just peace throughout the world and the moral, civil and social progress of peoples.

253. I wish to reiterate solemnly to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, our warmest thanks for having worked so hard and with such generous personal dedication to save the life of this great leader of Italian democracy. I wish also to convey our grateful thanks to Mr. Mojsov, President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, to Mr. Young who was the President of the Security Council during the month of April last, and to Mr. Mills, the President of the Economic and Social Council, for their moving appeal for the life of Aldo Moro.

254. This frightening episode and similar episodes which have stricken so many other peoples bring home a need which concerns us all and which is also prompted by the respect we owe to the innocent victims: the need for international co-operation in the struggle against terrorism. The General Assembly is already dealing with various aspects of this question and has entrusted study of them to appropriate committees. This is a need which is becoming increasingly urgent and profound. The Heads of State and Government of the seven countries who met last July at the Bonn Economic Summit Conference to discuss problems of economic co-operation gave expression to this need by addressing a pressing appeal to all countries to intensify and strengthen measures to combat such acts of terrorism.

255. The United Nations—and its supreme body, the General Assembly—is above all an instrument in the service of peace and justice between nations. The causes of instability in the international system can be controlled and adequately channelled within the United Nations. Existing conflicts must not be aggravated in this body but must encounter a suitable context for mediation and settlement.

256. To that end, may I confirm that Italy's action within the General Assembly and its committees is constantly inspired by a "strategy of collaboration", aimed not at emphasizing conflicting viewpoints but rather at always seeking, on every problem, a growing area of co-operation.

257. We wish to ensure that our work and the co-operative efforts of our countries will not remain isolated but will have the increasingly aware support throughout the world of a broad movement of opinion, a movement of peace and freedom.

258. Mr. RALLIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): It is my special pleasure to offer my warmest congratulations to Mr. Liévano of Colombia on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. His election is a tribute to and a just acknowledgement of his high personal qualities, his experience of world affairs and the con-

structive part his country plays in the international arena. We welcome the fact that he represents a country with which Greece is linked by traditional friendship and by a common cultural heritage which goes back to the roots of the Greco-Roman world.

259. I am pleased also to take this opportunity of expressing to our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, our gratitude and deep appreciation for the high-mindedness and the great competence with which he carries out his important task.

260. We welcome with joy also the admission to the United Nations of Solomon Islands, which yet again confirms the principle of universality of our Organization, and we wish to convey to that new Member our sincere congratulations and warmest wishes for the happiness and prosperity of its people.

261. The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1], which is most clear and lucid, deserves all our attention. The analysis made by the Secretary-General of the world situation and the present state of progress in the solution of international problems does not, I regret to say, differ very much from the comments and observations which we ourselves have had occasion to make over the last few years. Indeed, the increase in the number of situations of conflict throughout the world and the marked tendency among States to avoid bringing their disputes before international bodies or even seeking the protection of the Security Council, which is entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is sufficient proof that we are still a long way from achieving the ideals of the Charter, and in particular from devising an effective system of security and a world order which would enable peoples to live without fear and to devote their efforts to their own development and welfare.

262. The causes of this disquieting situation are unfortunately familiar. Do we have to say again that the resurgence of unhealthy nationalism, violence and the use of force against the weakest and the disregard of the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations are in flagrant conflict with an international society as contemplated after the Second World War?

263. In these circumstances it can come as no surprise that, despite every effort made in the past year, solutions to the major international problems, and in particular those of the Middle East, southern Africa and Cyprus, mentioned expressly by the Secretary-General in his report, continue to elude us. I hasten to add that this discouraging situation can scarcely be attributed to the Charter, which has never had the chance of being applied *in toto*, and even less can it be attributed to the Organization itself.

264. As the Prime Minister of my country said during the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament,²² it is only within the framework of an international community which is inspired by the lofty principles of the Charter, and which applies them, that we

²² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 17th meeting.

shall be able to safeguard peace and give the United Nations the means to see that its resolutions and decisions are respected. In that context we might also give thought to a gradual reduction of military expenditure, which would enable those countries now groaning under the overwhelming burden of armaments to devote the major part of their resources to their own economic and cultural development. States Members will therefore have to show political will in order to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the Organization and make it capable of carrying out the mission entrusted to it under the Charter.

265. The period just before this session of the General Assembly was a period of the greatest activity at the world level and one of the most rich in international meetings.

266. I shall not go through the results of all such meetings, which are quite recent. Rather, I should like to take the opportunity to give my Government's views and to express its position on some problems of particular concern to us.

267. May I first assure the Assembly that my country's foreign policy is based entirely on the principles of the United Nations Charter, on international law, on the principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, on the non-use of force, or the threat of force, and on the settlement of disputes between States by peaceful means, and on the desire for a relationship of co-operation and friendship with all countries, particularly those closest to us.

268. Having supported the policy of détente, Greece has contributed energetically, by taking specific initiatives, to the promotion of that policy, and intends to continue to do so. At the same time, Greece has regard to its national security and is determined to defend itself against any pressure or threat.

269. With reference to the crucial problem of disarmament, we consider that the tenth special session of the General Assembly broadly accomplished its mission, thanks to the efforts of all the participating countries. It gave a new impetus to the cause of disarmament, drafted a Programme of Action [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*] at the world level aimed at general and complete disarmament under strict international control, in the sphere of both conventional weapons and nuclear devices, and gave the international community machinery that could help to check the senseless arms race. Those are encouraging results which we can welcome, and which in our view justify hope for real progress, to which the convening of a new session of the General Assembly at a later stage could give new momentum.

270. A world conference on disarmament could also help if it were properly prepared. It goes without saying that the nuclear Powers will have a particularly important role to play in this respect.

271. In this context, should we stress the importance of the accession of all countries to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons? Greece hopes so. But it also wishes to stress the need to provide for the non-nuclear States which have accepted these obligations the scientific and technological means to enable them to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

272. In view of its vital importance, we hope to see as soon as possible the conclusion of an agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the second series of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. It is also important to speed up the conclusion of a treaty on the complete prohibition of nuclear tests. Finally, Greece, convinced that negotiations on a reduction of arms and forces in central Europe will help the cause of détente, hopes that these negotiations will begin in the near future. Of course, such an outcome must not weaken the security of participating States, including—and this is a point which we wish particularly to stress—the security of those countries on the flanks of Europe.

273. The position of Greece on the problem of the Middle East and the problem of southern Africa derives from the immutable principles of the Charter. As we have repeatedly said in this Assembly, Greece is opposed to the acquisition of territory by force. It is in favour of a negotiated settlement of the problem of the Middle East based on the resolutions of this Assembly and of the Security Council.

274. Those resolutions provide for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories which have been occupied since 1967, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all countries in the region, and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their aspiration to a national home.

275. The Camp David meetings and the agreements reached there may be a step in the right direction, in so far as they seek to apply the principles that I have just mentioned. But we must not lose sight of the fact that our aim is a comprehensive solution, a settlement which, in order to secure the agreement of all concerned, must be seen as just and equitable by all the parties concerned, including the Arab people of Palestine. From this point of view there is still a long and arduous road ahead of us.

276. We cannot speak of the problem of the Middle East without thinking of the tragedy that our friends in Lebanon are suffering. We hope with all our heart that peace will return to that tormented country. For the immediate future, we advocate the strict application of Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) and the restoration of sovereignty and the effective authority of the Government of Lebanon throughout its territory, particularly in the south.

277. Greece was among the first countries to apply strictly and faithfully the principle of the self-determination of peoples during the historic process of decolonization. Consequently, Greece has from the beginning supported the implementation of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the exercise of the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence. We believe that the proposals put forward by the five Western States members of the Security Council are still the best way to achieve a negotiated settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Therefore we cannot but deplore the fact that those proposals were rejected by the South African Government. We should like to express the deep concern with which we should view any possible failure of the present efforts. Such a failure would be disastrous for peace and stability in the region.

