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*Address by Mr. Gaston Thorn, President of the Govern-
ment, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of
Luxembourg*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the President of the Government, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and a former President of the General Assembly. I take great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Gaston Thorn, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. THORN (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I welcome this opportunity to congratulate you in person on your election to the responsible post which will mean your presiding in the weeks to come over the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. The honour thus accorded to you and, through you, to your country and to Latin America as a whole is fully justified, and I am convinced that under your enlightened leadership our Organization will make the progress we all desire.

3. Having said that, I hasten to emphasize the important contribution made by your predecessor, Mr. Mojsov, to the achievement of the aims and ideals of our Organization. The skill with which he presided over the work of the thirty-second session and then three special sessions of the General Assembly merits not just our unreserved admiration but indeed our profound gratitude.

4. Only those who have, like myself—as you have just indicated, Sir—presided over the work of this Assembly can fully appreciate the honour and the difficulties of the presidential responsibility.

5. I wish also to address a few words to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, that tireless worker for the noble cause of the defence of the Charter. It might seem

superfluous to renew our confidence in him every year at this rostrum, but I can assure him of the confidence that my Government has in him, and I confirm with conviction Luxembourg's support in his difficult but noble task.

6. Lastly, I should like to say how very pleased we were to see Solomon Islands admitted as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of our Organization. I assure that young State of our sincere desire to co-operate with it in order that we may together achieve our common goals.

7. A year ago, when we had just begun the work of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and as the world situation was under review, I found myself voicing feelings of I would even say profound pessimism. Throughout the world, the already existing hotbeds of tension had been joined by others, so that the picture presented by our world at that time was anything but reassuring. Today, at the beginning of this thirty-third session, I am happy to be able to discern, if only faintly, certain bright spots in that picture. The results of the Camp David meetings are certainly of fundamental importance for the settlement of the Middle East conflict. Last year, the courageous initiative of the President of Egypt, Mr. Anwar El-Sadat, breathed new prospects and new life into the peace efforts. Now what might be called the persistence and the diplomatic skill of the President of the United States, Mr. Jimmy Carter, have made it possible to enter a new stage, or so at least it is hoped. At this rostrum I wish to voice my admiration at the considerable task which President Carter has carried out with infinite courage and patience—admiration which I feel also for President El-Sadat and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Menachem Begin, who have shown the breadth of mind required by the circumstances.

8. That does not mean that everything has been settled—far from it. However, a framework has been, if not actually traced out, at least sketched. Now it must be given substance as soon as possible. I am nevertheless optimistic, despite critical, even hostile, reactions, and I express the fervent hope that all the States and parties directly involved in the conflict will eventually arrive at as objective a judgement as possible on the step that has been taken and will agree to proceed from that basis towards the over-all, just and lasting settlement of the conflict which the world has been awaiting for so long. Whatever the reservations concerning the long and certainly abstruse texts issued at Camp David,¹ the cause of peace requires that we consider carefully and without undue haste all the potentialities they may contain.

¹ 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.

9. I wish to make one final comment on this matter. The member countries of the European Community have frequently stated their position on the situation in the Middle East. It is thus with some satisfaction that I note that the concessions made at Camp David by the parties, in comparison with their earlier positions, are very much along the lines of the ideas advocated by the European Community over the years. It is important to continue along that path. As my colleague and friend, the current President of the Community, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said this morning [8th meeting], our Community is more willing than ever to contribute to all efforts to bring about a solution.

10. There has also been a tenth special session of the General Assembly on the crucial problem of disarmament. With some hindsight one can now say that noteworthy results were attained on that occasion. Of course, those results fell far short of our hopes, but, all things considered, and taking into account the interests and the differences involved, we can confirm that the final result, and particularly the prospects for the future, exceeded our pessimistic expectations.

11. There was also the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. This is a highly important problem. It seems to me that many people do not fully grasp its scope and I believe we shall often have to talk about this in the future.

12. Those are three complex fields, if ever there were complex fields, in which decisive progress has proved possible. Happily, there are other questions which were resolved thanks to the untiring work of the committees and other bodies of this Organization and to the unflagging and constant sense of commitment of the Secretary-General and his associates.

13. The Middle East, disarmament and the law of the sea are three fields of primary importance for our peoples, because they involve peace, security and economic prosperity.

14. What does one see in these three spheres to which I have just referred? Wisdom, moderation, co-operation and the desire to understand each other's problems—in a word, negotiation and fraternal dialogue—have prevailed during this year.

15. Once the parties involved decided to leave aside vehement speech-making, sterile polemics and ideological speeches too often doomed in advance to failure, concrete results soon followed.

16. Can we at last learn a lesson from these facts? Can we have the courage, the restraint and the far-sightedness to seize the opportunities which have now so clearly come to light and which have yet again provided evidence of their efficacy?

17. I would hesitate to make myself an advocate of the Charter yet again here, because I feel I should be preaching to the converted, to those already convinced. Nevertheless, I feel it was a good idea to remind the Assembly of certain primary truths which, even though they are self-evident, gain validity from being repeated.

18. With 150 independent countries, each having its own interests, aspirations and distinct political and even eco-

nomie ideologies, one can hardly expect the whole Assembly suddenly to endorse all initiatives and to find each of them the best.

19. Since perfection does not belong to this world, I think it is and will for a long time continue to be for us to seek perfection in its most human, most just and most equitable dimensions.

20. If a new departure has been made in the field of disarmament I think we owe this to a small group of people, whom I would not hesitate to describe as fanatics, for such a complete commitment as that of the President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, of Mr. Ortiz de Rozas and of my colleague and friend García Robles can only be understood and appreciated on its merits if one has become fully aware of the feeling of commitment of the non-aligned countries and of our Latin-American friends in this very complex and difficult sphere.

21. Another Sisyphean task is that of the Conference on the Law of the Sea. Slowly but surely that Conference is now moving through negotiation to the establishment of rules and regulation for the oceans, the exploitation of their wealth, their peaceful utilization and the safeguarding of their environment.

22. My friend and successor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka has devoted a great part of his career to this gigantic task. His dynamism, undoubtedly carried along by unshakeable conviction, has meant that that Conference has not sunk into oblivion and failure. He ought to be publicly thanked from this rostrum.

23. Generally speaking, the picture presented by today's world is not a pretty one, as we all know. Whether it be the problems of southern Africa, with the policy of *apartheid*, or the stagnation of the Cyprus negotiations, we see that time does not heal the wounds. On the contrary, the lack of progress towards mutually acceptable solutions only poisons relations between the parties so that a new armed conflict could break out at any time.

24. In southern Africa, Anglo-American efforts towards a solution of the problem of Rhodesia continue to be valid and Pretoria can no longer disregard international pressure. Rather than engage complacently in vehement speech-making, which has never ameliorated the condition of those suffering from the atrocity *apartheid*, let us give our support to those who have provided proof that patient, tenacious negotiation has not gone out of fashion as a way of achieving positive results. I would go even further and say that our full support would give to the mission of those who are devoted to the quest for solutions in South Africa all the weight needed, indeed indispensable, for rapid progress.

25. Is there or is there not, the prospect of a settlement of the painful problem of Namibia? That is a question we are all asking ourselves. We had thought that such a settlement had been virtually achieved when South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] both accepted the five-Power plan [S/12636]². Now, its accept-

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*.

ance appears to be called in question by South Africa on the vague pretext that United Nations soldiers and observers would be acting as an army of occupation. Trying to keep at bay the inevitable outcome, South Africa is at the same time incurring responsibility for future dangers. We hope that common sense will eventually prevail, and the Assembly must bring its full weight to bear so that reason will prevail.

26. It is with consternation that I find myself unfortunately obliged each year to take up the case of Cyprus. If on both sides, instead of virtually rejecting *a priori* the proposals of the other side, some effort were made to take more account of the aspirations of the ordinary citizens of the two communities, that would lead us and the two parties more rapidly to make workable and therefore valid proposals. The Secretary-General has given adequate proof that he is fully prepared to help in such an effort.

27. In a world in which focal points of discord are not in short supply, we have to note that it is taking a long time for the world economy to recover and that disorders in the monetary sphere only augment the disarray which is afflicting both industrialized and third world countries.

28. Happily, the dialogue which has now been established is continuing to make progress that is sure but too slow towards a new world economic order, which can only come about through permanent co-operation. We must ensure that it is not the product of confrontation.

29. The Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, also known as the Committee of the Whole, has done an extremely useful job. It suspended its work two weeks ago with the observation that, given the divergences of views concerning the mandate, it considered that the Assembly should continue the debate in order to get it out of what it calls a procedural rut. I wish to emphasize that despite certain flagrant shortcomings throughout the whole of these very hard and difficult negotiations the will to compromise has never been lacking. In the near future a new session of UNCTAD will perhaps make it possible to find, through negotiations, solutions to the remaining problems.

30. Personally, I have always spoken in favour of interdependence and the need for closer co-operation among all countries, both the industrialized and the developing countries. Federal Vice-Chancellor Genscher, the current President of the European Communities, has described the efforts which the nine members of the Community have been making with a view to such co-operation. I can only emphasize what he said and invite all the developed countries to follow the example of the European Community.

31. If some prefer to remain aloof from this major endeavour of solidarity and to limit their contribution to purely verbal assurances of support, they are assuming a very grave responsibility. If the few so-called rich nations were today to prove incapable of contributing to the development of the great number of poor countries, these industrialized countries would thereby be affirming their inability to ensure the lasting nature of their own well-being. That is what the law of interdependence means.

32. Solidarity in the international community must also be expressed on behalf of all innocent persons who are victims of acts of terrorism, the taking of hostages or the hijacking of aircraft. Blind acts of violence are cowardly means of action which discredit those who carry them out, those who applaud them and the causes they are supposed to serve. We therefore energetically support all the efforts of this Assembly and of Member States to combat international terrorism. My Government holds the same views as the seven major States which, at the Bonn Economic Summit Conference in July, expressed their intention of energetically combating the hijacking of aircraft.

33. I have been speaking before the Assembly for 10 years now, long enough, permit me to say, to yield occasionally to some impatience. But my experience in this field is too long not to view problems with moderation.

34. Experience shows us that patience is worth more than passion, that negotiation always works better than bloody confrontation, and that those who have wanted to have everything right away have more often received very little, and that sometimes very late.

35. My country maintains its faith in this Organization and will continue to support it without reservation until we all discover that what politicians 33 years ago only dared to dream of and to desire ardently is and remains within our grasp. Then we shall become, I hope, truly united nations.

36. My country, at the crossroads of Europe, has often found out at first hand that the results of bloody confrontation are nothing but poverty, destruction and misery, which in turn engender new confrontations. The arrogant conquerors and those they humiliate by conquest are equally dangerous for harmony among peoples. Those who must today negotiate peace should remember that the greatest virtue of the conqueror is generosity. It will be as it always has been the best cement for lasting peace.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of the Government, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and former President of the General Assembly, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

38. Mr. OZORES TYPALDOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, for Latin America your election as President of the General Assembly is an event of singular importance. That is because we consider you a distinguished exponent of Latin-American thought, to which you have made an invaluable contribution as a writer, researcher, historian, and perspicacious analyst of social and economic problems in the area, and because you are a staunch defender of the interests of the third world. You have come to preside over this session of the General Assembly at a complex period of history, a period reflected in a body of difficult topics which, because they are well known to you, will not stand in the way of your wise

direction of our proceedings as we try to pave the way to positive solutions.

39. On behalf of my country, I wish to offer an expression of sincere congratulations to the distinguished statesman of Yugoslavia, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, for the extraordinary contribution he made to the ideals and purposes of the United Nations as President of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly and of the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions, devoted to the questions of Lebanon, Namibia and world disarmament, respectively.

40. Panama shares the joy of the international community at seeing Solomon Islands enter the United Nations. That is a memorable event, not only because Solomon Islands is a country worthy of respect and admiration, but also because now that there are 150 States in the General Assembly our Organization has taken impressive strides towards the ideal of universality.

41. In addition, my country deems it a good omen that the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries was held eight weeks ago in Belgrade to consider progress in the policy of non-alignment in all areas of the world and we note the undeniable importance of the co-ordinated action of the non-aligned countries in the work of this Assembly. This is a fitting occasion, then, to stress the fact that the Conference paid a tribute to the invaluable contribution of President T. of Yugoslavia to the strengthening of the policy of non-alignment and its progressive consolidation as a factor and independent force in the building of a new system of international relations that will be more equitable and just. In the opinion of my country—which held one of the vice-presidencies of the Conference held at Belgrade and presided over the working group in charge of the drafting of the section containing the political declaration on Latin-American subjects [see A/33/206, annex I, paras. 116-132]—the importance of the work of that gathering will be demonstrated in the deliberations on the items on the agenda of this session of the Assembly. The effectiveness of the non-aligned movement lies in the co-ordinated action of the developing countries which make it up and which also make up two-thirds of mankind. Their weight cannot be underestimated in the process of rebuilding the political and economic structure of today's world.

42. In the political realm, the non-aligned countries have the major responsibility of maintaining the real spirit and genuine identity of the movement as an alternative to the dictates of the super-Powers. The unity of the non-aligned countries consequently represents the necessary basis for action to prevent rivalries among blocs and military pacts in their struggle to achieve spheres of influence and to pursue the arms race, the most serious consequences of which must be borne by the developing countries. There can be for them no prospect or other alternative but a régime based on peace and mutual respect among States which have different social systems, but which guarantee to each people its right to determine for itself everything that affects its destiny.

43. The fact that the Heads of State and Government of non-aligned countries will meet in Latin America for the first time at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or

Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to be held between 3 and 7 September 1979 in Havana, offers new hopes for the developing countries. That Conference at the highest level will be a magnificent forum for the nations of the third world which are anxious to study, analyse and take action to solve the major political, economic and social problems of our time within the balanced framework of non-alignment. There is every reason for us to hope that the summit Conference in Havana, will represent a magnificent contribution to peace, security and justice in today's world.

44. During the general debate which took place in the Assembly last year, the Chairman of the delegation of Panama brought to the attention of participating delegations that on 7 September 1977 the Panama Canal Treaty³ and the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal⁴ were signed in Washington. Today I take great pleasure in announcing that both treaties were approved by the Panamanian people in a national plebiscite which was held in accordance with our constitutional procedures. That plebiscite was carried out in the presence of United Nations observers appointed by the Secretary-General, who bore witness to the due and democratic nature of that consultation of the people.

45. Subsequently the United States Senate, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, approved both Canal Treaties, with certain amendments, conditions, reservations and understandings. As a consequence of the foregoing, on 16 June 1978 the Head of Government of the Republic of Panama, General Omar Torrijos Herrera, and President Jimmy Carter of the United States, exercising their respective constitutional powers, met in the city of Panama to exchange respective instruments of ratification and to sign the protocol on the exchange of instruments of ratification. In accordance with a rule established by the United States Senate, the exchange of instruments of ratification would be considered to take effect on 1 April 1979.

46. The Treaties will enter into effect simultaneously after six calendar months, starting with the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification and their entry into force, which will be 1 October 1979.

47. The execution of the Canal Treaties requires that Panama reformulate its development strategy, which will make it possible to make the maximum use of new sources of resources, placing under its sovereignty the political and economic aspects of part of its territory which for more than 70 years had been removed from the full exercise of its sovereignty.

48. The people and the Government of Panama are grateful to the General Assembly of the United Nations, the General Assembly of the Organization of American States [OAS], and the movement of non-aligned countries for the support which Panama's demands had always received.

49. My country is well aware that this Assembly of nations, when commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth

³ See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXVII, No. 1999 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), pp. 483-496, and document A/33/96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 496-501, and document A/33/174.

anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress, which met in Panama at the request of Bolívar in 1826, decided to adopt on 17 December 1976 resolution 31/142, paragraph 4 of which formulates the wish for a successful outcome of the negotiations for the conclusion of a new treaty on the Panama Canal, which would eliminate the causes of conflict between Panama and the United States of America, determine the speedy return to Panama of the Panamanian territory of which the Panama Canal is a part and stipulate that the Republic of Panama would assume total responsibility for the operation of the inter-oceanic Canal upon the termination of the treaty.

50. My country was particularly pleased that the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries decided to include in its final Declaration the statement that

"The Conference greets the conclusion and ratification by Panama and the United States of the Panama Canal Treaties of 1977 as an important step towards restoring Panama's territorial integrity and effective sovereignty throughout its national territory, including the strip of land where the canal is situated, which has contributed to the decolonization of Latin America. . . . The non-aligned countries will continue to extend support to Panama in securing the full and consistent implementation of these treaties. The Ministers take note that Panama and the United States have agreed to open the Protocol of the Treaty on the Permanent Neutrality of the Canal to the accession of all countries, and therefore the Ministers decided to call upon all States of the world to accede to the Protocol, to respect the permanent neutrality of the Canal and to strictly observe the principle of non-intervention in Panamanian affairs." [See A/33/205, annex I, para. 117.]

51. Immediately before the Belgrade Declaration on permanent neutrality, on 14 July 1978, the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela signed in the city of Panama a joint declaration on questions of common interest, both for the well-being of their respective peoples and for the unity and integration of Latin America. In that declaration the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela expressed the intention of their Governments to sign the Protocol to the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal.

52. As the Protocol will be open to accession by all the States of the world, on the entry into force of the Treaty on the neutrality of the inter-oceanic waterway, the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Costa Rica, and Venezuela asked the Governments of the other Latin-American countries to adhere to the Protocol to the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal whereby access to the Canal by the ships of all nations on a basis of complete equality would be assured at all times.

53. My Government believes that accession to the Protocol to the Treaty on the neutrality of the Panama Canal will contribute to the strengthening of international security and to the promotion of peaceful co-operation in accordance with the United Nations Charter. We are

convinced that this is a measure which will contribute to peace, friendship and international co-operation. We therefore invite all States Members of the United Nations and other members of the international community to accede to the Protocol.

54. Since on 10 December next the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be celebrated, we believe that is a fitting occasion for all Member States to combine special efforts to promote international understanding, co-operation, peace and universal and effective respect for human rights in harmony with the appeal in this sense made by the Commission on Human Rights.

55. Panama, as a signatory of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the latter, which entered into force on 3 January 1976, is interested in both the entry into force of, and strict compliance with, those instruments. We have placed our trust in the effectiveness of the Committee on Human Rights, made up of 18 recently elected members. At the regional level, Panama supports the establishment of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, and for that purpose we have signed and ratified the constituent instrument of that body.

