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**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)**

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning we shall begin the general debate. I should like to remind representatives that the list of speakers will be closed on Wednesday, 26 September, at 6 p.m. May I request delegations to be good enough to provide estimated speaking times that are as exact as possible, so that we can apportion our morning and afternoon work. I should also like to recall the decisions taken by the General Assembly specifically on the subjects of punctuality and the exercise of the right of reply. It is not my intention to make frequent appeals, because I know that I can count on representatives' co-operation; but this time I should like to read the following decision of the Assembly:

"Out of consideration for the other speakers and in order to preserve the dignity of the general debate, delegations should refrain from expressing their congratulations in the General Assembly Hall after a speech has been delivered." [A/34/250, para. 4 (c).]

2. Mr. SARAIVA GUERREIRO (Brazil):¹ As the general debate opens, I have the honour and sincere pleasure of conveying to you, Sir, the first expressions of congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. You have the support of the international community represented here, thanks to the esteem we have for your country and for your own personal qualifications, which we recognize and admire. Your constant dedication to the principles of sovereignty and self-determination and the remarkable contribution you have made in the efforts for peace and independence have distinguished your role in the last years as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. You are well aware of the significant ties that exist between the African nations and my country. Endowed with a common heritage in many fields, and as partners in basic aspirations, we have striven to develop our ties into a network of mutual co-operation,

¹ Mr. Saraiva Guerreiro spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

which already includes a wide range of activities. It is with particular satisfaction that, in this context, I refer to the imminent opening of the Brazilian Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam, which will thus establish a direct diplomatic channel with one of the most important capitals of Africa.

3. Before proceeding, I should like to express my Government's appreciation for the very able and productive manner in which a distinguished South American—a representative of Colombia, a country to which Brazil is bound by fraternal links—Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, conducted the work of the thirty-third session.

4. For many years and in various ways I have been associated with the work and the development of this Organization and have therefore witnessed its transformation into a true universal forum. Thus it is with satisfaction that I welcome a new Member State—a country from Latin America—Saint Lucia, to whose representatives I extend my warm greetings, anticipating fruitful co-operation in this Organization.

5. Upon taking office on 15 March last, President João Figueiredo reaffirmed that the foreign policy of Brazil is dedicated to the noble ideals of peace, justice and international co-operation for development. In the coming years we shall persevere in exploring new paths for understanding and co-operation with nations from all parts of the world. In this endeavour we shall be guided by our traditional capacity for friendly dialogue and by our sense of national dignity.

6. As we look to the future, it seems fitting to reaffirm Brazil's adherence to the principles of national independence, the sovereign equality of States, the self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States, as well as our support for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, as provided for in the United Nations Charter. In this connexion, Brazil will continue to work for the strengthening of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, in co-operation for development and in the furtherance of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

7. For the Brazilian Government, it is a matter of satisfaction that relations with our immediate neighbours, the sister nations of Latin America, are increasingly pervaded by positive trends. Winds of change are blowing in Latin America. The countries of the region are conscious of the need to add new dimensions to their historical ties through the intensification of their political consultations, the establishment of new and dynamic cultural links and a substantial expansion of their trade and economic relations. While retaining their own features and peculiarities, Latin American countries are closer than ever to each other. As the area

for co-operation expands, new forms of joint action will be required. For its part, Brazil is ready to co-operate, and our concern is that peace and tranquillity prevail in our region and that the countries of Latin America face, side by side, the common struggle for development. With this aim, we are prepared to work with other nations from all parts of Latin America.

8. Brazil feels especially close to its neighbours to the east, the nations of Africa. The links that we have developed over the years reflect not only geographical proximity but also the deeply rooted affinities between our peoples. Together we have identified our interest in the establishment of new patterns of economic and technical co-operation and new flows of goods and services. Together we have sought common solutions in our efforts to overcome the challenges of development and independence, on a basis of mutual trust and respect.

9. We are particularly sensitive to the profound grief of the people of Angola over the untimely death two weeks ago of President Agostinho Neto. To his people he was the guide in the struggle for independence and nation-building and an African leader whose personal qualifications won him great respect and esteem. In my country he was also regarded as one of the most significant contemporary poets of our common language. His death came before Africa could achieve the goal of complete freedom from political and economic domination and racial injustice. But, as he would say, the struggle continues for the self-determination and independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia and for the elimination of *apartheid*.

10. With the nations of the Middle East, Brazil has forged strong ties of friendship, understanding and co-operation. We view with increasing concern the problems afflicting that part of the world. During the past year, new developments have marked the situation in the Middle East. However, it would be excessively optimistic to say that the prospects for peace—a just, lasting and comprehensive peace—are, in some way, better than they were a year ago.

11. Nevertheless, some States are still reluctant to accept the changes that must be brought about for true peace to be attained. Some still insist on closing their eyes to the basic fact that there will not be peace in the area until all territories taken by force are vacated and until the rights of the Palestinian people—their inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the United Nations Charter—are duly recognized and implemented. Furthermore, one cannot foresee true success in peace negotiations without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is one of the relevant parties in the region's political scene.

12. We believe that all States in the region have a right to exist within recognized borders. This right implies, actually, the recognition of the right of all peoples in the region to live in peace, including those who are homeless and have suffered the most. The world can no longer afford delays in the adoption of effective measures directed towards a future of good understanding, peace and justice in the Middle East. It is the hope of the Brazilian Government that the present session of the United Nations General Assembly may help create dip-

lomatic conditions that will allow for a new political situation to the benefit of all.

13. The world economy is about to enter the decade of the 1980s in a state marked by widespread uncertainties. After more than 20 years of intensive negotiations for the reformulation of relations between the industrialized North and the developing South, the results achieved did not go beyond the theoretical recognition of unbalanced situations and the need to revise them.

14. It cannot be denied that practical measures for the correction of the factors of economic imbalance have been essentially limited to the convening of international conferences or to the creation of multilateral organs concerned more with the debate of the problems than with their negotiation and solution.

15. The institutionalization of UNCTAD and the unfolding of its work over five high level meetings; the establishment of UNIDO; the addition to the text of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of a chapter on trade problems of less developed nations; numerous sessions of the General Assembly and dozens of meetings and conferences on a variety of subjects; the launching of two United Nations Development Decades; the so-called North-South Paris Conference²—all this huge effort fell short of modifying the picture of injustice and asymmetry which deeply marks the North-South relationship.

16. The remarkable prosperity enjoyed by the Western economy in the post-war period is threatened today by numerous difficulties. The very essence of the economic problem experienced by the highly developed nations has changed. Formerly, during the period of accelerated growth, the question was how to minimize the elements of instability in a context of sustained expansion; now it is a matter of preventing the international system from reaching heights of intolerable instability.

17. At present, there is a disquieting slackening in international trade, the volume of which until 1973 grew at an average rate of 9 per cent but today increases at an annual rate of less than 5 per cent. The contraction of economic activities anticipates the increase of protectionist trends, and introduces a disturbing element of friction in an economy which is becoming more and more interdependent and internationalized.

18. In the commercial field, it is increasingly clear that lines of division are being established between the North, which is as integrated as ever, and the South, where the share of countries like Brazil in international exports is less than proportional to their contribution to world prosperity. This contribution lies not only in the acquisition of goods and services, but also in well remunerated imports of technological inputs and financial resources, either direct investments or capital loans.

19. Paradoxically, the very difficulties which prevail in the present situation have encouraged increased integration among the highly industrialized economies. Another ambitious round of negotiations within GATT has just been concluded. We note that the results of this

² Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

round benefited above all the trade of the sophisticated among the highly industrialized nations. In the Northern Hemisphere reciprocal trade is liberalized and constructive solutions are adopted, leading to greater intertwining of the respective industrial sectors, with added financial technological co-operation and increased exchanges of direct investments.

20. Meanwhile, the industrialized world has been drawn closer to those nations which have come to enjoy a greater availability of financial resources as a result of increases in the price of oil.

21. These facts are positive for the world economy and, to that extent, they deserve recognition and support.

22. From the point of view of the specific interest of developing countries like Brazil, however, the pattern of commercial relations with the developed world gives rise to concern, for what is taking place is not the removal of protectionist structures but their development into new modalities, which at times are more subtle, but which none the less are always effective.

23. Far from being abolished, protectionism acquires new features and is updated; it strikes with redoubled impact precisely those nations which, due to a chronic tendency towards external imbalance—an inevitable requirement of their development effort—are more in need of access to the larger world markets.

24. Concern for the pressing aspects of the economic difficulties—such as inflation in the developed world and the rise in the price of oil—must not overshadow the broader issue of the struggle to overcome the structures of under-development. Industrialization in developing countries is being hindered at the very moment when the efforts of these countries are starting to yield results, and when they can most contribute to the world economy also as suppliers of increasingly competitive manufactured products. Probably worse than openly practised protectionism, in the form of trade barriers against the sales of those countries, is the omission implicit in the disregard for the problems of North-South relationships which became evident, for example, at the Tokyo Economic Summit, held from 28 to 29 June 1979.

