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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. OUKO (Kenya): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly. This recognition of your qualities of leadership and your demonstrated skills and experience in diplomacy is a tribute to you personally and to your country, with which my country has long-standing cordial and fruitful relations. My delegation will co-operate with you and give you all possible support in the discharge of your responsibilities as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

2. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who presided over the General Assembly during an unusually busy and difficult year. He did a good job under difficult circumstances. The United Nations and the international community as a whole owe him a debt of gratitude.

3. The ever expanding responsibilities of the United Nations have occasioned the growth of staff and financial burdens that in turn have increased the burdens of managing the Organization. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for taking the Organization through these very difficult years.

4. This year our Organization has grown to include 154 Members. We welcome the sister State of Zimbabwe, whose delegation is attending the regular session of the General Assembly for the first time. For many years my country has joined hands with many others in supporting the people of Zimbabwe to eliminate the racism and colonialism that held them in subjugation. Their success has given us immense joy. We also warmly welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations family. We look forward to having fruitful relations with them.

5. The annual general debate of the General Assembly is always a suitable occasion to review the year that is passing. Without any doubt, the past year has been turbulent. Ever fragile, international peace and security have been threatened in many parts of the world, and have actually been broken seriously in some. The problem in Kampuchea has not been resolved; the situation in Afghanistan has become worse; the situation in Iran continues to cause anxiety. Since this session started, the conflict between Iraq and Iran has exploded into open war, thus creating a situation full of grave threats to international peace. The conflict in Lebanon continues. In Africa, the problem of Western Sahara remains unsolved to date, while in the Horn of Africa peace continues to be under constant threat. These breaches of international peace are occurring with increasing frequency, and unless something is done to halt their occurrence by encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes, the situation will soon get out of hand.

6. These problems are not new, but they form a disturbing pattern. Some States Members of this Organization fail to honour their obligations under the Charter and in some cases completely ignore or deliberately act contrary to international law or to specific treaties or conventions.

7. In Namibia, the United Nations has been frustrated in its efforts to bring to an end the unlawful occupation of the Territory by the illegitimate and odious *apartheid* régime of South Africa. Although negotiations on Namibia's freedom were completed more than two years ago and agreement was reached, South Africa has continued to engage in transparent delaying tactics calculated to deflate pressure for action by the United Nations, while doing nothing to bring to an end its own illegal occupation of the Territory. Indeed, it has continued its efforts to create institutions and puppets through which it hopes it will continue to direct the affairs of Namibia and to exploit its resources after completing the semblance of withdrawal. The United Nations must reject all those manoeuvres and take enforcement measures under the Charter of the United Nations to heal that ugly sore. Namibia must be free.

8. South Africa is the only country in the world in which human beings are sorted out like animals on the basis of the pigmentation of their skin and then granted or denied their basic human rights according to that classification. To satisfy the official racist policies of separation, even the whites continue to be subjected to punishment for crossing the colour line in certain kinds of behaviour. The so-called Coloureds or Bantus continue to be treated like beasts of burden. The tyranny of the system has no limits. Indeed, the whole system is so full of contradictions and inconsistencies that only the most oppressive and brutal violence of State machinery can hold it unsteadily together. That constitutes a constant source of threat to world peace.

9. Indeed, in the past few years that danger has already been manifested in the aggressive raids South Africa has repeatedly mounted against Angola, Zamiba and Mozambique. Within South Africa itself, the machinery of State has committed numerous murders. Oppression by the State continues. Children of the oppressed have demonstrated by their actions that the situation is a dangerous time bomb. The bomb is bound to explode unless prompt action is taken.

10. It is saddening to note that no acceptable solution of the problem in the Middle East has been found. For a long time now we have witnessed the miserable plight of the Palestinian people, dispossessed, dispersed and uprooted from their land. My delegation has made its views known on many occasions in the deliberations of this Organization on the question of the rights of the Palestinian people. We still believe that no lasting peace can be achieved until the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people are taken into account and adequately safeguarded. We continue to call upon those directly concerned to be realistic and to address themselves to the real issues with a determination to resolve the problems. The basic elements involve the acceptance by all parties of the following: first, the right of all States in the region to live in peace and in recognized and therefore secure boundaries; secondly, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, and also from East Jerusalem, as already decided upon by the United Nations; and thirdly, recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a national home, free, independent and sovereign.

11. As long as the parties to the dispute continue to refuse to recognize the essential elements of this problem, the Middle East will continue to pose a threat to international peace and security. Failure to settle this problem today will not make it easier to solve it in the future. If anything, it will make it even more difficult.

12. The problem of Cyprus continues to elude solution, but we urge the communities to make every effort to find a negotiated settlement. Clearly, acquisition of territory by force and the transplantation of populations is not the way to find a lasting peace. We urge the people of Cyprus to recognize their long-term interests and to make use of the opportunity provided by the presence of the United Nations to negotiate a lasting solution that will preserve the integrity of Cyprus.

13. The recent development in Korea is of great concern. This concerns the sudden unilateral suspension of the ongoing South-North working level contacts by North Korea, which causes a great threat to the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula. We urge South Korea and North Korea, the parties directly concerned, to resume the dialogue immediately in accordance with the letter and spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,¹ thereby easing the tension and improving relations as a means of moving closer towards the attainment of a peaceful solution of the Korean problem.

14. I should like to draw attention to the continuing arms race. Large proportions of national resources continue to be devoted to the production of arms in preparation for war.

We consider this to be not only a dangerous but also an unjustifiable use of resources badly needed for development. This unnecessary arms race continues while many deserving projects aimed at improving the quality of human life desperately lack resources. The improvement of the quality of life on this planet is a pre-condition of peace, and we must all work for it. We appreciate that meaningful disarmament negotiations depend heavily on the improvement of relations between the super-Powers. It is for that reason, among others, that we note with regret that in the past year the international climate has deteriorated considerably. This should not serve as an excuse to reverse the momentum that has been built up in the improvement of international relations. The momentum must be maintained if mankind is to survive.

15. We have all agreed that nuclear weapons constitute a major threat to our world today. Kenya is against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and we should like to appeal to all Governments to support efforts towards halting the dangerous process of nuclear proliferation. Successful efforts to create a foolproof non-proliferation régime presupposes a will to co-operate on the part of the nuclear-weapon Powers. They have heavy responsibilities. Many of us who have voluntarily renounced any right to acquire nuclear weapons under the terms of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] are, however, interested in the potential benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear energy. We do not believe that the peaceful application of nuclear energy will automatically lead to proliferation of nuclear weapons as long as all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, agree to observe strictly the safeguards laid down by IAEA. We strongly appeal to the nuclear-weapon States, as well as to the developed countries which possess sophisticated civilian nuclear technology, to implement article IV of the non-proliferation Treaty.

16. Having given up our right to acquire nuclear weapons, we believe that we have every right to insist that the efforts to stop horizontal nuclear proliferation should be matched by equal efforts on the part of the nuclear-weapon States themselves to stop vertical proliferation. We cannot be convinced of the sincerity of the nuclear-weapon States as long as their actions in increasing the sophisticated use of nuclear energy for armaments do not conform with their frequent protestations of willingness to decelerate and subsequently to stop altogether the nuclear arms race.

17. The failure of the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons² should not be used as an excuse to abandon or wreck ongoing dialogue in other disarmament forums.

18. We have waited a long time for this body to receive the final results of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea,³ which is dealing with the important question of concluding a comprehensive treaty on the law of the sea. While we regret that nine sessions of that Conference have failed to produce a treaty, we are encouraged by the report that remarkable progress has been made in resolving the outstanding issues and that we should expect to sign a

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex 1.*

² Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980

³ See document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3.

treaty in the course of the year 1981. We hope, however, that such a treaty will deal adequately with the rights and obligations of States parties in all the designated areas.

19. Similarly, we should like to see questions regarding the transfer of technology adequately dealt with so that developing countries which have hitherto been left behind in this field will receive sufficient consideration. We also consider that the new machinery envisaged for the resolution of issues within the Council and the Assembly, the principal organs of the Authority, will be worked out in a manner that will be fair and equitable in so far as the world community as a whole is concerned. In this connection, we have welcomed the recent progress made with respect to the resolution of issues in both the Council and the Assembly in relation to the deep-sea mining of manganese nodules.

20. I wish to reiterate our position on this matter. We are totally opposed to any procedures that would grant certain States the right to veto decisions. We consider that to be inconsistent with the principle of the sovereign equality of States and also the principle of the right of every State to dispose of its own resources in the manner best suited to it. Thus, in welcoming the results of the negotiations regarding the voting procedures in the Council, we consider that in the event of a failure to reach a consensus the issues which remain unresolved should be referred to the Assembly for resolution. It is our view that the Assembly, being the most representative body and the principle organ of authority, is the organ best suited for that purpose. We intend to press for the adoption of that approach at the next session of the Conference next year.

21. We consider the question of the transfer of technology to the Enterprise to be a major issue requiring very careful treatment. We take the view that in order for the Enterprise to get off the ground it must be provided with the necessary technology. We shall therefore maintain at the next session of the Conference that the transfer of technology should be a continuous process throughout the 25 years of mining activities instead of the 10 years now proposed in the text. Furthermore we shall seek to obtain for the Enterprise the transfer of technology in relation to the processing and marketing of the manganese nodules once they have been recovered from the sea-bed.