56. Panama shares the position of those States that recognize the universal value of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and we ascribe priority importance to respect for, and the effectiveness of, human rights of an economic and social nature. In our opinion, hunger, poverty, unemployment and economic weakness are negative factors which work against the dignity of human beings.

57. In line with these preoccupations, we must admit that we are not encouraged by the progress which has been made thus far in various bodies of the United Nations system in establishing a new international economic order. The creation of the Committee established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, or the Committee of the Whole, has not fulfilled our hopes and expectations, particularly because of inadequate co-operation on the part of the industrialized and highly developed countries, which so far have questioned the terms of reference of the Committee, thus detracting from its fundamental characteristic as a forum for negotiations.

58. There has been a tendency to abandon negotiations and understanding and take a unilateral course of action. That seems to be the attitude that one of the super-Powers has taken recently. One of its governmental bodies has shown a tendency to allow its enterprises to exploit the sea-bed beyond its national jurisdiction.

59. The Chairman of the Group of 77 made a statement at the last plenary meeting of the seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea⁵ objecting to this unilateral procedure because it runs

⁵ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. IX (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.3).

counter to the will of the international community, which has deemed that the sea-bed is the common heritage of mankind. That interpretation of the matter was in keeping with the views of the third world and a number of important States of the industrialized world.

60. It is Panama's hope that the attempt by the State to which we have been referring to impose unilateral legislation will be reconsidered and corrected so that the strenuous efforts being made to conclude next year an all-inclusive convention on the law of the sea within the United Nations system will not be undermined.

61. In view of the imminence of the fifth session of UNCTAD, which is only eight months away, and in view of the proximity of the special session which is scheduled to take place in 1980 to adopt the new international development strategy for the decade of the 1980s, it is imperative that both the developed and the developing countries find new ways of coming together so that the work of the Committee of the Whole may be more fruitful and positive. Therefore we are pleased that both the General Committee and the Assembly in its plenary meetings have, as a result of an initiative of the Group of 77 [see A/BUR/33/2] agreed to introduce the item on development and international co-operation as a priority matter on the agenda of the present session and to begin consideration of the matter in plenary meetings as soon as the general debate is completed.

62. In the Declaration on Namibia and Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia, contained in General Assembly resolution S-9/2 adopted at the ninth special session, not only is it reaffirmed that the people of Namibia have an inalienable right to "self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia", but also the international community is urged to take final action to ensure the complete and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibian territory and thereby eliminate the serious threat to international peace and security created by South Africa. In this process due consideration is given to the roles that should be played by the United Nations Council for Namibia and SWAPO.

63. We believe that the freedom of Namibia represents a commitment the United Nations cannot shirk. Hence the Government of Panama attaches major importance to the report of the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council on 29 August 1978 [S/12827]⁶, which contains the outline of a plan for the speedy achievement of independence for Namibia by means of free elections to be held under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with the plan proposed for this purpose by the five Western members of the Security Council, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States [S/12636] - relating to a settlement of the situation in Namibia, a plan already endorsed by the Council in its resolution 434 (1978).

64. The international community has followed with deep concern the deliberations and consultations engaged in by

the Secretary-General, the President of the Security Council, SWAPO, the five Western members of the Council who have sponsored the independence plan, the front-line African countries and the spokesmen of the group of African States as a whole.

65. That concern has been increased by the unexpected objections of the Vorster régime just when it seemed that a harmonious solution of the question of Namibia under the auspices of the United Nations was under way. We share the Secretary-General's hope that good sense will prevail and that further efforts will be made with the co-operation of all parties concerned to meet the just expectations of the people of Namibia, who are hoping for liberation and independence.

66. The Government of Panama wishes to repeat that it is prepared to co-operate in the general effort all must make and to stand behind the ideals and aspirations of the brotherly African countries. To that end, through the Secretary-General, my Government has already offered a contingent of Panamanian soldiers in case their presence could be useful in the process of leading Namibia to independence, by facilitating the peaceful transition of that nation towards effective sovereignty and full jurisdiction over its national territory, including Walvis Bay.

67. My delegation cannot fail to refer also to the question of the Middle East, where there is a conflict that most directly threatens peace and international security and that, consequently, must be resolved by respecting the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in particular Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

68. Panama believes that a just and lasting solution must comprise the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and to its own independent State, and the right of Israel and the States and peoples of the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

69. The Government of Panama participated in the consensus that the United Nations Security Council reached on 11 November 1976,⁷ with the consent of its permanent members, China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States, whereby it was decided, *inter alia*, that all measures taken by Israel with the aim of changing the status of Jerusalem are null and void and must remain without effect. Panama, like the Vatican, does not recognize the annexation of Jerusalem and will insist on the internationalization of the Holy Places.

70. All the efforts being made to produce the solutions that have been mentioned by peaceful means such as negotiation, mediation, conciliation and other harmonious approaches, must be greeted with sympathy and enthusiasm by the international community.

71. In this respect my country welcomes the peace initiative sponsored by President Jimmy Carter of the

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1976*, document S/12233.

United States, who brought together at Camp David the President of Egypt, Anwar El-Sadat, and the Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin. Without prejudging the substance of the agreements reached, which cover matters that are extremely difficult and arouse deep emotions in the peoples of the area, it is our hope that the peace initiative of President Carter and the spirit of Camp David will help to create the climate of calm and understanding needed to move through successive stages towards a just and constructive settlement of the conflict.

72. It is a truism that, just as human rights and the fundamental freedoms of the individual and of peoples, are inalienable, so is personal freedom inseparable from the right of human beings to satisfy their economic needs with dignity.

73. The Government of Panama will make a special effort to meet the health, housing, food, education, employment and recreation needs of all the inhabitants of our country without any discrimination or limitation based on origin, sex, belief or nationality.

74. On the basis of those principles, which are fundamental to Panama's policies, in the Commission on Human Rights, of which we are a member, we supported resolution 4 (XXXIII),⁸ paragraph 4 of which recommends to the Economic and Social Council to invite the Secretary-General, in co-operation with UNESCO, to present to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-fifth session a study on the international dimensions of the right to development as a human right, together with other rights based on international co-operation, including the right to peace, taking into account the requirements of the New International Economic Order and fundamental human needs

75. I do not wish to conclude my comments on human rights without stressing most emphatically our historic commitment, together with countries of Africa, to the struggle of our African brothers against insolent and oppressive racism. From the very beginning, we endorsed the anti-racist cause in the United Nations, perhaps because we had had bitter experiences with that evil in our own country. At the opening recently of the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in Geneva, the head of the Government of Panama, General Omar Torrijos, sent to the Chairman of that Conference a warm message, the final paragraph of which stated:

"On behalf of the Government and the people of Panama, we hope that this Conference in Geneva will be successful, so that the men and women from all parts assembled there will set in motion the final offensive to eradicate once and for all the racist cancer which is the scourge of mankind and begin a new effort to promote peace and human dignity and the values of the human person on the basis of the equality of human rights of men and women in all areas of the world."

76. We believe that to the extent that every country respects the dignity of human beings and their fundamental

rights, affording them the necessary well-being for their fulfilment, the essential conditions for peace and development and friendly relations and co-operation among States will be established.

77. The Government of Panama cannot remain indifferent to the bloodshed that has been taking place for many months now in Nicaragua, which has caused a great loss of life and which in recent days has reached alarming proportions. To measure the impact of these tragic events on the public opinion in my country, I need only mention that the National Assembly of District Representatives, the highest body representing the popular will and one of the constitutional governmental bodies, unanimously adopted a resolution in which it condemned the genocide committed against the people of Nicaragua.

78. Panama had defended and will continue to defend at all times the right of peoples to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention, which are essential elements in the peaceful coexistence of the peoples of the Central American isthmus.

79. The exercise of these rights is organically linked to the obligation of the leaders to resolve domestic conflicts and international disputes by peaceful means without endangering peace, international security or justice.

80. For that reason when in a neighbouring country, for political reasons, there is a breach of the peace and collective unrest leading to the widespread loss of human lives, that situation must inevitably be of major concern to the other Governments and peoples of the area. It is a visible danger that in an act of desperation large groups of people may promote extreme solutions when they are denied by violent means the right to take part in their national destiny. Panama is well aware what would be the significance of a totalitarian extremist Government in the area, and we shall never lend ourselves to Governments of that kind. We hope that our governmental leaders will act sensibly in accordance with the national will and avoid upheavals which could only serve as a breeding ground for extremist solutions, to which countries resort only when they are driven to the limits of desperation.

81. It is only logical that our concern should be aroused when the armed forces of a State which should preserve order and guarantee the lives and property of the citizens of that country in carrying out their duties use weapons of war indiscriminately against the civilian population. As a result of suffering and mourning, intense feelings of condemnation, hatred and public revenge are aroused against others in the country.

82. The respect which civilized Governments have for the principle of self-determination of peoples and non-intervention, as well as their rejection of the use of force, precludes any possible condoning of acts which are at variance with the ethical values and feelings of the Latin-American peoples. It was dismaying that thousands of non-combatant civilians were fired on in the cities of Matagalpa, Masaya, León, Chinandega and Estelí and other smaller less populated communities with consequent large-scale destruction. We were painfully dismayed also by the material damage and the damage caused to social, human

⁸ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-second Session, Supplement No. 6*, chap. XXI.

and cultural values in the country of Rubén Darío, who is a symbol for Latin America and is respected throughout the cultural world for his great contribution to Spanish literature.

83. This climate of tension can reach explosive proportions when the frontiers and sovereignty of friendly countries that are traditionally attached to peace and order are violated in the most inexplicable circumstances.

84. When such reprehensible acts multiply it is logical to hope that countries in harmony with the aspirations of peoples that have a common heritage of freedom, morality and justice should call upon international bodies at the regional and national levels to take action to combat these evils. In the face of acts of such gravity, as stated in the Charter of the United Nations, the means of legitimate self-defence are available, both individual and collective, against the transgressors of peace, morality, justice and national culture. In these circumstances, the competent bodies of the United Nations must also take action which is appropriate so that bloodshed and barbaric violations of human rights against the Nicaraguan people will not remain unpunished or will not be repeated and so that those responsible will be called to account for their criminal conduct.

85. This 'deplorable situation, which is rooted in social, economic and political causes, is today taking on the character of a crisis in Central America, which could become explosive throughout the continent. The flood of Nicaraguan refugees into Costa Rica and Honduras contributes to the crisis and could also have unpredictable consequences on the relations between Honduras and El Salvador and the conflict existing between those two countries.

86. My delegation believes that it is therefore appropriate to stress the importance to the area of the fact that the dispute between Honduras and El Salvador must be settled as soon as possible. It is our hope that the negotiations presently being pursued between those two countries will lead to a just settlement which we all desire, as well as to harmonious coexistence between their two peoples.

87. The urgent need for a peaceful settlement and the need to prevent new lamentable situations cannot be exaggerated. The Government of Panama has received reliable information to the effect that international arms peddlars, merchants of crime and ruin, dealers in suffering and desolation, have been trying by every means available to them to stimulate the conflict between El Salvador and Honduras in order to distract world public attention from the crisis in Nicaragua. It is for that reason that my delegation believes that the United Nations peace-keeping machinery and the machinery to ensure international security must not fail to function in this Central-American crisis, which is a source of concern today throughout the entire continent, and indeed throughout the entire world.

88. I should like to conclude by expressing our renewed trust in the efforts which the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has been making to promote the purposes and principles of the United Nations for the benefit of all the inhabitants of our planet in every latitude.

89. Mr. President, we believe that it is indeed extremely fortunate that a statesman of your distinguished standing is conducting our proceedings and endeavouring to resolve burning issues for mankind, and we can assure you that you will enjoy the resolute and enthusiastic co-operation of the delegation of Panama.

90. Mr. ROEL (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to address this thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Our general debate provides us with the opportunity to reiterate the faith of the Mexican people and Government in the world Organization as the ideal instrument for maintaining peace, to formulate a periodic appraisal of how the international community has complied with the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter, and to examine new methods or correct our course in order more effectively to address ourselves to the changing challenges of our modern world.

91. It is with satisfaction that we see an illustrious son of Latin America, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, presiding over our work, especially since until a few days ago he was the distinguished Foreign Minister of our sister Republic of Colombia, with which Mexico maintains traditional as well as close ties of identity.

92. "International relations in our time constitute the art and science of the survival of mankind"—these words are by Karl W. Deutsch of Harvard.

93. The signs of our times appear to be contradictory. Speed and mobility give man unprecedented perspectives. We are constantly amazed by our progress in science, which geometrically widens our present and future. But as human beings, we have as yet been unable to dominate the art and science of survival without violence, terrorism, repression, injustice and exploitation.

94. We constantly hear expressions of peace in international forums, but the truth is that each day man prepares himself more for war, both nuclear and conventional. Instead of peace, we enthrone aggression.

95. Much propaganda is made for the unity of mankind, but in reality people continue to divide themselves by area, region, power and economic and social level. We live submerged in the search for solutions to age-old problems, but we neglect to use truth as an instrument in that search. This ambitious and insincere attitude prevents us from finding the formula for putting an end to misery, hunger, sickness, injustice, violence and terror.

96. The truly as yet unstudied continent is that of man himself, and he has been unable to channel or sublimate his aggressiveness. Even more, science and technology, which should be the servants of mankind, continue to be perfected for man's destruction.

97. This situation is even more disturbing when we realize that in just over 21 years we shall be entering a new century, the twenty-first, that is unrelentlessly approaching without us having found solid, collective solutions. How shall we meet it? What problems will we have to resolve? Are we on the right road? Must we urgently correct our course, especially here in this universal forum?

98. If we cannot influence the course and future of our lives, and in so doing improve upon the legacy we ourselves inherited, we shall doubtless have failed.

99. The challenge that man must meet is not only to change the reality surrounding him, but to obtain the collaboration of every human being in the solution of national and supranational problems. In this sense, we are all the solution. No one can be isolated from what happens to another human being elsewhere on our globe.

100. Therefore, we must formulate a programme and a strategy to meet the challenge, identifying a series of effective, successive and, if necessary, parallel measures which can lead us to our final goal: the achievement of a world in which peace with justice, physical and mental health and the self-realization of man in liberty and justice, individually and socially, all prevail, in short, a world in which our children can enjoy life to the full with peace and without anguish. This is the supreme, and perhaps a utopian, human ideal.

101. That is why our impatience grows. We are fully convinced, as the Constitutional President of Mexico, José López Portillo, has said, that it is very important to avoid war, but that is not sufficient; we must win peace in the dynamic rather than passive sense, and resolve the vital needs of the development, nutrition, health, education, employment, housing, and security of man. These problems, according to our President, become even more serious when we observe that the great Powers, having solved their basic problems of survival, are interested only in expanding their spheres of influence, thus provoking conflicts or manipulating them according to their whims and convenience.

102. In this important task of winning peace, we have never expected the entire responsibility to rest exclusively with the world Organization nor with the international community as a whole. Rather, we recognize and accept the simultaneous obligation each country has to take adequate measures in order that the ideals of peace and social justice to which we all aspire may become reality.

103. Last year we were privileged to outline for this body⁹ some of the major reforms to the Mexican governmental system which President López Portillo announced upon taking office on 1 December 1976. It is with satisfaction that I can now inform you that the "Alliance for Production" programme, which I described in my statement last year, is well on its way towards guaranteeing the minimum social benefits and services needed by my country; that the political reform has widened the representation of my people; that the administrative reform has begun the process towards complete reorganization; that the economic reform, including a fiscal reform to redistribute income, has established new wage, profit, price, credit, savings and monetary policies; that we have given priority in our development plans to food and sources of energy; and that all these changes, both proposed and achieved, constitute in sum the social reform fought for in the first social revolution of this century, the Mexican

Revolution, the aspirations of which are embodied in the "Magna Carta" currently guiding my country.

104. To sum up: Mexico is one of the few countries of our continent with a democratic system in which freedom prevails, with a stable Government, and with great human and natural resources.

105. Our daily production of crude oil and derivatives is already 1.4 million barrels and the amounts of our reserves indicate that they have increased proven reserves to 20 billion barrels; probable reserves to 37 billion barrels; and potential reserves to 200 billion barrels. This constant increase in our resource inventory has obliged us to make rapid changes in our short-, medium- and long-term oil programmes.

106. These important hydrocarbon reserves, which fully guarantee Mexico's present and future, constitute energy giving Mexico solid international credit and confidence. In this sense Mexico uses its petroleum not only as a guarantee for its development and financing, but, rather, in order to explore, manage and carefully safeguard these energy resources which were nationalized by President Lázaro Cárdenas in 1938 and which are now, according to article 27 of our Constitution, the exclusive property of the Mexican people.

107. Mexico's international relations stand on solid ground. This is the result of the confidence which reigns in Mexico, both internally and externally and, as we have repeated on numerous occasions in this forum, of our support and respect for the principles of self-determination, non-intervention, sovereign equality and the peaceful settlement of disputes. We offer friendship and co-operation to all peoples of the world and, in accordance with the golden rule of human relationships, we shall never ask of another nation that which we, in equal circumstances, would not be willing to give.

108. Our bilateral relations have increased at all levels. In particular, the President of Mexico has received and visited several heads of State and will shortly be travelling on state visits to the People's Republic of China and Japan. Of the 150 States Members of this Organization, Mexico maintains diplomatic relations with 134 and we are constantly in the process of revising the mechanisms and agreements which link us in order to see what has been done and evaluate what new possibilities exist for their improvement.

109. We, who are a part of Latin America feel deeply everything that happens to its peoples. We are involved in its economic, technological, communications and development problems. We are hurt by its suffering, needs, oppressions and miseries. That is why we must try to unite Latin America in substance, eliminating where possible our differences and emphasizing our common interests; because of similar languages, historical affinities and sociological coincidences, we must eliminate the mental reservations that separate us.

110. We are convinced that Latin America's destiny is to become a zone of peace in which beings may enjoy well-being in freedom and justice, as part of a global strategy that imposes, through a process of

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 14th meeting, paras. 1-73.

conviction, rights and obligations on all States. In the struggle towards this goal, our nations have had to confront a series of very uneven forces. For three centuries we suffered under colonialism and even once independence had been attained Latin America continued to be dependent and to be exploited by new forms of hegemony. Other problems, some of which have degenerated into conflicts, derive from geographical proximity and living together, and sometimes from alien interests that foster our disunity. Even the way in which certain differences have been resolved in the past has planted the seeds of injustice. Latin America has had to meet problems of definition, during which violence has become part of a vicious circle of governmental oppression provoked by violence, which, in turn, engenders more violence and the polarization of interests and ideologies.