25. As President Figueiredo recently stated in a speech made at the launching, by both the Brazilian Government and private businessmen, of a renewed exports drive:

“To our industrialized partners we affirm our disposition towards dialogue and understanding, and our rejection of any unwarranted attitude of confrontation. We wish to reach, together, stable and constructive solutions. Through them we expect to eliminate the spectre of protectionism which has been revived by current widespread difficulties, and also open increasingly wider channels for trade and international co-operation.”

26. In this spirit, we address our friends from the developed world. Brazil favours the resumption of the North-South dialogue through a new and intensified effort for effective negotiations with a view to reshaping the relationship between the developed world and the developing nations.

27. In this context we look forward to the practical results we trust will be attained by the special session of the Assembly to be held in 1980.

28. We trust that the developing world will maintain its fundamental solidarity before the highly industrialized countries. But the developing world cannot have its unity based exclusively on the coincidence of interests vis-à-vis the developed nations. This unity must reflect an effective sense of understanding and co-operation. In order to be authentic, the solidarity of the developing world must be increasingly geared to concrete action. I refer here particularly to the present energy crisis. New forms of commercial co-operation between developing countries must be established. Direct economic and financial flows among developing countries must increase on a mutual basis so as to ensure that situations of acute imbalance do not become a permanent feature in the third world. With this aim, we think that developing countries should maintain urgently all necessary consultations, which should also serve as a preparation for the dialogue they will have with the industrialized countries.

29. Brazil, for its part, is undertaking a major effort to increase its relations of trade and co-operation with other developing countries. We have shared, to the limit of our possibilities, the experience we have accumulated as a tropical country with a relatively high and diversified level of industrialization. Our trade relations with nations from Latin America, Africa and Asia, which in the 1960s accounted for 9 per cent of our exports and approximately 23 per cent of our purchases, represent today 25 per cent of our sales and more than 40 per cent of our imports. More than a billion dollars was allocated by the Brazilian Government in the last few years to the opening of lines of credit in favour of other developing nations. We have provided technical co-operation, though still on a modest basis, to some 40 countries in Latin America and Africa, and we have today approximately 15,000 foreign students in Brazilian technical institutions and universities.

30. In the field of renewable sources of energy, we are opening an entirely new area for our co-operation with other countries. Thanks to substantial investments in the production of alcohol for fuel purposes and the development of a technology for its use, Brazil can become the focus of a broad effort of developing alternative sources of energy with beneficial effects for all countries, producers and consumers, which seek the rational use and adequate conservation of oil reserves, as well as greater stability and predictability in the market development of such an essential product. We are thus contributing to the maximum of our possibilities, to broadening and enhancing the sense of harmony and solidarity in the developing world, which is an indispensable condition for success in the task of revising the patterns of relationship between North and South.

31. Serious political and economic problems with world-wide repercussions have made us all acutely conscious of the importance of dialogue and co-operation among States. Developing countries have awakened to the fact that they can and should seek each other to solve their common problems. They are also aware of the fact that they are denied access to negotiations and to the international decision-making processes which

directly affect their legitimate interests and aspirations in so many ways.

32. It can no longer be ignored that all States, without discrimination, have the right to participate equitably and effectively in the decisions affecting their national destinies. It is not only in the energy, trade, monetary and other issues in the economic field that such participation is required. I wish also to consider the present situation in the field of disarmament. Although the tenth special session of the General Assembly, held in 1978 on disarmament, fell far short of producing a clear-cut commitment to nuclear disarmament, it did produce what appeared to be a more open and democratic machinery for disarmament negotiations. But the results of the first year of work of the Committee on Disarmament have not been encouraging. The Committee concentrated on debating its rules of procedure and other procedural questions, while negotiations on basic, substantive questions continued to be conducted directly by the two main military Powers.

33. The agreements reached as a result of the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT], hailed in some quarters as a major break-through in the field of nuclear disarmament and described in others as not more than a limited step towards what might be called the rational management of the arms race, are a result of such direct negotiations between the two main military Powers. Presumably all other States will be asked to commend the agreements during the present session of the General Assembly. We shall not stand in the way of such a request. But we see the second round of these talks primarily as an intermediate stage which should lead to the early start of negotiations on the third round of SALT, with its promised substantive reductions in nuclear armaments. At any rate, SALT negotiations should be integrated in a broader effort open to the participation of all States, with a view to general and complete disarmament, under effective international control.

34. The Committee on Disarmament itself did not have the opportunity even to begin meaningful negotiations on two measures that had been on the agenda of its predecessor, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for a great many years. Neither the trilateral talks on a nuclear weapons test ban, nor the bilateral discussions on the prohibition of chemical weapons led this year to the long-awaited presentation of concrete proposals to the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. Instead, the multilateral negotiating body was presented, at almost the last moment, with a draft on radiological weapons produced by the two major military Powers [see A/34/27, paras. 56-57], with the recommendation that it be speedily approved and forwarded to the General Assembly for endorsement. While welcoming the initiative, the Committee wisely decided that it was entitled to discuss the proposed text more thoroughly. Furthermore, it is significant that the only major disarmament effort in 1979 open to the participation of all States had to do, not with the top priority area of nuclear weapons, but with certain specific conventional weapons.

35. Before concluding, I wish to refer to two issues which received ample consideration at the United Nations during this year. I refer to the law of the sea and to science and technology. The Brazilian Government has actively participated in the work of the Third United

Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, spurred on by the desire to reach, with all members of the international community, a universally acceptable legal structure for the use of maritime space. The results of the latest session of that Conference seem to indicate the path towards solving some of the most delicate points of what would be the future convention. However, we are under no illusion about the difficulties still facing us, difficulties which can only be resolved in a constructive mood and in a serene atmosphere. It is regrettable that untimely initiatives should disturb the natural pace of the Conference's work, which is now moving into its decisive phase. I refer, *inter alia*, to the possible adoption of unilateral legislation on the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, defined by this Assembly as the common heritage of mankind. Brazil hopes that in this case as well the sense of collective responsibility, which is essential for the success of such a complex and vast project, will again prevail.

36. Brazil has also participated very actively and with great interest in the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. We hope that the Vienna Programme of Action³ and the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development, to be established, as well as the continuation of negotiations, including those in conferences already programmed within the United Nations, will lead North and South to solutions on the issue of the transfer of technology and the revision of rules which regulate industrial property, in accordance with the needs of the developing countries.

37. In concluding, I should like to assure the Assembly that as in the past the delegation of Brazil stands ready to work together with other delegations for the solution of the issues before the General Assembly. I should also like to state that in Brazil we remain confident and optimistic regarding the future, despite the frequent and serious adverse changes which in the present international situation have opposed our efforts. We are convinced that we are able to overcome the various obstacles facing our country and we are determined to continue to co-operate on an equitable basis in international efforts, here at the United Nations and elsewhere, for the promotion of justice, development and peace.

38. Mr. VANCE (United States of America): We meet in this General Assembly on the threshold of a new decade. It will be a time of complex challenge, a period in which, more than ever, co-operative endeavours among nations are a matter not only of idealism but also of direct self-interest.

39. The decade now drawing to a close has been characterized by rapid, far-reaching and fundamental change. Awesome technological developments are all about us. The assertion of national independence has reshaped the political geography of our planet. Within nations we see an accelerating rise in individual economic, political and social expectations. The unrelenting hostility of the cold war has given way to a more complex relationship between East and West, with elements of both competition and co-operation. The sim-

³ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21), chap. VII.

ple notion of a bipolar world has become obsolete. Increasingly there is a profusion of different systems and allegiances and a diffusion of political and military power. The world economic order is also undergoing inexorable transformations. Many nations formerly among the disadvantaged are now achieving global economic power. Economic interdependence has become a daily reality for the citizens of every nation.

40. These sweeping changes have for the most part worked in constructive directions, changing lives for the better and opening new possibilities for collective effort and creative diplomacy.

41. But while these developments demonstrate that progress is possible, they by no means demonstrate that it is inevitable. I say this for two reasons.

42. First, in a number of areas the pace of current progress is dwarfed by the scope of coming challenges. The next decade will decide whether we have the collective wisdom and the common will to surmount a series of imposing and interrelated problems which must be dealt with in a comprehensive manner.

43. The need to develop new forms of energy will pose a continuing challenge. We have entered the difficult transition from a petroleum economy to one based on other forms of energy.

44. Even without this added burden, we face an imposing task in providing for the basic needs of people and in narrowing the combustible disparity between wealth and despair. The food shortage facing developing countries, for example, was 12 million tons in 1975. It could be 70 to 85 million tons by 1990, unless productivity rises sharply.

45. We must strike a decent balance between the burgeoning demands of more people for a better life and the inescapable reality of a fragile environment.

46. Such prospects carry the seeds of future discord. As these seeds ripen, and the growth and spread of weapons continue, regional conflicts become all the more dangerous in their toll of lives and resources and in the heightened risk of wider confrontation.

47. And despite our emergence from the days of unrelenting hostility, the East-West relationship can deteriorate dangerously whenever one side fails to respect the security interests of the other.