22. We have alluded to the question of the identification, with a reasonable measure of certainty, of the rights and obligations of States arising from the new areas designated under the Convention on the law of the sea. Of particular importance in our view is the question of the delimitation of the continental shelf and of the exclusive economic zones of opposite and adjacent States. Negotiations on that issue continue to be difficult and we doubt if agreement could be reached on the basis of an equidistance criterion, which is urged by a number of States. We urge that principles of equity be explored further in order to resolve the remaining problems without delay.

23. The 10 years following the launching of the Second United Nations Development Decade will go down in history as the decade of great but lost opportunities. The decisions emanating from the numerous conferences we have held since then on problems of development have hardly been implemented. These include the recommenda-

tions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, held respectively in 1974 and 1975. The world community must demonstrate a greater degree of seriousness in tackling the problems involved.

24. Energy is one of the most serious problems of this decade and even of this century. The economic situation of the developing nations has been made particularly gloomy because of the energy crisis and will almost certainly remain so for some time to come. Kenya is one of the developing countries seriously affected by the energy crisis and it was one of the first countries to see the urgent and imperative need to shift the dependence of countries from petroleum to a greater reliance on alternative new and renewable sources of energy. It is our hope that the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, to be held at Nairobi in August 1981, will offer the world community a rare opportunity to find alternative solutions to our energy problems. My Government looks forward with enthusiasm to acting as host to that Conference and we wish the Preparatory Committee for the Conference every success.

25. On international trade and raw materials we should like to see a substantial increase in the developing countries' trade in manufactures. Furthermore, we seek differentials and more favourable treatment of the developing countries and the elimination of non-tariff barriers and other aspects of protectionism.

26. As for economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries, Kenya calls on them to intensify their activities at sub-regional, regional and inter-regional levels and to undertake regular studies to expand trade and monetary co-operation among themselves. We consider it essential for the developing nations also to increase their share in the trading, transport, marketing and distribution of their primary commodities.

27. We also urge the countries able to do so to provide financial and technical support to enable the countries of the South to realize their objectives. The developing nations have constantly called for reform of the international monetary system and the early achievement of the target of official development assistance. We regret that the developed countries have not yet increased the transfer of resources in real terms to the developing nations to the extent stipulated in the United Nations decision.

28. The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, agreed upon at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly [*decision S-11/23*] was not fully representative of the interests of the developing countries. We hope and believe that the provision in the Strategy for a review and appraisal mechanism, as well as for the implementation of regional development strategies such as the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa,⁴ will strengthen the Strategy in the course of the decade and accelerate its implementation.

29. It is essential that the Strategy for the 1980s should, among other things, secure a substantial average annual growth in agricultural production in the developing coun-

⁴ See document A/S-11/14, annex.

tries. In order to improve the quality of life in the rural areas it is necessary to have a higher rate of food and agricultural production, food security and storage and a reduction in food losses. Problems of food and agricultural development therefore call for national and international action to achieve collective self-sufficiency in food. They also call for increased capital from external sources.

30. We note with appreciation the agreement and recognition at the Industrial Development Board's recent session⁵ of the fact that Africa is the least developed of all the developing regions, and that consequently the General Assembly should proclaim the decade of 1980-1990 as the industrial development decade for Africa. As the least developed region containing the largest number of least developed, land-locked and most seriously affected developing countries, Africa requires massive financial and technical support. We hope that donor countries and the international community as a whole will make substantial contributions towards the achievement of the objectives of the decade in Africa.

31. Similarly, we call on the donor countries and the international community to contribute substantially towards the fulfilment of the needs of the continent in the field of transport and communications. Improvement of this system will enhance intra-African trade and develop the rural areas of the African continent. Adequate and continued support is essential for the implementation of the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa, which terminates in 1988.

32. Science and technology are crucial elements for the achievement of the objectives of the Third United Nations Development Decade. High priority must therefore be given to the improvement of the capacity of the developing countries to make better use of science and technology for development. Indigenous developments in science and technology should be brought into national planning in order to help reduce the problem of the brain drain by creating research centres in these countries and accelerating the process of their transformation and development.

33. We cannot stress strongly enough the need to pay greater attention to the four special categories of States recognized by the United Nations. We urge the international community and countries in a position to do so to take measures to assist them to overcome their problems of economic development.

34. When I addressed the eleventh special session of this Assembly five weeks ago,⁶ I stressed my Government's concern at the structural disequilibrium and critical situation in which the world economy finds itself today. We are experiencing the worst economic crisis since the 1930s, and there is every indication from present trends that the situation is likely to get worse. Knowing this, we owe it to posterity to make a greater effort to resolve the remaining issues in the North-South dialogue during this session as far as we can.

35. This year, we witnessed yet another world conference, the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for

Women, which was held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July. The theme of this Conference was Equality, Development and Peace. Besides taking up many political questions and economic issues, the Conference focused, among other topics, on employment, health and education.

36. On the whole, the Conference came out with a very constructive World Plan of Action covering almost all issues of concern to human development. It further underscored the fact that the issues that concern the world today are also the concern of women and, therefore, women should be involved in all national and international activities and at all levels. My Government supported the Plan of Action produced by the Conference, and we shall endeavour to implement it to the best of our ability.

37. In a resolution of that Conference, it was decided to convene another Conference in 1985 to review the achievements of the Decade for Women and to take stock of all that will have happened during the Decade. The Conference will also deliberate on what remains to be done in order to continue to improve the condition of women all over the world. The Kenyan Government offered to host that Conference at Nairobi in 1985. We hope this offer will be accepted by the General Assembly.

38. In conclusion, let me say this: the world community owes it to posterity to remove poverty, disease and hunger from this planet—at least, to make substantial contributions towards that goal. We have the resources, we have the technology. Let us together demonstrate the political will to get on with the job.

39. Mr. FORDE (Barbados): We meet at a time when the world economic outlook, both immediate and longer term, is depressingly bleak. On the political front, discussions on détente are deadlocked. There is a continuing escalation in the build-up of arms. Disputes between nations, particularly in the third world, are increasingly characterized by recourse to arms rather than being solved by the use of the machinery for peaceful settlement provided in the Charter.

40. It is a time which demands of each nation, of each one of us, the expression of genuine concern which you, Mr. President, have continuously shown for the aims and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. Your election to the presidency of this Organization is indeed opportune, and should be the harbinger of that commitment which is demanded of us if we are, in an atmosphere of compromise, to find satisfactory answers to the issues which face the thirty-fifth session. Barbados is sure that the experience and wisdom you bring to this task will help us to fashion solutions for the daunting problems confronting our nations in the 1980s.

41. It is fitting to record here our gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Salim, for the attention and dedication which he devoted to the critical issues which arose during his term of office. His performance has been a credit not only to him and to this Organization, but to his country, the United Republic of Tanzania, as well.

42. It must have been a source of deep personal regret to him that patience, diplomatic skill and an attitude of compromise did not provide a sufficient catalyst to bring to a

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 16*, annex I, resolution 51 (XIV).

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 10th meeting.

successful conclusion the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. The reasons for the failure of that session are historically more deep-seated.

43. Two years ago, at our thirty-third session, I made reference to the fact that proposals for the transformation of certain inherited, outmoded economic structures which were stunting the economic development of third-world countries were continually being discussed in numerous forums, but no real progress was being achieved. I said then:

“We cannot accept that relations among nations should continue to be conducted on the basis of a ‘zero-sum’ principle, which assumes that the extent of a country’s increase in the enjoyment of goods and services is equal to the loss of goods and services enjoyed by other countries”

“Developed countries, in the negotiations for a new international economic order, are still preoccupied with looking at quantifiable variables. Consequently they conclude that, since the relationship between the developed and the developing countries is asymmetrical, with a preponderance of economic power weighted in favour of the developed countries, then it is possible to continue *ad infinitum* an international system of dependency without full and fair participation by the developing countries”⁷

44. Events, expressed attitudes and the continued lack of progress during the past year in the North-South dialogue confirm this assessment. The crisis in international economic relations continues. We have once again failed in a special session of this Organization to make any further progress towards eliminating the dangerous and debilitating economic chasm between developed and developing countries. And the chasm is widening the longer we fail to act. In spite of the depressing economic prospects which the world faces, and at a time when the world economy is in a state of deep crisis, a number of developed countries stand fast behind their ramparts and refuse to exercise the political will and firm commitment needed to deal with a dire and dangerous situation.

Mr. Aboul-Nasr (Oman), Vice-President, took the Chair.

45. Continued refusal to take positive action to restructure and revitalize the global economy by establishing a more equitable, just and stable international economic order will certainly multiply, not diminish, the problems which at present face us. Because of the undoubted interdependency of the world in which we live, all countries will suffer from further stagnation unless the fundamental changes envisaged under the New International Economic Order are agreed on without further delay. Enlightened self-interest demands of the North a positive decision.

46. A year ago my delegation emphasized from this rostrum⁸ that the only way to rescue the world economy was to initiate immediately a full, constructive and genuine dialogue on the vital issues of structural change, energy, trade and monetary reform. We also warned that any negotiations implicit in such a dialogue must be serious and meaningful if

they were to result in a satisfactory resolution of the issues involved. It was precisely within such a context that my delegation readily supported General Assembly resolution 34/138, with the aim of launching at the special session in 1980 a round of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation. This Organization was unable to launch those negotiations because of the intransigence of a number of the developed countries during the preparatory phase as well as during the special session itself. Despite their declared support for such negotiations and despite their expressed recognition of the interdependence of the issues involved, those countries continue to refuse to accept or agree on the structural changes necessary to improve the international economic system. Rather, they persist in offering minimum incremental modifications to the existing structure in the hope of destroying the solidarity of the developing countries on this vital question of fundamental structural change.