111. Another phenomenon which appears to hold true for Latin America is that we are not given the importance we deserve; we are not well understood and we understand ourselves even less. Our communications of all kinds are deficient, and we are seldom taken into account. This is our fault: we must ring our own bell, especially in the positive aspects.

112. Nonetheless, the results seem positive. Latin America has given signs of political will in its efforts towards integration, of willingness to resolve its common problems in an open dialogue and settle its disputes by peaceful means. We have been able almost totally to eliminate the economic blockade against a penalized sister nation, and we have made the decision to keep our territories free of nuclear weapons through the Treaty of Tlatelolco¹⁰ and the recent Latin-American initiatives to impose restrictions or limitations on the transfer and use of certain conventional weapons.

113. In these efforts we have had the active participation of the Caribbean group of countries, which in recent years has shaken off the yoke of colonialism. Our cultural, linguistic or idiosyncratic differences have not been an obstacle to our sharing the desire for peace, which we are determined to make a reality in our region.

114. For unforeseen or other reasons, our ties of friendship and co-operation with these countries have not been as strong as we should have liked. According to the guidelines established by the President, Mexico is determined to strengthen even more the links of brotherhood and friendship which happily exist between our peoples and Governments with new initiatives designed to establish a closer and more fruitful framework of co-operation.

115. To sum up: Latin America is an important continent with 300 million inhabitants, an enormous potential market, incredible natural resources, tourism, wide open spaces, jungles, oceans, culture, handicrafts and history. We are missing only one thing: unity, to defend our common interests and live in peace.

116. We have historical and intimate ties with our sister nation of Nicaragua. Its tragedy during the past few weeks, its violence, the loss of innocent lives, the mass violations of

human rights—according to several sources—and of the fundamental rights of civilian populations during armed conflict, have affected us as if they were our own. Mexico deplores and censures these acts and would like to see a democratic, free and socially just expression of the will of the people of Nicaragua, as it would for those of all countries of the world.

117. In the Nicaraguan situation we have acted, and will continue to act, according to the fundamental principles of our foreign policy, notably the obligation not to intervene in the internal affairs of another State and the need to respect the right of all peoples to self-determination. However, the strict observance of these principles must not and cannot be interpreted as implying or meaning indifference, or lack of sensitivity to the anguish and suffering of the Nicaraguan people.

118. In addition, within the OAS, we have presented proposals aimed at stopping the bloodshed and re-establishing peace in this sister Republic. All this has been done within a strict legal framework, in the search for mechanisms aimed at giving civilian populations adequate protection in times of armed conflict and respecting individual guarantees recognized by several international instruments.

119. Another problem which worries Mexico is the future of Belize. We maintain our conviction that resolution 32/32, adopted by the Assembly last year by an overwhelming majority, is the best legal basis for any solution. In it, express recognition was given to the obligation of the States directly involved to consult with other interested States in the area so that the people of Belize can achieve, through peaceful means, their self-determination and independence, with full respect for their territorial integrity, which is the best legal basis for any solution. Mexico has shown a special interest in what occurs in this neighbouring Territory and will continue to participate in any consultations, guided by the principles and purposes of our Organization and by the principles of good neighbourliness and brotherhood that link us to Guatemala.

120. As a gesture of solidarity with the Panamanian people, Mexico's President accepted an invitation from the Chief of the Junta of Panama to attend the ceremony at which the instruments of ratification of the Panama Canal treaties were exchanged. On that occasion, the Chief Executive of my country reiterated Mexico's support for the Panamanian people in their struggle to exercise unrestricted sovereignty over their entire territory.

121. An important area of world conflict in which all the principles incorporated in the United Nations Charter—self-determination, non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes—are now involved, because of hegemonic, territorial, natural resources and ideological interests, is the problem of the Middle East, which still constitutes the gravest threat to international peace.

122. For this reason, our Organization has an inescapable and basic responsibility to keep the problem under constant review and to attempt to resolve it by formulating recommendations leading to a stable peace in the area on just and equitable foundations.

¹⁰ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

123. Having said this, we should not in any way be inhibited from supporting parallel efforts which may be made outside the United Nations in the search for a solution which, obviously, will be viable only if it takes into account the interests of all the parties directly involved. It is based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the United Nations Security Council and other resolutions adopted by the United Nations relating directly to this question, on which Mexico has clearly explained its position and which must not remain a dead letter.

124. Within this strict context and recognizing that all efforts towards peaceful settlement of disputes are worthy of praise, we consider that the Camp David framework agreements of 17 September may constitute an important step towards the common objective of achieving a more peaceful and just world, as long as they fulfil the requirements I have mentioned.

125. Cyprus is one of the concrete examples of the weakness of the international Organization in reaching a just peace, and constitutes proof of the need for us to address ourselves to changing the situation. It is a country whose territory continues to be under partial occupation by foreign troops, with a consequent displacement of its inhabitants, in disregard of a concept valid long before the San Francisco Conference, which created this Organization: conquest does not give rights.

126. Although my Government would have preferred that negotiations on Namibia be conducted within the framework of the United Nations, we have respected those efforts that did not meet this requirement because we felt that they were useful in leading to rapid self-determination for the Namibian people. It is with sadness that we today take note of their failure. Notwithstanding the significant concessions made by SWAPO in order to achieve a peaceful solution, the South African Government has once again rejected any solution based on the free self-determination of the Namibian people.

127. We profoundly regret that, as a result of the intransigence of the Republic of South Africa, these efforts have proved in vain. My Government is ready to support all measures, including sanctions, that this Organization may consider in order to put an end to the illegal occupation exercised by South Africa over this Territory.

128. The prospects offered to the people of Zimbabwe are not those of peaceful transition. All efforts towards this end have failed, given the constant hair-splitting of a privileged minority. My Government ratifies its strict observance of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the minority régime, as well as the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on this item, which is aimed at strengthening and widening them. [See A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. IV, para. 15.]

129. World peace cannot be based on a balance of terror, nor does any national or supranational economic or political instrument hold the key to the future, or have the right to exercise trusteeship over history or constitute itself as our planet's guardian.

130. We make an appeal to the super-Powers to continue to seek agreements among themselves which will contribute to the strengthening of world peace within a process which can be identified as peaceful coexistence, reduction of tension, détente or simple plain common sense. It would seem that this process of mutual understanding has recently been weakened.

131. Let us always remember that it is man's survival that is at stake, and not only that of their respective peoples. Let us ardently hope that their dialogue is fruitful and is channelled through the United Nations.

132. In the Yalta Agreements of 1945 the super-Powers gave the United Nations a specific task in the maintaining of peace which they now seem to regret. Mexico thinks that we must adopt a course of reason and not one of alienation which may lead to universal destruction.

133. The Government which I am honoured to represent maintains among its objectives the attainment of internal economic and social justice, and strives towards its achievement internationally. This goal will be met only with full compliance with the new international economic order as defined by the United Nations. For this we require both the political will of the developed nations, as well as the efforts of those which, like my own, are still in the development process.

134. Economic justice has several definitions: it is both individual and social, as well as political justice; it is peace, respect, tranquillity and stability. We can no longer live in a world of rich and poor, of exploiters and exploited, of North and South. The strong must understand that their own survival depends on the respect for other's economies.

135. Within this process we have identified priorities, programmes and strategies for our development as follows: We have maintained our immutable desire to give raw materials their real value. We are not, and never will be, underminers of those who, like ourselves are struggling toward this end. It is a fundamental part of the New International Economic Order for which we are fighting. Mexico's position clearly shows our determination to continue in the search for world justice and equity.

136. We participated enthusiastically in the process leading to the adoption of resolution 32/174, which created the Committee of the Whole entrusted with supervising the implementation of the new international economic order. We regret that to date this effort has failed.

137. In the light of that situation, I avail myself of the opportunity given me by the highest organ in the United Nations system to launch a strong appeal to the Governments of developed countries to heed the just demands of the overwhelming majority of countries, and thus comply with relevant agreements by giving new life to open negotiation, in good faith, aimed at eliminating the obstacles that still prevent the full introduction of order in economic relations and the attainment of the justice so desperately desired by mankind.

138. In other areas of social interest we have continued simultaneous efforts both within and outside my country. I

should like to make special mention of the support we have given to the preparatory activities for the International Year of the Child, for which we have established a Mexican Committee composed of members at the highest level of the three branches of the Mexican Government. We reiterate our commitment to support these efforts internally through the activities undertaken by the National System for the Integral Development of the Family.

139. We consider that the results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament mark the beginning of a new phase of United Nations efforts in this field. For the first time in its history, the General Assembly gave the question of disarmament the exclusive attention and importance it deserves.

140. The Final Document adopted at that session [*resolution S-10/2*] must be implemented, and, based on it, agreements relating to the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests, chemical warfare and reduction of offensive strategic weapons, the second and third series of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, must be worked out. In addition, other nuclear-weapon-free zones must be established on the basis of agreements freely arrived at between States of the region concerned, and taking into account the Latin-American experience with the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

141. These measures, together with a reduction in military budgets and the reallocation of such resources to meet the developmental and nutritional needs of the peoples, will have to be included in a comprehensive disarmament programme, the negotiation of which should now begin and on which Mexico has already made a proposal.¹¹ In addition, several important improvements have been made in the disarmament negotiating machinery, including something long advocated by Mexico, the abolition of the co-chairmanship, which we had tried for a decade to bring about. We express the hope that they will mean, in the near future, the participation of China and France in the newly-created organs.

142. As a decisive step towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control, progress must also be made in the field of conventional weapons. In this respect, it is with satisfaction that I inform you that, following instructions of my country's President, José López Portillo, Mexico has undertaken several concrete initiatives on this matter, which have been well received.

143. In the regional field we can point to important progress with respect to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, leading to the signature by the Soviet Union, during my President's visit to that country, of Protocol II to the Treaty, and the announcement of its early ratification by the Soviet Union. That step, together with France's declaration that it will soon sign Protocol I, means that our international instrument, which for several years seemed only a dream, is now a reality and an example to the rest of the world.

144. The Treaty is now in force for 22 States of the region, and Protocol I, which establishes the obligation of States with territorial possessions in the area of application not to introduce nuclear weapons therein, has been ratified

by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and has been signed by the United States of America. Protocol II, which contains the obligation by nuclear Powers to respect the Treaty itself, is in force for the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom.

145. We wish to make a fraternal appeal to the only remaining country in Latin America which, by its express political will, has neither signed nor ratified it yet and to that nation which has signed but not ratified it, to re-examine their positions and allow us, once the Treaty is fully enforced, to begin the second stage: the development of regional nuclear energy for exclusively peaceful purposes on the basis of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. In this connexion, the Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America has already requested an inventory of our countries' nuclear technology needs.

146. Furthermore, basing themselves on the recommendations of the special session on disarmament, 20 Latin-American countries have begun a historic effort, inspired by the Declaration of Ayacucho¹² and by the desire to share a common destiny in peace. Responding to an invitation from my Government, scarcely a month ago they met in Mexico City in order to identify a series of basic questions on which this important dialogue should continue, and it was decided to recommend to our respective Governments, among other measures, the establishment of flexible consultative machinery open to the participation of all States from the Latin-American and Caribbean region. This machinery would permit, *inter alia*, studies and recommendations on the possible limitation of the transfer of certain types of conventional weapons to Latin America or the Caribbean, as well as among the countries of the area, in addition to studies and recommendations concerning the establishment of limitations and/or prohibitions on the use of certain types of conventional weapons which are considered excessively harmful and/or are of an indiscriminate nature.

147. As can be seen, Mexico has gone ahead with the "first Tlatelolco", military denuclearization, and is now going on to what we might call the "second Tlatelolco", conventional weapons, in line with its political commitment to convert Latin America, by common effort, into a zone of peace—that is, not only the absence of war, but the full development of the region.

148. I should like, however, to clarify that any regional self-limitation does not in any way imply "to disarm the disarmed". It must be part of a global programme implying the adoption of universal measures on the non-transfer of conventional weapons and the use of others whose effects are excessively cruel and indiscriminate, always based on the concept that the possibility of armed conflict can be reduced by reducing the level of armaments to the point necessary for the internal security of each country. In the past, arming oneself has never been an effective deterrent to avoiding an armed attack; quite the contrary. The excessive concentration of arms can be counter-productive, arousing suspicions and mistrust and provoking an unlimited arms race. The only effective measure to avoid war is, in our

¹¹ See document A/S-10/AC.1/37, para. 141.

¹² Document A/10044, annex.

opinion, to strengthen the confidence of possible opponents and to strengthen security mechanisms.

149. As a second step in the aforementioned regional efforts, on 12 September of this year, during the Preparatory Conference for the United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, held in Geneva, the Government of Mexico presented "a preliminary outline of a general and universally applicable treaty on conventional weapons" [A/33/44, annex, sect. H], consisting of a global agreement and a series of optional protocols covering specific weapons. We hope that that proposal, together with those presented jointly by my country and others, which are necessarily complementary, on weapons such as napalm and other incendiary weapons, fragmentation bombs, small-calibre munitions with especially lethal effects, land mines and other weapons, may serve as a basis for negotiations in good faith on this important item. I should like to point to the important contribution made by the Mexican armed forces, through the Ministries of National Defence and the Navy, in the elaboration of those proposals, which we shall continue to pursue tirelessly until they are successfully adopted. In the future, we shall propose certain measures in the corresponding forum regarding the grave problem of arms transfers.

150. On this occasion we reiterate our firm decision to utilize our resources for development and, under express instructions from the President of the United Mexican States, I commit the Government of my country not to use any resources which we may soon have as a result of our petroleum reserves to acquire or construct any type of weapons, especially those on which we have made proposals regarding prohibition or restriction.

151. One of the most ambitious United Nations projects which may give mankind some of its greatest benefits is the eight-year-old effort to draft a new law of the sea. Mexico, together with many other countries, is seriously worried about the possibility that this enormous collective effort might be frustrated by the unilateral action of one or more States in allowing the exploitation of the deep sea-bed by their nationals.

152. We firmly believe that the Declaration of Principles adopted by this General Assembly in 1970 [resolution 2749 (XXV)] represents the true and authorized expression of international law on this subject. The common heritage of mankind can be exploited for the benefit of all only within a régime internationally agreed to by all States; therefore the unilateral exploitation of those resources would be contrary to international law. In addition it would constitute an insurmountable obstacle to a general consensus on the law of the sea. An overwhelming majority of States support that point of view and consequently we add our voice to the appeal made by all those States in order that any country contemplating such unilateral action should desist from it.

153. Between 1945 and today mankind has suffered 119 armed conflicts, with an increasing number of civilian victims, despite the prohibition on the use of force except in cases of self-defence.

154. We firmly believe that international action to regulate activities in case of war is also a way of advancing the cause of the protection of human rights, especially since we cannot conceive of those rights as purely political ones in abstract terms but rather as a body of social, political and economic rights for the true benefit of mankind. Why should we exclude the right not to suffer needlessly in conflict, which is after all the purpose of international humanitarian law, to the development of which we are committed?

155. Mexico's historic tradition in the defence of human rights with a social emphasis goes back more than a century and a half, to Morelos. We feel that there are many ways of fighting for the adequate protection of those rights and in this context, in addition to those already begun, several courses of action must be taken in the search for a more just and equitable order. Who can be more deprived of basic human rights than those who lack education, a roof over their heads, or health? Who can have fewer rights than a person who barely survives, in conditions of extreme misery? Are not the right to information, for example, or the rights of workers as well as the right to work, also guaranteed? Are not the human rights of a worker violated when, as a victim of socio-economic conditions, he crosses a border in search of better conditions and is persecuted, and his most elementary human rights are violated?

156. On other occasions we have spoken of the need to elaborate a code of conduct in which the rights of migratory workers could be set forth. We now present that suggestion to the Assembly in the hope that it also might be useful in advancing the international protection of human rights.

157. During the last meeting of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization we reiterated our conviction that we find ourselves at a crossroads. We must decide whether we want our Organization to continue to be viable or not. While some Members consider the United Nations as a static mechanism of conferences convened in order to permit dialogues on conflicts of interest or ideology, supported by a Secretariat which, far from serving the community interests, represents the principal ideologies in the struggle, others, fortunately the majority, conceive of the Organization as a dynamic instrument through which Governments seek conciliation of their differences, and as the best mechanism for preventing conflicts and resolving them when they occur.

158. The validity of this assertion is obvious even in our times. The first option becomes even more complicated when we see the apparent apathy on the part of many Member States regarding the work of the Organization itself. This allows many negotiations to become a mere game of personal interests at times. The first hypothesis is based on nationalistic criteria of the past, while the second is based on today's and tomorrow's needs in an ever more dynamic world where there is a daily increase in the number of countries that possess weapons of unknown destructive force.

159. Faced with those alternatives, Mexico has made efforts to strengthen the Organization. We believe that in

the Committee on the Charter—and in this we support the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim—we should not limit ourselves to mere examination of amendments to that instrument but should also look at questions that do not require constitutional changes but which can improve the mechanisms for the maintenance of international peace and security. To that end we have introduced a series of proposals among which I should like to emphasize the 11 principles of Mexico for the elaboration of a general declaration on peaceful settlement of disputes as a first step towards the possible conclusion of a treaty on the subject [see A/33/33, chap. II A, para. 12 (3) and (4)], in which we logically suppose that all the efforts and difficulties faced by the United Nations in that area in the past will be taken into account.

160. Our proposal was introduced considering that the peaceful settlement of disputes is one of the weakest areas of the activities of the United Nations. That proposal has been complemented by others, among which we can mention the elimination of the so-called "enemy States" clause in Articles 53 and 107 of the San Francisco Charter, a maximum limitation on veto application in the Security Council, an appeal to nations that all matters relating to international peace be dealt with within the context of the Organization, as well as other measures to rationalize working methods which could eliminate the current waste of man-hours and energy.

161. Recognizing the implications of those proposals, we shall invite those States especially interested in the work of the Committee on the Charter to hold consultations before the next meeting of that subsidiary body in order to determine, among other things, the viability of the proposals so far introduced.

162. Mexico wants to live in peace with all nations on earth, always sustaining its principles with democracy and individual and social justice. Mexico also seeks to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. We reaffirm our faith in the fundamental rights of man, in the dignity and value of the human person, and in promoting social progress within the widest possible concept of freedom.