48. Our ability to meet these tests depends on a second issue: will we confront such challenges together, and benefit together? Or will we let adversity divide us, and thus conquer?

49. I must be frank and say that I am not sure what the answer will be.

50. There are some reasons for encouragement. In recent years the nations here represented have found it easier, in many different forums, to talk with each other rather than at each other. East and West have entered into the broadest arms control agenda in history. The Soviet Union and the United States have negotiated significant limitations on strategic arms in a treaty that

now awaits ratification. North and South have made progress on financial, trade and commodity issues—far more progress than has been acknowledged. Agreement has been reached on a sharp increase in the resources of IMF. Lending by the multilateral development banks has increased. Expanded trade opportunities have been opened by the recently concluded trade negotiations. We have moved ahead on other matters, such as international debt and a common fund for commodities. We should recognize such progress and build on it. We have taken steps as well towards the resolution of some deeply embedded regional disputes.

51. But I am concerned that there are also factors at work which could reverse this co-operative trend. The severity of the problems we face could drive nations to the pursuit of their own separate advantage at the expense of international co-operation. In times of economic trouble, even relatively prosperous countries find it more difficult to look beyond their internal concerns to meet international needs. Indeed, it is a vivid lesson of history that hardship can breed short-sighted insularity. It can arouse instincts for self-preservation at the expense of others. In such times, the voices of economic nationalism will be raised in all our countries. We must resist them. We must resist, as well, the voices of international confrontation. In a number of international negotiations, political as well as economic, we have worked our way through to the toughest issues involved. We must not react now in frustration, and unleash a spiral of rhetoric which could deepen rather than resolve our divisions.

52. The challenges of the 1980s can be met—if each of us here represented meets the responsibilities which we share.

53. Our first responsibility is to persist in the search for peace, to reduce both the danger and the destructiveness of war. The future of two regions—the Middle East and southern Africa—depends on specific decisions that will be made in the coming months.

54. We believe that the 26 March Treaty between Egypt and Israel⁴ has reduced the dangers inherent in the Arab-Israeli conflict and has laid the foundation for a settlement that can be both durable and just.

55. But the dramatic achievement of peace between Israel and Egypt and the successful implementation of the first phases of the Treaty of peace have not obscured the necessity of moving toward peace between Israel and its other neighbours. Indeed it remains the resolute view of my Government that further progress towards an over-all peace is essential.

56. We know that an ultimate settlement must address the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian question must be resolved in all of its aspects.

57. As the peace process continues to unfold, it is our deepest desire that representatives of the Palestinian people and the Governments of Jordan and Syria should join in this great quest.

⁴ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

58. This is consistent with—indeed it underscores—our unshakable commitment to Israel's security and well-being, now and in the future.

59. None of the parties involved in this difficult negotiation has any illusions that resolving the Palestinian issue will be easy. But the United States is convinced that progress will be made towards that goal.

60. Preserving the integrity of Lebanon is also critical to peace in the Middle East. There has been a cease-fire in southern Lebanon, the fragility of which is underscored by the events of today. We need not only a temporary cease-fire, but a broader truce. We will be working towards such a goal in our discussions with other interested Governments here at this Assembly. Lebanon has suffered all too much.

61. The desire for peace is shared by all the peoples of the Middle East. We recognize that there are disagreements about how best to reach that common goal. We believe the course on which we are embarked is the right one, indeed the only one that has shown practical results. We call on all who genuinely seek peace to join in this endeavour.

62. A step towards peace has been taken as well on the Rhodesian conflict. The parties are now engaged in negotiation towards a solution that could combine true majority rule with essential minority rights. The United Kingdom Government, the Commonwealth nations, and the parties themselves deserve great credit for this new step. The deepening agony of war could be ended by agreement on a fair constitution and new elections, as called for in the final communiqué issued by the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August [A/34/439-S/13515, annex].

63. We have made substantial progress in Namibia. But obstacles remain. The contact group is working with the parties concerned to find ways to resolve the few outstanding issues. We do not underestimate the difficulties, but neither should any of us underestimate the opportunities that a settlement would bring for all of southern Africa.

64. In most negotiations, we can best make progress by stages. A knot can never be untied from the inside. We must begin with the parts that we can grasp, and work our way through to the end of the problem.

65. History will judge us severely if we let our opportunities for peace slip away. As negotiations proceed, the issues we address become progressively more difficult. But we must not let future fears or ambitions undermine the progress that has been made.

66. As we work on these and other conflicts, let us also squarely face the fact that our planet is plagued by those who make war on innocents, as we saw just weeks ago in the tragic death of Lord Mountbatten. We must have greater international co-operation to combat the barbarous practices of the terrorist. The United States strongly supports the basic elements of the draft convention against the taking of hostages [see A/34/39]. The conclusion of this treaty will contribute to a growing consensus that terrorism will not be tolerated, regardless of the political cause its perpetrators claim to pursue.

67. Finally, the requirement of peace carries with it an international responsibility to limit the spread and accumulation of arms. A particular obligation falls to the largest nuclear Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—to contain the competition in strategic weapons. The treaty concluded after the second round of SALT can be a major step towards the fulfilment of that obligation.

68. The goal of strategic stability will be further served if the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States are able to agree on a comprehensive ban, on nuclear tests. As the nuclear super-Powers seek the path towards mutual restraint, all nations must also recognize the direct threat to their security from the spread of nuclear weapons. Developments in recent years can bring new impetus to the non-proliferation effort—including progress in the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation—which can help us to find safer ways to develop nuclear energy for humanity; the strengthening of the IAEA safeguards; the substantial increase in the number of parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; the entry into force of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), which now finally appears within grasp; and the pledge by a number of nuclear Powers, under specific circumstances, to refrain from the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States.

69. But there have also been serious setbacks—further demonstrations of intent to acquire nuclear weapons, in disregard of the inherent dangers for regional and international security. The Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held next year, will be a critical time for taking stock—and for redoubling our efforts to make progress on this urgent international priority.

70. Beyond the search for peace, a second responsibility that we share is to be sensitive to the international consequences of our national economic decisions, and to resist the temptation to solve our economic problems at the expense of others.

71. The imprudence of economic nationalism has been harshly demonstrated in the past. The world depression a half-century ago was spread, deepened and prolonged by a wave of protectionism. That memory has spurred us towards a new multilateral trade agreement intended to open markets and keep them open, even in a time of economic strain.

72. Today, let me address one of those issues which most clearly reflects the direct connection between national decisions and global consequences. That issue is energy. In almost no area is the need for common action more apparent or more urgent. It is an issue which now threatens to divide us, economically and politically. In a future of greater scarcity, these divisions could weaken the fabric of international comity which this organisation embodies.

73. All nations will suffer if all nations do not act responsibly in their consumption of energy, in its pricing and in its production. Despite a difficult prognosis for our energy future, I believe the basis may exist for progress.

74. Until the 1970s modern industrial economies operated on two basic assumptions, which also governed relations between oil importers and exporters. These two assumptions were that oil is cheap, and that supplies are unlimited. Now all nations realize that these assumptions no longer hold.

75. The commitments made by the major industrial countries at the Tokyo Economic Summit demonstrate this clearly. My Government is taking ambitious action to address the energy problem and is making efforts to exceed these commitments. President Carter has committed the United States not to import more than 8.2 million barrels of oil a day in 1979, and never to exceed the peak level of our imports reached in 1977. Total United States energy research and development this year is \$3.2 billion. We are investing \$528 million this year—and \$600 million next year—in the development and use of solar energy. We are significantly expanding our development of synthetic fuels, to take advantage of the abundant coal and oil shale in our country.

76. Much of this new energy technology will have application in other countries as well. We will seek to make it available to others under mutually satisfactory conditions. For we recognize that by helping others resolve their energy problems, we help resolve our own.

77. Let me indicate some of the ways in which we are prepared to work with others to meet our common energy needs.

78. We have joined other industrial nations in agreeing to establish a provisional international technology group which will recommend ways to broaden international participation in the commercial development of alternative fuels.

79. I pledged last year⁵ that the United States would do more to mobilize its technical talents on behalf of the development of others. I am pleased to report that next month we will establish an Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. This Institute will work for the goals set by the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. It will help the people of developing nations to benefit from our technologies. The Institute's Policy Council will include experts from developing nations. Energy development will be among its highest priorities.

80. We will participate actively in preparations for the 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy.

81. At the recent Tokyo Economic Summit, the World Bank was invited to take the lead in coordinating our assistance to developing nations in the field of energy. We suggest that the World Bank bring together a group of experts to review the question of energy research, development and training in detail. Specifically, that group could evaluate the work of existing energy research and training centres, both national and international, in developing countries. In addition, it could recommend how current institutions could be strengthened and whether new multilateral ones should be created. We are supporting the expansion

of the World Bank's programme for the exploration and development of mineral fuels. The Bank is also considering whether local programmes of development finance are adequate to support the rapid application of solar, small hydroelectric and other renewable energy technologies in developing nations.