47. The time has certainly come when such myopic and selfish conduct in international economic relations must cease. For we cannot be expected to respect and have confidence in our partners in negotiations of any kind—let alone negotiations on fundamental structural change in international economic relations—when they behave in such a manner. Nor can we engage in any serious and meaningful negotiations when there is distrust of our colleagues in the negotiations.

48. My delegation believes that, despite the failure at the special session to launch the global negotiations, we still have a reasonable opportunity at this current session to achieve that goal. However, a pre-condition of the successful achievement of the goal must be a genuine willingness and honest commitment on the part of all Governments to accept the urgent need to work earnestly and collectively for fundamental structural changes in the current international economic system.

49. For some countries this will mean the abandonment of certain entrenched positions which they currently hold. For others there must be a willingness to consider procedural devices which are in harmony with the content and spirit of General Assembly resolution 34/138. The resolution explicitly states that the negotiations should proceed in a simultaneous manner in order to ensure a coherent and integrated approach to the major issues of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance. The resolution further states that the negotiations should not involve any interruption of, or have any adverse effect upon, the negotiations in other United Nations forums.

50. The proposals contained in the Chairman’s revised text on the procedures and time-frame for the global negotiations⁹ are clear. We believe that the fears and concerns expressed by those developed countries which have blocked a potential consensus on the paper are unfounded. Contrary to the views expressed by them, the suggested procedures do not in any way seek to undermine or impair the integrity of any of the specialized agencies. Those agencies will still be involved in the negotiations in accordance with their respective competence.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 23rd meeting, paras. 60-61.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 28th meeting, para. 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Annexes, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, paras. 14-18.

51. We remain convinced of the need for the global negotiations called for in resolution 34/138. My delegation therefore appeals to the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America to reconsider their positions with a view to permitting this Assembly to complete the unfinished business of its eleventh special session. We cannot afford to delay any longer.

52. It is certainly not beyond the ingenuity of us all to devise stratagems to solve problems which may superficially appear intractable. Surely there is a lesson to be learnt from the part played by the Commonwealth of nations in the negotiations which finally ensured the emergence of a free and independent Zimbabwe. During those negotiations, at the moment when hope of success appeared most forlorn, it was a final initiative of frank and direct discussions by heads of Government themselves at Lusaka which broke the impasse and led to what is perhaps the most spectacular peace settlement of the decade.

53. Let us not, if we genuinely desire to make progress on the economic front, hesitate to adopt this precedent as a parallel device, thus enabling world leaders, shielded from the public and the press, to exchange ideas, explain their unique difficulties and problems, reach compromises and advance proposals for solutions to problems without having to be troubled by adopting stances not likely to be taken by them in an open forum. In summary, my delegation welcomes the initiative now being taken by the Governments of Austria, Canada and Mexico to arrange a meeting of representative heads of Government in an effort to achieve a breakthrough in the negotiations for the New International Economic Order. We stand ready to co-operate with all such efforts.

54. That the global round of negotiations has not been launched should not, however, blind us to the real but limited progress made in some areas of critical importance to the economies of the developing countries. Consensus on the international development strategy will help to minimize failure in other areas. Barbados stands ready to benefit, in common with other third-world countries, from the social content of the new strategy. Up to the present, the most important progress resulting from these negotiations has been the social content and aspects of the strategy. The unambiguous and positive attitude of the Group of 77 on social issues reflects the commitment of those countries to the betterment of their peoples. This social programme involves primary health care for all, provision of basic shelter, full employment, universal primary education and substantial reduction in the incidence of infant mortality, among other things.

55. These are all goals to which my Government, in its domestic policies, has been consistently and successfully addressing attention and emphasis. We realize, however, that we are part of one world and that peace and progress are indivisible. A crisis anywhere can mean a crisis everywhere. We therefore welcome the deep concern over the grave and growing plight of the least developed of the developing countries and the measures being taken to alleviate their situation.

56. But I must also re-emphasize the special position of those island developing countries, such as Barbados, whose needs, because of their seemingly high per capita income, are apt to be ignored. During the June meeting of the twenty-seventh session of the Governing Council of UNDP, some developed countries adopted a clear and deliberate approach aimed at limiting the number of UNDP recipients to those with per capita gross national product (GNP) of less than \$500. Their object was also drastically to reduce the indicative planning figure of those countries with per capita GNP above \$1500. Barbados has always contended that, for small island developing countries, the criteria of per capita GNP and population size are not reliable determinants of such countries' needs for assistance or of their level of development. Small island developing countries, such as Barbados, are being increasingly penalized in a number of ways by those very countries which would have us believe that proper internal economic management and self-reliance are the *sine qua non* for growth and development.

57. My country's aim is self-reliance. Independent and impartial observers comment regularly on my country's efficient internal economic management. But for decades to come the natural constraints of physical size and limited natural and human resources will make Barbados dependent on external technical and financial assistance on very concessionary or grant terms. It is unreasonable to use the per capita income criterion as a yardstick of development when considering the aid needs of countries such as Barbados, for this has the effect of placing those countries in the same category as countries with the potential capacity of nuclear Powers or with undeveloped reservoirs of mineral hydrocarbon wealth and vast expanses of underdeveloped agricultural lands.

58. Is not this concept of GNP criteria now being used as another ruse on the part of developed countries to drive a wedge between small island developing countries with seemingly high per capita GNP and the least developed countries whose immediate needs for technical aid and financial assistance are genuinely critical? One category of States must not be sacrificed for another category of States, nor must the partial satisfying of one group of needs be used to frustrate the necessary development objectives of another group of needy countries. Above all, in the face of these new assaults, developing countries must maintain their solidarity to demand more aid, not less.

59. For, whilst the economic situation of most third world countries has become precarious over the last decade, there has been no corresponding increase in official development assistance. Some donors have failed to accept or to achieve the United Nations target of transferring 0.7 per cent of their GNP, in the form of concessionary funds, to third world countries. In other countries, the gap between actual transfers from the Development Assistance Committee of member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and their collective United Nations target has risen continually. Indeed, between 1974 and 1978, the gap has widened from \$12.7 billion to \$14 billion in 1975, to \$15.3 billion in 1976, to \$18.5 billion in 1977 and to \$21.6 billion in 1978. Other donors, with the exception of the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, have shown an even worse performance. In the case of the centrally planned econo-

mies, aid flows, measured in terms of their GNP, comprise less than one tenth of 1 per cent. What may be impartially said of the major industrialized market economies may likewise be said of the major centrally-planned economies in relation to aid flows: they both display a niggardly attitude towards the real needs of poor developing countries, except where they judge it to be in their own self-interest to make particular exceptions with the aim of maintaining their economic and hegemonic dominance.

60. With this nonchalant approach must be contrasted the genuine concern and disinterestedness shown by some underdeveloped countries, such as Trinidad and Tobago, for the pressing needs of their neighbours. The Government of Barbados, like other Caribbean sister States, welcomes the far-sighted and magnanimous proposals made by Trinidad and Tobago to provide for the financing of the incremental cost of petroleum products, fertilizers and asphalt to other States members of the Caribbean Community [CARICOM]. Likewise, we consider the initiatives taken by the Governments of Mexico and Venezuela to give similar relief in relation to energy to some nine Caribbean and Central American States through their Energy Co-operation Programme as a bold and useful step, worthy of emulation, *mutatis mutandis*, by developed countries.

61. Within the Caribbean there is one area of humanitarian need which cries out for this sort of immediate initiative by developed countries. Developing countries of the Caribbean subregion, during the years from 1978 to 1980, have seen the disruption of their economies, as they have had to deal with the additional burden of reconstruction after devastating disasters. Because of their size and limited resources, Caribbean countries cannot each establish and maintain adequate machinery for disaster preparedness. We are grateful for such assistance as has been given to the region as a result of past disasters. But natural holocausts, such as volcanoes, hurricanes and floods, leave the adversely affected States with disrupted economies and the pressing need for long-term reconstruction of infrastructure and of their agricultural and industrial sectors. A region such as the Caribbean cannot by itself sustain such massive financing. We call upon the United Nations and upon bilateral donors—particularly those with a favourable trade balance with the region such as the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan—to provide urgent, meaningful aid and to assist in setting up machinery which will be permanent and which will aim at responding to the region's needs, should such disasters further befall us.

62. The tragedy of our times is that, despite the correct diagnosis of the ills confronting the world, nations continue to disregard the medicines and ignore the cures. There are pressing needs for more food, adequate supplies of energy, more shelter, wider education, better health care and adequate clothing. Daily, these basic human needs are being denied to 800 million poor in the third world whilst developed countries fritter away resources on a build-up of arms. Barbados calls for the early and full implementation of strategies for general and complete disarmament. This would at least release funds for the purpose of development. It would also minimize the risk of war.