163. Mr. JAMIESON (Canada): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly for its thirty-third session. My delegation looks forward to working under the presidency of the Foreign Minister of Colombia, a fellow charter Member of the United Nations from the Western hemisphere with which Canada has the friendliest of relations. The Canadian delegation pledges to you, Sir, its fullest support in fulfilling your heavy responsibilities during the next three months.

164. I should also like to congratulate Deputy Foreign Minister Mojsav of Yugoslavia on the efficient and decisive way in which he presided over not only the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly but also three special sessions, including the very important special session on disarmament.

165. This year we welcome our new Member, Solomon Islands, whose application Canada was pleased to recom-

mend in the Security Council and to join in sponsoring as a member of the Commonwealth. With the admission of the Solomon Islands the United Nations has attained the bench-mark figure of 150 Member nations and has approached even closer to the goal of universality of membership.

166. In my statement a year ago¹³ I was critical of some of the procedures of our Assembly, and I still believe that we need to act and to speak so that our people can understand what it is we are doing here and have confidence in our decisions. I do not mean to imply that we ought to agree on everything or even try to settle everything; on the contrary, I think that we should be careful to arrange our agenda so that we concentrate on the major purposes of the United Nations, not on the headlines of the moment.

167. I am glad to note that the Secretary-General has echoed some of these sentiments in his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1]. But he also emphasizes that the pursuit of global objectives ought to take precedence over "nationalistic aims". Let there be no doubt that Canada, too, regards the United Nations as a vital and essential world forum which serves important global purposes.

168. There are two international issues that have defied solution for more than three decades but which now have reached a crucial turning-point. Peace in the Middle East is closer. An internationally acceptable settlement in Namibia could still be within our grasp. But to make the most cherished hopes of millions come true will require wisdom, patience, fortitude and restraint in the weeks and months ahead.¹⁴

169. Eighteen months ago I joined my colleagues of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany in a concerted effort to bring about an internationally acceptable settlement in Namibia. Since that day a great deal of progress has been made. Painstaking negotiations and the personal participation of Foreign Ministers at key junctures in the negotiating process have demonstrated what can be achieved when political will and the determination to succeed are brought together and brought to bear upon seemingly intractable problems. After a year of detailed talks, and in an intensive exploration of all the issues, the five Western members of the Security Council were able to draw up a compromise proposal [S/12636] which I was privileged to introduce on 25 April to the Assembly's special session. At that same time I was able to announce South Africa's acceptance of the plan.

170. In July, SWAPO also accepted the Western plan and we were thus able, with the full co-operation of the parties and the active support of the African front-line States, to take, in the Security Council, the first step towards the full implementation of our proposals. It was, therefore, with considerable optimism and satisfaction that we followed the progress of the special survey mission which the Secretary-General dispatched to Namibia, under the leadership of his Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari.

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 6th meeting, paras. 41-93.

¹⁴ Paragraph read by the speaker in French.

171. When, on the basis of the findings of that mission, the Secretary-General published his report and his recommendations as to how best he could discharge the mandate given to him by the Security Council, we had every reason to believe that the United Nations finally had in its hands the instrument capable of putting an end to 30 years of controversy and of bringing Namibia to independence in an internationally acceptable manner. It was therefore with shock and dismay that we heard last week of the South African Government's decision to proceed unilaterally with elections in that Territory.

172. Neither of the reasons invoked by the South African Government is valid. First, I wish to declare most categorically that the Secretary-General's report is fully in line with the original Western proposal. That report is a professional assessment of the human and financial means required to perform the tasks which our proposals call for.

173. Secondly, apart from a few extreme elements, all of those who have a claim to represent sectors of the Namibian population have clearly expressed their preference for and acceptance of United Nations involvement in the independence process. The churches have done so, the Namibia National Front has done so and, as recently as 15 September, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance has done so. We simply cannot accept that there is now a need for some form of further consultation.

174. We are once more facing a grave situation. Our Organization is now in a position to undertake the task of bringing to independence, through peaceful means, a new nation.

175. We must urge those who wish to stand in the way of such a noble enterprise to reconsider their decision. The South African Government must realize that its defiance of the will of the international community, particularly when that Government has been so closely involved in a long negotiating process, cannot be tolerated. The new Government of South Africa, which we understand will be formed by the end of this month, would be very seriously mistaken if it assumed that its actions in respect of Namibia would have no serious consequences. To those leaders inside Namibia who are being led to believe that they can solve their problems through some sham electoral procedure, I can only say:

"Think of the future of your country. The road you are taking can only lead to a dead end. Make no mistake: a so-called government chosen through the so-called elections currently envisaged by the Administrator-General will never be recognized internationally. Instead of enjoying the benefits of free and close association with the rest of the world, you will only beget more bloodshed and bring about in the long run the destruction of what you hold dear."

It is not too late and I sincerely hope that all concerned will reconsider their course of action.

176. The danger signals are clear. On 4 November 1977, in its resolution 418 (1977), the Security Council imposed a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa, the first time the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter

had been invoked against a Member State. This step confirmed a policy voluntarily observed by Canada since 1963. The invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter has rightly been regarded as a grave decision, taken only after the most serious consideration and a careful weighing of the implications. This decision, therefore, reflects our belief that the perpetuation of the *apartheid* system will result in a continuing deterioration of peace and stability in southern Africa.

177. Canada has also expressed its support for a call to Governments to review their economic relations with South Africa. Although this element was not incorporated in the Security Council resolution, the Canadian Government nevertheless decided to take certain steps. On 19 December 1977, for example, I announced that Canada was phasing out Government involvement in commercial relations with South Africa and would issue a code of conduct to govern the behaviour of Canadian companies with operations in South Africa. The Canadian Government will continue to keep its present general relations with South Africa under review.

178. My Government is much concerned, too, by the situation in Zimbabwe. We had hoped that the Anglo-American proposals and subsequent action by the Security Council would lead to general agreement. The attempt to follow a different path has had no success, and the country now faces increasing bloodshed and uncertainty. A continuation of the war would also have the gravest consequences for the stability of the region as a whole.

179. Clearly, an early meeting of all parties to the conflict is essential if there is to be any hope of securing a peaceful settlement on the basis of the generally accepted Anglo-American plan. Canada continues to hope that the plan may still be successful, and would be willing, in such circumstances, to offer appropriate assistance.

180. All of us must be heartened by the remarkable progress achieved over the past year towards a just solution of the Middle East conflict. President El-Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem less than a year ago and the warm reception given to him by Prime Minister Begin and the Israeli people have had a dramatic sequel in the agreements at Camp David. The Government of Canada has sent its congratulations to President Carter, President El-Sadat and Prime Minister Begin on this act of statesmanship. The prospect of a real and durable peace is now much closer, although serious issues remain to be resolved.

181. Canada supported and encouraged the negotiating process begun in Jerusalem. We welcomed the bold initiative of President Carter in again bringing the Heads of Government of Israel and Egypt together at Camp David and we endorse the agreements reached there. They are a milestone on the long road to peace, a road which Canadian soldiers have watched over for more than 20 years. We hope that after due consideration the nations concerned will find that the framework established at Camp David constitutes a sound basis for moving towards a general peace settlement.

182. The process of direct negotiation on the difficult and sensitive issues at the heart of the problem must continue. All parties face agonizing and hard decisions. But my

Government is confident that the will exists to take the next steps. Meanwhile, the deliberations of this Assembly should serve to bolster confidence between the parties and to facilitate their negotiations. Surely we must try to avoid recriminations and polemics now that serious negotiations are under way. I am well aware that deep differences of view exist, nor do I question the sincerity of such views. My plea is that we make an effort to moderate passions, to encourage constructive action in the area and to strengthen the prestige and competence of the United Nations in the search for solutions.

183. For all concerned these are days of both accomplishment and opportunity which require patience and fortitude. We do not know what the ultimate shape of a peace settlement might be. It might make provision for international involvement to assist in the implementation of its terms. Canada would consider very seriously a request to make an appropriate contribution to such an enterprise. Canada also hopes that other aspects of the problem will be addressed in the context of resolutions adopted by the Security Council. It may very well be that generous financial contributions from the international community will be required; here, too, Canada will certainly be prepared to assist within the limits of its capacity.

184. A third question demanding immediate attention and action is the lack of progress we have made in the United Nations in the protection of human rights throughout the world. A tragic example of this is the situation in Democratic Kampuchea. On 8 September my Government brought to the attention of the Commission on Human Rights a detailed public report which was based on a series of voluntary statements made to Canadian representatives by individual Kampuchean refugees,¹⁵ a great many of whom had left Democratic Kampuchea recently. The testimony of the refugees clearly supports allegations from a variety of other sources that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has systematically violated the fundamental human rights of its citizens and that the repression and the killing are continuing. This situation cries out for the kind of effective action that this Organization should be able to provide.

185. The Canadian Government considers that an immediate investigation of the human rights situation in Democratic Kampuchea should take place. I urge members of this Assembly to support our recommendation to the Commission on Human Rights to take such action. I also ask members of the Assembly to consider their obligations to the increasing numbers of refugees from Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea that are now under the care of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

186. To date, Canada has accepted 7,000 refugees from that area, including those from former Cambodia. In doing so we have accepted the full costs of their resettlement in our country. These costs are in excess of \$3.7 million, which Canada regards as an important if indirect contribution to the valuable work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In the light of the tragic situation in Democratic Kampuchea I wish to take this occasion to announce that Canada will increase from 50 to

70 the number of refugee families from Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea we will accept each month. I expect that over the next 12 months more than 1,000 additional refugees will find a new home in Canada. Furthermore, Canada will contribute an additional \$500,000 to the High Commissioner for his valuable relief and assistance work in South-East Asia.

187. The case of Kampuchea is not unique in demonstrating that in the field of human rights the official record of the United Nations creates an illusion of much greater progress than we have managed to make. There is no dearth of promising language on the international statute book. Unfortunately, the gap between promise and performance has not narrowed much. Reports of gross and persistent inhumanity continue to claim the attention of the world community. Governments continue to renege on commitments they have freely assumed in international instruments.

188. In short, we are still a long way from an international consensus on human rights. Historians will wonder why it should have been so. They will be hard put to explain how we could be very near a consensus on how to preserve the quality of our seas and yet unable to conduct so much as a civil dialogue on how to preserve the dignity of the human person. They will be hard put to explain how we have begun to redistribute resources internationally to sustain human beings in their material needs but could not ensure that men and women would be free to exercise their most elementary human rights.

189. Human rights are a problem of international dimensions. Their recognition and promotion, as the Secretary-General reminds us, is a legitimate concern of the world community. The new prominence that human rights has acquired is part of the natural evolution of an international system. Like so many other concerns, the concern about human rights can no longer be contained behind national boundaries. It is not a matter of laying down to Governments how they should fashion their political or economic systems. It is simply a matter of making certain that Governments observe the fundamental decencies of civilized life to which they have all pledged allegiance.

190. The issue of human rights will not go away. We have a clear choice. We can decide that the United Nations must face the issue squarely, or we will be forced to go elsewhere to seek a tolerable international consensus. In the view of the Canadian Government the choice is clear. We believe that the United Nations is ideally equipped to evaluate objectively, dispassionately and impartially allegations of human rights violations. The better it is seen to function the more confidence this Organization will command and the less individual Governments will feel bound to call for actions against others for gross and persistent violations of human rights.

191. We believe that the United Nations can improve its investigation of allegations of human rights violations. We welcome, therefore, as a significant precedent the decision of the Government of Chile to receive an investigative group. My Government also considers that the capacity of the Office of the Secretary-General to investigate and to intercede when necessary, as well as its authority to do so,

¹⁵ See document E/CN.4/Sub.2/414/Add.7.

should be augmented. Canada further proposes that the officers of the Commission on Human Rights be empowered to meet between sessions to consider apparent serious violations of human rights and when necessary to make its views known to Governments.

192. Human rights can be violated in many ways, but surely one of the most despicable is international terrorism. Innocent lives are placed in jeopardy while the culprits often go unpunished or even undetected. Terrorism holds our security and our society to ransom and threatens Governments in all parts of the world. There must be no confusion between ends and means. Terrorism is beyond the bounds of legitimate dissent. It degrades every cause it claims to serve. The international community, which is pledged to eliminate war as an instrument of policy, can hardly accept terrorism as a tolerable aspect of international life.

193. Resolution 32/8, adopted by consensus at the last session of the General Assembly, deals with a specific aspect of terrorism—hijacking. That resolution calls on Governments to take joint and separate action to ensure the safety of civil aviation, and it was strongly endorsed by the Canadian delegation. We have continued to stress the need for further international action to combat terrorism in all its manifestations. Prime Minister Trudeau's initiative in developing and presenting a declaration on hijacking at the Bonn Economic Summit Conference in July clearly underlined Canada's commitment to take action to deal with this problem. The declaration commits the seven Governments to suspending air links with countries which do not extradite or prosecute hijackers who come within their jurisdictions. Participants at the Bonn meeting urged other Governments to associate themselves with that commitment. Many Governments have indicated that they are prepared to do so. Today we urge all other members of the international community to follow this course as well.

194. As Canada nears the end of its latest term on the Security Council I inevitably have mixed feelings. We have welcomed the opportunity to play a direct part in contributing towards the resolution of the issues of peace and war brought to the Council. We have participated, I believe effectively, in some very important decisions. But we have also felt some frustrations, which I suppose are shared by most non-permanent members. Periods of service on the Council are too infrequent to build an extensive background of experience or to have much impact on the way the Council meets the responsibilities set out for it in the Charter. We have been impressed by the progress the Council has made since our last term 10 years ago. There has been the adoption of quietly effective negotiating techniques, which have encouraged a sense of co-operation and collegial spirit in its work. We think that for the most part the Council has done a good job in dealing with the matters before it.

195. But we have not changed our view that the Council is too passive. All too frequently it turns a blind eye to situations which clearly constitute a threat to international peace and security. It continues to ignore its responsibility under the Charter to try to head off such threats before they arrive. In my statement before this Assembly a year ago I expressed the belief that informal and private

exchanges between political leaders represented on the Council would help it to fulfil its responsibilities. In all candour I must report that we found that some of our colleagues were opposed to this approach. However, I continue to be convinced of the value of the concept of periodic meetings of the Council at the ministerial level. Such meetings could give the Council the high-level political direction that is essential if it is to take the initiative in preserving peace when conflict is anticipated, as well as restoring it when conflict has occurred. I know that I am not alone in expressing these views, and I urge those members of the Council, present and future, who share them not to give up their efforts to have the Council fulfil its role as envisioned in the Charter.

196. I also think it is time to consider again the size of the Council. In 1965, when the membership was increased from 11 to 15, there were 118 Members of the United Nations. Now there are 150. Many States which would contribute well to the work of the Council must wait a generation before they can hope to serve.

197. Although no longer a member of the Council after the end of this year, Canada will follow with deep interest the Council's deliberations. We will be prepared to contribute in any feasible way to strengthen the Organization's peace-keeping capacity, and to help galvanize its will-power in the spirit of friendly relations, co-operation and harmony called for by the United Nations Charter.

198. Looking back over the past year I take satisfaction from the tenth special session on disarmament. The disarmament session adopted by consensus a programme of action [resolution S-10/2, sect. III] that clearly identified the most urgent negotiating tasks, including vigorous pursuit of measures to curb the nuclear-arms race, the conclusion of a nuclear test-ban treaty, and the negotiation of an effective agreement on chemical weapons. Proposals made by my Prime Minister, and by other leaders, are under active discussion in many capitals. The session's Final Document is the most authoritative statement of views, aspirations and objectives ever produced on the subject of arms limitation and reduction. It is our compass and our incentive for the work ahead. We must respond with determination to meet the challenge posed by the programme of action.

199. The special session on disarmament was a useful reminder, too, of the value of reaching our conclusions by consensus when important issues are at stake. Improvements in our procedures need to be made if we are to find time for these issues and to discuss them seriously. A number of useful proposals to this end have been made which Canada endorses.

200. While disarmament may be the ultimate answer to international security, peace-keeping and peace-making are also essential to contain threats to peace. Over the years, Canada has joined many other countries in supporting United Nations peace-keeping missions. We have supplied military or other personnel for every United Nations peace-keeping force which has taken the field, including UNIFIL established last March.

201. The Council acted promptly and wisely in deciding to insert a United Nations force into the troubled situation

which has prevailed in Southern Lebanon. The organization and subsequent conduct of UNIFIL is a tribute not only to the skilful diplomacy of the Secretary-General and his staff but also to the readiness of Member States from most regions of the world to help with United Nations peace-keeping. We cannot overlook, however, that UNIFIL has encountered problems in fulfilling all the terms of its mandate, and that the Lebanese Government has not yet been able fully to restore its sovereignty.

202. The future success of UNIFIL will depend on the forbearance and goodwill of all the parties involved, and also, indeed, on the extent to which current and potential contributors to UNIFIL can plan their participation.

203. States which contribute contingents to peace-keeping forces are bound to be influenced by their perceptions of the kind of co-operation these troops receive from the parties. They will be influenced, too, by the kind of support which these operations receive from the rest of the membership, especially the permanent members of the Security Council. I note with regret that two permanent members have said they will not help pay for UNIFIL.

204. My country is unusually sensitive to the need for the United Nations to improve its advance planning arrangements for peace-keeping. It was only with considerable dislocation of our own requirements that we were able to supply specialized personnel for UNIFIL, and then only for six months. I urge all Member States to consider again the earmarking of personnel, services and equipment for this kind of contingency. If the Secretary-General is to carry out the instructions given to him by the Security Council, which are usually based on the principle of equitable geographical distribution, he must have the widest possible freedom to select the resources required. The lack of readily available communications and logistics personnel is particularly regrettable. It is more than time that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations made firm recommendations on these questions.

205. Earlier this year I had occasion to assess the situation in Cyprus at first hand. My visit confirmed my view that the parties to the conflict ought to be able to settle their differences by negotiation.

206. Canada once again has a direct interest in a solution of the Cyprus problem. Canadian contingents have been in Cyprus, as part of the United Nations force, for 14 years. Some of our soldiers are now doing their fourth tour of duty on the island. Many Canadians are beginning to feel that the continued presence of the force, instead of paving the way for a solution, may be a factor in impeding it.