82. The Inter-American Development Bank has proposed creation of a facility to provide political risk insurance and loan guarantees for private investment in energy and minerals projects in its region. This could be an effective means of stimulating energy development there. We are willing to pursue with the Bank its initiative and work with other countries to develop an acceptable proposal.

83. As the industrial countries make serious efforts to restrict oil demand, and to help the developing countries meet their energy challenges, the question increasingly becomes whether the oil-producing nations are prepared to stabilize prices, and, to the extent it is within their control, ensure adequate supplies. A failure to do so will continue to have harsh consequences for the world economy, especially the poorer nations.

84. We understand the natural desire of oil-exporting nations to husband this valuable resource for future generations. And we accept the fact that oil prices must reflect not only the strength of demand, but also the long-term scarcity of supply—so long as scarcity is never contrived to manipulate price.

85. But oil producers must understand that there is a limit to what the economies of the oil-consuming nations, and the global economy, can sustain.

86. We must all proceed with a responsible recognition that our national energy decisions will have profound global effects—and will return either to haunt or to help their makers.

87. A third common responsibility is an intensified commitment to help improve the lives of our fellow human beings—to provide the necessities of life, to afford the chance to progress, to assure a voice in decisions which will determine their future.

88. We have made progress in the field of human rights, but we must do more. In the past year, some nations have taken steps to restore legal protections and democratic institutions. And we have seen the inauguration of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the forceful call of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] for the creation of regional human rights institutions on the continent of Africa, and the activation of UNESCO's human rights procedures. The growing concern for human rights is undeniable. Yet the sad truth is that, even as we sit here today, men and women face torture, death and oppression for daring to exercise rights set forth in the Charter of this body three decades ago. Our joint challenge is to advance the aspirations of all peoples for human dignity.

89. Our commitment must be to economic as well as political and social rights—for all are indispensable to human dignity. Improvements in economic well-being, opportunities for participation in the political process, and a growing sense of both economic and political

⁵See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 14th meeting, paras. 14-190.

equity can do much to defuse the grievances which can lead to national convulsions and international tensions.

90. To meet this commitment to a better life for all peoples, we must each strive to move the North-South dialogue beyond grand themes and on to specific cases—to priority areas in which practical development goals can be met. Let me discuss in this connexion our efforts towards a goal we should adopt as a matter of simple humanity—that by the end of this century no person on this bountiful earth should have to go hungry.

91. Last year, I noted that we must not be lulled by good weather and plentiful harvests into losing our sense of urgency. Since then, poor harvests in a number of countries have substantially increased the international demand for food. This situation underscores the need to accumulate adequate stocks to support world food security. I assure Members that the United States will do all it can to prevent a global food crisis. The American harvest this year will be of record size. We have removed all restrictions on wheat production for next year. We have established farmer-owned grain reserves which, through the accumulation and release of stocks, have helped stabilize supplies.

92. An international wheat agreement still eludes our grasp. We should not abandon this goal. But we should move immediately to complete negotiations for a new food aid convention. The World Food Council has urged an agreement by mid-1980. We support that recommendation. In the meantime, we are already implementing the higher food aid pledge the convention would entail.

93. At the same time, major emphasis must be placed on improving global food production. Over half of American direct development aid is now devoted to agriculture. We will continue working to improve the yields of major food crops, to preserve croplands and to expand research on ways to increase the production of traditional and new crops, especially those grown by poor farmers.

94. These efforts have received effective support from the International Agricultural Research Centres. We support proposals to double the resources contributed to those centres and intend to increase our contribution. We hope additional countries will become contributors.

95. We must be aware, however, that in the long run these efforts could be vitiated if the world's population growth is not slowed. Half the couples of child-bearing age still do not have adequate access to family planning services. We must strive to make family planning services—along with other elements of basic health care, adequate food supplies and clean water—available to all as rapidly as we can.

96. And in the short run, we must be prepared to meet emergency needs wherever famine afflicts humanity or refugees seek haven—in Africa, in Latin America, in South-East Asia or elsewhere.

97. The proposal made by Vice-President Mondale at the Geneva Meeting⁶ for a refugee resettlement fund

⁶ Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

reflects our belief that the international community should deal on a global basis with a global and grave refugee crisis. We urge broad participation in this fund.

98. Vigorous and large-scale international action is required to bring relief to the starving in Kampuchea, now facing one of the great human tragedies of modern times. Tens of thousands of sick and hungry Khmer are already pressing on Thailand's border. Hundreds of thousands may soon follow them. Even more widespread famine and disease are in prospect, especially in view of recent reports of intensified fighting. To avert unthinkable catastrophe, an international programme of humanitarian relief must be established in Kampuchea as soon as possible. International organizations must be able to bring a co-ordinated, massive and adequately monitored programme of emergency relief to all needy Khmer. We would endorse such an effort.

99. The food crisis in Kampuchea promises both to multiply the flow of refugees and to take a terrible toll among those who cannot escape. The flood of refugees from Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea already has brought great suffering to hundreds of thousands of innocent people, as well as imposed heavy burdens on countries of first asylum.

100. The international community has begun to respond. But humanitarian steps are not enough. The community of nations must make a more active effort to restore peace to the region and to resolve by non-military means the problems that developments in Indo-China have carried in their wake. They pose a threat to the stability of the region as a whole.

101. I believe we can meet the challenges before us. But let us not misjudge their magnitude.

102. Resolution of regional disputes and placing new limits on the instruments of war will require new acts of national and international will. The 1980s could portend a prolonged energy crisis. It could be a decade of widespread famine. Unless the swelling deficits of developing countries can be managed, many of their economies may stagnate and some could be threatened with collapse. Global problems like these require global solutions.

103. This Assembly will decide whether to launch a new round of negotiations on economic co-operation for development. Let me state today that the United States would participate, in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, in consultations to decide on the most effective way of conducting such negotiations.

104. If new global negotiations are to succeed, the participants must be realistic about each other's political and economic capabilities. We must assign priority to those issues on which concrete results are possible, and we should avoid duplicating the work of existing institutions. In this way, the negotiations could help build a global consensus for action.

105. Many of the issues I have addressed are already prominent on the agenda of the United Nations. The need for co-operation in addressing them requires that we continue to strengthen this institution. Financial, procedural and management reforms are urgently

necessary. As a first step, we urge that the Secretary-General's recommendations, now adopted by this Assembly, be fully implemented.

106. The urgency of the requirements I have described calls for something more on the part of all Members of the United Nations.

107. The distinctions between North and South, like those between East and West, reflect differing interests. They have a role in defining the issues and in clarifying our choices. But we must commit ourselves to finding areas where our interests converge.

108. Each of us has our special values to be nurtured, our particular goals to be served, and I do not suggest it can or should be otherwise. The United States believes in a world of diversity.

109. But let us resolve—here, at this Assembly—to find in our common needs and common humanity a renewed dedication to the search for common ground.

110. Mr. OREJA AGUIRRE (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This year we have the good fortune to have as President of the General Assembly Mr. Salim, a veteran of multilateral diplomacy who, in this Organization, has tried his skills with good fortune and effectiveness in the service of various causes, but especially in the noble endeavour of decolonization. In congratulating you most sincerely on your election, Mr. President, may I pay a tribute, through you, to a country, the United Republic of Tanzania, with whose noble people we have maintained excellent relations, as well as to a continent with which we are united, not only by geographical proximity, but also by historical links, common interests and the struggle for the legitimate causes of the African peoples, with respect to whom we have affirmed a growing will for understanding and co-operation.

111. My congratulations also go to Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, under whose wise and prudent guidance this Assembly was able during its last session to deal with many and very difficult questions. His presidency bore witness to the ancient culture and the modern vitality which distinguish his country, Colombia, and which do honour to all the peoples of Ibero-America.

112. I also wish to reaffirm my admiration for the work done by our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, in the course of this last year, has given us an example of devotion to the Organization, placing his enthusiasm and his prudence, his skill and his tenacity at the service of the United Nations and of the cause of peace.

113. I am pleased to welcome to this Organization Saint Lucia, that most enchanting island, which captured the imagination of Spanish sailors and to whose people I wish to transmit today on behalf of my Government an expression of our will to consolidate those historical links with the most cordial relations of friendship and co-operation.

114. The year which has elapsed since I last addressed

this Assembly⁷ has not been an easy one for anybody. The international economic crisis has relaxed neither in its causes nor in its effects; on the contrary, in many countries there has been growing unemployment, rising inflation, and continued economic stagnation. New armed conflicts and hotbeds of tension have been added to those already in existence, while the technological abyss and the imbalances in development between the privileged and less-favoured peoples have done nothing but grow, and it has not been possible to reach an agreement to set in motion an effective machinery for the correction of these inequalities.

115. But in the disturbing international panorama which surrounds us we also observe some positive events which permit us to open the door to hope. Prominent among these is the momentum given to the European Communities which, leaving behind doubts and scepticism, have taken decisive steps towards enlargement and the consolidation of their institutions. For the first time in history, parliamentary elections transcending national boundaries have been held. I cannot but see in this a most meaningful step towards the desired goal of the integration of Europe. Millions of men and women directly and immediately participated in the election of their own representatives to the European Parliament so that Europe might proceed apace in affirming its consciousness of unity and solidarity; so that, as Mr. Suárez, the President of the Government, said in Strasbourg, "Europe will not continue to be the medium of national compromises, but rather the supra-national result of common efforts and deliberations."