63. We regret that so many developing States are now themselves being likewise caught up in the whirlwind race

for the acquisition of armaments. There is a pressing case for an early convention on the limitation of conventional weapons. We advocate, too, a limitation on the spread of nuclear weapons and we have backed our words by our actions in acceding earlier this year to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

64. It is a cause of the deepest regret that it is the third world which provides today's theatres of war. There is war in Afghanistan. There is war in Cyprus. There is war in Western Sahara. There is war in Palestine. In Ethiopia and in Lebanon there is war. In Iran and Iraq the cymbals of armaments fail to respond to the Security Council's call for peace. In our own interests, we third-world States must recognize that divisions within our societies and within our regions lead to victories only for those developed nations which sell us the implements of war. That is why Barbados appeals to all outside nations not to interfere in the conflict within the Persian Gulf and we join with those urging Iran and Iraq to settle their dispute by peaceful means.

65. Now more than ever there is need to abide by the principles of the Charter, particularly those which provide for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. It is not that the Charter of this Organization is deficient; it is rather that some of us are honouring it more in the breach than in the observance. The Charter provides for non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, yet the Soviet Union persists in the occupation of Afghanistan. The Charter provides a procedure for settling disputes peacefully, yet Turkey persists in contributing to the division of Cyprus. We trust that the recent moves by the Secretary-General to arrange talks between the two communities of Cyprus will at long last lead to a successful healing of the wounds of that country; for an undivided sovereign Cyprus provides the safest structure for maintaining the integrity of that State.

66. The Charter provides for self-determination. Yet, in the Sahara, Morocco, once itself the object of colonial subjugation, misuses the lessons of history to reverse the process of freedom and deny the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic its true independence. We call on Morocco to respect the Charter.

67. In Palestine, the clear solution is self-determination and a homeland for the people of the occupied territories. Israel too must have the right to exist as a sovereign State within defined and secure boundaries. Within Ethiopia and Lebanon, outside interference must cease. Iran, in calling legitimately on Iraq to abide by the provisions of the Charter and withdraw from its territory, should itself set an example by complying with the resolutions passed by the Security Council on the release of the American hostages and should uphold the rule of law by honouring the ruling of the International Court of Justice.¹⁰

68. Barbados is dedicated to the peaceful settlement of all international disputes in accordance with the principles of international law. That is why we have this year declared our acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. For acts of violence and terrorism are no real substitute for the rule of law. They can lead to the

¹⁰ *United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1980, p. 3.*

overthrow of democratic Governments and institutions and undermine respect for human rights. Conversely, in societies where repression is substituted for freedom of expression and periodic democratic elections are denied, the repressed will revert to the weapon of violence instead of the shield of the rule of law to achieve their legitimate rights.

69. As a signatory to a number of human rights treaties and conventions, Barbados is deeply disturbed by these trends in the international community. Wherever serious violations of fundamental human rights occur, even within our own little corner of the world, we will continue to speak out strongly against such violations. Even in the face of harsh criticism, we will continue to oppose, be it in the Caribbean or elsewhere, the imprisonment of people without trial, political assassinations or any form of denial of traditional fundamental rights. Barbados is alarmed at the authenticated daily incidents of the disappearance of large numbers of people in certain States in Latin America and the Caribbean. We are also concerned that hundreds of Asians and Africans are for political and sometimes racial reasons being denied their basic human rights. Barbados therefore urges the world community to turn its attention to designing a strategy for the effective implementation of the United Nations human rights programme. For as man continues to dehumanize his fellow man the United Nations must hasten to strengthen and extend its machinery for dealing with human rights questions.

70. The Secretary-General has reported on the increase in the number of human rights violations and the fact that questions of fundamental human rights have been put aside or deadlocked during the past year by political and economic expediency. We must therefore continue to support measures designed to improve the international machinery for the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We appeal to all States Members of this Organization to comply with the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We call upon them to support the struggle against all assaults on human dignity, such as economic and social ostracism, involuntary disappearance, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture and wanton murder.

71. The Barbados Government is also deeply distressed at the ever-growing and complicated problem of refugees and displaced persons. The Secretary-General's report has focused on the African and Asian problem and the urgent demands for relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons in those continents. In Latin America and the Caribbean also, the problem is assuming dangerous proportions. Barbados fully supports the Secretary-General's comments on the need for a review of the emergency operations in the United Nations system. The problem of displaced persons now touches us all and needs the closest scrutiny of the world community so that appropriate strategies may be devised. We call upon those nations which have adequate physical resources to open their borders as first places of asylum to all genuine refugees. We also call upon them not to discriminate in this real human tragedy and to desist from accepting or refusing refugees on the basis of their ethnic origin.

72. There are still those who continue to use the dehumanizing practice of racism to rob the majority of the people of South Africa of the opportunity of participating effectively

in the government of its native land and sharing equitably in the resources of its country. *Apartheid* is an abominable and repugnant system practised by a heartless and archaic class. It is destined for destruction. Barbados can never tolerate any form of racism. We therefore reiterate our call for the immediate implementation of total economic and military sanctions against South Africa.

73. That country persists in defying resolutions passed by this Assembly and the Security Council calling for the early independence of Namibia. Every nation other than South Africa is satisfied that the people of Namibia is entitled to self-determination and independence. Yet there is reluctance on the part of some countries to use the provisions of the Charter to enforce South African compliance with international law.

74. The total eradication of colonialism will continue to demand of all of us persistent efforts as long as there exist those nations which continue to advance unfounded claims in order to delay the inexorable process of decolonization. In Latin America and the Caribbean the legitimate right of the people of Belize to early independence within secure boundaries and with all their territory intact is still being thwarted, not by the metropolitan Power but by the neo-colonialist régime of Guatemala. Guatemala, like South Africa, persists in defying the clear terms of the resolutions of this Organization. Unless Guatemala is prepared to accept this Assembly's resolutions, any attempted negotiations will fail, for Belize can never compromise on its sovereignty or territorial integrity. At this thirty-fifth session, Barbados, in conjunction with friendly Caribbean, Commonwealth and other countries, will seek this Assembly's endorsement of a resolution calling on the administering Power to set an early date for the independence of Belize, before 31 December 1981, and calling on this Organization and the administering Power to do whatever is necessary to ensure the continued existence of an independent Belize. We feel sure that all right-thinking Member States will sponsor or support such a resolution.

75. The successful implementation of such a resolution will be a fitting way to mark the twentieth anniversary of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). That resolution is still a signal landmark in the history of decolonization. Within my region, the Caribbean, there is still much work to be done to achieve freedom for some of our brothers and sisters, who are still under colonial rule. But every step forward is an advance towards the promotion of human dignity and the realization of the full value of man. We in the United Nations, particularly those of us in the third world, have travelled the long, bitter and hard-fought road to victory with the people of Zimbabwe. But truth, justice and freedom triumphed in the end. We warmly welcome the admission of Zimbabwe to this Organization.

76. The births of the new States of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Vanuatu are also real advances towards the full realization of the principle of self-determination. The admission of the sister State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership of this Organization is for us in Barbados and the Commonwealth Caribbean a source of special joy; but it is also a further realization of the equality of nations and of the universality of membership of the United Nations.

77. Events such as those give us hope that solutions will ultimately be found for the many difficulties which the world faces in the decade of the 1980s. We have certainly entered a decade burdened with unresolved but not insoluble problems. At present there is insufficient agreement on how to address those problems; but there is no lack of answers for the outstanding questions. It is the duty of each nation, of each one of us, in the interests of the survival of mankind, to choose the correct answers and to apply the right solutions. Let us have the courage to do so. Let us keep the faith of the Charter and maintain the hope of mankind.

78. Mr. DONALDSON (Trinidad and Tobago): I should like, first of all, to extend to Ambassador von Wechmar, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago and on my own behalf, sincere congratulations and best wishes on his election to the presidency of this Assembly. His task is no easy one, for at this time the international community is faced with a number of extremely serious problems. My delegation is sure, however, that his diplomatic skill and understanding will greatly assist in guiding us in our search for solutions to those myriad problems.

79. I should also like at this time to express my profound gratitude to the outgoing President for the able manner in which he conducted the deliberations of not only the regular session of the Assembly but also the three special sessions during the year in which he held office. His patience and tact did much to ensure the best results in very difficult circumstances.

80. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their tireless efforts in the pursuit of peace and harmony among the nations of the international community. Through you, Sir, I should like to pledge the support of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago for his continuing efforts in that direction.

81. In closing these words of greeting, I warmly welcome Zimbabwe to its first regular session of the General Assembly, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the newest entrant to this family. The accession to membership of those two States has been the source of immense satisfaction to the Government of Trinidad and Tobago; in the one case because we have watched the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, a struggle for freedom and justice, and have seen history record the triumph of the principle of self-determination over oppression and have seen the tragic loss of lives of citizens of Zimbabwe in the struggle vindicated; in the other, because Saint Vincent is a sister Caribbean country, with which the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago has close historical links, which we are confident will continue and be strengthened, as much through our regional integration movement as through our participation in this Organization and its agencies.

82. In that connection, there must and can be no further delay in the achievement of independence by the people of Belize. For too long have the aspirations of the people of Belize to self-determination and independence been obstructed by threats to the territorial integrity of their country. We repeat that the administering Power and all those nations with a real capability to do so should take the measures within their competence to guarantee by all credi-

ble means strict respect for the territorial integrity of an independent Belize, so that that Caribbean country can take its rightful place among the family of nations at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

83. I indicated that the task of the President in presiding over the current session will not be an easy one. That is so because this Assembly is taking place at a time when nations are demonstrating more than ever before their inability to learn from the lessons of history. It is curious that the greatest tragedies of mankind, wars for colonial domination and world wars, tend to be regarded as the great landmarks of history. In our view, evidence of man's creative genius should truly be history's great landmarks. We have witnessed the extent of man's creative genius in changing swords into ploughshares—in creating this body after destruction, as a means of ensuring greater co-operation among sovereign nation States. In the affairs of nations, necessity is the progenitor of creativity. The scourge of war, like the scourge of pestilence and disease, has therefore impelled man in his own self-interest to co-operate with his fellow man.