278. The same considerations guide us with regard to Southern Rhodesia. On the basis of the principle of majority rule, we do not believe that it is possible to find a peaceful solution without taking into account the views of all the interested parties and the freely expressed will of the people of Zimbabwe.

279. As for South Africa, we regret that, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, "there is little or no indication that its Government is moving away from its basic policy of institutionalized racial discrimination" [see A/33/1, sect. III]. I take this opportunity to repeat that Greece most emphatically condemns *apartheid* and any form of racial discrimination. We shall unfailingly give our support to international efforts to ensure respect for human dignity, the principle of equality, and the security and progress of all peoples in the region, without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or religion. More generally, we wish to stress the importance of respect for the independence, sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity of all the African States, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the decisions of the OAU. It also seems to us to be essential that the introduction of elements of unrest of any kind into those countries be most carefully avoided.

280. I wish not to draw attention to three important subjects—namely, human rights, the North-South dialogue and the law of the sea.

281. With reference to human rights, we too note, if not general improvement in the real conditions prevailing in different parts of the world, at least a greater mobilization of the competent bodies of the United Nations, and in particular of world public opinion, with a view to the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and respect for the fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Charter. Greece, which is firmly committed to the struggle against violations of human rights and against every form of racial discrimination, has taken certain initiatives on the specific question of torture and other inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment. It is our intention to continue our action as vigorously as possible within the United Nations framework.

282. We cannot derive the same satisfaction from the results of the North-South dialogue. We do not conceal our disappointment that the recent session of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 has made no progress. We are troubled by that failure, in view of the seriousness of the world economic situation, the effects of which are painfully felt by the developing countries. As we have said in the past, we consider it urgent to carry out a restructuring of international society on the basis of a more equitable distribution of resources in order to achieve our aim, which is the establishment of a new economic order. In today's world, which is characterized by the interdependence of peoples, we cannot hope that fruitful co-operation can be established among nations before these unacceptable disparities and miseries have disappeared from all regions of the world.

283. As for the law of the sea, we are following with the greatest interest the progress of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose last session has

just concluded in New York. We venture to hope that the Conference on the Law of the Sea will lead to a new international convention regulating all aspects of this vast problem. Of course, it is indispensable that the final text should contain precise regulations which are absolutely unambiguous, and that binding international machinery should be provided for the settlement of disputes between States, by peaceful means and on the basis of international law and its practice.

284. I have left the matter of Cyprus for the end of my statement. Once again we must note that the Secretary-General, in his report, deplores the absence of progress towards a settlement of the Cyprus problem. Indeed, the Secretary-General, to whom we owe all our gratitude for his untiring efforts in carrying out his mandate on the problem of Cyprus, affirms that the outcome of the efforts made to settle this problem is extremely discouraging, since it has been impossible to establish a basis for the positive resumption of the intercommunal talks, and that the situation in the island continues to pose a threat to stability and friendly relations in the Eastern Mediterranean.

285. None the less, four years have elapsed since this Assembly adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), ratified by Security Council resolution 365 (1974). These have been four years of suffering and pain for the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees driven from their homes—four years of refusal by the party in possession to make reasonable proposals that would open the way towards constructive and fruitful dialogue; four years, too, of persistent efforts to impose faits accomplis which the conscience of this Assembly, representing, in the final analysis, the world conscience, resolutely rejects. These circumstances demonstrate a singular contempt for the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

286. I wish to declare on behalf of my Government that we favour a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem within the framework of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and that we shall lend all our assistance to assist the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate of good offices with a view to settling this problem through negotiations between the two communities. To this end it would suffice for the proposals of the Turkish side to derive, however slightly, from the substance and spirit of our Organization's resolutions.

287. We know that the Government of Cyprus shares this same desire, and we will give full support to that Government in the hope that the Secretary-General's efforts will lead, with the assistance of other peace-loving and justice-loving Governments, to a resumption of the negotiating process in serious and positive conditions.

288. Mr. VAN DER KLAUW (Netherlands): At the outset, I wish to reaffirm the faith of the Government and people of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the principles and ideals of the United Nations. The political and economic relevance of this Organization in the world situation of today stands beyond doubt.

289. The thirty-third session of the General Assembly must give further strength and impetus to the role of the United Nations in an interdependent world. This session has

the good fortune to be working under the able guidance of the Foreign Minister of Colombia, and I would ask you, Sir, to convey to him my warmest congratulations on his unanimous election as President. Much will depend on his wisdom and inspiration; much will also depend on the Secretary-General, whose untiring activities deserve deep appreciation. I wish both of them strength and courage.

290. On behalf of the Kingdom of the Netherlands I welcome the admission of Solomon Islands to the United Nations.

291. Speaking for the first time in my capacity as Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the general debate I am deeply conscious of the continuity and tradition of Netherlands foreign policy through the centuries. Freedom, individual responsibility, tolerance, respect for minorities, and international co-operation have been characteristic of my country and its people. Freedom, prosperity and democracy were not achieved without struggle. Like many of the younger nations of today, we, too, had to go through difficult stages of slow and sometimes painful progress.

292. Foreign policy in the Netherlands is not a matter of Parliament and Government alone; it is a matter of the people in their daily lives. Questions of human rights, disarmament and development are questions of conscience, often hotly debated in broad layers of our society. Nothing is taken for granted; everything, every issue, is scrutinized in a spirit of global solidarity.

293. Netherlands foreign policy is aimed at peace, security, the promotion of human rights and the eradication of poverty and inequality. In carrying out its foreign policy, the Netherlands Government is and will be guided by reliability, and will stand by its given word.

294. Foreign policy is a matter of international solidarity and conscience, but it cannot be divorced from national interest and power. Power, however, must be limited and guided by the human conscience and concern for human rights and individual freedoms. It must be channelled through international agreements and obligations. For the Netherlands, membership in the European Economic Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and co-operation in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] is the corner-stone of our foreign policy. We attach great importance to our relations with the third world, the countries of Eastern Europe and the great nations of the Far East. Ultimately, all nations and alliances are bound by the Charter of the United Nations.

295. My friend and colleague, Mr. Genscher, has addressed this Assembly [8th meeting] on behalf of the countries of the European Community. He has spoken of global interdependence as another and new reality as opposed to the reality of power politics. Indeed, global interdependence might well be the main theme and inspiration of this session of the General Assembly. The world has never before been so conscious of this reality of interdependence both in the political and in the economic sense, but also—and this is new—in the sense of the interdependence of human beings. In matters of peace and security all

nations are affected by strife and conflict elsewhere. Every conflict can become a global conflict. East and West, North and South, are increasingly interwoven. In international economic relations and in matters of development the world has come to realize that growth and prosperity in the industrialized countries are no longer possible without growth and prosperity in the third world. Global economic interdependence has created an additional motive for development co-operation.

296. But renewed and acute awareness of political and economic interdependence must not distract attention and concern from those who are weak and defenceless, nations as well as people within nations. Awareness of political interdependence must go hand in hand with concern for human rights and basic human needs. Policies of economic co-operation and development based on interdependence must at the same time provide for assistance to the poorest nations, which as yet fall outside the scope of economic interdependence, and for meeting basic human needs.

297. It is in the context of the theme of interdependence and man that I wish to speak about détente, security and disarmament, the Middle East, human rights and international development. It is against that background that I wish to speak about the role of the United Nations system as an instrument for the management of global interdependence and the rights of man.