116. On 5 February last negotiations began for Spain's accession to the Communities. In making this choice, with the support of all the political forces of my country, the people of Spain wished with one voice to add their strength to the task of building a more complete, united, better balanced Europe, and one more open to the possibilities and problems of the Mediterranean area; a Europe more sensitive to the needs of the developing countries and, above all, to the problems of Ibero-America, an area in which Spain is prepared to make a major contribution; a Europe able to make its own response to the challenges of our time; a Europe firm in its beliefs, faithful to its destiny, and in the vanguard in the defence of democracy, human rights, justice and freedom.

117. In the Ibero-American area, with whose countries we feel ourselves to be united by so many and such close links, there have also been positive events which I am pleased to note. We are witnessing a process of affirmation of the Ibero-American world, whose growing role in world events represents one of the fundamental developments in the area of international relations. Spain, maintaining as it does ties of special solidarity with these countries, will continue to make its relations with Ibero-America one of the fundamental dimensions of its foreign policy, the better to serve our respective peoples. Our firm European vocation, to which I have just referred, will never be a barrier in our relations with Ibero-America. On the contrary: the two dimensions mutually enrich and complement one another.

118. This special relationship has been strengthened

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 16th meeting, paras. 1-64.

with the entry of Spain, as a full member, into ECLA. This will permit us to experience the problems of the region from within and to broaden the channels of co-operation among our countries. We seek no starring role here; on the contrary, we intend to increase our efforts to contribute to the equitable, dynamic and harmonious development of Ibero-America.

119. But co-operation with Ibero-America does not end in the economic and social fields but lies in a broader and more profound context: that of harmonizing efforts to defend a model society based on democracy and human dignity; of an understanding of life as freedom, solidarity, as a collective endeavour to satisfy the requirements of justice. In this spirit Spain signed with the countries of the Andean Pact and Costa Rica the Quito Declaration of 11 August last. In it we expressed the hope that the process of providing freedom with an institutional framework would continue on the American continent,

“... being convinced that the struggle for democracy gives impetus to our own institutional life, encourages the recognition of freedom on the continent and contributes to the organization of the political form best suited to the attainment of our peoples' aspirations to social justice.”

120. My Government has not confined itself to expressing wishes and proclaiming principles but, as is proved by the example of Nicaragua, we have acted on our beliefs with absolute consistency, thus proving our will to contribute to the enormous effort of international co-operation required by that country, a co-operation which is essential so that a people first oppressed and then devastated by war may rebuild in freedom.

121. It was with enormous hope too that we witnessed the conclusion of the treaties on the Panama Canal,⁸ which put an end to a situation for which there can be no justification today and which provide the best example of how two countries can, through peaceful and constructive negotiation, solve an old territorial dispute which had cast a shadow on their relations.

122. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/34/1], the Secretary-General points out the need to persevere unswervingly in our support for the United Nations, for which there is no valid alternative. Today more than ever we need clear guidelines and sound criteria for action to do away with injustice, poverty, the violation of human rights and the threats to peace and security which persist in various areas of the planet. We must renew our confidence in the principles of the Charter and provide the Organization with effective means to see to it that they are complied with. But the ultimate responsibility falls on the States themselves, and it will not be possible to advance towards peace and détente in the multiple conflicts which concern us unless there is the political will to accept dialogue and negotiation as means for solving conflicts, thus reconciling positions in a spirit of give-and-take and compromise. To maintain rigid attitudes, expecting total victory and the humiliation of the other party will contribute to nothing more than to perpetuate tensions and confrontations and, ultimately, the suffering of peoples. History is full of examples of that kind of

victory, which have served only to nourish a spirit of revenge in a tragic spiral of resentment and sterile and destructive violence.

123. Among all the conflicts and tensions that still persist, Spain is particularly concerned with those which affect the Mediterranean, which is today the object of covetousness, threats and confrontations that jeopardize its security and stability. From this rostrum I have emphasized the importance of détente and security in the Mediterranean, as well as the need for the coastal peoples to struggle in solidarity to defend their common interests and increase their reciprocal co-operation so as to lessen the existing imbalances between the northern and southern shores and strive to create a complementary security system. We must avoid the trend to internationalize the tensions and conflicts of the Mediterranean area and prevent it from being used as a testing-ground for influences and pressures at the service of political and economic interests that are foreign to the Mediterranean countries, which thus become pawns in a game over which they have no control.

124. In the last few months it has seemed to us that there is a greater understanding among the Mediterranean countries, more consultation in the defence of common interests and a certain decrease in tension in some of the more burning conflicts. This modest progress—which we must encourage and support—is as yet not enough. The fact is that the old problems of the area remain there.

125. Security in Europe is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean and in the Arab world. Spain, which is linked with those countries by deep historical and cultural bonds and geographical proximity, believes that the European-Arab dialogue should continue and be given greater substance, so that relations between both groups of countries may become closer, new channels of co-operation may be opened up and a positive contribution be made to détente and peace.

126. The Middle East conflict is a grave destabilizing factor in the Mediterranean which has led to confrontation between Israelis and Arabs in four wars and continues to represent a constant threat to international peace and security, with potential risks of incalculable consequences at both the regional and world level. Spain, which has supported the resolutions granting the Palestine Liberation Organization observer status at the United Nations as the representative of the Palestinian people, reiterates its conviction that the recognition and exercise of the national rights of that people, including its right to a country, and the principles contained in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) must constitute a basis for a just peace which will give satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

127. We believe that it is time for the conflicting parties in a confrontation which has caused so many victims and so much suffering to realize that they cannot pursue as an objective the annihilation or humiliation of the adversary. Israel cannot keep the Arab territories it conquered in 1967 in the belief that the passage of time and the presence of the illegal settlements will create a fait accompli; because an illicit act cannot be the source of right, nor can the passage of time legitimize an unjust situation established in violation of the principle of the territorial integrity of States, which

⁸ Panama Canal Treaty of 1977 and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed in Washington on 7 September 1977.

has been established by this Organization. On the other hand, we cannot deny Israel's right to exist, because the United Nations has recognized the right of all States in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. When both sides give up their unattainable objectives and realize that there is no other course than that of negotiation, on the basis of respect for the principles established by this Organization, it will be possible to arrive at an authentic peace, which will make feasible coexistence and fruitful co-operation among all the peoples of the area.

128. The peace initiatives which led to the agreements between Egypt and Israel do not yet constitute the global solution which the Middle East needs. Essential questions remain to be solved, such as those which affect the future of the Palestinian people. Although efforts have been made—which we hope will not be proved vain—we believe it necessary to respect the principles stated by this Organization to make possible a just solution.

129. We must enter into a clear political commitment to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon, support the efforts of its Government and the peace-keeping work of this Organization and prevent foreign influences from transforming that country into a pawn in the power play in the Middle East, thus threatening its survival as a free and independent State.

130. Another hotbed of tension in the Mediterranean area is the situation in Cyprus. We were hopeful at the resumption of the intercommunal talks, which was due in large measure to the efforts of the Secretary-General, who, with perseverance and discretion, managed to overcome not a few difficulties. We regret the interruption of those talks and hope that that dialogue will be resumed and lead to a negotiated settlement that will respect the territorial integrity and political independence of Cyprus and make possible peaceful coexistence and the economic and social development of the Cypriot people.

131. A persistent element of conflict in the Mediterranean region is the situation created by the continued British presence in Gibraltar. At the beginning of my statement I referred to the President's decisive participation in what is perhaps the most relevant aspect of United Nations tasks: its decolonizing work. It will be readily understood that I cannot pass over in silence the injustice that the perpetuation on our territory of a colonial presence represents.

132. Spain continues to be prepared, as it always has been, to negotiate with the United Kingdom to find a formula which, while restoring the territorial integrity of Spain, will make it possible to put an end to this dispute on the basis of respect for the principles and guidelines contained in the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations. We shall go to these negotiations with an open mind, with a desire to find solutions to all the problems and accommodation for the legitimate interests of the Gibraltarians, being confident of the possibilities of a dialogue between two European democracies having so many common interests. It is not possible to continue to turn one's back on the need to solve by friendly negotiations this anachronism which disturbs our relations.

133. The Government of Spain continues to pay spe-

cial attention to the situation in the Maghreb, where in the recent weeks events have occurred which affect the situation in the area.

134. Our position regarding the Western Sahara is clear. Spain, which put a final end to its responsibilities as an administering Power in February 1976, deems it essential that a just and satisfactory solution for all the parties be found on the basis of the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and of the (OAU), and on the basis of respect for the right of the Saharan people to self-determination.