84. Members will forgive me if I say that the perception of my delegation is that we are standing on the brink of a crisis of unprecedented proportions. The fact is that in the face of this crisis we are squandering resources, squandering lives, squandering goodwill, and most distressing of all, squandering the opportunities that now exist: opportunities to build, to construct and to co-operate and so forestall the crisis or at least minimize its proportions.

85. Undoubtedly there exists a positive correlation between periods of progress, in the sense of social, economic and technological advancement, and periods of co-operation between nations. Such an analysis can only serve to underline the imperative need for universal solidarity in this decade and beyond. The United Nations provides a forum for such co-operation.

86. What is the present level of economic development in the third world? It is characterized by malnutrition, high unemployment, absence of safe water supplies, poor housing, high levels of illiteracy, short life expectancy; in short, an absence of most of the basic needs for survival. Such tangible evidence of suffering constitutes cold economic indicators which tell their own story.

87. Protectionist measures in developed countries have increased; the terms of trade of developing countries in general have deteriorated; official development assistance by developed countries as a percentage of GNP has declined; the economies of third world countries have become characterized by slow growth rates, high inflation, vast current account deficits and external debts that have reached alarming proportions. Yet the just call by the developing countries for a fundamental change in the existing world economic order—a prerequisite for progress in the field of international economic co-operation—has elicited increasingly negative responses from the developed nations.

88. Even the most optimistic among us will accept that the recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly has failed. The two principal items on the agenda of that special session, first, the preparation of a new Inter-

national Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade—the 1980s—and, secondly, agreement on procedure and the drawing up of an agenda for the launching of a new round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation, have dominated the attention of delegations in New York since the end of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. These important issues have been the central preoccupation of third world countries over the past year. The failure of the eleventh special session is therefore a source of major distress, representing as it does the latest manifestation of the extreme reluctance of the developed countries to meet the justifiable requests of the developing world for restructuring the existing iniquitous system of international economic relations. My delegation laments that another opportunity has been squandered.

89. Another chapter in the long list of failures: the fifth session of UNCTAD, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna, the Third General Conference of UNIDO, and the work of the Committee of the Whole. In addition, there has been the signal failure on the part of some developed countries to adhere to principles recognized by the overwhelming majority of the international community as being necessary to safeguard the common heritage of mankind.

90. It is the view of my delegation that a most fundamental contribution which can be made in this Organization towards satisfying the need for human solidarity in the 1980s and beyond lies in the opportunity to make available the benefits of scientific technological advance to developing countries on terms that will bridge rather than widen the gap between the industrialized North and the developing South.

91. On 6 May 1980, the third session of the United Nations Conference on an International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology ended in failure, leaving unresolved the major outstanding issues. The Conference failed because many of its participants were not prepared to exercise the "political will and flexibility" which the General Assembly had urged on Member States in resolution 34/195. The major issues remained unresolved because those who could contribute to their solution have, in concert with the transnationals registered under their jurisdiction, refused to do so. Over three sessions of the Conference, the interests of transnationals have been supported and defended by those countries which continue to ignore and defy the will and interest of those many members of the international community. We all nevertheless recognize that the transfer and acquisition of technology on just and equitable terms are basic to the achievement of the New International Economic Order.

92. It is not only in the area of a code of conduct for the transfer of technology that the interests of transnationals have been obdurately advanced by those who support them. The entire panorama of their operations continues to reveal an over-all insensitivity to the interests and demands of the weaker and poorer peoples of the world. Indeed, at times, their operations threaten to consume not only the small States on which they feed, but also to destroy the real interest and goodwill of the States that offer them parental protection. Some of these transnationals continue to refuse to deal with small States whose sovereign resources they

exploit. They continue to manipulate markets solely in their own interests. They stubbornly resist any change in their unacceptable traditional commercial practices and they refuse to respond to all initiatives which would restructure the existing pattern of international scientific and technological relations. All this, together with their absence of commitment to the over-all interest of the poorer countries, has tended to thwart the developmental objectives of third-world countries and, moreover, sometimes to subvert the course of justice.

93. The poorer and weaker countries of the world must resist this and seek together to devise mechanisms to eradicate the bases of these practices. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is convinced of the positive and practical role that science and technology can and must play today if there are to be any better prospects for change in the international economic situation.

94. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago will continue to participate in every forum in which these issues are raised and will contribute in every way it can to redressing the existing imbalances, many of which derive from the traditional operations of transnationals. The Government shares the view of those countries of the Group of 77 that believe that legislation should be enacted on the national level in respect of the transfer of technology as one measure in the struggle to achieve a balanced and independent relationship with transnationals and those whose ultimate interests they serve. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is in fact considering such legislative measures at this very moment.

95. The failure to make progress in this area is most significant because outdated and inappropriate technology in developing countries will continue to frustrate efforts at development even if rapid changes are effected in the three other important areas identified for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

96. Those three major areas are themselves interdependent and closely related. First, it is necessary to have a comprehensive reform of the framework governing international trade so as to ensure that it facilitates and promotes the restructuring of the international division of labour in line with the growing industrial potential of developing countries and the shift in the comparative advantage of industry towards them. Here I need only mention the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD and draw attention to the frustrations experienced by the developing countries on the Trade and Development Board when seeking to implement some of the resolutions adopted at Manila last year.

97. The second major area that has been identified for reform concerns the international monetary and financial system, in which there is urgent need for the evolution of a new global monetary and financial framework that is fully responsive to the needs of the developing world. In this regard the South-North Conference on the International Monetary System and the New International Order, which was held at Arusha from 30 June to 3 July of this year, provided an opportunity for both the North and the South to consider proposals for a radical restructuring of the international monetary system so as to secure more equitable participation by all States members of the international

community and to support programmes of development and transformation in the third world.

98. My delegation is fully aware that fundamental transformation can take place only over a period of time, given the spirit of co-operation between the industrial countries and the third world. It is for that reason that my delegation lends its support to the urgent transitional measures within the framework of IMF which were suggested for immediate implementation pending the building of a new monetary order.

99. First, IMF should be equipped and prepared to finance third world deficits that are the result of serious and disciplined efforts at development and structural change. The conditions attached to such financing must reflect the sovereign right of States to choose their own social and economic models and developmental paths.

100. Secondly, access to a higher credit charge of IMF should be guided by unambiguous recognition that a large part of the third world deficits is due to factors for which third world countries are not responsible and over which they have no control.

101. Thirdly, the compensatory financing facility of IMF should be expanded, with low conditionality, to deal with external shock deficits of the third world. The facility should be related to the size of the externally induced deficit and not to the quota of a country in IMF.

102. Fourthly, the special drawing rights of IMF should be made the principal reserve asset, and the role of national currencies in international settlements should be effectively reduced. Finally, a mechanism of appeal and international arbitration independent of IMF should be set up to deal with disputes between the Fund and member countries seeking access to such funds.

103. The third major area in which change is needed is the field of economic co-operation among developing countries, based on the principle of collective self reliance, which should constitute a dynamic and vital component of an effective global strategy.

104. Resolution 127 (V), which was adopted by UNCTAD at Manila on 3 June 1979, urged the developed countries and the international organizations to

“provide appropriate support and assistance to the process and activities of economic co-operation among developing countries, notably in fulfilment of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of UNCTAD, bearing in mind the Arusha Action Plan . . .”¹¹

105. Another opportunity has been lost since the assistance and support measures requested were not forthcoming from the developed countries when the developing countries introduced draft resolution TD/B/C.7/L.9¹² calling for those support measures. That leads me seriously to question

¹¹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A.

¹² See *Official Records of the Trade and Development Board, Report of the Committee on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries on its first special session, 23 June-2 July 1980, Annexes*, annex 1, sect. A.

whether developed countries support the principles and goals of economic co-operation among developing countries.

106. To deny assistance to and withhold benefits from countries which find themselves in dire need is one thing, but to take unilateral action based on totally spurious grounds in such a way as to deprive countries of their shared patrimony represents a level of violation of the rights of nations and peoples that is totally unacceptable. Yet that is the direction which international political affairs seem to have taken over the past year or so.

107. In respect of the law of the sea, my delegation is hopeful that the final working session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, in 1981, will find the industrialized countries demonstrating a spirit of compromise and accommodation, as did the Group of 77 at the session concluded recently. My delegation wishes, however, to express its deep regret that, notwithstanding the spirit of goodwill and understanding shown by the majority, one or two Governments have found it necessary to act in such a way as to abridge the rights of all mankind by purporting to authorize their nationals to explore and exploit the riches of the deep sea-bed outside any generally accepted international legal framework.

108. The Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago wishes to give notice that it considers the enactment of such unilateral legislation to be inadmissible under existing international law since it is a derogation of a peremptory norm of international law—namely, that the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction are the common heritage of mankind. The Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago herewith registers in the strongest possible terms its protest at such enactments and declares that it does not recognize the competence of any one to exercise rights over the areas of the sea-bed on the basis of so-called traditional freedom of the high seas.