207. The island of Cyprus, an independent and sovereign State and a sovereign member of the international community, has known a troubled history. I believe that it would serve no useful purpose to attempt to identify those responsible for the events of the past. The international community expects, however, that the Cypriot people will use the resources and dynamism which it shares with its Mediterranean neighbours as well as the goodwill which exists to prepare a new national programme which will contain guarantees acceptable to all the parties concerned. The legacy of the past will not facilitate matters and, in my

opinion, the enterprise will even be an impossible one if sustained negotiations are not instituted between the two communities. Without a permanent dialogue, the accommodations which are hinted at from time to time will remain without any effect. The Secretary-General has offered his good offices to the parties and I would urge them to take full and prompt advantage of them.¹⁶

208. I have been discussing important issues of peace and security. We also expect this Assembly to address and influence those economic and social questions which are so vital to the welfare of our peoples. Peace and security will remain distant goals unless the basic economic and social needs of mankind receive adequate attention.

209. As each of our Governments tries to deal with economic and social issues in the context of our national interests, we become increasingly aware of the wide-ranging effects of our actions. Improvements in our economic and social conditions can be found only in policies which fully recognize this interdependence among States and among issues. None can be dealt with effectively in isolation. That is why it is so important for us to discuss these issues effectively in this body.

210. The industrialized countries account for a major share of international economic activity and their policies therefore have a particular impact upon the health of the world economy. We know that the recent performance of our industrial economies has not been good enough. The leaders of seven major industrialized countries met just over two months ago and agreed on measures which they would take, individually and collectively, to improve this performance. My own Government has since announced a series of measures designed to strengthen the growth of the Canadian economy. These efforts to improve our national economic performance are not inward-looking. On the contrary, my Government remains convinced that a truly open world trading system provides the best framework for sustained economic growth for all of us. It also remains convinced that the problems of the industrialized world can best be solved by means which benefit all countries, developed and developing alike.

211. There is no quick or easy solution to current domestic or international economic difficulties, particularly those of the world's poorest countries, but some of the imperatives are clear. We must improve economic growth to enhance the international economy's ability to meet the aspirations of developing countries for a more just economic order. We must resist pressures for self-defeating protectionism. We must bend every effort to achieve the successful conclusion of the multilateral trade negotiations, including satisfactory benefits for developing countries as well as for the world's principal traders.

212. Frank and open exchanges on vital problems affecting the world economy must take place here. But if the General Assembly is to play its proper role in the process of working out equitable solutions to these problems, we need to clarify the mandate of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and to make that Committee work. We must give the Committee a mandate

¹⁶ Paragraph read by the speaker in French.

which clearly defines its role as an instrument of the General Assembly. If we ask it to perform tasks which are the proper responsibility of other international bodies, we will do harm to a potentially valuable instrument.

213. As I said earlier, the dialogue on economic issues continues on many fronts. Some progress is apparent. Prospects for a new food aid convention have improved. Canada will participate actively and constructively in the resumed negotiations on a common fund for commodities and we are confident progress can be made there as well. The calendar for 1979 is very challenging: the fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development in Vienna, the development of a new international development strategy for the 1980s and beyond. Canada has a deep interest in each of these events. This General Assembly session should contribute to their preparation as well as to the preparation of such events as the proposed world conference on renewable sources of energy. I invite delegations to help keep us on the path of consensus in this process. Progress on all of these issues is at times frustratingly slow, but we must persist in our efforts until we succeed.

214. Over the past year the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has made important progress towards the adoption of a comprehensive treaty for the oceans. I am particularly encouraged by the improvements in the informal composite negotiating text¹⁷ on the prevention and control of vessel source pollution. The new text does not yet fully meet my Government's objectives in this field. Nevertheless, it reflects an increasing awareness by the international community of the need for a more balanced sharing of coastal and flag-State rights and duties. The tragic and devastating oil spill off the French coast earlier this year graphically demonstrated the obsolescence of the traditional rule of flag-State sovereignty.

215. Most of the major elements of a global oceans treaty are now virtually agreed. What remain are the most difficult hard-core issues relating primarily to an international system for the mining of the deep sea-bed and the translation of the common heritage concept into an equitable system for extracting the minerals of the deep ocean bed. Our goal is unprecedented in international institutions—the establishment of an international organization with both regulatory responsibilities and a role in the actual exploitation of natural resources. The implications of the new economic order are profound and far-reaching. Thus, no matter how exacting or frustrating the negotiations may still be, we cannot afford to let the Conference fail, particularly now that it has accomplished so much and home port is within sight.

216. Canada agrees, however, that the Conference must be brought to a conclusion as soon as possible. While an arbitrary deadline could impede rather than expedite the work of the Conference, we believe that the negotiations should end during the course of 1979. This would lead, we hope, to the adoption of a draft treaty in the early part of 1980. Canada will give its full support to the attainment of this objective.

217. In conclusion, I think it vital that we remember during the course of this session why we come here every year. Despite its flaws and failures, the United Nations binds us to certain basic principles which are as valid now as they were in 1945. This Organization has stood for a third of a century as witness to the ideal of the common accountability of every nation for enlarging the security, prosperity and dignity of all mankind.

218. The challenge is to ensure that the United Nations system responds to the complex and changing environment in which we live. Our basic principles must not be encrusted with bureaucratic procedure. The momentum of this institution must be towards the issues of the day, not away from them.

219. I am confident we will meet this challenge.

220. Mr. GRÖNDAL (Iceland): Mr. President, I am happy to join my colleagues in congratulating you on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that your experience and wisdom will enable you to give this Assembly the leadership that it needs if it is to meet expectations.

221. With the most welcome addition of Solomon Islands, the membership of the United Nations has now reached 150. This is a remarkable growth since, 33 years ago, some 50 nations started building this Organization on the ruins of mankind's most terrible war. Through the dissolution of the system of imperialism, almost 100 new, free and independent States have emerged and become a powerful element in contemporary history. And let us never forget that there are more to come.

222. Those tongues are ever numerous which deplore and attack the United Nations, and in particular this Assembly, as a political show of overrated significance, long on words but short on deeds. Although not unaware of our shortcomings, we must answer such criticism not only by describing numerous achievements of the United Nations, but also by pointing out that 30 years is a very short time in the lives of international organizations. "Rome was not built in a day" is a saying in many Western languages. Was there ever a great culture, was there ever a major religion, that established itself and realized its potential in anything less than several generations? Why, then, should we demand instant fulfilment of the greatest dream in human history, the United Nations?

223. We may say for the United Nations that childhood is behind us. We are now suffering the growing pains of adolescence. Before us stretches a long time in which we shall really come to grips with life and solve its problems with ever-growing strength and maturity. Such is the future of the United Nations as I see it. If I may quote the late Adlai Stevenson: "Let none of us mock its weakness for, when we do, we are mocking ourselves." Let us rather devote our strength faithfully to realizing the aspirations embodied in the Charter as truly united nations.

Mr. Wojtaszek (Poland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

224. The people of Iceland are an island race much dependent upon the sea. For this reason I hope it will be

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

understood why we attach more importance to the Conference on the Law of the Sea than to any other activity of the United Nations with the exception of the maintenance of peace and security.

225. The oceans cover two-thirds of the surface of the earth. In spite of the fact that large areas will be within the national jurisdiction of coastal States, there remains an immense area of sea-bed and ocean floor which, it is hoped, will be affirmed to be the common heritage of mankind, as foreseen in the first resolutions of the General Assembly setting out the terms of reference of the Conference. I have no doubt, unfortunately, that the founding fathers of this grand design have been disappointed, even though much has been achieved and there is still a strong likelihood that a comprehensive law of the sea will be agreed upon.

226. Yet the slow pace the Conference and the complex disputes which have repeatedly delayed its success give us serious cause for worry. Considering what is at stake—the rule of law over two-thirds of the globe—I find that the matter should be raised to the highest political level in order to secure positive results from the long work already performed by ambassadors and experts, great as their achievement has been. Anarchy on the oceans would cause innumerable conflicts and immense damage, not least to the poorer nations. The successful conclusion of the Conference next year is vital and should most certainly be given the highest priority.

227. Many phases of the work of the Conference have already been successfully concluded. The consensus reached on important matters has already brought about widespread practice which is unchallenged, in spite of the lack of an agreed and ratified comprehensive treaty. In this category we can place most points concerning national maritime limits, which a large number of States have affirmed in their national legislation.

228. The vital interests of Iceland have throughout the last 30 years dictated that my country should be in the forefront in this field. Our next step will be comprehensive national legislation confirming the 200-mile economic zone, extending the breadth of the territorial sea from 4 to 12 miles, establishing measures for the preservation of the marine environment, and dealing with other related subjects. Such legislation will be discussed in the Government and Parliament of Iceland in the near future.

229. Permit me to return to the relatively short history of the United Nations by calling attention to the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights before the end of this Assembly session.

230. This Declaration, coming so soon after the Charter itself, is one of the milestones in the work of the United Nations. Like the Ten Commandments of the Christian religion it has been and still is an inspirational guide to many; it has also caused fear and worry to those who trespass against it, but I am sorry to say it has been ignored and unrespected by far too many.

231. The fight for human rights has been gaining momentum, and at the same time it has increased our awareness of the formidable work that remains undone in this field. We

all know that torture is practised more or less in scores of countries belonging to this Organization, and we must not rest until that blemish on mankind is erased. We know that thousands of people have been imprisoned for political reasons, for trade union activity or religious beliefs in a number of countries, and they are kept behind bars or in concentration camps, often without trial. This in the long run is an intolerable state of affairs. We know that racism and racial discrimination are not only practised widely, but are in some countries an official policy. In the fight against this, Assembly resolutions have been abundant but results are so far altogether too meagre. We know that other human rights, civil and political, economic, social and cultural, are widely abused.

232. We must, on the occasion of the coming anniversary of the Declaration, rededicate ourselves and renew our efforts. Without the basic human rights there can be no individual freedom—and without individual freedom we shall never realize the central goals of the United Nations Charter.

233. Talk of human rights directs our attention to the southernmost part of Africa, where racism, inequality and injustice are the very basis of social structures in which relatively small minorities oppress large majorities among the population. The pressure of the United Nations in this area must be increased and directed towards fair solutions and national freedom, without which this region might well plunge into armed conflict on a large scale.

234. We must continue to condemn the policy of *apartheid* practised in South Africa and all that goes with that ominous system of suppression and inequity. International pressure in various forms must be increased in order to bring to an end this system and send that country on the way towards a just and equal society serving all its races.

235. We trust that developments in Namibia will, in spite of temporary setbacks, continue and lead that country towards independence and majority rule in the near future. We hope that free elections under United Nations auspices will ensure equal opportunity to all groupings, certainly including SWAPO. This must be followed by substantial economic aid for build-up and development. The vital port of Walvis Bay must certainly be an integral part of Namibia.

236. The swift movement of events in Zimbabwe has again taken a turn for the worse and caused disappointment to all those who hope for majority rule in that country. Renewed efforts to bring all parties to agreement on a peaceful transition must be made, but in the meantime present sanctions must be effectively maintained.

237. The people of Iceland have in their past a long history under colonial rule. We know from our experience that freedom and independence do not of themselves bring a sudden reversal of conditions, and they do not instantly abolish poverty. But we certainly know that independence does kindle a national spirit and give nations new and further unknown strength for progress. But one ruling class must not be replaced by another, one kind of inequality and injustice must never replace another. Only with self-restraint, humanity and education can a suppressed nation rise to a new age and advance to a new future.

238. This we have experienced—and this many other newly independent nations have learned, each in its own way. Quickly acquired material prosperity, even with a high level of education, can bring with it serious difficulties and dangers of losing again the self-determination so precious to us all. Multinational corporations, moneylenders and even powerful international institutions can—if we do not watch out—stealthily replace the more obvious colonial masters of the past. Individual nations must in this modern age exercise internally moderation and self-discipline if they hope to find those same qualities in the international community. Salvation must, as always, begin at home.

239. It is obvious that history has favoured some nations more than others, whatever the causes. Some have education, knowledge, technology, industry and abundance, while the fate of others has been overpopulation, poverty, disease and a widespread lack of education. In the highly developed countries we all share, to a differing degree, the opinion that the prosperous must give up a considerable share of their wealth to aid those who are poorer or less fortunate.

240. We are yet to see this same philosophy firmly enough established in the relationships of nations. We must continue on this path and we must soon obtain much greater results than we have so far. It is not for me to say what are the right methods; direct aid, rising prices of raw materials or whatever. Let me only remind the Assembly that giving a starving man a fish you give him a meal; but teach him how to fish, and you have given him a livelihood.

241. It does not befit the delegation of a small, unarmed nation like Iceland to venture to give to others advice on technical military matters, but I must voice our deep concern over the lack of progress made in the field of disarmament, especially as regards the monstrosities of mass destruction, poised and pointed at population centres with their infinite over-kill capacity. We are also disappointed at the slow progress of talks on mutual force reductions in the field of conventional arms.

242. Two aspects of this question I must mention with emphasis. First, it is downright tragic to see developing nations use vast amounts of money out of their limited resources for the purchase of arms, thus keeping the military industrial complex both pleased and prosperous. This, most obviously, is taking bread from the hungry and medicine from the sick; that is one of the most disconcerting aspects of the armaments race.

243. The second point concerns again the vast ocean. There is in progress an immense and growing arms race in the naval, commercial shipping, fishing and research fields, all for military purposes. Showing the flag in every port around the globe, as the super-Powers do, is only one indication of a new form of imperialism. It is tragic indeed when submarines loaded with nuclear rockets are constantly creeping over ancient fishing banks and the trawler-men can expect to catch electronic devices in their nets. All of this most certainly counteracts the good work being done by the Conference on the Law of the Sea, where there has been manifested a great desire for preserving the marine environment, protecting living resources for maximum allowable yields to feed mankind, protecting commerce, and increasing human knowledge for peaceful ends.

244. Once again we are faced with the acute and highly dangerous situation in the Middle East. We have supported the efforts of the United Nations to establish just, equitable and lasting peace in the area. The latest developments, which culminated in the discussions at Camp David, are to my mind a step in the right direction. I want to thank all those involved and express admiration for the statesmanship and courage shown. I hope that this effort will enhance the work of the United Nations, and I again pledge the support of the Icelandic delegation.

245. There are a great many more problems on the agenda of this Assembly and pending in the chancelleries of the world, although I shall not take time to discuss them. I have kept mostly to the subjects that primarily concern the Icelandic people and on which we are, perhaps, capable of making useful contributions. But we shall listen with care to those who are more competent on other matters before we decide how to use our valuable vote in this Assembly.

246. Let us remember that most of our problems are man-made and can be solved by man, given the necessary goodwill. Let us in these halls attempt preventive diplomacy, finding and settling potential disputes before they become acute problems. Let us to this end engage in candid debate without recrimination. Let us ever remember that we are not only solving the problems of our own age; we are here making the future.

247. The people of Iceland believe in peace with freedom, justice and equality for nations and individuals.

248. The United Nations journey of a thousand leagues started with a single step, but we are under way, distant though the goals may seem.

249. The delegation of Iceland wishes the United Nations continued and growing success under its able Secretary-General. We wish for a successful session of the General Assembly under the President's distinguished and able leadership.

250. Mr. CHRISTOPHERSEN (Denmark): May I first of all congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I wish him every success in his high office and assure him of my delegation's full co-operation.

251. Secondly, I take great pleasure in joining previous speakers in extending a most cordial welcome to Solomon Islands as the one hundred fiftieth and newest Member of the world Organization.

252. Representing my Government here for the first time, I should like to point out that the foreign policy of Denmark is solidly based on a broad parliamentary majority reflecting a deep belief in the basic values and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

253. Our membership in the United Nations is therefore regarded as a corner-stone of Danish foreign policy, and we see the world Organization as a unique instrument for bringing us closer to the overriding goal: a world at peace based on greater respect for the individual and his fundamental needs.

254. In this connexion I wish also to stress the great importance we attach to the role of the Secretary-General and his staff.

255. The United Nations was founded upon a recognition of the joint responsibility of the great Powers for the maintenance of peace in the world, and, although the trend today is towards the increased involvement of the whole world community, the role of the world's most powerful States is still crucial. The general recognition of this is clearly brought out by the attention which all nations devote to the development of the relationship between the United States of America and the USSR. The Danish Government is pleased to note the increased co-operation between the two in many all-important fields. For obvious reasons we are, however, observing with particular interest the efforts to control and reduce the ongoing arms race. It is our sincere hope that an agreement resulting from the second series of SALT can be concluded in the very near future, and that it will be followed by an agreement concluded as a result of the third series and involving a true reduction in the weapon arsenals of the two military super-Powers.

256. Deliberate efforts to achieve détente have had an important impact on the easing of the tensions between East and West stemming from the Second World War. We are satisfied that the process of détente is developing. But we must admit that progress has not been as marked as we had hoped it would be and that certain problems have emerged in the development of détente.

257. In the area of arms control little progress has been achieved, and that includes the talks on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Central Europe, although we have recently noted certain openings in those talks. Further progress in the military field is of the utmost importance if we are to keep the détente process going. This was one of the main reasons for the active Danish participation in the United Nations' tenth special session on disarmament and our strong emphasis on the follow-up of that high-level meeting.

258. It is essential that the process of détente be of significance to the individual citizen. As the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe goes on, Denmark will continue its efforts to this end.

259. The East-West conflict must not spread to continents and countries which had nothing to do with its origin. Such an extension not only undermines détente and its credibility in general, but also is harmful to the countries concerned, since it prevents a genuine solution of the urgent problems of the third world. I am, therefore, in full agreement with the views expressed on this point by the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/33/I, sect. II]. In my view, solutions to these problems must be found on a regional level without intervention from outside. But world peace cannot be secured only by the super-Powers: all nations have an important responsibility in this respect. It is of particular importance that the People's Republic of China is taking an increasingly active part in international co-operation within the framework of the United Nations and elsewhere. Denmark has always tried to develop a positive co-operation with all countries, irrespective of their political,

economic, and social systems. We are, therefore, most pleased every time we see yet another nation intensifying its participation in international co-operation. We view such a development as a useful and constructive attitude towards the problems which we all face, and which can be solved only if we work together without fear, suspicion or resentment.

260. The world scene should not, however, be viewed only in political terms. Economic problems are gaining increasing prominence. When last year the General Assembly adopted resolution 32/174 it was felt that a framework had been provided for the continuation of the North-South dialogue within the United Nations system. It is most regrettable that at the outset of this session we must face the fact that the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 has not been able to function as we had expected. What has gone wrong? Did we expect the Committee to do too much at a time? Did we try to find compromise language where no compromise did in fact exist? These are among the questions to which we must try to find the answers during this session. A prerequisite for solving the problems surrounding the Committee is, however, that all parties demonstrate the necessary political will.