135. We are aware of the importance of maintaining and developing the momentum of peace which began last year. Accordingly, we have sought to co-operate in the work of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara by contacts with its member countries. In this context, we received the visit of the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU. At the same time, we have spared no effort in respect of all the parties to contribute to the establishment of an atmosphere of dialogue and conciliation which will make it possible to pave the way toward a solution.

136. We saw as a hopeful sign the approval by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at Monrovia of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee [see A/34/552, pp. 90-91] which, as we see it, open up a course which, when developed in co-operation with the United Nations and all of the parties, could serve to bring us forward towards a final settlement.

137. Nevertheless, the latest events in the area cast a pall on the scene and increase the risks of extending the conflict surrounding the Territory.

138. It is our earnest hope that a just, political and lasting solution of this problem will pave the way for peace, stability and understanding among all the peoples of a region bordering on Spain, with whom we wish to maintain and develop our relations of friendship and close co-operation, consistent with the historical ties and profound affinities which unite us.

139. The Government of Spain is making a major effort to plan and implement a policy of greater closeness with the countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Both bilaterally and at the level of international organizations, our action with African peoples is based on the following guidelines: first, and above all, resolute support for the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism, *apartheid*, and racial discrimination; secondly, strict observance of the principle of non-intervention at a time when we are witnesses to a growing participation of forces outside the continent in affairs which only Africans are competent to settle; and, finally, a policy of technical assistance and of economic, financial and cultural co-operation which, seeking mutual benefits, will always respect the uniqueness and the personality of countries which need methods and techniques for the development of their peoples and to reaffirm and safeguard their values, their traditions and their own identity.

140. These are the principles which have guided our co-operation with Equatorial Guinea, today reborn for the African community and for the international community. The Government of Spain, so sensitive to the

problems and concerns of the people of Guinea, has thus wished to bear witness as to how we view co-operation in the world today: on a footing of equality, with no interference in internal affairs, far from any shadow of neo-colonialism, and with solidarity, taking on the sacrifices which co-operation demands.

141. My Government, which has been supporting the need for a peaceful transition which will guarantee the complete independence of Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule, and with the agreement of all parties concerned, viewed with hope the results of the Commonwealth Meeting at Lusaka, at which a will for negotiation was made manifest, thus giving proof of an imaginative effort. We trust that the initiative of the United Kingdom Government to convene a constitutional conference will open up a positive course for a final solution of the problem on the basis of United Nations principles and resolutions, to a solution which will ensure respect for democracy and guarantee the defence of the rights and interests of the various parties involved.

142. Spain considers that the active presence of the United Nations and the application of the provisions of this Organization through an international administration are needed to find the solution required for the problem of Namibia. Guided by these considerations, we voted in favour of resolution 33/206, which the General Assembly approved on 31 May last, because we believe that the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa must come to an end and because we support the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, to freedom, and to independence within a united Namibia.

143. We are concerned at the situation in South Africa and the persistence of a policy of *apartheid* and of territorial segregation, which gravely injures human rights and is a challenge to the international community, while it is equally a source of grave tensions which affect peace and security in the area, thwarting reconciliation and a peaceful change which will make possible an orderly coexistence among all the South African communities.

144. To the conflicts and tensions in the Mediterranean and in southern Africa has been added the alarming situation in South-East Asia, and particularly in Kampuchea, which is so important for peace and stability in the entire area. My Government considers that these situations gravely affect the fundamental rights of every human being and of peoples, and that a solution must be found on the basis of the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty, political independence and non-intervention, which it is our duty to respect.

145. A great Spanish philosopher once said that war is not an instinct but an invention. Nor is peace a fact, but an achievement, the result of action by peoples and Governments which, in the final analysis, create or destroy it. Hence, to build peace requires a renewed and permanent effort to establish the conditions of justice, development and freedom which will make it possible. There can be no more noble aim for the collective task of a people than to contribute its hopeful effort to the cause of peace.

146. Domestically and internationally, my Govern-

ment maintains its genuine and resolute will for peace, convinced of the possibilities of dialogue and negotiation as means of solving conflicts and tensions. For us, true peace, which must be one and indivisible and therefore the work of all, can be achieved only when the conditions which will make it just and lasting are established. These conditions include a reaffirmation of the process of détente to bring relations among all peoples closer on the basis of respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Final Act of Helsinki;⁹ a general and complete disarmament which will enable us to build a less insecure world, liberated from the economic, social and political servility created by an unchecked arms race; a greater and more perfect system of international social justice which will make possible a better distribution of resources and eliminate the existing inequalities between the world of affluence and the world of poverty; and an effective defence and protection of fundamental human rights, which is the final objective and ultimate foundation of any just, free and democratic order, without the universal respect for and effective safeguard of which peace would be devoid of content.

147. The Government of Spain has articulated its foreign policy in terms of the basic concept of international peace and security. We are opposed to threats, to the use of force and to all forms of violence in international relations and we shall spare no effort to settle by peaceful means the conflicts which do persist in the world and to reduce tensions which cast shadows over the international scene.

148. Spain participated actively in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Final Act of which we signed at Helsinki, and the provisions and principles of that document, having been fully accepted by my Government, inspire our actions. It is now our responsibility to prepare for the next session of the Conference, which is to be held in Madrid in the autumn of next year.

149. Being aware of the importance of the Madrid session, my Government is working actively to make adequate preparations for it. It is true that there are divergent views on the order of priority of items, on how they are to be dealt with and sometimes on their very content. But there are also broad areas of agreement, which we must consolidate and expand. Détente is in a process of continual advancement. It calls for our continued action and solidarity to strengthen international security, reaffirm confidence, dispel suspicion and promote better mutual understanding and closer relations among peoples, superseding past confrontations and advancing along the path of dialogue, co-operation and respect for human rights. It is therefore very important that, with the combined effort of all concerned, we take steps to guarantee the success of the Madrid Conference.

150. Disarmament is the inexorable responsibility of this Assembly. It is a corner-stone in the building of peace and it is one of the essential objectives of our foreign policy. We support nuclear disarmament, under strict and effective international control, because we do not believe in the alleged virtues of an armed peace. Rather we are convinced that arms races have always

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

ended in confrontation, and the nuclear arsenals, being subject to the growing risks of an accident or of the madness of an irresponsible person, have created the objective conditions for the destruction of mankind whenever our vigilance should weaken or, simply, when our good luck comes to an end.

151. Further, the degree of sophistication of weapons absorbs enormous technological, economic and human resources which are diverted from national budgets, sometimes to the detriment of the most elementary needs of the people. The present figures of that waste have attained scandalous proportions. It suffices to say that our world, which needs the means to combat hunger and wretchedness, is devoting almost a million dollars every minute to the manufacture of weapons, yielding to the voracity of power and to the cause of the destruction of resources which unjustly and blindly are denied to the peaceful development of peoples.

152. We have followed with great interest the second round of the SALT negotiations and we are pleased that the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union have been able to reach an agreement, which we hope will shortly be ratified and come into force. We believe that putting an end to the strategic arms race is a positive factor in the relations between the two super-Powers. It strengthens their mutual confidence, contributes to consolidating détente, and opens the way for the third round of the SALT negotiations, which would take up the limitation of tactical nuclear weapons and weapons of intermediate range, which especially affect the countries of Europe. As a European country, linked by treaty with the United States to the Western defence system, and because geography has placed it in a strategic position at the entrance to the Mediterranean, Spain cannot be absent from a negotiation which so directly affects its security.

153. But it is not only nuclear arsenals which must be controlled and eliminated; we must also maintain within reasonable limits the growing increase in conventional armaments, with the objective of genuinely moving towards the desired goal of general and complete disarmament, without undermining our right to security. My Government is alarmed at the development of these arsenals and, above all, at the recent increase in the fraudulent and uncontrolled trade in weapons. Therefore, consistent with our purpose of moving forward to the adoption of effective measures for disarmament, even though they may be of limited scope, we intend to submit to this Assembly a specific proposal, namely that the United Nations, which has established the need to arrive at general and complete disarmament, draft, in so far as it is possible to achieve this objective, a code of conduct, with clear, precise and universal validity, to govern, under the strict control of the United Nations, the sale of conventional weapons to third party countries.

154. These rules would establish the cases in which trading in weapons would not be allowed; they would establish by means of a certificate of final destination and other relevant requirements the necessary guarantees that those arms would not be the subject of later uncontrolled trade; and they would call upon the United Nations to set up the necessary machinery to ensure strict compliance with these provisions.

155. This action would effectively control the trade,

so that Governments would assume their responsibility and adequately regulate this branch of their commerce and thus eliminate the figure of the uncontrolled trafficker and fraudulent merchant, who are the true enemies of mankind.

156. My Government has made respect for and universal protection of human rights one of the fundamental dimensions of its foreign policy. I have explained in detail before this forum the principles which guide our action in this field and the concrete measures which, in our opinion, should be adopted by the United Nations to ensure that they are protected and safeguarded and that the means for control are broadened and perfected. There can be no genuine peace unless there is efficient machinery to safeguard and control the protection of human rights. That has very often been reaffirmed in this forum and enshrined in declarations and conventions of universal scope, but not complied with in practice by Governments which, before the international community, have entered into a solemn commitment to observe them.