109. My delegation notes that the lessons of history have not been learnt. Individual acts of aggression the consequences of which, in terms of human suffering, were known, have been prosecuted in complete disregard of that suffering.

110. In the Middle East, the international community has witnessed the absence of any meaningful progress towards realizing the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence. Recent events demonstrate a degree of intransigence and an unwillingness to recognize that fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian Arab people is central to the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. My delegation reaffirms its firm support for the Security Council resolutions that have laid down an internationally acceptable framework for a just and honourable settlement and urges all parties to the conflict to resolve through peaceful means this issue which constitutes a threat to the peace and stability of the world and to accept the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization must also have a role in any meaningful negotiations.

111. At this very moment and in defiance of the world community, in defiance of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and,

moreover, in defiance of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on Namibia,¹³ the racist régime of South Africa still maintains its illegal stranglehold on Namibia. We join the progressive forces of the world in intensifying our continuing efforts not only to ensure that Namibia is freed of the South African yoke but also to hasten the day of freedom itself for the majority of the people of South Africa. The evil of *apartheid* must be exorcised.

112. The international community and its constituent members, if they are to avoid a totally unmanageable and uncontrollable international situation with the attendant breakdown of those values on which international relations were founded, must look beyond the narrow and constricting confines of the all-consuming national interest, and seek to take in concert such action as will realize the broader demands of all peoples to live in peace with their neighbours, assured of their security from external aggression and confident that respect for their sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity is genuinely safeguarded. Such are the responsibilities we all share, and such is the respect for internationally accepted principles which must be observed if this imperative need for human solidarity in the 1980s and beyond is ever to be realized.

113. Trinidad and Tobago has resisted all promptings from within its own national boundaries and from outside to interfere in the domestic affairs of other States. This does not mean, however, that Trinidad and Tobago is not mindful of the need to co-operate to the extent of its capabilities with its friends and neighbours, while at the same time guarding jealously its own sovereign independence.

114. Trinidad and Tobago, as a small developing country, dependent on limited reserves of a non-renewable source of energy—petroleum and natural gas—has sought to find ways and means through which the advantages that positively accrue to the people of Trinidad and Tobago as a result of the current favourable international market conditions for those resources can be shared in a beneficial way with the peoples in the Caribbean subregion. I say without any suggestion of self-congratulation that the effort which the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago makes in this regard in terms of the size of its economy and in the current absence of resource security, far exceeds the contributions being made by many industrialized countries which have pledged to commit 0.7 per cent of their gross national product as official development assistance and have consistently failed to attain this modest mark. When one considers that these same industrialized countries are pursuing proposals to coerce small developing countries like Trinidad and Tobago to accept ever-increasing burdens for the receipt of UNDP assistance through the adoption of new criteria for allocating indicative planning figures, in order to decrease their own already, in some cases, diminishing contributions, one questions whether the industrialized countries are really serious about making any meaningful contribution to third world countries.

115. I should like to emphasize here that my delegation strongly rejects these attempts and would hope that others

would join with us in reiterating the universality of the UNDP programme and in opposing any cut-off point for such assistance.

116. Trinidad and Tobago has created an oil facility which is available to countries in the region that have been our traditional trading partners. This facility provides for the financing of the incremental cost of petroleum products, fertilizers and asphalt to States members of CARICOM. The financing of the incremental cost is applicable only where the products are supplied from Trinidad and Tobago and market prices as of 1 January 1979 are used as the base prices against which the incremental cost will be estimated. The facility, which became effective on 1 January 1980, is geared towards ameliorating balance of payments difficulties in the immediate future in the CARICOM countries by reducing the amount of foreign exchange to be disbursed in payment for petroleum products. To this end, the terms of the loan assistance are structured so as to maximize the net transfer of foreign exchange in the near term and, at the same time, to keep maximum debt repayment at a level which the beneficiary countries can be reasonably expected to service with the growth of their economies over the medium and longer term. A maturity of 15 years, therefore, has been proposed for the repayment of loans with grace periods of three years at an interest rate of 3 per cent in the case of the more developed countries of CARICOM, and in the case of the less developed countries of CARICOM at an annual interest rate of 2 per cent, with interest capitalized during the grace period in all cases.

117. Under the facility, financial assistance will be of a purely programme type and in this way it is expected that the speed and magnitude of the resource transfer will not be hindered by project preparation capability which is a major restraint to the disbursement of loan funds already available.

118. The international community is at the moment taking steps to establish a new communication and information order. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago recognizes that a free and responsible press is an essential feature of a democratic society. I wish, however, to reiterate that each Government and State has the right to determine its own national priorities based on acceptable international standards, from which there can be no derogation. It follows, therefore, that whenever attempts are made by national or transnational entities to subvert those priorities or derogate from those standards, such attempts must be vigorously resisted.

119. In conclusion, I should like to enjoin others to return to fundamental principles and to reconsider and reaffirm those principles of co-operation on which this Organization is based. I use the expression co-operation as the antithesis of conflict and discord, which are forces of destruction. I remain convinced that the hour is not too late, that in spite of the perceptible slow-down in effort over the last year, real progress can still be made. Indeed, we have made some progress in the past, small imperceptible steps towards our goal of a more just, more equitable, more humane international community. But the road ahead is long and fraught with many perils. We must continue to persevere.

¹³ *Legal Consequences for States of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

120. Mr. NIEHAUS QUESADA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour to extend on behalf of the delegation of Costa Rica our warm congratulations to Mr. von Wechmar on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

121. As one who knows and greatly admires the important role played by his country in international affairs, I am not merely extending a courtesy in expressing our firm conviction that, under his leadership and guidance, the deliberations of this General Assembly will be particularly fruitful.

122. Let me also take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Mr. Salim A. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania for his dedication and energy in serving the international cause. Our warm greetings go as well to the Secretary-General, whose efficiency in the discharge of the complex duties of his high office have earned him our deepest respect.

123. I wish to reiterate my delegation's satisfaction at the recent accession to membership of this Organization by the Republic of Zimbabwe, which has resolved a problem that had occupied the attention of the United Nations for many years. Costa Rica also takes this opportunity to wish a warm welcome to our sister country, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, as a new Member of our Organization.

124. The General Assembly is gathered at a time of hopes and apprehensions. On the heels of the old conflicts which the Organization has been endeavouring to solve, others have followed which are equally grave and which conjure up a picture of grave dangers—dangers about which the Secretary-General has spoken with particular clarity in his report on the work of the Organization [A/35/I].

125. Although the political, economic and social problems of the third world continue to deteriorate daily, we have brought to this General Assembly the conviction that dialogue and perseverance in negotiations constitute the only way to reach the solutions we are seeking. Since the founding of the Organization, my country has faithfully upheld its principles and fulfilled its commitments. Today more than ever we believe in the fundamental importance of this forum for the dignified and peaceful existence of all peoples.

126. My Government has examined with great concern the serious problems facing the international community, and Costa Rica wishes in this respect to set forth its position before this Assembly.

127. We view with particular concern the developments which have taken place this year in the Latin American region, to which we belong for historical, geopolitical, cultural and economic reasons. Despite serious economic, political and social problems which have generated an unprecedented climate of violence in the region, we hold fast to the optimistic view that the peoples and Governments of the countries concerned will prove equal to finding viable solutions to these problems, which constitute the cause and the consequence of the developments I have referred to. We believe that the process of democratic renewal which is arduously but steadily gaining ground in the sister republic of El Salvador will, in the near future, yield positive results.

128. The stabilization and democratic renewal which the people of Nicaragua have experienced during the year are encouraging. The literacy campaign has taken a decisive step towards stability and prosperity for the Nicaraguan people, who have endured the consequences of one of the most ruthless of Latin American dictatorships. We hope that our brothers in Nicaragua will press on along this path of progress and justice and that democracy, political pluralism and the economic and political stability which they enjoy will in turn contribute to the stability and security of the Central American region, for that is the essence of our own security and of that elusive peace for which our peoples yearn.

129. We look forward with particular interest and optimism to the early conclusion of peace agreements between the kindred peoples of Honduras and El Salvador and we have offered our assistance in seeking a final and conclusive solution.

130. I should like now to turn to those issues which are endangering world peace and security, such as the situation in the Middle East, which continues to be one of the most disquieting on the world scene. The Government and the people of Costa Rica observe with concern the excessive tensions which have been mounting in that part of the world. We are firmly convinced that we must begin to focus upon that problem from a universal vantage point, with a view to world peace and international justice as our primary aims. Any sincere initiative which seeks to reduce tension and to create zones of peace will accordingly receive our support. We believe that when international problems take on dangerous proportions, the community of nations should discard inflexible positions and adopt attitudes conducive to achieving stable and true peace.

131. We have on repeated occasions presented our stand in defence of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and sovereignty and to the establishment of their own sovereign State on the territory which was set aside for them by the United Nations. We recognize the right of the Palestinian people to participate in negotiations which affect their future through representatives chosen by them. At the same time, we recognize the right of the State of Israel to peaceful existence within stable and secure boundaries.

132. We believe that the quest for peace should encompass every kind of activity directed towards relieving tensions and that it is necessary to take initiatives which are not initiatives of belligerence.

133. In resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August, the Security Council called upon Member States with diplomatic missions at Jerusalem to withdraw them promptly from the Holy City in order not to give official character to a unilateral act lacking the approval of the General Assembly which could aggravate tensions in the area. My country, scrupulously complying with the recommendations of the Security Council and with a view to averting a worsening of the situation, responded to the Council's request.