298. The Netherlands Government will continue to strive for détente in Europe on the basis of interdependence and respect for the dignity of man. I am convinced that interdependence will compel us in Europe to search for areas of common interest, and will eventually create a situation in which, despite ideological differences, mutual trust will prevail.

299. In historical perspective, I consider the Helsinki Final Act to be an instrument of major importance in international co-operation the effects of which will be of lasting significance. The Belgrade review Conference may have failed to produce significant concrete results, yet the process of détente must go on. The participating countries must continue to strive for a peaceful and durable world order.

300. I consider the Helsinki Final Act to be the corner-stone for a future charter or common constitution for Europe. The Netherlands must insist on the equality and interrelationship of all the elements of the Final Act. In the process of détente and peace, we, as mature nations, must be able to discuss respect for human rights as defined in the Final Act. This is not a return to the cold war. Respect for human rights is an essential element in the process leading towards détente and mutual trust. In an interdependent world, concern for human rights does not stop at national borders. Détente is not a matter for Governments alone; interdependence in Europe is ultimately a matter for every woman and every man.

301. Interdependence, security and disarmament are closely linked. In the face of the undiminished build-up of conventional and nuclear arms and of the interdependence of the political fate of nations, disarmament is a matter of compelling necessity. But there is also the question of

security, and here lies the dilemma in the quest for disarmament.

302. The tenth special session of the General Assembly was a step towards disarmament. My assessment of the session is positive. Although some basic problems, in particular the issues of nuclear proliferation and conventional arms control, remained unsolved, the significance of that special session is clear: it created new machinery ensuring a fair balance between deliberation and negotiation. It generated a process of understanding of mutual security concerns. For the first time a comprehensive exchange of views and ideas on disarmament, security and survival has taken place in the General Assembly. The dialogue which began with the tenth special session must continue.

303. Much remains to be done to make the world a safer place to live in. Nuclear disarmament is of primary and vital importance. Our concern about the lack of progress in this field is real: we are still waiting for agreement to emerge from a new series of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks; the discussions on the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban are stalling; the negotiations in Geneva on a convention prohibiting chemical weapons have not yet produced tangible results. We have been assured time and again that progress is being made, yet I say with regret that we have been waiting too long for substantive steps to curb the arms race, and in particular the nuclear arms race.

304. Increased political commitments from all Member States, and especially from the nuclear-weapon States, are essential and urgent if we are to achieve the ultimate goal, which is, in the words of the Final Document, the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. In that respect the Final Document is unambiguous; it is, however, regrettably vague where it deals with the subject of horizontal non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. All efforts to reduce and eventually eliminate existing nuclear arsenals would be in vain and world peace would be in jeopardy if such proliferation were to take place. It is a matter of deep concern to the Netherlands Government that an over-all and meaningful consensus in this vital area could not be achieved.

305. In forthcoming discussions and negotiations in the new Disarmament Commission, the General Assembly, IAEA and other forums and in bilateral talks, priority must be given to the issue of non-proliferation. I recognize the right of all countries to develop nuclear energy for economic and social development, but the exercise of this right without restraint might lead to nuclear anarchy. Restraints, however, should be freely accepted. A fair balance is needed between the uncontrolled dissemination of nuclear technology and the necessity for restrictions and safeguards. This is a vital issue. A new consensus on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons among all concerned, nuclear and non-nuclear Powers, exporters and importers of nuclear materials and equipment, is urgently called for. The International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation is one of the instruments to achieve such a consensus. It can contribute to the success of the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, scheduled for 1980. I urge adequate preparation and a serious political approach to that conference.

306. The conflict in the Middle East is still the most dangerous problem in the world today. No other conflict so directly affects world peace and security. No other conflict is so complex, so involved in contradictory claims and rights, so overshadowed by mutual fears and suspicions. My German colleague has stated the position of the nine countries members of the European Community and has thus fully reflected the position of my country.

307. The Netherlands has strong ties of friendship with the Jewish people which go back to the early days of our nationhood. Let me assure you, Mr. President, and my colleagues of the Arab countries here in this hall, of our equally close ties of friendship with and respect for the peoples of the Arab world. The relations between the Netherlands and the Arab nations and peoples go back many centuries. We want to maintain and develop those relations and that friendship.

308. The Netherlands eagerly wishes Israel and the Arab nations to live in peace with each other. This will only happen when there is lasting peace between all concerned, including the Palestinian people, and when security is guaranteed to all, including Israel. The Netherlands is convinced that the participants in the Camp David meetings, to whom Mr. Genscher has already paid the tribute of the members of the Community, were inspired by a sincere desire for such a peace. In that perspective, the results of the Camp David meetings should be regarded as an important step towards that goal.

309. In addressing myself to the issue of human rights, I am conscious of the complexity of the problem, of its changing, and at the same time expanding, scope in a changing and interdependent world and of the need for constant reappraisal. Respect for and the promotion of human rights are deeply engraved on the conscience of the Netherlands people. Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, deep changes have taken place. We have witnessed the political emancipation of the third world and the coming to independence of new nations with their own cultural and philosophical backgrounds, new nations still suffering under poverty and economic inequality. There is an increased and encouraging world-wide interest in the issue of human rights. It cannot be denied, however, that there is an undertone of mistrust in the position of many developing countries with regard to the position of others on human rights. The adoption, last year, of resolution 32/130 clearly posed the problem of economic and social rights as distinct from and, at least in the view of some, opposed to political rights. The issue is serious. The Netherlands is ready to face this challenge of new thinking on human rights. I recognize the interdependence of political, economic and social rights. Indeed, the preambles to the two International Covenants on Human Rights are identical. I recognize that the social and economic emancipation of developing countries is an indispensable element of the promotion of human rights. One cannot urge respect for political rights if one is not prepared to work for the realization of economic and social rights. The Netherlands will, therefore, pursue its active development co-operation policy. At the same time we shall continue to advocate respect for the essential rights of the individual, not only because of their intrinsic value but also because we believe that, ultimately and in accordance with

article 28 of the Universal Declaration, political freedom is indispensable for human development in all other fields.

310 The United Nations can be proud of its achievements in setting norms and standards concerning human rights, starting with the adoption of the Universal Declaration nearly 30 years ago. With the entry into force of the two International Covenants on Human Rights and the Optional Protocol to one of them, the international bill of rights that was envisaged by the founders of the United Nations has become operational. There is, however, still work to be done. In particular the General Assembly ought, during this session, to complete the work on the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Promotion of the equality of man and woman in society still remains, three years after the Mexico Conference,²³ a matter of high priority.

311 Promoting actual observance of human rights has proved to be even more difficult for the United Nations than the drawing up of norms and rules. It is frustrating to see the United Nations powerless in the face of gross and persistent violations of human rights and cases of massive cruelty bordering on genocide. It is no less frustrating to see that in some cases the United Nations is reluctant even to discuss such situations. But, as pointed out by the Secretary-General [see A/33/1, sect. VIII], some progress was made over the past year, as witnessed by the visit to Chile of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile, the first instance of on-the-spot investigation, and by the fact that the human rights situation in several countries is being actively considered by the Commission on Human Rights.

312. Thirty years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration, the United Nations should now further develop this potential for the actual promotion and protection of human rights. I remain convinced that a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would add significantly to this potential. The fight against racism and racial discrimination is a major objective of the United Nations. I regret that the recent world conference against racism²⁴ took a course with which my country, along with several others, was unable to associate itself. However, this outcome will not deflect my country from its determination to fight racism and racial discrimination.

313. The position of the nine States members of the European Community on the issue of *apartheid*—one of the most serious cases of gross violation of human rights—has been clearly stated by the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany. He declared that the nine members are using their influence to bring about a change so that the State guarantees the enjoyment of human rights to all and ensures that they can all live together as equal citizens.