261. The Danish Government finds it of overriding importance that solutions be found to the grave economic problems of the developing countries. In this context, my Government remains of the belief that effective management of the process towards the establishment of a new and more equitable international economic order is essential.

262. The continuing world-wide economic stagnation has made progress towards a new international economic order more difficult, but not less urgent. The developing countries have been affected even more severely than the industrialized countries. However, the growing recognition of interdependence in the world economy offers new hope for intensified international co-operation for the benefit of all nations, taking into consideration, of course, the national differences in economic capability and the special needs of the developing countries.

263. Viewed in this perspective, it is the achievement of concrete results of the North-South dialogue which is of importance. The progress made during the past year should therefore not be overlooked. I find it very positive that it proved possible at the meeting in March of the Trade and Development Board, at ministerial level, to reach agreement on a resolution on the debt and development problems of developing countries [see A/33/15, part two, annex I, resolution 165 (S-LX)].

264. In this connexion I should like to underline that the Danish Government made it clear already at that time that we were prepared to enter into negotiations with individual developing countries concerning adjustment of the conditions of past official development assistance with a view to finding the most appropriate solution in each case.

265. Other important aspects of the North-South dialogue will be taken up in the near future.

266. It has become widely accepted that stabilization of commodity prices would strengthen the economies of

developing countries and at the same time facilitate the planning and production policies of the importing countries. Price stabilization would thereby contribute to renewed economic growth for all countries. I sincerely hope that the negotiations on the common fund which are to be resumed in November of this year will lead to positive conclusions on the important elements and thereby give renewed impetus to the negotiations under the Integrated Programme for Commodities.¹⁸ Denmark has already expressed its support of the principles that financing of the common fund must include direct government contributions, and that the fund must have capacity to assist in financing not only stocking but also "other measures".

267. Science and technology play an important role in the development process. Next year's United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development should aim at intensifying the international co-operation in this area. One important aspect would be to strengthen the scientific and technological infrastructures of developing countries so as to enable these countries to develop a technology reflecting their own needs and priorities.

268. The economic recession has increased the pressure for protectionism to the detriment of all nations participating in world trade, developed and developing countries alike. It is, therefore, extremely important to reach an early and successful conclusion of the multilateral trade negotiations within GATT. A successful outcome would mean a confirmation of our commitment to maintain an open world trading system. It would also make for a better integration of the developing countries into this system on the basis of special and preferential treatment.

269. In our opinion there should be a special set-up within the United Nations framework for discussion of global energy issues. We are convinced that such a dialogue would be of benefit to both developing and developed countries. We have therefore noted with interest Economic and Social Council resolution 1978/61, which recommends to the General Assembly that it convene a conference on new and renewable sources of energy at the earliest possible date.

270. During its last session the Trade and Development Board was able to approve a provisional agenda for the fifth session of UNCTAD. My Government is prepared to participate constructively at that session with a view to broadening the area of understanding and reaching agreement on as many as possible of the important issues which are to be discussed in Manila.

271. It remains a fact that for many years to come the poorest developing countries in particular will have to rely strongly on external resources in the form of official development assistance. When the present International Development Strategy was adopted [resolution 2626 (XXV)] a target of 0.7 per cent was set. At this juncture, when we are approaching the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade, there seems to be very little basis for optimism concerning the possibility of

meeting the target. As expressed in the communiqué of the ministerial meeting of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, held in June, we have noted with much regret the disappointing over-all recent level of aid flows. Denmark, for its part, finds that very regrettable, but we are determined to fulfil the 0.7 per cent commitment and expect to meet the target by 1979.

272. New and interesting proposals on how to increase non-concessional flows from developed to developing countries, in particular through private investment, have been brought to the attention of the international community during the past year, but it is important to emphasize that efforts to that end should in no way detract from the efforts of developed countries to augment their official assistance.

273. A significant part of Denmark's development assistance is channelled through UNDP. We appreciate the extremely important work which is being carried out by UNDP and so we welcome the recent increases in the contributions of some major donors. We feel, however, that we are still far from equitable burden-sharing in contributions to UNDP. We feel also that a more stable resource basis should be ensured for the programme by way of contributions over a multiyear period.

274. Turning to some of the more specific political problems before the General Assembly, the conflict in the Middle East continues to be one of the most serious issues, if not the most serious one. That is due both to the human suffering involved and to the dangers which the conflict poses to world peace. By the General Assembly's adoption in 1947 of the partition plan for Palestine [resolution 181 (II)], the world community assumed a commitment to the existence of the State of Israel. At the same time it also assumed a responsibility towards the Palestinians. Against that background the Danish Government has throughout the years advocated a just and lasting over-all settlement of the Middle East conflict, taking account of the rights and concerns of all the interested parties. Peace cannot be secured through the acquisition of territory or solely by military means. It requires of all parties concerned foresight and a bold reappraisal, mutual understanding and a will to co-operate.

275. Together with our Western partners, the Danish Government supports the ongoing peace efforts in the Middle East. We hope that the outcome of the Camp David meetings, courageously convened by President Carter, will be a further major step on the path to a just, comprehensive and lasting peace and that all parties concerned will find it possible to join in the process to contribute to that end. Denmark will lend its strong support to all efforts to achieve such a peace.

276. The situation in Lebanon also presents a very serious problem. Together with our partners in the European Community, Denmark has wholeheartedly supported President Sarkis's persistent efforts to safeguard the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, as well as his efforts to re-establish peace and security in the country.

277. Denmark has for a long time been deeply committed to the attainment of independence for all former colonies

¹⁸ See *Proceedings of the United Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

and to the elimination of racial discrimination, and we have worked actively for those goals in the United Nations and elsewhere. It is thus a matter of great concern to my country that the problems in southern Africa remain unsolved. These conflicts often manifest themselves in horrible and repugnant human suffering. Such acts of violence must be condemned, but they will not disappear until the fundamental causes behind the conflicts have been eliminated.

278. If the present régime in Salisbury does not realize very soon that time is rapidly running out, it is hard to see how a dangerous escalation can be avoided. It is our hope that the Anglo-American initiative,¹⁹ together with the efforts of African States, will bring all the parties to the negotiating table, because only there can a peaceful, balanced and internationally acceptable solution be worked out.

279. At the same time we noted with relief the apparently very positive and important developments with regard to Namibia, which made us believe that there was substantive cause for optimism and hope. In fact we expected Namibia to provide evidence that peaceful settlements of conflicts stemming from colonialism and racism were within reach. Security Council resolution 431 (1978) of 27 July 1978 appeared to clear the way to the implementation of the proposal worked out by the five Western members of the Security Council [S/12636] in close collaboration with the parties directly involved. It would indeed be deplorable and condemnable if South Africa really chose to revert to a policy of confrontation with the United Nations in this matter. It would indeed be irresponsible and dangerous to promote an arrangement which would not be internationally acceptable. Certainly Pretoria cannot have said the last word in this matter.

280. We are still eagerly waiting for the implementation of the proposal of the five and for the report of the Secretary-General [S/12827] to be carried out promptly and correctly and Denmark is ready, in accordance with our traditional principles, to provide personnel to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group. We are prepared also to support an internationally accepted, independent Namibia in its economic build-up and development.

281. I should like to pay a tribute to the efforts of the African States and peoples concerned aimed at supporting negotiated and internationally acceptable solutions for Namibia and Zimbabwe. Without their constructive efforts, prospects for peace would have been rather bleak.

282. Denmark continues to condemn the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, and we find it necessary to bring increased pressure to bear on South Africa with the aim of eliminating the *apartheid* system. The historic decision of the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) on a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa met a long-standing Danish desire. But it is hardly sufficient to convince the South Africans that they must accept a non-racial system with equal rights for all. Their *apartheid* system not only violates all our

principles and ideals; it is also dangerous and a threat to international peace. The Danish Government put the mandatory arms embargo into force a long time ago and, together with our Nordic neighbours as well as with our partners within the European Community, we have taken steps to intensify our pressure on the South African régime.

283. Before turning to the last point of my statement, I should like to underline Denmark's strong support of all efforts to suppress international terrorism. My Government fully supports all realistic initiatives taken within the United Nations or in other forums to prevent and to combat international acts of violence, hijacking of civil aircraft and the taking of hostages by which human life is endangered.

284. Finally, I want to comment on a matter which is intimately linked to the work of this Organization. I am referring to the thirtieth anniversary this year of the adoption by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)] which recognizes:

"...the inherent dignity and... the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family [as] the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world".

285. During these 30 years the implementation of human rights has attained increasing prominence in international politics and international co-operation, and is now being considered a continued task at the national, as well as regional and international levels. It is also generally accepted that improvements in this respect are badly needed. Daily reports of repeated and gross violations of human rights in many countries all over the world testify to that.

286. It is noteworthy, however, that Governments as well as international organizations, non-governmental organizations and individuals, are showing increasing concern about violations of human rights, be they civil and political rights, on the one hand, or economic, social and cultural rights on the other.

287. The fact that economic, social and cultural rights have been recognized on a par with the traditional civil and political rights implies, in the view of my country, a human outlook that not only respects the right of the individual to assert himself; it also implies genuine obligations towards fellow men. Both categories of human rights need to be guaranteed as essential parts of an integral whole where human beings enjoy simultaneously freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want.

288. Having touched upon only a few important issues, I cannot help thinking of the many other problems which likewise demand our attention. We may have different priorities, different approaches and different proposals for solutions, but we have to be realistic. We have to acknowledge publicly that we may only be able to solve a few of those problems before we meet here next year. We cannot continue to use inflated rhetoric thereby implying that this year there is somehow, miraculously, cause for special optimism. If we continue to speak like that we shall lose the confidence of the public. Action is needed if the

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

public is not to grow cynical about the United Nations and its possibilities of solving problems. That, in our view, would be disastrous.

289. We must not forget our goals and objectives, and we must always try to accomplish them. In that spirit of realistic idealism I should like to pledge that Denmark will do its utmost to assist in promoting the principle that conflicts and disputes must be solved through a constructive dialogue and peaceful negotiations, and in finding realistic ways to eliminate injustice, inequalities and outdated privileges among the peoples of the world.

290. Mr. AKAKPO-AHIANYO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): For 30 years the nations have been sending their representatives to meet in this palatial building, which has, as a result, become a place for dialogue and discussion among men of goodwill in the quest for peace in political affairs, unity in the struggle against hunger and malnutrition, solidarity in the distribution of the wealth of the world which has, alas, become the close field of war, egotism and division.

291. The international community, today as yesterday, is unfortunately confronted with tests of every kind, and the purpose of our gathering is to search for solutions to crises dangerously threatening peace and security in the world.

292. The thirty-third session of the General Assembly of our Organization opens at a time when the representatives gathered here in full solemnity focus the thoughts they voice on the vital issues disrupting the world today.

293. The Togolese delegation has come, as in the past, to make a positive contribution to those ideas.

294. Before proceeding further, I should like, however, to avail myself of the opportunity afforded by this lofty rostrum to congratulate Mr. Liévano most warmly on his election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. By entrusting to him the burdens and responsibility of conducting its work, the General Assembly has sought to pay a tribute both to his abilities as a consummate diplomat and, through him, to his country and his distinguished President, who has succeeded in a short time in forging the destiny of his people and in transforming man's creative freedom into continued incitement to integration of the country's productive forces, and who continues to play a positive and important role in the international arena in the constant search for peace, unity and solidarity among the peoples of the world and in the relations among States.

295. Therefore, we are proud to affirm our conviction that the General Assembly's present deliberations will have a happy outcome. The Togolese delegation will collaborate in the accomplishment of this exalting but difficult task.

296. The outgoing President, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, imparted a high decorum to the debates of the thirty-second regular session and the three special sessions that followed. He showed in full measure his competence as the accomplished diplomat that we all know him to be. That is why I wish to take this opportunity to convey to him our most heartfelt congratulations.

297. Allow me also to tender to Mr. Kurt Waldheim the congratulations of the Togolese Government on his unremitting efforts and ceaseless endeavours for peace in the world, where, regrettably, dangerous hotbeds of tension still exist. We pay to the Secretary-General our sincere tribute for his highly commendable action.

298. May I also be permitted to salute, on behalf of the Government and people of Togo, Solomon Islands, which we welcome in our midst as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of our Organization.

299. This year again the world views with anxiety the recrudescence of the points of crisis in the world. Security, peace and co-operation are again threatened, and the international community stands helpless before the evils that beset it. In its disarray it turns its eyes towards our Organization.

300. The United Nations must rediscover the necessary resources, the indispensable impetus, that will help it remove the causes of the many convulsions tearing our contemporary world asunder. It must first persuade all Member States fully to assume their responsibilities and to give proof of a political will powerful enough to transcend their differences, in order to concentrate all the required attention on the grave issues afflicting the world today, which are capable of affecting international peace and security unless appropriate solutions are found.

301. The world today is an interdependent world, and it urgently needs peace, unity and solidarity in order to devote its energies to the international co-operation that is becoming each day more indispensable.

302. In this connexion, it is regrettable to note that the world, far from having understood the need for that co-operation, stands complacently by while useless hotbeds of tension grow in numbers, thus creating a flagrant contradiction between the desire of the peoples of the world for peace, unity and solidarity and the permanent state of belligerence which hangs over our world.

303. The problems of southern Africa, the Western Sahara, the Middle East and Korea are involved in that contradiction.

304. In southern Africa the paralysing indecision of the principal Powers involved in the settlement of the crisis there and their obvious inability to assume their responsibilities vis-à-vis the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, who still languish under the abject yoke of colonialism, have engendered the suffering and rebellion of millions of human beings who ask only to live in freedom, peace and unity with all the other peoples of the region.

305. The delaying tactics of Ian Smith, at bay in Zimbabwe, undoubtedly reflect the insolence of a man accustomed never to look truth in the face. The negative attitude of the leaders of the white minority in that country cannot but strengthen the international community's support for the national movement which struggle to regain their freedom. The increasingly deceitful tactics used by Ian Smith should lead us to impose a stricter application and more consistent implementation of the

sanctions against his régime. They are an additional reason why we should call on the Patriotic Front to be more vigilant in ensuring its ranks a greater unity, transcending internal differences, in order to face the common enemy—namely, the racist minority régime in Salisbury.

306. In Namibia, Pretoria stubbornly endeavours by successive twists and turns to delay the accession of that country to full sovereignty, and tries, by rearguard actions, to take Walvis Bay away from Namibia, thus seeking to deal a serious blow at the territorial integrity of that country. The international community should no longer remain powerless but should do everything in its power to ensure the application in its entirety of the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the ninth special session on Namibia [resolution S-9/2]. By so doing, it will renew its support for the freedom fighters of SWAPO, the sole representative of the Namibian people, which is struggling for freedom and the integrity and independence of that country.

307. The situation in South Africa has scarcely changed since our last regular session. It is obvious to the international community that the inhuman *apartheid* régime continues to hold sway with all its shameless cynicism and barbarity.

308. How long must the international community endure the affronts of the heinous Pretoria régime, which persists in defying the whole world by its retrograde racist policy and in multiplying its acts of provocation and aggression against the peaceful population of the neighbouring States?

309. The Togolese Government has never failed to uphold the view that *apartheid* will not die a natural death and that, as long as the economic and political sanctions adopted by our Organization and many international conferences are not fully applied by all States, the racist minority will continue to subject the black majority to oppression and inhuman torture.

310. In this connexion, we note with regret that certain Member States have expressed their refusal to give the recent Geneva World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination the full weight that it deserves.

311. While the large majority of the peoples of the world suffer from malnutrition, disease and other scourges, we see certain Powers involved in an unbridled armaments race involving ever more sophisticated weapons.

312. This race has led them to perfect devices capable of killing man and sparing the environment.

313. What does this diabolical refinement mean if it is to preserve an environment without a soul? This is the problem posed by the discovery of the neutron bomb. The fact that mankind has had to start a debate on its own survival, as threatened by its own discoveries, reflects the anguish in which millions of human beings live. It is more indicative of a state of decadence than of a necessary stage in the progress of mankind.

314. The neutron bomb raises a problem of conscience for the whole of mankind. Thus human life is relegated to the lowest level in the scale of values.

315. It is in this context that South Africa, of whose bellicose attitude based on racial hatred everyone is aware, is also trying to acquire nuclear weapons.

316. The height of absurdity is that in this Satanic undertaking South Africa, the kingdom of *apartheid*, enjoys the goodwill and co-operation of countries which are well placed to draw the lessons of history and to measure the dreadful consequences of war.

317. Our Organization is now at a crossroads and its responsibility has increased tenfold. It must ensure scrupulous respect for the territorial integrity of States. It must defend all countries, large and small. That is why the Togolese Government is profoundly convinced that France, in agreement with the international community, will assume its responsibility to ensure, in regard to the Comorian island of Mayotte, respect for the principle of the territorial integrity of States Members of our Organization, and will enable the young Republic of Comoros resolutely to tackle its urgent development problems.

318. With respect to the Western Sahara, we hope that reason will prevail, that the initiatives to be taken on the basis of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination will lead to positive results and that peace will return to that region.

319. The Togolese Government, which has always supported the principle of self-determination of peoples, again proclaims its resolute opposition to the unlawful occupation of foreign territories by other States.

320. Israel's obstinacy in occupying by force the territories of other States in the Middle East represents inadmissible contempt for the sacred principles of our Organization's Charter. The situation of latent war that results is an almost permanent threat to international peace and security. As long as the Arab and Palestinian territories remain occupied, the imperialist expansionist policy pursued by Israel as it tramples underfoot the principles of our Organization will be rejected by the large majority of States. The Togolese Government subscribes to the idea of there being a resumption of the dialogue between all the parties concerned, with the effective participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which must recover its national inalienable rights, and first and foremost its right to a homeland.

321. That is why the international community must bring Israel to reason in order that it may weigh the seriousness of the situation prevailing in the Middle East and work in all good faith for a return to peace in that part of the world in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and other United Nations bodies.

322. Similarly, the search for a peaceful solution to the Cyprus question necessarily involves the implementation of Security Council resolution 365 (1974) and General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) by the two communities living in that State. But the implementation of those decisions can be effective only if there is an immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cyprus followed by the adoption of specific measures to facilitate the return to the island of all refugees.

323. Thus it is obvious that the Togolese Government encourages the resumption of negotiations between the Greek and Turkish communities under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

324. With respect to the problem of the Far East, we reaffirm our firm opposition to manoeuvres designed to impose recognition of the fait accompli of the fictitious creation of two Korean entities. We again express our total support for the Korean people as a whole in their just struggle for the peaceful reunification and independence of their country.