134. While recognizing that the Palestinian question is the heart of the Middle East problem, we feel that the problem as a whole may perhaps be more easily dealt with if, agree-

ments attesting to the good faith of the parties could be progressively reached. Brotherhood and peaceful coexistence are the only alternatives; there are no others. But someone must take the initiative in demonstrating that it is possible to achieve dialogue between Arabs and Jews.

135. Israel is the only State created by the General Assembly. It is probable, paradoxically, that the Palestinian State will be the second. The two States will be neighbours. Is it not possible then to begin conversations at once in order to prepare for that eventuality? Both States, with the human and material resources they possess, could be sources of progress and stability for the region.

136. Costa Rica has also with great concern been following the conflict between Iran and Iraq, which constitutes a very dangerous aggravation of the situation in the Middle East. We, in unison with the Security Council and practically all the other Member States, also call for the immediate cessation of hostilities so that an honourable peace may be negotiated between those two States. We applaud the attitude taken by the United States and the Soviet Union of not intervening in this conflict, thus contributing to keeping it isolated and preventing it from further endangering world peace.

137. This Assembly is aware that a lasting peace in the Korean peninsula is essential to the maintenance of stability in north-east Asia and that it has, in turn, implications for world peace. It is for this reason that the Government of Costa Rica takes the view that no effort must be spared to reduce tensions in the region.

138. We believe that dialogue between the two parts of the Korean peninsula is the most positive way to relieve tensions and that it is the way to enable the two parties directly concerned to solve their problems, including the important question of peaceful unification, without outside interference. In present circumstances, my delegation firmly believes that the most constructive way in which the General Assembly could contribute to the solution of the question of Korea would be co-operation designed to create the proper atmosphere in which to encourage a dialogue between North and South. Consequently, we call for the continuation of the dialogue in the spirit set forth in the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. If substantial progress were to be achieved at the present level, this could lead to eventual contacts at the highest level to the benefit of all. The time has come to urge and promote an independent dialogue between the two parties concerned.

139. My Government cannot shirk the moral obligation incumbent upon it to speak on the situation in Afghanistan. For nearly a year, the invading troops which occupy that country have continued to disregard the will of the majority of the international community which, by resolution ES-6/2 adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth emergency special session, called for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan. Everyone knows that the troops occupying that country are still there, and, for the present, no political solution to the problem is in sight. To the contrary, the foreign forces grow stronger every day, thus denying the fundamental right of self-determination to a martyred people.

140. The situation prevailing in Cyprus continues to be a source of concern to the members of the international community, and we shall support any effort which the Secretary-General may undertake to secure a just agreement that will restore the country's full sovereignty. We hope that, through compliance with repeated United Nations resolutions, the intercommunal talks which recently resumed can lead to a negotiated agreement on the crisis and that the foreign occupation of a part of that country's territory will be brought to an end.

141. We condemn the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, whose obstinate position of disregard for repeated resolutions of the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies constitutes a flagrant violation of its duties as a member of the international community. As we have stated on other occasions, it is time for the General Assembly to recommend, and the Security Council to adopt, stricter measures and even enforcement action to end the occupation that, aside from being illegal, constitutes an open challenge to the mandate of the United Nations in a Territory that was placed under the jurisdiction of the Organization to guarantee its firm and prompt accession to independence.

142. The situation in South-East Asia remains one of the most tense for international peace and security. Serious developments in Kampuchea have had negative repercussions on several countries in the area, and the problem of refugees, as a consequence of the invasion of Kampuchea by foreign forces, remains unresolved, despite the best efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the economic co-operation of the many countries which have contributed generously to the effort to alleviate in part the hunger and suffering attendant upon the displacement of entire populations involved in the conflict. My delegation hopes that a speedy solution will be sought for the sake of thousands and thousands of innocent victims.

143. On 27 September 1978, the President of the Republic of Costa Rica, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo Odio, set forth before the General Assembly for its consideration his proposal to establish a University for Peace.¹⁴ It is a well-known fact that the General Assembly accepted by consensus, in 1978, the draft proposing the study of this question [*resolution 33/109*] and that in 1979 it approved the idea of the establishment of the University for Peace [*resolution 34/111*] and set up an international Commission to prepare the structure and organization of the institution and set it in motion. The Commission, under the co-ordination of Mr. Rafael Caldera, former President of Venezuela, met twice this year, once at Headquarters and the second time at San José, Costa Rica, and adopted a report¹⁵ which has been submitted to the Secretary-General in which it recommends to the General Assembly that it adopt the proposal for the establishment of this academic centre, together with a draft charter for the University and a draft agreement laying down the procedures for its creation, which, in conformity with the provisions of resolution 34/111, are to be considered by this General Assembly.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 106-122.

¹⁵ Document A/35/468 and Corr.1.

144. The Secretary-General endorsed the report of the Commission and the procedure recommended therein, expressing in addition his judgement that the conditions established by General Assembly resolution 34/111 had been fulfilled, as was very ably reported to the Second Committee by the Assistant Secretary-General of Secretariat Services for Economic and Social Matters, Mr. Diego Cordovez.

145. At the threshold of the twenty-first century, mankind cannot neglect any prospect for peace. My country's initiative seeks to contribute in some measure to that end. We must resolve to forestall any hint of violence, any form of war, for the perils of a new world war could spell the last conflict in the history of mankind. We hope therefore that our initiative may prove an effective instrument in the pursuit of total peace which will allow mankind to live free from strife and ensure the stability of our world.

146. The world is in a state of crisis—the crisis of development, the crises resulting from ideological clashes, the crises born of fanaticism. Today, more than ever before, mankind is caught in a dilemma: to survive with justice and liberty or to fall victim to the varieties of totalitarianism, to armed conflicts and to violence.

147. War is a pressing danger. Mankind is living through crucial times and no country, region or area is more important than another, measured by the contribution that each can and should make to achieve peace. Nations, whatever their size, geographical location, language, history, race or religion, have an important role to play in maintaining universal harmony and in ensuring the survival of mankind. No one, therefore, can relegate States to a passive role in this undertaking. Large or small, they have a dynamic mission to fulfil in the quest for new avenues to peace.

148. In this conviction, my Government urges the General Assembly to adopt the proposal for the establishment of the University for Peace. An initiative such as this enhances the fundamental principles of the San Francisco Charter as well as the dignity of the members of this Assembly that approved the idea by consensus at the last session.

149. We are grateful for the interest shown by the Secretary-General, the efficiency of his staff, the dynamic spirit shown by the members of the international Commission, and the enthusiastic support of many Governments for this project.

150. In the conviction that no hindrance can relieve us of the historic responsibility of furthering peace, the Government of Costa Rica will continue resolutely to pursue this undertaking, confident as we are that the University for Peace will provide a mainstay for the realization of the noble principles enshrined in the Charter.

151. The President of Costa Rica, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo Odio, delivered the inaugural address on 9 June this year to the World Congress on Education for Disarmament, held at UNESCO headquarters, and it is worth-while to recall some of his words. Among many ideas of special interest to this Assembly, he said:

“War and peace in the coming years will depend upon the pursuit of the arms race or of disarmament, but above

all upon our decision to transform education and the communications media into instruments of peace.

“Mankind has endeavoured to apply the most varied methods and formulas in an effort to check war, hatred and violence. There remain only two: education and information. If we do not turn these into instruments of peace, there will be no twenty-first century.”

152. At that Congress the President of Costa Rica proposed three initiatives, which I shall summarize as follows.

153. First, UNESCO and other institutions devoted to education for peace throughout the world should pool their efforts to prepare an immediate, interdisciplinary plan of action encompassing all levels of education, informal patterns of education and the complex phenomena of communication. With that end in view, the University for Peace is being formed in order to take an active part in the process.

154. Secondly, serious consideration should be given to the suggestion of the Secretary-General¹⁶ that one tenth of 1 per cent of the resources utilized in the military sector should be earmarked for purposes of education for peace.

155. Thirdly, given the urgency of the situation, and in the conviction that education plays a central role in the attainment of peace, it is proposed that the years 1980 to 1990 be declared the decade of education for peace, and that in view of the close links between human rights, education for peace and disarmament, the right to peace should be recognized and proclaimed a fundamental human right.

156. Recent negotiations on international economic issues have demonstrated the difficulty of modifying the existing international economic order. The tenuous results of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly held here recently clearly indicate the developed countries' aversion to sharing in any restructuring of this obsolete economic order.

157. Although the struggle to transform the conditions prevailing in the world economy and to stem the crisis which it is undergoing is both difficult and time-consuming, we believe that, given perseverance and unity in action, new ideas can be brought to fruition. We are convinced of the need to establish a new international economic order. The present order, built upon injustice, is an indictment against us all. From conviction to a political decision there is a long road to travel. We, the countries of the third world, must make that journey in our struggles.

158. Because we are certain of the effectiveness and necessity of joint action, we have been pursuing a policy of real and effective solidarity with the developing countries. Our efforts have been aimed not only at promoting a united front of developing countries but also at fostering, together with our Latin American and Caribbean brothers, practical means to bring our peoples closer together by strengthening plans for integration and specific programmes of assistance of many kinds with a view to fostering what is termed the “South-South dialogue”.

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1st meeting, para. 44.