314. Influence can be exerted by persuasion and by pressure. We have seriously and honestly tried to engage in a meaningful dialogue with South Africa, but it takes two to hold a true dialogue.

²³ World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975.

²⁴ World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 14 to 25 August 1978.

315. I had hoped that a peaceful solution of the question of Namibia reached in co-operation with the South African Government might have generated confidence and opened the way to developments in South Africa itself. However, the decision taken last week by the South African Government, in incomprehensible blindness to political reality, seems to indicate that South Africa wishes to pursue a collision course. I emphatically endorse what Mr. Genscher said about Namibia. The South African decision must be rejected as irresponsible and dangerous to peace and security.

316. If South Africa chooses to isolate itself from the world community, the only possible course of action will be to exert pressure on it. Quite apart from its compliance with the mandatory arms embargo, the Netherlands Government has already demonstrated by a series of voluntary measures taken either unilaterally or in co-operation with its partners in the European Community that it is ready to apply pressure on the Government of South Africa. Up till now those measures have fallen short of economic sanctions. I realize that such sanctions can be effective only under Chapter VII of the Charter or, in the case of voluntary measures, if applied by a sufficient number of those countries which have the potential to exert effective pressure.

317. Time is running out. South Africa will have to change its policy of racial discrimination. If it does not do so, there will be no choice but to increase pressure through economic sanctions. In that case, the Netherlands will promote and support such a policy.

318. It is in particular with regard to international development co-operation that the world is becoming acutely aware of the interdependence between the developing countries and the industrialized nations of both the West and the East.

319. In the Netherlands development co-operation and development aid continue to receive priority in government policy. Last week my Government announced in Parliament cut-backs in public expenditure in all sectors except development aid. In conformity with the agreed target of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], our development budget in 1979 will remain at the high level of approximately 0.85 per cent of the gross national product in terms of official development assistance.

320. A major contribution to co-operation for international development in the framework of growing interdependence was made by the OECD countries in their ministerial session of June last, when they decided on a programme of concerted action to promote growth and prosperity in the whole world economy, directed at growth stimulation in the North as well as in the South, among other things, by an increased transfer of resources. The recovery of the economy of the OECD countries is obviously of vital importance for the management of the world economy. The Netherlands will actively contribute to this recovery.

321. I see no contradiction between the concept of growth and global interdependence and the strategy to

eradicate poverty and provide for basic human needs. The development policy of the Netherlands will in fact be guided by both these concepts. We shall strive for selective growth and positive readjustment measures in developed countries, for structural changes in the world economy and, thus, for the realization of the new international economic order. At the same time, the Netherlands policy will be directed at the eradication of mass poverty and unemployment.

322. The Netherlands Government is deeply concerned at the lack of progress in the dialogue and at the failure of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 to agree on its mandate and procedure. The General Assembly should without delay resolve the remaining differences of opinion, so that we can proceed with our urgent work on the substance.

323. The Netherlands Government welcomes the positive outcome of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires. In the building of "bridges across the South" a new dimension will be given to the attainment of collective self-reliance by the developing countries.

324. The North-South dialogue ought not to deflect attention from creeping protectionism and other negative developments which directly affect the position of developing countries. Timely corrective and preventive measures in this field are at least as important as an increased transfer of resources. Here lies an urgent task for Governments and international organizations and their executive officers, in particular GATT, IMF, UNCTAD, OECD and the United Nations itself.

325. What is the role of the United Nations in the management of global interdependence—political and economic—and in enhancing the dignity of man in an interdependent world? Has the United Nations the capacity and the strength to deal with the burning issues of today? These questions must be posed in all honesty and sincerity.

326. The record of the United Nations over the past year shows both positive and negative points. The thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly can be assessed positively. It showed, in the words of its President, "a spirit of co-operation and mutual accommodation".

327. I see six areas for reflection, reconsideration and, possibly, further action for the United Nations.

328. First and foremost, it is the duty of all Member States to reassess their own attitude towards the United Nations. If in the past the United Nations has often failed to act effectively in accordance with the objectives of the Charter, Member States themselves must be blamed for their failure to carry out the recommendations which they themselves sometimes solemnly had approved. Members should have more frequent and earlier recourse to the United Nations and, in particular, to the Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

329. The second area is that of peace-keeping operations. There is, in my view, a new consensus emerging on

peace-keeping operations. The record of the last few years is positive. The United Nations has shown itself capable of setting up in various circumstances effective peace-keeping forces, and satisfactory procedures for cost-sharing have been agreed upon. On behalf of the European Community, my German colleague announced an initiative of its nine members on peace-keeping [A/SPC/33/L.19]. The time is ripe for further action.

330. The third is the area of human rights. The recognition of interdependence will lead us nowhere without a recognition of human rights. The capacity of the United Nations to deal with human rights issues must be strengthened. The potential is there. It must be used and strengthened.

331. The Fourth area concerns the role and functions of the Secretary-General and the executive heads of the United Nations system. I firmly believe in the scope and possibilities for leadership and action by a strong and devoted international civil service. There is a close interaction between Member States on the one hand and the organizations and their executives on the other. Executive leadership can and must influence and guide action by member Governments. I urge the Secretary-General to continue to search for new initiatives. The Charter has given him the necessary power and authority. I urge him to use that power. Governments should be ready to support and follow him.

332. The Fifth is co-ordination and co-operation within the United Nations system. It is an anomaly that, while in numerous resolutions Member States are called upon to co-operate, the organizations of the United Nations system seem to attach too much importance to guarding their autonomy. Rivalry between international organizations belonging to the same system must come to an end. I call upon the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination urgently to tackle the problem of co-ordination and the cohesion of the United Nations system.

333. Sixthly, the uncontrolled proliferation of international organizations is creating problems of overlap and co-ordination. There is a lack of co-operation between United Nations organizations and organizations outside the system, including the non-governmental organizations, which I consider very important. The time has come to take stock of the situation and to start working for the consolidation of the family of international organizations.

334. To conclude, all nations and peoples are bound by the Charter of the United Nations. Peace, development and the dignity of man are interdependent. The recognition of this interdependence should guide us daily and be an inspiration for the General Assembly.

335. Mr. ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As a founding Member of the United Nations, Bolivia has from the beginning been identified with the ideals and purposes of this world Organization. Bolivia, a country that has experienced the vicissitudes which characterize the history of the countries of the third world, has maintained and continues to maintain effective solidarity with all peoples that struggle against colonialism, covert foreign exploitation, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and its

most repulsive manifestation, the inhuman system of *apartheid*.

336. Bolivia is, in fact, a non-aligned country. This is shown by its behaviour in defending the principles recognized by the international community and enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

337. On behalf of my Government and of the delegation which I lead, I wish to extend my congratulations to that illustrious humanist, Indalecio Liévano, on his election to guide the work of this Assembly and to express my thanks to Mr. Lazar Mojsov for the tact with which he conducted the deliberations at the previous sessions. Similarly, I wish to convey the gratitude which we all owe to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the devotion with which he puts his exceptional intellectual gifts at the service of the United Nations.

338. A new Member has joined this Assembly and I welcome Solomon Islands, freed from the darkness of colonial domination, to work with us for a better world.

339. Bolivia, until now regarded rather negatively as a country with many contacts because of its situation in the centre of South America, is now something more since it emerges as a country of many attractions, such as catchment areas, communications systems and a system of economic integration which, if they are to gain strength and dynamism cannot, and must not, function without Bolivia which, despite its relative limitations, has great importance for the unity, peace and progress of the continent.

340. Even countries outside the continent should consider these characteristics of Bolivia. In a world which is moving towards crisis because of the imbalance between population growth and the diminished production of food-stuffs and raw materials, Bolivia, if given the proper infrastructure, could be an exceptional provider and a centre of communications between north, south, east and west.