157. My Government, which condemns the violation of fundamental human rights wherever it may occur, participated in the Geneva Meeting on the refugees from Indo-China and has joined in the efforts of other countries to assist the victims. But we do not confine ourselves to this humanitarian task; we have condemned this mass violation of human rights and denounced the causes which have forced millions of human beings to abandon their homes and their countries.

158. In the month of December last, Spain, by the solemn will of its people, adopted a constitution which represents the culmination of our aspirations to achieve, within a legal context, a peaceful formula of national accord. The Human Rights Committee, in the month of April last, had an opportunity to consider its provisions in depth when our Government submitted the report requested under article 40 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [see resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex]. It noted—and I am proud to be able to place this on record—that in the field of human rights it is one of the most advanced, balanced and progressive constitutions of our time [see A/34/40, paras. 180-227].

159. Consistent with our guidelines, we have ratified the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and we are making progress towards ratifying the European Social Charter, the European Convention on Extradition, the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism and the European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers. We are thus integrating ourselves fully in the juridical structure of instruments of the Council of Europe with respect to human rights.

160. It is discouraging that in this field the United Nations has been unable to find an effective formula for fighting terrorism. In our view the chief feature of modern terrorism is its international character. Therefore, the reaction of our free and democratic societies must be concerted at the international level so that we may in solidarity defend our institutions and guarantee the first right of our citizens—the right to live.

161. The United Nations cannot remain paralysed in

the face of this new form of totalitarianism which, disregarding both reason and law, tries to impose by force its own violent and desperate solutions. Spain has signed the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism and has joined with the members of the Council of Europe in efforts to combat this evil. From this rostrum it reiterates its appeal that the United Nations should overcome the difficulties and prove itself capable of formulating a concrete plan of action to fight effectively this last remnant of irrationality and barbarism.

162. I do not wish to conclude this section of my statement without urging this Organization to adopt effective measures to protect emigrant workers, ensure the exercise of their political and social rights and their rights as workers, and offer them the education and social assistance they and their children need. My Government will always favour any initiative to improve the living conditions of emigrant workers, foster the preservation of the ties that bind them to their respective national communities and facilitate their return to their countries of origin whenever they so desire.

163. In order to build peace, finally, a new impetus must be given to international co-operation based on the principles of solidarity, equality, participation and mutual benefit as an essential element in the integrated and harmonious development of peoples.

164. Spain, situated geographically in the immediate vicinity of Africa and historically within the framework of the rich tapestry of the Ibero-American world, is determined to maintain and increase its co-operation with all developing countries, especially those in Africa and Ibero-America.

165. In contrast to the mechanical interpretation of development as the automatic result of investment, whether financed from external or internal resources, the experience accumulated in recent years has highlighted the decisive importance of human resources and the technological and organizational level of society at a time when we are formulating a new strategy and defining a more just and more humane international model for development with greater solidarity.

166. The attitude of the developing countries in gradually opting for aid in the form of technical assistance and the transfer of technology is consistent with this new conception. International technological co-operation thus becomes a fundamental factor in development and therefore a key element in the new international economic order. It cannot be reduced to the simplistic dimension of mere economic assistance. It must be a richer and more complex reality which includes a profound transformation of international economic structures, a real transfer of technology, particularly intermediate technology, and finally the establishment of both quantitative and qualitative objectives. Thus the concept of development will transcend the idea of simple economic growth to include the full development of the human being.

167. In this spirit, Spain attended the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979, and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held in Vienna from 20 to 31 August. We must realize that in these areas and in the

more general field of the North-South dialogue the activities of the United Nations have met with varying success. Spain shares the concern expressed by the Secretary-General at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 3 to 9 September, when he spoke about lack of progress in this field. We hope that the relations between industrialized and developing countries can progressively be placed in a more institutionalized context so that we may single out those areas where a new impetus can be given so that closer co-operation can be achieved. This will satisfy the need for special and differential treatment for the less favoured peoples.

168. We believe that to attain the objectives of the North-South dialogue within the institutional framework to which I have referred will mean closer co-ordination of national economic policies, which will lead to greater economic interdependence—viewed as a political commitment to co-operate. We view with particular interest the proposal of the Group of 77 with regard to global negotiations on international co-operation for development [*see A/34/34, part III, annex I*].

169. The difficult economic times the world is experiencing prove that the grave problems cannot be solved by protectionist barriers and nostalgic dreams of autarchy, by actions devoid of solidarity that seek to satisfy narrow nationalistic goals and obtain fragile advantages. The economic problems of our times are clearly international; they affect us all and require the co-operation of all for their solution. No country today is strong enough to do without the markets, the manpower, the technology, the financial resources or the raw materials of others. I said last year that we are in urgent need of practices of international solidarity, for it is not enough to bring about apparent solutions which, based as they are more on self-interest than on any sense of solidarity, may perhaps benefit some countries, but do not eliminate the deepest causes of poverty and under-development.¹⁰ Today as I survey the scene I have briefly described I can only reiterate those same concerns.

170. That lack of solidarity is particularly grave in relation to energy. We cannot continue to be subjected to the uncertainties of supplies and the fluctuations in the price of oil which ruin all short-term and medium-term economic plans and demand intolerable sacrifices of the weak economies of the developing countries and of countries such as Spain that are struggling to lessen these burdens which become heavier every day. We must persevere in a renewed effort to avoid a spirit of confrontation and to co-ordinate the actions of producers and consumers of energy so as to co-operate in the search for alternative sources of energy, stabilize prices, ensure supplies and clear up a market in which the intermediaries continue to impose their harsh laws.

171. The energy problem has ceased to be simply an economic and technological question. It has become a political issue of major importance. It puts to the test the developed countries' reaction capacity, the real chances of economic take-off in the developing countries and the solidarity of members of the interna-

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 16th meeting, para. 48.

tional community, for all are attending to their own concerns and are gradually becoming indifferent to the fate of the rest. Therefore, Spain supports the preparation and convening of an international conference on energy under the auspices of the United Nations.

172. Solidarity in action seems to us essential for the establishment of a new order for the use of maritime areas, which is the ultimate objective of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We reject the idea that this new order may be vitiated either by the requirements of the maritime super-Powers or by their selfishness in ignoring the legitimate rights and interests of all the members of the international community.

173. The Government of Spain is in favour of making a new negotiating effort, so that we may be able to go to the final session at Caracas with a balanced draft capable of winning universal acceptance. To that end, this draft must safeguard the fundamental rights of States without undermining their sovereignty, respect the legitimate interests of their nationals which deserve protection and contribute to shaping a new international economic order.

174. Peace based on justice and freedom is an objective cherished by mankind since time immemorial. Our Organization was founded to try to make it a reality. All the Governments represented here have as their first and unavoidable task to contribute to creating new conditions leading to the establishment of that peace which has been sought for so long. Our guidance will always come from the principles of the United Nations, which we have all accepted and which we are obliged to observe. The principles are there, but something more is required from us. We need imagination in order to adjust them to the needs of a world in transformation. We need to have faith in them in order to overcome setbacks and scepticism. We require the political will that will further common action in an interdependent world.

175. On this will, this faith and this imagination depends the future of the Organization, and so does our own future.

176. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. During the many years you have spent at the United Nations as the Permanent Representative of your country, you have built for yourself the reputation of a most dynamic and respected diplomat, and it gives us special pleasure to see you presiding over this session of the General Assembly.

177. I should also like to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the great appreciation of my Government for his tireless efforts on behalf of the cause of peace all around the world.

178. During the past year the international situation has been marked by uncertainty, tension and conflict. The problems facing us have never been more difficult or complex. This is in essence the serious message that the Secretary-General has conveyed to us in his report on the work of the Organization [A/34/1]. And he has

raised the question of whether we are capable of managing the course of world events. We have to admit that the answer to this question is uncertain, not least when we observe how a series of international negotiating processes are at an impasse. For instance, the North-South dialogue has so far not yielded any decisive break-through in the endeavours towards a New International Economic Order; we have not succeeded in making any substantial progress in the work for international disarmament; the international protection of human rights is still not sufficiently developed; the Middle East and southern Africa are still dangerous areas of conflict; and a critical situation has arisen in South-East Asia.

179. A period of sustained growth in the economy of the industrialized countries has come to an end. These countries are now going through a period of uncertainty and recession. This has, in turn, led to a worsening of the already very difficult situation of the developing countries. We have yet to develop methods of international co-operation capable of solving problems in the fields of energy, inflation and unemployment.

180. The world economic crisis is a serious obstacle to progress towards the solution of international economic and social problems. In the prevailing situation, it is more difficult to gain acceptance for the demands for increased transfer of resources to the developing countries and for the access of their products to the markets of the industrialized countries. The complexity and urgency of these demands are, however, too important to be brushed aside with a reference to existing economic difficulties.

181. The current economic crisis cannot be solved through protectionism or unilateral measures by individual countries or groups of countries. The response should be a strengthening of global economic co-operation. We have therefore noted with positive interest the proposal referred to the General Assembly by the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 [see A/34/34]. We support the idea of a new global round of negotiations on energy and monetary, financial development and trade questions.