325. It is also in conformity with its credo "Peace, union and solidarity" that Togo supports the Indian Ocean being a zone of peace outside the military rivalry of the great Powers.

326. We have the impression that certain Powers take pleasure in setting mankind on the road to self-destruction. We fail to understand their vicious tendency to play with the fire of war and the arms race.

327. The international community must bring the armaments merchants to reason. It was with every justification that, at its tenth special session devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly insisted that to be lasting peace must necessarily be based on full disarmament in order to halt the unbridled, senseless arms race that would lead to a holocaust, and relieve mankind from the terrible threat of a calamity that has long been hanging over our heads.

328. This need to halt the arms race is all the more urgent because the world economic situation has languished since the oil crisis of 1973.

329. Mr. President, in your remarkable inaugural address [1st meeting] you made an especially brilliant, realistic and edifying analysis of the international economic situation.

330. The situation of the developing countries continues to deteriorate. While in all international forums there is unanimity on the need to replace the old economic order with a spectrum of more coherent and better organized relations that effectively reflect the concerns of the large majority of mankind, the solutions advocated thus far remain inoperative because the wealthy countries continue at all costs to endeavour to safeguard their selfish interests by putting a brake on any attempt to speed up the establishment of a new, more equitable and hence more just international economic order.

331. It is true that goodwill has been shown throughout the world. There has been intensive activity, and research has been undertaken in many areas, making it possible to identify possible areas for the development of the world in the next few years. The majority of the conclusions arrived at in those studies show an accentuation of the imbalances between the "haves" and the "have-nots". The frustrations resulting from such a development may well compromise the possibility of a dialogue and will certainly lead the rich and the poor countries into a confrontation the consequences of which cannot be foreseen. International economic relations, the transfer of technology, financial

flows and the terms of trade may, unless we are careful, be aggravated and may disrupt the world even further.

332. It is more than urgent to find a rapid solution to the crisis in the international monetary system, which was seriously shaken in 1971. This state of affairs is of particular concern to the countries of the third world because of the serious harm it causes their development. In fact, the monetary instability with which the world appears to live complacently is detrimental to the developing countries and causes losses in hard currency that are accentuated through unchecked speculative movements.

333. The serious deterioration in their balance of payments has considerably minimized, sometimes drastically, their possibilities of development. That is why they have become aware of the need to abandon the obsolete mechanisms that have thus far governed international economic relations. They are now seeking solutions likely to put an end to disorder and the confusion that has characterized world economic relations, in order to prepare together the course to be followed in the future within a more balanced economic order. That is why the countries of the third world have undertaken intensive activities of concentration in order to affirm, more adequately than in the past, the interdependent nature of their development, so as to reduce their dependency on the developed world. Their solidarity and determination have been underscored on a number of occasions, especially at the three most recent meetings of UNCTAD and in other international forums.

334. This solidarity has already, following the oil crisis of 1973, at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly in April and May 1974 and at the seventh special session in September 1975, led to the adoption of the historic resolutions on the establishment of a new international economic order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI), 3202 (S-VI) and 3362 (S-VII)], creating the framework for the application of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

335. Equity, equality, sovereignty, interdependence and co-operation among all States—the slogan of the new international economic order—remain deadlocked within the attempts to give them effect because of the stubborn insistence of rich countries on tinkering with the situation.

336. So long as the imbalance between the "haves" and the "have-nots" continues peace, unity and solidarity among peoples will not exist.

337. Peoples want progress and not an obstinate race towards the destruction of mankind. The peoples of the world aspire to serenity, quiet and peace in order to construct a better world. They do not want the world to be destroyed by these deadly weapons. The peoples of the world want to safeguard the human community, not to reduce it to chaos through Satanic discoveries. Yes, men want peace to ensure their full development. Yes, men want to live in unity to combat the scourges, calamities and disasters that beset mankind. They do not want to destroy human life and not, scattered and isolated, to confront the innumerable difficulties and obstacles to human life.

338. Yes, men aspire to a common approach to the resources of the world and condemn the obsolete selfishness shamelessly advocated by some to the detriment of the interests of the majority of the peoples of the world.

339. Peace, union, solidarity: this is the moving appeal of the people of Togo and of its leader, General Gnassingbé Eyadéma, to all the peoples of the earth, so that together we may build the world of tomorrow, a world in which there is no spectre of war, division or selfishness.

340. Mrs. SÖDER (Sweden): May I first congratulate the President most warmly on his election to preside over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. His merits, which are well known to all of us are a true guarantee that this session will perform its work effectively under his distinguished leadership.

341. I also wish to express to the outgoing President, Mr. Mojsov, my deep appreciation of his very valuable and skilful work during our last regular session, as well as during three special sessions of the General Assembly in the course of this year.

342. I should like also to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his dedicated and untiring efforts and his invaluable contributions to the attainment of our common goals. I wish to assure him of my country's full support.

343. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we find it particularly gratifying to extend a warm welcome to Solomon Islands on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations. My delegation is looking forward to fruitful co-operation with it within this Organization.

344. Mankind has always longed for peace, freedom and well-being. But human history is strewn with wars, suffering and poverty. After unspeakable tribulations which culminated in the Second World War, the United Nations became the embodiment of the great ideal of co-operation among nations for the creation of a better life for all people on our earth. We sometimes meet with seemingly insurmountable obstacles in our work at the United Nations. They must, however, never discourage us from hoping that progress can be made towards attaining this ideal. The United Nations has the potential to serve as an invaluable instrument in our efforts to create a better world. The result will depend on our will to use this instrument and on how we use it.

345. But we see how conflicts and repression are still causing terrible suffering in various parts of the world. Racial oppression in South Africa is still a disgrace to the international community. The guns still speak in the Middle East and in many other areas. All over the world people are being persecuted, imprisoned and tortured on account of their opinions. Billions of dollars are being wasted on armaments while hundreds of millions of people are living in deepest misery. A large proportion of our earth's limited resources is being used to increase the affluence of the wealthy. At the same time mass poverty is constantly spreading.

346. The dark side of the picture is only too obvious. But it must not overshadow the brighter features which in fact exist and which we must protect and develop. International co-operation both within and outside the United Nations is more nearly universal, more intensive and more diversified than ever before. A web of international co-operation is slowly being woven.

347. Nowadays everyone condemns the use of ~~war~~ as a political instrument. The realization that the détente process must continue and broaden is gaining an ever stronger foothold. A new awareness is emerging that we all, small nations and large nations, poor and rich, are dependent upon each other. After all, we live in one and the same world. This has opened up new perspectives for peace efforts and for the management of the world's resources, as well as for international solidarity and the defence of fundamental human rights. Here we all share a common responsibility.

348. To be sure, it is the major Powers that dominate the international political scene, and this places the heaviest burden of responsibility upon them. But the small States, too, can play an important role in the work for peace, non-intervention, détente and equality. The close co-operation between the five Nordic countries has developed and grown in spite of the fact that our countries have chosen different policies of national security. This proves that peaceful and vigorous common action can take the place of the antagonisms and wars of earlier centuries.

349. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, is another manifestation of this endeavour to replace old antagonisms by new co-operation. Much remains to be done before this goal is reached, but a framework has been drawn up that makes it possible to tackle even controversial questions in an open and direct way. A widespread exchange of views has been set in motion. Future co-operation must lead to a comprehensive discussion of all the areas dealt with in the Final Act. The Swedish Government attaches great importance to this. We shall be taking an active part in the preparatory work for the next meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held in Madrid in 1980.

350. Solidarity and co-operation must build on respect for the right of every people to shape its own future, choose its own way. The strong have always been tempted to use force, threats or other means to impose their will on the weak. History abounds in examples of this kind. The small States can play a role as a counterweight to the strength of the great. We must not hesitate to use the means we have at our disposal to support a people which stands out against oppression and the violation of human rights. The goal of solidarity and co-operation must always be the well-being of the individuals. For instance, the principle of non-intervention must never be taken to mean a limitation of the right to call attention to breaches of fundamental United Nations principles.

351. Racial discrimination must be fought wherever it arises. Symptoms of racial discrimination are present all over the world. We must all be constantly on guard against such tendencies. But there is one country where not only

are flagrant and shocking violations of human rights tolerated, but racial discrimination has become the basis of an ideology and of law. South Africa's *apartheid* system is an affront to all mankind. Removing a few petty superficial signs of racial segregation cannot change the ugly face of *apartheid*. The grim reality is that black people have no political or economic rights. They are forced to live in deplorable conditions in an unjust economic system. Innumerable Africans have to live away from their families. They are tortured and sentenced to death for offences which do not even exist in other countries. History should teach the backers of *apartheid* that attempts to silence a majority by force only strengthens its will to resist.

352. The purpose of the *apartheid* system is to protect the white minority and its privileges. Rhodesia and Namibia are being used as ramparts for this policy. The latest events in Namibia must be seen in this light. Once again the international community has been slapped in the face by Mr. Vorster. By its threat that it alone will proclaim and carry out elections in Namibia, the South African Government has disclosed its real intentions. Obviously it fears the results of a free election in which SWAPO, the leading national movement, would be given the opportunity to participate on equal terms. Talk of the people's free elections at a time when South Africa maintains an overwhelming army of occupation in Namibia is a hollow mockery. Vorster is holding out a ballot paper on the point of a bayonet. The leaders in South Africa are taking upon themselves a heavy responsibility by sentencing the inhabitants of Namibia to renewed and prolonged suffering.

353. We share the deep disappointment which the United Nations and other States must now feel. It seems that the considerable efforts made to arrive at a peaceful solution have been nullified or, at least, gravely jeopardized. Our response to Pretoria that its latest manoeuvre is unacceptable must be clear, unambiguous and unanimous. Even if the prospects today seem to me to be slight, no avenue must remain unexplored for reaching a peaceful and democratic settlement. In this all the parties in Namibia must be able to participate on equal terms. We remain firm in our preparedness to assist the United Nations in its efforts to exert its responsibility as regards Namibia.

354. In the present situation it is urgent that the Nationhood Programme for Namibia be implemented. My Government, together with the other Nordic Governments, is prepared to pledge shortly a substantial contribution to this Programme. We hope that other countries will also support this Programme and thus assist in preparing Namibia for its full independence.

355. The Smith régime in Rhodesia should also by this time have been given unequivocal proof that a continuation of its confrontation policy will bring Rhodesia to disaster. Ever since Smith illegally proclaimed his so-called independence in 1965, one of his key political principles has been to gain time. The "internal settlement", as it is called, the last in a long succession of stratagems, has proved a fiasco. The same fate awaits every measure that does not imply a definitive acceptance of the principle of one man, one vote. Only solutions which are worked out with the full participation of the people of Zimbabwe can be lasting, stable and viable.

356. The external pressure on the Smith régime must be stepped up and the weapon of sanctions be put to effective use. It is deplorable that a number of large multinational oil corporations have betrayed their international duty by circumventing the United Nations sanctions. If all the States Members of the United Nations had observed the Security Council resolution on sanctions, Smith would have been forced to accept an independent majority-ruled Zimbabwe a long time ago.

357. Events taking place in Namibia must not make us forget the fateful drama being enacted in South Africa. The States Members of the United Nations must agree on measures to assist the people in South Africa who are struggling for freedom and justice.

358. The Nordic Governments have for their part agreed on a joint programme of action against South Africa. This includes measures against new investments and sports co-operation, extended assistance to refugees, and the introduction of compulsory visas. The programme will be extended step by step.

359. Sweden and other Nordic countries will continue pressing for a Security Council resolution against new investments in South Africa. Sweden has already taken some action in this respect and is now considering legislation. We shall also explore avenues for winning broad support for other steps, such as stopping financial loans and the transfer of nuclear technology and equipment to South Africa. We shall continue working for binding decisions against all trade, not least in oil, with South Africa.

360. The year proclaimed by the United Nations as International Anti-Apartheid Year is now running. Let us with concerted efforts make it a turning-point in the struggle against this system. This ideology of injustice must now be consigned to history's chamber of horrors.

361. In other parts of the world, major hotbeds of unrest are still unresolved. Millions of people have been driven from their homes for one reason or another. Their suffering continues. We must all seek to alleviate their hardships by means of generous development assistance and refugee policies. The problem is growing and creates an increasingly heavy burden on the many poor countries that have to receive these people. It is the poor and the unprivileged groups in society that suffer most when human and material resources are wasted on war instead of being used for economic and social progress. Therefore, we all share the heavy responsibility of ensuring that the quest for peaceful solutions of these conflicts be intensified.

362. The Middle East has long been afflicted by conflicts and antagonisms. The meeting in Camp David and the peace efforts of President Carter, President El-Sadat and Prime Minister Begin deserve our respect. We sincerely hope that their efforts will initiate a process that ultimately can lead to a comprehensive and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

363. The Swedish Government reiterates its view that the principles contained in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) must be the basis for a final settlement. These principles must be supplemented with the

recognition of the right of the Palestinian Arabs to decide their own future. This includes also the right, if they so wish, to establish their own State living in peace side by side with Israel.

364. Peace in this region can only be durable if it is founded as much on mutual trust as on military security considerations. Otherwise, a settlement can never be more than a cease-fire which compels the peoples to live in continuous anxiety with the constant threat of war breaking out. Israel's existence as a State and its right to live within secure and recognized borders cannot be called into question. Let me add that we emphatically repudiate all attempts to equate Zionism with racism. Such attempts benefit no one.

365. Israel's settlements policy is a grave obstacle to an agreement. We hope that the Sinai settlements will be evacuated. We also hope that this will mark a change in Israel's settlement policy in the other occupied areas. The principle that territories may not be acquired by force must apply unconditionally.

366. The tragic events in Lebanon are a serious reminder to us. They show the urgent need to reach a comprehensive and lasting solution in the Middle East, including a settlement of the Palestinian question.

367. It is extremely important that all parties now exercise restraint. The world must be spared a new spiral of violence, which can definitely shatter the hopes for peace.

368. In the Middle East we see how the development of military arsenals aggravates an already intolerable situation. At the global level the disarmament situation, or rather the arms race, continues to cause serious concern. The tenth special session on disarmament focused world-wide attention on the discrepancy between the arms race and the efforts to achieve disarmament. The arms race gathers momentum, and disarmament efforts have yielded meagre results.

369. One important decision of the special session was to initiate an in-depth study of the relationship between disarmament and development. A first report [A/33/317] has already been delivered to the Secretary-General by the expert group appointed by him.²⁹

370. The special session has given us new machinery. No institutional arrangements can, however, replace decisive efforts for disarmament by the two leading military Powers. Their special responsibility is explicitly confirmed in the Final Document of the special session [resolution S-10/2].

371. The situation as regards the nuclear-arms race and non-proliferation is grave. Therefore, a more concrete programme of action from the special session would have been required. An acceleration of the nuclear-arms race may in fact be imminent. New technologies tend to erode both results and prospects of our disarmament efforts. New methods and fresh initiatives to solve problems must continuously be explored. Progress in nuclear disarmament will require the prompt negotiation of far-reaching

qualitative and quantitative disarmament agreements. This is clearly stated in the Programme of Action of the special session [*ibid.*, sect. III].

372. These tasks have proved difficult in the past. So far it has not been possible to negotiate the renunciation of weapons systems which are available to one super-Power but not to the other. The price of inactivity is rising at an accelerating rate in both political and economic terms. The trends in technology and deployment of nuclear weapons in sensitive regions are increasingly counteractive to détente.

373. The two leading military Powers must reconsider their positions in the disarmament negotiations. The concessions they make may have to be of different types. The strategic positions, political systems and alliance patterns of the two leading Powers and the military blocs differ considerably. Technology restraints and verifications measures are two crucial areas. Decisive and truly constructive action by these Powers is now urgently called for. A follow-up of the Programme of Action adopted at the special session should in our view include the following seven items regarding the arms race.

374. First, a comprehensive test-ban treaty is urgently called for.

375. Secondly, an agreement at the second series of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks must be reached without further delay.

376. Thirdly, the speedy follow-up of the second series of the Talks by a substantial third series agreement is required.

377. The following points are designed to combine political and disarmament measures in the pursuit of real nuclear disarmament.

378. Fourthly, those nuclear-weapon systems which fall outside the Talks must gradually and, if necessary, selectively be included in the framework of existing negotiations. These grey-area systems, as they are called, have been insufficiently dealt with in multilateral negotiations, including the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in central Europe. There are great risks inherent in the continued development and deployment of this large group of nuclear weapons. Among these the neutron weapon and the SS 20 missiles are two worrying examples.

379. Fifthly, efforts to achieve force reductions in central Europe must be intensified. Limitations on the peacetime disposition of military forces and other constraints would constitute important parts of a first-stage agreement in the Vienna talks. Such measures would contribute to longer-term efforts to reduce nuclear weapons in Europe.

380. Sixthly, these efforts should be linked to the attempts to reach agreement on improved confidence-building measures in Europe. This is an important item for the next follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in 1980 in Madrid.

381. Seventhly, it is vital that the leading military Powers start reorienting their military research and development to

²⁹ Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

projects which lend themselves better to arms control. This could substantially facilitate the achievement of negotiated agreements. It could also pave the way for unilateral decisions to observe restraint during periods when negotiated agreements remain out of reach.

382. Arms control assessments of planned new weapons might be more closely related to the international disarmament process. They could in that case facilitate the introduction of relevant weapon issues in different negotiating contexts at the stages of research, development, production and deployment.

383. Let me add that none of these points requires any new negotiating machinery.

384. Our evaluation of the disarmament situation after the special session leads us to propose that the United Nations initiate a new thorough study of nuclear weapons. The study should cover the technical as well as the political aspects of such weapons. It should also include available qualitative as well as quantitative information and factors regarding geographic deployment. Nuclear weapons continue to be the greatest threat to mankind. The appalling spectre of their possible use haunts the minds of people everywhere. The nuclear weapons of a few States affect the security of all States. That is why a new comprehensive study of nuclear weapons is imperative.

385. Sweden's strong and unswerving support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] is well known. We maintain an active interest in any measures which can increase support for the Treaty and the international non-proliferation régime. The prospects of these efforts will largely depend on what happens in the field of nuclear disarmament. A complete test ban and agreements on control and on real reductions in strategic weapons and nuclear weapons could together be seen as important steps to prevent proliferation. The risk of the proliferation of nuclear weapons is also closely linked with the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Therefore, effective full-scope IAEA safeguards and adequate levels of physical protection are important.