341. The continental importance of Bolivia is also reflected in its problems. Among them is its geographical position as a land-locked country, which is the result of a war of conquest which led to an ominous period of 100 years of limited sovereignty and development and material and psychological harm.

342. It would seem that, as if seeking to dispel that American nightmare and in order to awaken to a new century shining with honour and equity, the countries of Latin America, the United States and other countries throughout the world have given us support and a word of encouragement in our determination to recover the sea. I wish to take this opportunity at this rostrum to thank them on behalf of Bolivia and on behalf of America, because the Pacific conflict, which directly involves three countries, also affects the peace, integration and development of the entire continent.

343. The ideal of understanding among countries must be accompanied by minimum conditions agreed to by the parties in order to guarantee that it will not be left to the will of any one of them to make the decision with respect to the goals and timing of the negotiating process.

344. The Government of Bolivia began its dialogue with Chile prompted by goodwill and the desire for co-operation. Contrary to the historical imperative which demands reparations equivalent to the damage done, Bolivia agreed to negotiate on the problem and strive to find a solution to it by a new approach that would be free from the resentment and the offence that divide peoples; to search in a pragmatic manner free of any mental reservation for a kind of intellectual and emotional understanding which would not mean further sacrifice of the territorial heritage of Bolivia.

345. Unfortunately, we did not meet with the same spirit on the part of Chile, and the Government of my country was forced to end the negotiations in the face of a rigid, arrogant and dilatory attitude.

346. Bolivia has just emerged from a critical period in its hazardous democratic development. Dependency and under-development do not only affect the economy but also the political, cultural and social superstructure of the country.

347. We have a legal electoral system under which everyone is entitled to vote, but we do not have that degree of culture which would mean that everyone is capable of voting with due independence and awareness. Every era has had its contradictions, and the present is no exception.

348. The present Bolivian Government is unable—as indeed would be any other Government—to force the pace of cultural development and maturity. What it can do is eliminate the legal defects and the corrupt practices which sully elections. It will do so, and has invited all political forces to take part in drafting the new legal texts. It is our wish and our hope that this determination will be received with equal sincerity by all sectors taking part in the next elections. We want world public opinion here represented to be assured that in Bolivia there will be an electoral process which will not only be clean but will be independent of foreign pressure and outside funding, without observers who, because of their commitments, add partiality to the elections. We want Bolivian elections for the Bolivians.

349. President Juan Pereda Asbún is the standard-bearer of national unity and democracy. That is what he has said, and that is what he does. He wishes to infuse an element of justice into national unity, and to give democracy an objectivity which will make it possible to eradicate sectarianism and demagoguery. His Government has abrogated all oppressive decrees concerning the state of siege, compulsory civil service and the law of state security. He has restored to regular justice its usual independence. He has re-established the effectiveness of the political Constitution, and consequently the right of trade union organization and assembly.

350. The universities have been reopened and in complete sovereignty and independence, are electing their own authorities.

351. Social security has just been set up for rural and farm workers in order to help the most populous sector. There will be real rural and farm workers on the Administrative

Council, thus carrying out the official promise to give the working classes participation in the steering and leadership bodies at the level of decision-making in State enterprises.

352. The armed forces of Bolivia are drawn from the people and share their ideals of unity and support the patriotic intention to build a real democracy.

353. The Council of Ministers is made up almost entirely of civilian representatives of major political forces.

354. Bolivia observes the most strict respect for human rights. It has supported and will support any measures necessary to preserve those rights. Human rights are enshrined in the very heart of the community: rights to food, housing, clothing, health, education, security, trade union organization and political organization are inseparable. If the nation as a whole does not enjoy independence or prosperity, it will be difficult for it to guarantee a balance between sovereignty and freedom, between public order and discontent.

355. While contempt for human rights is unpardonable in poor countries, it is even more so in the rich countries which do not respect those rights on their own soil and do not offer the conditions for them to flourish elsewhere. Hence the distant origin of contempt for human rights should be sought in the rich countries. A just and sincere respect for human rights cannot but be accompanied by an attitude on the part of the most powerful countries in the world that indicates their renunciation of relationships which consolidate the dependence of the periphery on the centre, in other words, an attitude that must yield to a new world economic order.

356. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], together with the Declaration and Programme of Action designed to promote the establishment of an effective new international economic order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], must be translated into effective measures to reduce as soon as possible the tremendous economic differences existing between the various countries and that furthermore contribute to the accentuation of the inequalities within any given country.

357. We have to create factors for development which make it possible for the low-income and medium-income countries to themselves meet the basic needs of their population without having recourse to paternalism, and therefore without being subjected to even greater dependence.

358. Can the over-developed countries understand that their own stability is jeopardized if they do not help to create a new world economic order? There are indications of such an understanding, without doubt, but are they sufficiently encouraging?

359. Bolivia is taking part in many programmes of action for economic co-operation among countries. It understands the special importance of co-operation among countries with the same level of under-development and little technology, which is linked to a greater need to use manpower and the meagre capacity for accumulating capital which characterizes such countries.

360. Like other rather backward nations, Bolivia is experiencing anxiety and dissatisfaction and is expressing this in forums, conferences, congresses and assemblies. It spends considerable sums of money and creates a lot of documentation—as many other countries present here must also do—, but the benefits which it obtains from this are not commensurate with the efforts made. There is still a great gap between theory and practice.

361. We cannot, nor do we wish to deny that we receive co-operation from American, Asian and European countries, which we really appreciate. Some programmes are programmes of support, but there are other very important programmes designed to change our economic structure and increase productivity, to find import substitutes and, what causes us the greatest concern, to increase exports, but to increase exports in terms of gainful trade free from distortions imposed by the central countries—sometimes those already mentioned—which in the trading process easily retain the majority of the profits generated with great difficulty and at great cost by the raw-material-producing countries.

362. This happens in Bolivia, with an economy which is principally based on the export of minerals, the price of which is under pressure, both materially and psychologically, as a result of the presence of stocks built up during the Second World War to bolster a democracy which today is threatening to strangle us.

363. Owing to the simple announcement in the House of Representatives of the United States of America of an authorization for the General Services Administration to put on the market part of 35,000 tons of tin from its strategic reserves, the price of tin has been radically affected because of the fear of a drop in the price such that Bolivia's economy will be adversely affected and its income reduced by something in the order of \$20 million a year. How else can we describe that unilateral action of such a highly industrialized State towards a developing country except as economic aggression?

364. A drop in income such as that diminishes the capability of the State to meet the needs of its people and, consequently, to provide for human rights. That is confirmed by the fact that the rich countries, which are always recommending respect for human rights, are those which cause the conditions that vitiate such rights.

365. Because of Bolivia's experience in this matter, we maintain constant solidarity with the third-world countries that are defending their natural resources in order to benefit from them, to exploit them for their own peoples and to obtain from them remunerative prices that will enable them, using their own efforts, heritage and patrimony, to meet the development challenges.

366. Generally speaking, the industrialized and financially powerful countries are not contributing, as it was hoped they would, to the over-all solution of serious economic problems that affect 80 percent of mankind. To try simply to amortize the effects of the present system they paralyse the process of negotiations, as happens in the case of the North-South dialogue.

367. The rather discouraging results of such negotiations are showing that there is still a lack of political will on the part of the great Powers significantly to increase the net transfer of real resources to the developing countries; in other words, to give back to them the contribution that they made to the progress of the great Powers. Furthermore, at a time when countries' economies are being weakened by lack of such contributions, they need that help and assistance to progress and survive; otherwise the world situation will become more dangerous, and even explosive, resulting in internal crises that can make for a serious threat to peace throughout the world.