182. We also support the principle that such global negotiations should be conducted within the framework of the United Nations and should be open to all countries. We must make use of already existing organs of co-operation and avoid disrupting ongoing negotiations. It is important that these negotiations should be thoroughly prepared and should be given an appropriate institutional framework. We share the view of the Group of 77 that the Committee of the Whole has a major role to play in this regard.

183. The negotiations during the eighth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea resulted in encouraging progress, *inter alia*, by setting a definite deadline for the adoption of a new convention on the law of the sea. The presentation of a new revised negotiating text¹¹ has raised hopes that the efforts to reach agreement on a fair and broadly acceptable compromise treaty will prove successful.

184. Norway will continue its active endeavours to

contribute to the solution of outstanding issues, including the establishment of an international régime for the utilization of the mineral resources on the deep-ocean floor. These problems are closely linked to important negotiations going on in various other United Nations forums for the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

185. If the concept of the "common heritage of mankind" is to have any real meaning, the international sea-bed authority must be rendered capable of functioning effectively. To a considerable degree, this depends upon the will of the industrialized countries to transfer technology and capital to the sea-bed authority and the developing countries.

186. The coming year's discussions will show whether the necessary political will really exists. A new convention on the law of the sea is the best assurance that there will be stability and order in the use and management of ocean resources.

187. The Norwegian Government has supported the Camp David agreements¹² and the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel as representing an important first step towards an over-all solution in the Middle East. One positive result in the peace process now under way is the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied areas in Sinai.

188. In order to further the peace process, it is necessary to clarify the question of the rights of the Palestinians and their participation in the negotiations. We have lately observed some encouraging indications of contact and dialogue between the parties concerned. It is only through such contacts that it will be possible to come closer to a solution that will safeguard the right of all States in the area to exist in peace within secure and recognized boundaries and ensure for the Palestinians their legitimate rights. A peace settlement must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It is therefore important that all parties accept these resolutions.

189. As a member of the Security Council and a troop-contributing country to UNIFIL, Norway follows with great concern the developments in southern Lebanon. We denounce all acts of violence and we have repeatedly appealed to the parties concerned not to obstruct UNIFIL in carrying out its mandate. A continued deterioration of the situation in southern Lebanon could compel the United Nations and the troop-contributing countries to question whether they can justify maintaining the United Nations Force in the area. On behalf of my Government, I would therefore repeat our appeal to all parties concerned to refrain from further violence and to co-operate with UNIFIL. We endorse the view of the Secretary-General that the United Nations Force is performing a vital peace-keeping task in southern Lebanon and that it represents a stabilizing factor in the entire area.

190. My Government welcomes and supports the decision of the Commonwealth Meeting in Lusaka on Zimbabwe, as well as the ongoing negotiations in London. It is important that all parties have now been

brought into the negotiating process. We would strongly urge the parties concerned to make full use of the opportunity which now exists to reach a negotiated settlement. The alternative is a continuation of the armed struggle and an increased risk of the internationalization of the conflict.

191. Despite the attitude of South Africa, we believe it is essential to continue the efforts to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia. We therefore support the efforts being made to that end by the five Western countries and the front-line States. However, one cannot expect that the momentum of the negotiations can be maintained indefinitely. If South Africa continues to refuse to co-operate with the United Nations on an internationally acceptable solution in Namibia, that would inevitably lead to new international measures against that country.

192. As a consequence of South Africa's *apartheid* policy, Norway has, in co-operation with the other Nordic countries, introduced a number of measures against South Africa. We intend to proceed with this policy. We are also prepared to contribute to increased international pressure being brought to bear on South Africa.

193. The Geneva Meeting in July on the question of the "boat" refugees from Viet Nam was characterized by a marked will to co-operate and made an important contribution to the solution of the problem. I would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for their initiative and the way in which the Conference was prepared and carried out. We hope that the results achieved in Geneva will be followed up by all parties.

194. The fate of the "boat" refugees must not, however, make us forget the humanitarian problems in Kampuchea. It is important that all parties to this conflict do not make the emergency relief operation dependent on political conditions.

195. At the same time we must not overlook the serious refugee problems in other parts of the world. We, for our part, are prepared to consider new proposals which may contribute to the solution of these problems.

196. In the field of human rights the greatest challenge now consists in securing greater harmony between norms and behaviour. At this General Assembly we must therefore focus attention on the question of improving the machinery and the procedures for the protection of human rights all over the world. An immediate and realistic step would be to strengthen regional co-operation arrangements in this field.

197. Better co-ordination and a more rational division of labour between the many bodies is called for in the field of human rights. The establishment of a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights continues to be a question of importance in that connexion.

198. In our opinion, increased attention should also be given to particularly vulnerable groups such as the indigenous peoples of the world.

199. The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women will take place in 1980. The situa-

¹² 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.

tion of women in the family, in society and in employment must be given more attention, both in our efforts to strengthen the protection of human rights, and in bringing about economic and social development. In our view it is therefore important that "Employment, Health and Education" have been chosen as the sub-theme of the Conference.

200. Progress in the field of disarmament depends primarily on the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. It has been a matter of encouragement to us, that in spite of existing problems between them, they have been able to conclude the SALT negotiations through the agreement signed in Vienna.¹³

201. This negotiating process should be continued. It is vital not only because of its impact on arms control, but also because of its contribution to détente between East and West and to improved relations between the two Super-Powers.

202. Another major task consists of preventing the proliferation of nuclear arms to more States. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is to be reviewed by an international conference in August 1980. We will work at that conference towards a strengthening of that Treaty.

203. A comprehensive treaty on banning nuclear test explosions would also be of the greatest importance in ensuring a successful outcome of the forthcoming conference on the non-proliferation Treaty.

204. Norway will continue its efforts to obtain international support for an idea we launched at the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament.¹⁴ I am referring to the idea of an arms-control impact analysis in connexion with the decision-making process on procurements of larger arms. The impact analysis will provide a basis for identifying areas where restraint should be shown in the perspective of arms control and disarmament. They will thus contribute to increased consciousness of the scope and implications of the individual country's decisions in regard to arms procurements.

205. I share the view of the Secretary-General that the United Nations can play a more active role in solving international problems and conflicts. The prerequisite, however, is that the Member States themselves make better use of the opportunities offered by the United Nations. This will strengthen confidence in the Organization.

206. Norway's membership in the Security Council this year has left us with the impression that more countries are prepared, to a greater extent than before, to use the United Nations as an instrument for peace-making and peace-keeping. This is a positive development which will enable the Security Council better to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations. This will be particularly important for the smaller countries like my own. Norway considers it an important task to contribute to such a development through our work on the Council.

¹³ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

¹⁴ See document A/S-10/AC.1/31.

207. This brings me, however, to a broader question. Is the United Nations system today in a position to contribute effectively to the solution of the problems confronting the international community?

208. The response of the 1970s to that question was characterized primarily by the large special conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations. These conferences have been important, because they have focused attention on major problems of our times. They have helped to form public opinion and have created a sense of awareness in the various individual countries. Moreover, the conferences have adopted declarations of principle and programmes of action which have formed the basis for further work on these questions. The task of the 1980s must be to transform these programmes and declarations into practical measures. This task demands different working methods: it demands the necessary political will and an adequate institutional machinery.

209. I think that the Geneva Meeting this summer on the refugee situation in Indo-China is a good example of what can be achieved at *ad hoc* conferences which take up concrete and limited issues, where participation can be restricted to the countries most interested, and the meetings, as at Geneva, can be completed in the course of a few days. Thus we should consider whether the time is not ripe for more conferences of this kind, more subject-oriented negotiations, limited in time and scope.

210. In this process, both regional and global organizations have a significant role to play. If such conferences are to be successful, a high degree of coordination is needed and we must avoid a duplication of effort in the different organs involved.

211. The present situation may also call for another look at some of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System [*resolution 32/197, annex*]. We have in mind, in particular, strengthening the role of UNDP in the development activities of the United Nations system, and the necessity of improving communications between the United Nations proper and the specialized agencies.

212. The Secretary-General pointed out in his report on organizational questions [*A/34/320*] that the working methods of these organizations have not been adapted to meet the increased level of activity. The machinery is overburdened, efficiency is reduced and the ability to act has been weakened. I would like to associate myself with the Secretary-General's assessment, and also to support his request that we give priority during this session of the General Assembly to rationalizing the work of the United Nations and to making it more effective.

213. Most of the problems of the United Nations of course can be traced back to political disagreement between Member States. It is not a simple matter, therefore, to make proposals which can strengthen the organization in the short term. However, in his report, the Secretary General suggests solutions to some of the most urgent practical problems. I should in particular like to mention the proposals to strengthen the role of the General Committee, to streamline the Assembly's

agenda, to reduce documentation and to increase the efficiency of the Main Committees.

214. It is in our interest—the interest of the Member

States—that the United Nations should become a vigorous and effective organization. We should all make our contribution to this end.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.