386. All States have the right to decide how they can best ensure their energy supplies. Advantage should be taken of the possibilities now provided by alternative sources of energy and improved energy conservation techniques.

387. The issue of conventional weapons and international arms transfers was rightly given more attention at the special session than ever before in the United Nations. We are glad that this issue is now on the agenda and thus can be the subject of serious discussion in the United Nations.

388. The first Preparatory Conference for the United Nations conference on particularly inhumane conventional weapons concluded recently in Geneva. The results justify a reasonable hope that meaningful restrictions on use can be achieved for such categories of weapons. Examples are incendiary weapons, land-mines and perhaps also small calibre projectiles. This opportunity must not be missed by the international community. My Government pledges its full support for continued progress in this field during the coming year.

389. Measures must be taken to increase confidence among States. This would improve the prospects of real reductions of the enormous military arsenals of the leading Powers. This is particularly important considering the present development of the arms race. Greater openness about military budgets is one such measure.

390. The use of enormous human and material resources for military purposes is a grotesque waste and it concerns us all.

391. The earth is the common heritage of all mankind. It could provide us with all the necessities for our health and well-being. We are therefore in duty bound to manage its resources wisely. If we squander these stored resources, we impoverish our descendants. If we poison natural assets with our pollutants, we destroy the very foundation of our existence. As long as the few consume more than their fair share, the majority are consigned to poverty.

392. We cannot claim that we are good stewards of our heritage. Those of us who belong to the privileged few are mainly responsible for the present pollution of the environment and the waste of resources.

393. But many developing countries also are forced by their very poverty to make great inroads into natural assets. The wise management and more equitable distribution of the earth's resources is one of the most pressing tasks facing the international community. This will be made easier by increased employment and a more harmonious growth of the world economy.

394. The world-wide debate on energy sounded the first warning that a new approach to the use of resources is necessary. We know that today's large sources of stored energy—such as coal, oil and uranium—are limited. These sources are also combined with great hazards for the environment and human health. Whole-hearted efforts to improve energy management and find new, environmentally safe and renewable sources of energy are therefore essential. We shall be forced in the future to discuss many other resources in the same way.

395. The United Nations international conferences on food, population and the environment have played a prominent role in drawing the attention of world opinion to these issues. We look forward with great interest to the work now to be done to increase our knowledge of the relationship between population, resources, environment and development. More light needs to be thrown on this. Alternative growth concepts, the sharp rise in resource consumption and the relationship between conservation and waste in the industrialized and developing countries must be dealt with. As part of this work Sweden is prepared to consider financing a United Nations seminar to delineate and give priority to the fields where international expertise is now inadequate. We recommend that the Economic and Social Council should without delay devote special effort to the question of the management and the recycling of natural resources. Broad support for implementing Economic and Social Council resolution 1978/61 on convening a conference on new and renewable sources of energy at the earliest possible moment is also essential.

396. The distribution of resources is as important and urgent as the management of resources. Unfortunately, it is already apparent how little progress in this respect has been made during the Second United Nations Development Decade.

397. We must now seriously start discussing perspectives for the 1980s and thereafter. The substance of a new development strategy still has to be worked out, but the objective is clear: a more equitable distribution of the fruits of the earth's resources between and within States. Awareness of our dependence upon one another must lead to action.

398. Few tasks are more vital for the United Nations than the creation of decent living conditions for all people. But the achievement of this is still remote. According to recent assessments, at least 800 million human beings are living in absolute poverty. That is a frightening figure, but it must not be allowed to give rise to defeatism.

399. Real advances towards satisfying the pressing development needs of the developing countries have, however, been painfully few.

400. The work of clarifying and implementing the concept of a new international economic order must be carried forward. The Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 has as yet not found the role it is to play. Even its September meeting was a disappointment. It is essential that together we find ways for resuming work in the Committee.

401. The undertakings made at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation must not be betrayed. Negotiations on the common fund for commodities must produce results. In the past year, some industrialized countries have given specific undertakings to write off the debts of the poorest countries. It is essential that all industrial countries join in this action.

402. The transfer of resources to the developing countries must be substantially extended. We must try out new ways of doing this, based on the interdependence of the economies of the industrial and the developing countries.

403. Today's economic problems in the industrialized world must not block the efforts to change the international economic systems. On the contrary. We must realize that positive economic development in the poor countries can promote efforts for economic recovery in the industrial countries, too. We should regard the surplus capacity in world industry as a means of satisfying the urgent development requirements of the developing countries, and not only for increasing consumption among the already affluent.

404. A more equitable distribution of resources between countries is essential. So, too, is the more even distribution of resources within the countries. That means between various parts of a country, between town and countryside, between different population groups and between men and women.

405. Human resources are a country's greatest asset and must be used in the right way. We have often been given

gratifying proof of this. Unemployment in the developing countries is one of the gravest and most rapidly growing problems in the world. Increased employment requires an adaptation of technology, among other things. Nothing will be gained by uncritically transplanting economic and technical structures or cultural patterns from industrialized countries to the developing countries.

406. Development assistance must benefit both men and women. Women have far too often been forgotten in development programmes. Women in the developing countries have gained specific knowledge and experience from their work in farming the land and in providing for their families. That must be made useful. Women must be given equal opportunities in education, in health care and other development projects. Preconceived ideas about sex roles must not be allowed to put obstacles in the way of development. An improvement of the situation of women in the developing countries is essential to global justice and solidarity and to economic and social development.

407. The work of preparing a convention on the elimination of discrimination against women must yield positive results without delay. It is essential to create equality between men and women, both in the developing countries and in the industrialized countries.

408. Wherever there is war, poverty and social deprivation, the children are the ones who suffer the most. Improving their lot is one of the most important tasks in our efforts to create a better world. The International Year of the Child in 1979 must be the beginning of a determined campaign with a lasting effect concentrating on the children of the world.

409. The United Nations celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights this year. We are forced to admit that gross violations of this Declaration are committed in many countries. The United Nations Charter and the Declaration oblige us to work together to promote respect for human rights. The wrongs done to individuals or groups within a country cannot, therefore, be regarded as the concern only for the authorities of that country. Here at the United Nations we must strive to develop a system for surveying how Member States fulfil their commitments in this field. Chile is one example of countries where the United Nations must vigorously continue its work to protect human rights.

410. The provisions of the Declaration have gradually been given greater force as its principles have taken the form of conventions that are binding on States. But the fact that States ratify these conventions is not enough. We must also make sure that States honour their undertakings. The international bodies charged with monitoring the observance of conventions therefore fulfil a particularly important function. The Commission on Human Rights has a key role here, of course. It is gratifying to note that the Commission has recently been more willing to discuss specific cases of violation of human rights.

411. We must also work for the ever stronger legal protection of human rights. At this juncture, the highest priority should be given to drawing up a convention against torture.

412. The unanimous support given by last year's session of the General Assembly to the resolution on the protection of political prisoners [resolution 32/121] was gratifying. One category of such prisoners who suffer greatly in many countries are those who are imprisoned on grounds of trade union activity. In our view, these must be treated on equal terms with other political prisoners. The alleged offences committed by many of these prisoners are that they have been active in trade unions. A free and independent trade union movement plays a key role in the struggle for better working conditions and a more deeply-rooted democracy.

413. We must avoid creating a false conflict between civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights on the other. The energies of the United Nations should be directed towards strengthening both simultaneously.

414. We realize that it may be difficult for many poorer countries to create a situation in which both individuals and groups can enjoy economic, social and cultural rights to the full. A low level of economic development, however, must not be taken as an excuse for a weakened protection of fundamental civil and political rights. Among these are the right to one's life, safeguards against torture and the arbitrary deprivation of freedom. It is the individual who has to be protected. Anyone who is tortured suffers just as much no matter in which country he may be.

415. The defence of human rights is an important part of the United Nations efforts to build up an international legal order. The prevention of armed conflicts, the creation of greater economic justice for all peoples, the fight against racism, colonialism and other forms of oppression—indeed, all the work of the United Nations to further co-operation and solidarity serves the same purpose. The obstacles may sometimes seem insuperable. The rule of law and justice are easily swept away by violence and power. But a promise and a hope lie in the very fact that awareness of our interdependence has grown, that arduous work is being done and that some achievements are being recorded. Perhaps we can nevertheless believe in a future in which co-operation, justice and solidarity reign. Perhaps one day mankind's perpetual yearning for peace, freedom and well-being can be satisfied.

416. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on the representatives of Nicaragua, Guatemala and Democratic Kampuchea, in that order, as they have asked to exercise their right of reply. As members will recall, at the 4th plenary meeting the Assembly decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

417. Mr. MONTIEL ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Nicaragua was astounded to hear the statements made at this meeting by the representatives of Panama and Mexico.

418. In spite of the closeness of our countries, it is obvious that it is a lack of information that distorts the facts as put forward by the representative of Mexico when he said that the information came from various sources.

419. At no time has the Government of Nicaragua tried to frustrate the will of the people of Nicaragua. In fact, its

constitutional mandate derives from the will of the majority of its people, as is only natural in a democratic system. The only thing it has attempted to do is to prevent a minority with international connexions from subverting the constitutional order.

420. At this time I shall not try to analyze the motivations for those connexions, but I wish to state that if that minority thinks it represents the Nicaraguan people the democratic course is to organize a political party and to take part in the next elections.

421. No one has been denied by violent means the right to participate in the guidance of our national destiny.

422. Nor can recourse be had to a play of words concerning the principle of self-determination of peoples, which we all respect, by trying to apply it to cases of terrorist subversion, which seeks to change by force what it could not obtain in fair elections.

423. It is true that in the endeavours to maintain peace there has been loss of human life—something we greatly regret—as well as material losses, but not in the exaggerated proportions mentioned by the representative of Panama.

424. There has been no indiscriminate use of weapons of war or any machine-gunning of civilians, as he claims.

425. Never can anyone describe as genocide, as the representative of Panama so lightly did, the legal action of a Government which is compelled to use public force to repress terrorist subversion, which has emerged, not only in my country, but in many others as well.

426. Not to take such action would be to fail seriously to comply with the obligations and responsibilities imposed by the people on the Government.

427. Both the representative of Panama and the representative of Mexico spoke of the violation of human rights, which shows that there is a lack of knowledge of the true situation. Those who have violated human rights are the terrorists. My Government hopes to show this clearly before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, whose visit is scheduled for the beginning of next month. The very fact of Nicaragua's invitation to that Commission is indicative of the invariable attitude of my Government, which advocates the promotion of human rights at the international level.

428. It was very interesting that the representatives of Panama and Mexico should have sought to divert the attention of the Members of the United Nations to a question, which a few days ago was dealt with at great length by the OAS, which adopted a resolution accepted by my country.²¹ Any other initiative aimed at interference in the internal policy of Nicaragua will be rejected by my country as being contrary to the principle of non-intervention.

429. The fate of Nicaragua is in the hands of Nicaraguans and is not subject to the emotional fluctuations of the

²¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12861.

public opinion of other countries. Based on the principles of self-determination and non-interference, the Nicaraguans will find a solution to their own internal problems.

430. Mr. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In its statement yesterday [7th meeting] the delegation of Cuba made certain allusions to Guatemala which, in exercise of the right of reply, I now wish to answer and reject.

431. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, when stating in his address to this Assembly that his country favours putting an end for all time to colonialism, referred, as a deliberately erroneous diversion, to the case of Belize, and truth compels me to respond to those unfounded allusions.

432. Guatemala has consistently, ever since it signed the San Francisco Charter, which led to the creation of the United Nations, in different forums and at all times, played its part in and contributed consistently to the struggle to put an end to colonialism, and the earliest records of the United Nations show this.

433. It is our understanding of that that it encompasses colonialism, whatever its manifestation, covert or overt, of the intention of a nation to exercise domination or preponderance over any other, and whatever the ideological justification whereby it is sought to substantiate such conduct.

434. The case of Belize is clear-cut and transparent. It is not a colonial situation but rather a situation where Guatemala has sought to claim part of its territory which is occupied by a foreign Power; and as no one in this forum can deny, every State has the right under the United Nations Charter to claim its own territory, irrespective of the circumstances that led to occupation of it.

435. As for the fact that the Foreign Minister of Cuba should take the liberty of describing as "pro-imperialist" the constitutional régime in power in my country, that is a slander masking an ideological stance which in Messianic terms seeks to dominate the whole free world. This is imperialism in its clearest and most obvious form.

436. The Government of Guatemala is founded on elections carried out every four years under the law, with the participation of political entities which under the Constitution of my country reflect the whole spectrum of political thinking. The present régime in power in Guatemala now that it has won the election, rests on the will of the people, an election which gathered together in a broad coalition all political parties united in defence of freedom and human rights.

437. Lastly, I must refer again to that same statement in this body where it was said that the Guatemalan régime was supported by transnational corporations. The legislation of the Republic of Guatemala does, it is true, allow for and regulate the free participation by corporations in the economic processes of Guatemala. They may be individual or collective national or foreign enterprises, because ours is a democracy, but they must abide by the law. The misbehaviour or lack of ethics of such enterprises

is prosecuted under the law and we co-operate in international efforts in whatever forum for the establishment of a code of conduct which will ensure that the transnational corporations operate consistently with international ethics.

438. For that reason I have great interest in declaring on behalf of my Government and the Guatemalan people that there is no connivance with or undue protection of the economic interests of enterprises by the Government of the Republic of Guatemala.

439. Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Before this Assembly the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada had the impudence and the hypocrisy to interfere, in an inadmissible fashion, in the domestic affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, an independent non-aligned State Member of the United Nations.

440. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea wishes to raise a most emphatic protest here against such interference, which it considers an inimical and hostile act against the people of Democratic Kampuchea and its régime. It vehemently condemns this perfidious attitude of the Government of Canada, which reveals itself in the eyes of all as a servant of American colonialism in the campaign of slander and denigration which the latter is waging against Democratic Kampuchea.

441. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is not at all surprised at this ignoble attack of that Government against Democratic Kampuchea and its people. In the past the behaviour of the Canadian Government towards the people of Kampuchea has been no different from its behaviour today. In this respect, before American imperialism's war of aggression against Kampuchea in 1970, Canada, as a member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control for the cessation of hostilities in Kampuchea, set up in Kampuchea following the Geneva agreements of 1954, always behaved as a defender of the interests of the American imperialists in that Commission to the detriment of the genuine interests of our people of peace and of the security of our country and of the region.

442. Canada has always adopted an ostrich attitude by closing its eyes and blocking its ears to the obvious evidence of acts of interference, provocation and aggression, as well as many other crimes perpetrated by that imperialism and the puppet régime of Saigon. During that period several thousands of our compatriots were massacred, many of our border villages were razed to the ground and reduced to ashes and a part of our plantations was destroyed by the spreading of chemical products by the American imperialists and their lackeys from Saigon.

443. In the face of those crimes and that devastation, the Canadian Government, as an eager servant of that imperialism, always found a pretext for excusing the American imperialists. All of this has certainly not been forgotten by our people.

444. During the more than five years of the war of aggression waged by the American imperialists against our people from 1970 to 1975, an extremely cruel and devastating war which left more than a million dead and

wounded, the Canadian Government, as a lackey of the American imperialists, said not a single word concerning those crimes of genocide and devastation in Kampuchea. Quite the contrary, as is known, that Government, in every way, aided the American war of aggression in Kampuchea and aided the régime of the traitor Lon Nol to survive. Our friends here in the United Nations will recall that the Canadian Government has always, as it has today, adopted a hostile attitude towards our people and its national liberation struggle. It has always voted against Democratic Kampuchea, and against the resolutions sponsored by the non-aligned countries and the countries friendly to Democratic Kampuchea, which called for the expulsion of the representatives of the traitor Lon Nol from this Organization and the assigning to our Government of the seat which the traitors had usurped with the aid and abetment of American imperialism.

445. Today the Canadian Government is shedding crocodile tears over what it calls the violation of human rights in Democratic Kampuchea, but no honest person here, much less our people, who know how to distinguish between friends and foes, is deceived by that. Everybody is well aware that the Canadian Government has accounts to render to our people, not the other way around. If today the Canadian Government has associated itself with the campaign of denigration and slander waged by the American imperialists against our people it is for the clear purpose of erasing the memory of the genocide committed by the American imperialists, with the complicity of the Canadian Government, in Democratic Kampuchea.

446. In this connexion, I should like to recall the balance-sheet of the destruction caused by the war of aggression waged by the American imperialists in Kampuchea from 18 March 1970 to 17 April 1975. There were more than 1 million casualties, of whom 800,000 were killed and more than 240,000 injured, of whom more than 40,000 lost their ability to work. More than 80 per cent of the factories and plantations, more than 80 per cent of the rice and other fields, 80 to 85 per cent of the forests, 90 to 100 per cent of the temples, 50 to 60 per cent of the livestock and 65 to 70 per cent of the rubber plantations were destroyed. Aquatic fauna suffered heavy losses and numerous species of fish have disappeared; 70 to 80 per cent of the bridges, means of communication and strategic

roads have been destroyed; 50 to 60 per cent of the ports and 80 per cent of the railroads have been destroyed. The whole of Kampuchea has suffered damage and is covered with great craters caused by bombs dropped mainly from B-52 aircraft, in particular during the Americanization of the air war from February to 15 August 1973, when 4,000 to 5,000 tons of bombs a day were dropped.

447. In reality, the Canadian Government and the American imperialists find certain truths unpalatable; namely, that, contrary to their wishes and base manoeuvres, Kampuchea has become genuinely and permanently independent, and that the people of Kampuchea has once and for all become the master in its own house. The people of Kampuchea has defended and fully safeguarded the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country by relying on its own strength and taking into its hands the destiny of its own country. The people of Kampuchea has resolved the problems of life in less than two years after the war of devastation, without holding out its hand to the American imperialists and the Canadian Government, and at the same time the living conditions of all our people are constantly improving thanks to the policy of our Communist Party of Kampuchea and our Government, which is always concerned for the well-being and happiness of our people.

448. Finally, the people of Kampuchea has exposed all the activities of espionage and subversion of the imperialists, expansionists and annexationists and their partisans, as well as their attempts to bring about a coup d'état in order to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

449. The people and Government of Kampuchea have never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, in particular the affairs of Canada. But the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea will never permit any country to interfere in their internal affairs or violate their sovereign right to decide their own destiny. And, for the best possible reason, they will not remain idle in the face of the perfidious and slanderous attacks of the American imperialists and the Canadian Government, the lackey of the imperialists.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.