368. We are sure of the importance of investments for countries with little internal savings. But we wish to reiterate that we categorically reject those practices of transnational corporations that have been described as corrupt in General Assembly resolution 3514 (XXX).

369. Bolivia gives priority to studies being carried out within the Economic and Social Council for the elaboration of a code of conduct for such companies. Among the standards and regulations we attach greatest importance to those conditions which are of a binding nature and must be established for the transfer of technology.

370. Matters such as the breaking up of the technological package for the transfer of technology on advantageous terms for the developing countries, efficient international co-operation in adapting technology to the conditions peculiar to each country, and the development of intermediate technology must be regarded as of the highest priority—unless we want the gap between rich and poor countries to widen.

371. The benefits that could be derived from efficient official co-operation disappear because they go back to the countries of origin, favouring transnational companies. Monetary devaluation, escalation in prices and, in general, the effects of the crises fall on the poor economies. Because of the rising cost of financing particularly that of financing technology, very often excessive external indebtedness overwhelms us. None the less, we are deliberately paying a high price for the need to give impetus to our development.

372. Technology is a cultural asset accumulated throughout history. It is the outcome of the effort of mankind as a whole and, therefore, belongs to world patrimony. As such it should not be a subject of buying and selling. The United Nations should open a bank for the deposit of technology, available to as many countries as wish to use it for progress and peace.

373. In this same conviction, we are aware that the sea offers wealth that can be the common heritage of mankind as well. Therefore, Bolivia has taken part with special interest in various meetings of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It is sure that the convention which is being drafted in that body will make it possible to have an equitable participation for land-locked and otherwise geographically disadvantaged States in the profits of the exclusive economic zone and the sea-bed, which has been described as the common heritage of mankind.

374. Latin America viewed with satisfaction the ratification of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) and it was my honour to sign it in Mexico on behalf of Bolivia. The denuclearization of Latin America represents the first attempt at sanity and reasonableness in order to do away as soon as possible with a direct threat of nuclear war.

375. Owing to the difficulty of creating useful instruments in favour of countries which do not have nuclear weapons, the international community has shown its fear for the power of potential destructiveness held by a few States and for the risk that faces all mankind because of those weapons.

376. The recent special session devoted to disarmament did not help to resolve the problem. Meanwhile, local wars not only do not disappear but are multiplying. New areas of tension are emerging even in our America, so that stable, active and solid peace seems to be drifting away, causing even greater misfortune for mankind.

377. There is also the persistently acute problem of the Middle East. We cannot but express our concern for the Arab territories which are still in Israel's possession as a result of armed conquest. We cannot but express also our concern for the just right of the Palestinian people to have a land in which to work for their own happiness; and we cannot but regret any difficulties and obstacles being placed in the way of Israel, as a member of the international community, being fully recognized as a State, something which should be achieved through co-operation in the praiseworthy attempt to give the Jewish people a sphere in which to have their own traditions, develop their own culture and forge their own progress. We express the wish that the Camp David agreements will finally result in a happy solution.

378. We are also concerned at the liberation struggle of the African peoples. We have invariably expressed our support for the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe. We want to see real self-determination for those peoples which are still struggling against racism and neo-colonialism, so that Africa can achieve full sovereignty and freedom.

379. We are concerned also at the situation in Nicaragua. With the consensus of friendly countries we shall strive to re-establish peace, acting within the principles of the American regional system and the mandate of the United Nations Charter. But today our concern is even greater: the President of Costa Rica has denounced the violation of his country's territory. On behalf of Bolivia, I can do no less than strongly to condemn this fact.

380. We, the underdeveloped peoples, view with anguish the fact that we do not always have the power to decide for ourselves between war and peace. But our fate is dependent on change—change which unfortunately cannot be discerned—of an industrial structure based on the manufacture of weapons and subject to unilateral decisions of the large countries.

381. Whatever positive results may have been achieved by the special session devoted to disarmament have been eroded by the virtual veto of the major nuclear Powers,

since they arrogate to themselves the power to seek prior consensus on the five new members to be elected to make up the new Committee on Disarmament.

382. We view with anguish and astonishment the increase in defence budgets year by year until they achieve fantastic proportions. Meanwhile, there are whole peoples in the world suffering from the scourge of famine and disease. Millions of children are condemned to death without having fully perceived the gift of life.

383. Such a situation could be alleviated if the United Nations established machinery to prevent conflicts which threaten peace. Potential problems would be foreseen and controlled before crisis point was reached. The capacity of the Organization would be strengthened to examine cases which do not always come to the surface but which cause insecurity, that in turn inclines Governments to spend money, ill-advisedly, on the acquisition of weapons with resources that are indispensable for peaceful development.

384. I should like to point out that, despite this armaments race and the extravagant sums spent on war *matériel*, Bolivia devotes 30 per cent of its budget to education at all levels.

385. Unarmed and situated in the midst of mountains, barred from access to the Pacific as a result of usurpation imposed against every principle of civilized co-habitation, Bolivia feels all the more strongly the threat of an arms race which is ever increasing.

386. The great Powers have the primary responsibility for creating the conditions necessary for the world to work in peace, without fear of total annihilation. At least part of the resources which are spent on the arms race—\$400 billion every year—should be set aside for co-operation to overcome backwardness, poverty, misery, disease and ignorance.

387. Those are our principles, which are reflected in our present international conduct. This year we have reaffirmed in the Security Council our faith in the human race and our conviction that all men have the right to well being and freedom.

388. Mr. QUINTANA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is my pleasure to convey on behalf of my Government, and on my own behalf, warmest congratulations to Mr. Liévano of Colombia on his well deserved election to the honourable post of President of this General Assembly. His election is a universal recognition of his high qualities as a statesman and a diplomat and a tribute to the noble nation which he so worthily represents, as well as an honour for the whole of Latin America.

389. I wish also to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, on the way in which he conducted the work of the previous regular session and the three special sessions held this year. I should like also to convey my respects to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose intense and untiring work deserves the gratitude of all of us who share his concern for the attainment of the purposes of our Organization.

390. I want, too, to take this opportunity to welcome the delegation of Solomon Islands, which is taking part in this Assembly for the first time. The admission of that recently independent nation to our Organization gives practical application to the principle of universality.

391. A few days ago we received with great satisfaction news of progress towards peace in the Middle East which had been achieved in the Camp David talks. We sincerely believe that the efforts of President Carter, President El-Sadat and Prime Minister Begin deserve every praise. It is quite certain that, although there are still many agreements to be reached, through these talks a way has been opened towards a total and final solution. We hope that all the parties interested and concerned in the Middle East situation will continue to seek a just and lasting peace which would eliminate the danger of recourse to violence and its possible extension to other areas.

392. We have followed with due attention the situation in Lebanon and have viewed with great concern the difficulties which the United Nations forces have met with in striving to fulfil their noble mission, but we hope that the events I referred to earlier will have a decisive impact on a forthcoming settlement soon to be achieved.

393. In Cyprus, stagnation has been reached and all the efforts of the United Nations to find a solution have remained fruitless. It is our greatest wish that negotiations should be resumed and, with the goodwill of the parties to the conflict, that a just solution to the problem should be found.

394. On the other hand, we are very pleased to note the progress made in the question of Namibia, which, of course, is a very difficult one. Encouraged by the results thus far attained, we should spare no effort now until the situation has been finally resolved.

395. We regard disarmament as closely linked to the maintenance of world peace and security; and the same applies to economic development.

396. A few months ago the General Assembly held a tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, the results of which can be judged as contradictory in the light of the preconceived idea which people had of them. My country considers that the result is a step forward. The very fact that the Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] was adopted by consensus shows the existence of a political will to achieve general and complete disarmament.

397. Of course, there are still many difficulties to be overcome, but the Final Document establishes the negotiating bodies and the back-up activities that we regard as suitable for its achievement. We should all express our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability in order to smooth the way so that such praiseworthy aspirations become reality in a short time.

398. In economic matters the world outlook is not favourable. Last week the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 reached the end of its session without agreement on the mandate entrusted to it.

399. Meanwhile, the position of the developing countries is daily worsening. Fluctuations in the prices of raw materials produced by them, prices which are always on the downward trend, accompanied by the rise in the prices of manufactures produced by the developed countries, result in an imbalance in the balance of payments of the former, the loss of their reserves and an increase in their foreign indebtedness. In turn, this has the effect of preventing development and infringes the right to health and education of the peoples concerned.

400. As developing countries, we are aware of the injustice of the situation and believe that we must find a solution. In our view, the solution lies in the so-called North-South dialogue, but for this dialogue to produce practical results it is essential for the developed countries also to recognize the injustice of the situation, to be willing to give up the undeserved advantages that they have enjoyed and to accept the establishment of a new international economic order that would regulate with greater equity economic relations between countries.

401. Similarly, we believe that technical and economic co-operation among developing countries should be increased, though this should not be a substitute for the co-operation that the developed countries are obliged to give.

402. I turn to the question of the law of the sea. We note that in the second part of the seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea very little progress was made. In particular, there are still serious differences between the developed and the developing countries over the régime for the exploitation of the sea-bed. We are concerned about the statement by one of the developed countries that it will introduce unilateral legislation on this matter. It seems to us that that will make it even more difficult to reach a compromise on the matter of the sea-bed, which, according to a statement of this General Assembly, is the common heritage of mankind.

403. A new session of the Conference has been convened for next year. We hope that it will be more successful and that negotiations will focus on the differences that divide us, without reopening discussions on points that have already been agreed. That is our most fervent desire. We do not want even to think about the alternative: that the developed countries should be able to exploit the sea-bed exclusively for their own benefit, thus widening even more the difference between them and the developing countries.

404. Nicaragua is continuing its unchanging policy of respect for human rights, and firmly believes in the need to promote them at the international level, a principle enshrined in the Charter of our Organization.

405. In accordance with that conviction, my country has invited the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the OAS to visit Nicaragua and is most willing to give all the co-operation that the Committee feels useful for its work.

406. In order to check subversive terrorist activities, of which I shall speak a little later, my Government was forced temporarily to suspend constitutional guarantees and safe-

guards, but it was done only for that end, and was done with the greatest moderation. In any event the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights has been invited to visit Nicaragua as soon as possible. This visit might take place on 5 October, a date agreed upon with its President, Mr. Andrés Aguilar; this Commission will go to Nicaragua any day now to observe how human rights are respected in my country.

407. The Government of Nicaragua is a democratic Government, and our current President, General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, received his mandate in popular elections as a candidate of the Nationalist Liberal Party. The Conservative Party, traditionally the opponent of the Liberal Party, also took part in those elections. The presidential term ends on 1 May 1981, and before that date new popular elections will be held.

408. Despite what I have just said, there are groups in Nicaragua which seek to change the constitutional order by force—some because they are not sufficient numerous to organize themselves as a political party and take part in the election, others because they do not believe in the democratic principle under which the majority elects the Government. Some of those groups have received assistance from abroad for their subversive purposes.

409. Last month a group of terrorists in a surprise attack seized the National Palace, where the national Congress was in session and where the offices of the Ministries of the Interior and the Treasury are situated. The terrorists took hostage members of parliament, the Minister of Government and officials and employees who were doing their work, as well as members of the public who were there—in all, almost 3,000 persons, including many women and children. In return for the release of the hostages the terrorists demanded of the Government that 59 people who were in prison for crimes committed, such as murders, kidnappings and armed assault, and whom they described as political prisoners should be allowed to leave the country and that a ransom should be paid. For humanitarian reasons and to save the lives of so many innocent persons, the Government acceded to those demands.

410. In the following days, possibly owing to this humanitarian gesture being taken for weakness, terrorist attacks were carried out in many cities throughout the country, causing great loss of life and destruction of property.

411. In order to carry out its duty to maintain public order, the Government was obliged to use force, relying on the support of the majority of the Nicaraguan people, who are peace-loving and repudiate the use of violence for the purpose of subverting the constitutional order.

412. The Government of Nicaragua considers that international action is necessary to prevent and put down terrorism, and is taking part in both of the Committees set up by the General Assembly for that purpose.²⁵ None the less we believe that the action undertaken thus far should be stepped up and made specific: furthermore, we favour

²⁵ *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism; *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages.

renewal of the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages.

413. I am therefore pleased to inform this Assembly that yesterday the report of the *Ad Hoc* Commission of Observers of the Permanent Council established to verify border incidents brought to its attention by the Governments of Costa Rica and Venezuela was completed. That report, which was read yesterday afternoon, and in which both parties have set forth their views, was found satisfactory by the Council. In such circumstances, I was surprised by the statement of the President of Costa Rica to the effect that there had been aggression on the part of Nicaragua. The aforementioned report makes reference to that situation, and I repeat that that report was considered yesterday as the result of the impartial efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Commission. I stress my surprise at the statement made by the President of Costa Rica at this meeting because, as an important statesman of his country, he has been in a position to observe that before this year, in which we have been torn asunder, there had been attacks against the territory of Nicaragua. I had the honour to witness his inauguration. In his message the President declared:

"Costa Rica will no longer be a haven for outlaws and international brigands. We will not allow our country to be a staging ground for extremist groups of any political tendency."

414. I listened with rapt attention to that promise uttered by the President of Costa Rica implying acknowledgement of the fact that before that date invasions had been mounted against my country by organized terrorist groups from the territory of that sister Republic. None the less, 18 days after the President had taken office, a pardon was issued to the detained Communist chief—Communist, extremist or "Sandinista", as he likes to call himself. That pardon was granted by the Government Council, despite the fact that it had previously been refused by the Supreme Court, pursuant to a ruling of which I have a copy in this file but which it is not convenient to read out because of its length.

415. We are awaiting the fulfilment of all international agreements that we have signed and, indeed, favourable reports have been received to the effect that calm has been restored in Nicaragua. Yesterday it was ordered that all the political detainees who had been arrested because of the recent events which caused bloodshed in our homeland should be released.

416. We understand that we have, in Costa Rica, a fraternal neighbour which has always managed to find peaceful solutions to our differences. But we cannot but regret that the terrorists operating from Costa Rica, who recently attacked my country, have gone unpunished.

417. Nevertheless, everything is returning to normal, and I hope that with the visit of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which will be arriving in my country at the beginning of next month, all of our current problems will be settled, since my Government and the President of the Republic are committed to the maintenance of relations of the greatest friendship with all nations of the American

continent, particularly with the friendly countries of Costa Rica and Honduras.

418. I am making no reproach; I am simply stating what has happened, and there is no lack of respect on my part for the sister Republic of Costa Rica, which is making all possible efforts for the restoration of peace between our two countries.

419. I would conclude by thanking this Assembly for its attention, and with the fervent promise that Nicaragua is committed to the maintenance of peace in the Republic and to the restoration of constitutional order after these days of unrest and bloodshed on our national soil.

420. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of Japan, Chile and Costa Rica, who have asked to exercise their right of reply. May I once again recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. In view of the lateness of the hour and the number of speakers, I am sure representatives will understand my request that they co-operate in adhering to the limitation and that they speak as briefly as possible.

421. Mr. ABE (Japan): In the general debate of yesterday, 26 September, Mr. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, referring to Japan, stated that:

"Unfortunately, its policy has been showing some disquieting trends. One may well wonder whether that country might not eventually step on to the path that has led in the past to enormous sufferings for other peoples and plunged Japan into catastrophe." [8th meeting, para. 69.]

422. The fundamental policy of Japan is quite clear from what the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Mr. Sonoda, has stated at this rostrum on two occasions this year. Only two days ago, on 25 September, he declared:

"As I stated in some detail at the special session on disarmament, my country maintains as its fundamental policy the pursuit of peace and the refusal to become a military Power." [6th meeting, para. 138.]

423. On 30 May last, during the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament,²⁶ the Minister stated, among other things, that Japan had maintained the fundamental policy of refusing to become a military Power which might threaten other States; that, making international co-operation the foundation of its foreign policy, Japan had consistently endeavoured to use its economic capabilities for contributing to the stability and prosperity of the international community; that at the basis of Japan's decision to choose such a path, which was a challenging experiment without parallel in history, lay the firm determination of the Japanese people that a world war must never break out again; that today, more than 30 years since the end of the Second World War, the Japanese people held firmly to that determination, and that Japan would never act counter to it.

²⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting.

424. Mr. Gromyko also stated in his speech as regards relations between Japan and the USSR that the USSR stood for good relations with Japan. "However, appropriate moves by Japan are also required" [8th meeting, para. 70]. In connexion with that remark I should like also to state clearly that friendly relations should be pursued by the efforts of both the parties concerned rather than by the unilateral moves of one party, and that the Japanese Government has consistently made the utmost efforts to establish truly stable, friendly relations with the USSR.

425. Mr. DIEZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile regrets that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bolivia in referring at this meeting to the land-locked nature of his country has opted for the misleading and error-laden path of distortion of historical fact. The serious-minded way in which we entered into those negotiations and our maintenance of what had already been agreed cannot be dismissed as rigid, arrogant and dilatory positions. They represented the minimum conditions necessary for any international relations. That is our attitude and it will continue to be our attitude.

426. Mr. TINOCO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua has made a serious, an unspeakable accusation by trying to show a contradiction between the words of President Carazo to the Constitutional Congress of the Republic of Costa Rica on 8 May of this year and the words which he has just addressed to the United Nations General Assembly.

427. There is no contradiction. President Carazo on 8 May said that Costa Rica would not be a refuge for undesirable elements which had committed fraud in the world at large and which had detained and were still detaining hundreds and perhaps thousands of persons who are striving to get back money they had invested in companies which those people had founded. That promise has been fulfilled for, from that time and even a few days before President Carazo had made his decision known, Mr. Vesco, the well-known financier, has not set foot in Costa Rica and will never be able to do so.

428. President Carazo also said that Costa Rica would not be a refuge for terrorists and he said that it had never been a refuge for terrorists but had offered asylum to people that consider themselves persecuted by their Governments and that that had been our tradition for more than a century.

429. In the nineteenth century when Latin American countries were striving to consolidate their nations, eminent people like Major General La Mar and other illustrious figures of the wars of independence of South America came to our country, and in Costa Rica they found asylum and sanctuary, as also have great Central American statesmen both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These major statesmen and also simple men who did not find in their own countries sufficient elements to permit them to live their lives under the conditions which all of us who love democracy and promote human rights believe they should have.

430. The representative of Nicaragua gives as an example the pardon granted to a Costa Rican named Plutarco Hernández who more than 16 years ago as a boy of 18

drove a car in an effort to liberate a follower of Sandino who was being held in prison by the Costa Rican Government for an offence against the laws of asylum then in effect in Costa Rica.

431. It is a very, very small example. A single case of a pardon given to one man, a Costa Rican who was very young and who drove a car to enable another to free his companion, as in fact they did.

432. Indeed, fundamentally what lies behind all this is the desire of the present Government of Nicaragua—a Government of 40 years standing—that Costa Rica should police the 70,000 or 80,000 Nicaraguan who are living in Costa Rica, some who have fled what they feel are unacceptable political conditions, and others because they believe that they have better economic opportunities, a better life and better health facilities in Costa Rica.

433. Costa Rica does not have an army but it looks after its own frontiers. It has the frontiers of a developing country and the zone closest to Nicaragua is stock-raising land on which there are large estates, which have half their pasturelands in Costa Rica while the other half are in Nicaragua. It is because they are not happy with the Government in Nicaragua that they want to see some kind of action and so they manage to get through our surveillance systems and come into our country.

434. There are millions of policemen in the United States of America, for example, yet how many thousands of Mexicans manage to get into the United States as illegal immigrants despite the laws which prevent them.

435. No country can be a vigilante group against so many people who really wish to leave their own country of origin. If the Nicaraguan Government wants so much to keep people from crossing our borders, let it build a wall along the Costa Rican border, but let it build the wall on the territory of Nicaragua and not on the sacred soil of Costa Rica.

436. I should like to say that I am sorry to have raised my voice but I wished to protest against what has been said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua because I regard it as an attack against the dignity of my country, a country recognized by everyone as being a law-loving, democracy-loving country and one which complies most faithfully with all its international obligations.

437. Mr. ROLON ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sorry to have to speak when everyone is very tired, but I shall try to be as brief as possible.

438. The delegation of Chile is in the habit of refuting almost systematically the statements of the Foreign Ministers of my country. But it is that delegation that has brought this problem up again, and I thought it had done so in order to reply to the intemperate language that we had heard here only two days ago. But it is always to me that it replies and never to those countries. There is a song in my country which says: "The cocks in the small village crow at the poor, but keep quiet for the rich."

439. We all know—and this has been said conclusively by heads of State and whole peoples of unimpeachable integ-

rity—that, with the final successful achievement of a solution for the Panama Canal problem, which has done so much for peace and civilized coexistence, the major problem of the continent that has not been resolved concerns the unjust land-locked situation of Bolivia. Our only outlet to the sea—which is to say to the world—was taken away from us for obscure reasons arising from force and conquest by a neighbouring Government represented by the Chilean delegation.

440. Among the few problems that disturb and embitter the clear sense of justice of the Latin American community is the unjust land-locked situation of my country. Instead of conducting the sincerely peaceful and constructive fraternal dialogue desired by Bolivia and the rest of Latin America, the Government of this neighbour country, which is not precisely the same thing as its people, decided as yet another provocation in an incredible series of them or as one more trophy in its inglorious collection of abuses, unilaterally to divert the waters of the Lauca River—a fact which has become famous the world over—and some weeks ago it committed a further violation of our territory with the destruction of boundary marker No. 38 in an area of Bolivia where we have a lot of sulphur.

441. We have protested in an absolutely well-balanced and well-thought-out document delivered through the Uruguayan Ambassador in La Paz, pointing out that we

would never lose our balance in the face of this or any other challenge.

442. It may be said that all this is pure falsehood, pure invention, but what is absolutely certain is that, unfortunately, it is true; it is a reality which is obvious to everyone. A country which mocks the international community and its own people is doomed to live on the shady fringe of systematic mockery.

443. But we do not wish to engage in debates of this type. We have to endeavour in every possible way to rise above these subjects, and the people and Government of Bolivia consistently do so. How can we solve this problem which the delegation of the Chilean Government has again brought up in this Assembly? I believe this can be done through a wide-ranging, generous and constructive dialogue, without subterfuge or mockery, and that, to be effective, such a solution should be carried out with the mediation of all members of the great Latin American family. Bolivia is ready, has been ready and will always be ready for a useful dialogue; but it is not ready for delays, which only undermine the good faith of the peoples. I am sure that all our Latin American brothers and also our brothers throughout the world—that is, yourselves—will speak and, in so doing, will support us.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.