159. We shall firmly support any efforts exerted at the present session for the pursuance of global negotiations within the United Nations, in order to reach workable agreements on the time-table and agenda for those negotiations.

160. We wish to place on record our thanks to the delegation of India for the effective manner in which it acted as chairman and spokesman of the Group of 77 during the year ending 30 September last, and for the dedication, skill and dynamic commitment with which it discharged its difficult task.

161. At the same time, my delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the election of our sister republic of Venezuela to the presidency of the Group of 77 during the year beginning 1 October 1980. We are sure that the Venezuelan delegation will discharge its commitment with equal distinction and dedication.

162. Among oil-producing countries, Mexico and Venezuela have been the first to take the pioneering step of using petroleum as an instrument in negotiations designed to build a new international economic order and of proposing that petrodollars be recycled in such a way as to benefit the developing countries. These two countries have contributed in a spirit of solidarity, a significant percentage of their oil earnings to the development of other third-world countries, including my own.

163. Convinced of the efficacy and necessity of concerted action, we have commended the policy of solidarity of the kindred nations of Mexico and Venezuela with the developing world—a policy embodied in the Joint Declaration signed at San José, Costa Rica, on 3 August this year by the two heads of State, benefitting Costa Rica and the other countries of Central America and the Caribbean by ensuring the supply of hydrocarbons to the region through new mechanisms of co-operation and financing.

164. It was felt in Latin America that this agreement bridged the gap between words and deeds in international relations. The hope was expressed that actions such as this would be emulated throughout the world, as a sign of active solidarity among sister countries, and that this exemplary attitude might serve as a model to other petroleum-producing countries in their relations with non-petroleum-producing countries which are their clients.

165. It is well known that the question of communications has come increasingly to the fore in international affairs. Costa Rica is of the view that the impact of communications upon modern man is growing daily and that it is of the greatest importance that the States Members of the United Nations give early consideration to the possibility of placing organizations such as the International Telecommunications Union on a sound footing upon which to face the demands of our times.

166. As a technical-political factor, communications have their basis in the natural right of every human being to communication. Principles such as that of "first come, first served" in the allocation of frequencies are unacceptable at this stage in history. We also regret the disagreements which arise between United Nations bodies with regard to com-

munications issues, which can be extremely harmful in this sphere.

167. I wish to express our great satisfaction at the fact that the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has produced an informal text for a draft convention. After so many years of intense labour and negotiations, the nations of the world are about to benefit from a universal law of the sea. The importance of such an instrument can surely escape no Government.

168. Costa Rica, together with other delegations, gave its support to the inclusion of the principle of the utilization of the sea for peaceful purposes. This principle, we feel, will contribute to international peace and security. The Government of Costa Rica also welcomes the inclusion of the principle of good faith in the discharge of the rights and duties arising out of this convention, as well as a recognition of *jus cogens* with respect to the rules governing the common heritage of mankind. However, my Government is concerned by the fact that it proved impossible for the sponsors of the various proposals to arrive at a consensus text on the delimitation of maritime boundaries between adjacent States or those facing each other. The international community should give serious thought to this matter.

169. After so many years of enormous efforts, we are finally able to consider in its entirety the structure of the code of the sea, which shall in truth constitute one of the most comprehensive and important legal instruments in history and a basis for peaceful and harmonious relations among nations. Costa Rica deplores the enactment of unilateral legislation in this sphere by certain developed countries, which have hampered delicate negotiations aimed at achieving a convention which will equitably regulate the exploitation of the resources of the sea. I hope that, at the next and final session, consensus can be reached on this and other outstanding issues so that we can proceed to the signing of the convention at Caracas, Venezuela.

170. The international situation in the field of human rights is not overly encouraging. The persistent and flagrant violation of these rights—inherent in the human person—is in many cases the cause, and in others, the consequence of international conflicts. Respect for human rights is the corner-stone of peace and harmony among all the world's peoples. Costa Rica, which has made a credo of compliance with and promotion of human rights, is well aware that the best weapon against subversion and social unrest is respect for human dignity. Only to the extent that the individual's rights are respected and that justice is done him, will there be peace and harmony among peoples.

171. Human rights cannot be confined to civil and political rights, but must also include economic, social and cultural rights. It is thus evident that human dignity will not be fully achieved with the mere enunciation or implementation of the traditional political and civil rights. The development of peoples must be intimately linked with human liberation. Only in this way can we achieve the aim of full respect for the dignity of the individual, which requires the simultaneous observance of civil, political, economic and cultural rights.

172. Unfortunately, the elaboration of effective instruments for the promotion and defence of human rights has

not attained a satisfactory level. Costa Rica considers that it is necessary to reassert the legal and moral commitment which accompanies membership in this Organization: respect for and promotion of fundamental human rights. In this connection, the Charter of Conduct of Riobamba¹⁷ is an achievement of great importance in the development of legal principles on the observance and implementation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

173. Costa Rica has the honour of being represented by its President, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo Odio, who was invited to that historic meeting by the distinguished head of State of the sister republic of Ecuador. He took that opportunity to add the voice of our country in support of the ideals and principles which were reiterated and strengthened. Costa Rica continues to have faith in them and it maintains a sustained interest in the idea of the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

174. Having heard the many positive statements of speakers who have preceded me during this general debate, my delegation is encouraged to continue to advocate that idea.

175. One of the issues which causes us the greatest concern is that of refugees, an historical phenomenon which has in recent times reached unprecedented proportions. It can be said that there is not a region in the world today which is not facing this problem and even Central America, which has in the past been a land of refuge for victims of persecution from every continent, has now become a land of refugees, thus converting a noble tradition into a sorrowful experience which affects the destiny and future of thousands of men, women and children, who are more often than not innocent. A few months ago, in order to resolve an unprecedented crisis in the Caribbean, my country provided a bridge for thousands of refugees to gain access to the freedom for which they longed. This undertaking, of which we kept the Secretary-General of this Organization constantly apprised, was a humanitarian gesture devoid of any political intent and aimed solely at mitigating the suffering of many human beings. We hope that members of the international community will hasten to the aid of refugees wherever they may be, but above all we hope that future problems of this kind will be avoided. This can be achieved only if all parties to a conflict accept and abide by the most elementary rules of international law, which afford protection to civilians even in time of war.

176. We must once again reiterate our categorical rejection and firm condemnation of racism in all its forms, especially that which adds insult to crime by seeking to institutionalize itself as a system, as has happened with *apartheid* in South Africa.

177. When we speak of *apartheid* we have nothing new to add, but we should consider the time that has been devoted in the United Nations to denouncing one of the most monstrous political ideologies mankind has known, and one of the political systems most incompatible with humanity that has ever been devised. I should like once again to express our solidarity with the views reiterated here by the representatives of African States. For their peoples, the struggle against *apartheid* is no political slogan, but a vindication of their humanity.

178. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries more than 10 million Africans who crossed the Atlantic contributed to the formation of what are now our peoples and our cultures. This is why, when we speak of the problems of the African continent, we are not speaking of something foreign, but of something which is a part of us.

179. The process of decolonization—a concrete result of the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples, which is one of the foundations of the United Nations—is almost a completed task. The process will be effective only if freedom is accompanied by a decent standard of living. Hence, any effort by the international community to assist its new members in their economic and social development is not only advisable, but commendable.

180. My Government supports and will continue to support all just struggles aimed at giving effect to the right of self-determination within the framework of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), which have guided and sustained the process of decolonization; it is now 20 years since they were adopted. We maintain as a matter of principle that it is up to the peoples themselves to exercise their right to self-determination, and that no State or group of States can or should assume the role of a champion of the liberation of peoples without the consent of those peoples. Accordingly, it is our view that the sole and legitimate repository of the right to self-determination is the people, and that no one should deny it, or impose on it, the exercise of this sacred right.

181. Year after year all our delegations gather at this Assembly to discuss the increasingly dire perils to which the nuclear Powers have condemned mankind. At a time when the economic and social situation in the world is one of stagnation and decline, we observe in studies, in statistics, in the reports of the Secretary-General and in the statements of Foreign Ministries the world over a single trend that is for ever on the upswing: that of the military expenditure and budgets of the great Powers and the growth of nuclear arsenals.

182. We have observed also that the technology which makes the most rapid strides is the technology of war, the technology of destruction. Countries such as my own, the countries of the third world, beset for so long by countless economic and social problems, look on with concern as the arms race becomes the only area of competition between the great Powers.

183. There are few who rise up against this tendency and their voices are not listened to. What more can be said at this stage, except to re-emphasize the urgency of stifling that irrational urge to increase and refine instruments of destruction and taking stock of the extreme gravity of the situation we face?

184. Costa Rica, in conformity with its pacifist convictions, believes that only reconciliation and peace can open the way to progress for our peoples. It is time that decision-makers throughout the world took cognizance of the issues which year after year have been the object of the attention of this Organization, issues to which no one is indifferent and which are the concern of all peoples.

¹⁷ See document A/C.3/35/4.

185. It must be acknowledged that to date nothing has been achieved since the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held at Helsinki in 1975, despite the hopes initially aroused by its results. A second review session of the Conference is to take place at the end of this year at Madrid. We earnestly hope that this new effort will be successful in every sense, for in view of the situation prevailing in international relations today it is imperative that the signatories to the instrument which may emerge at Madrid transcend purely rhetorical exercises and determine that deeds must conform to words.

186. Costa Rica has submitted for the consideration of the group of Latin American States its candidature for the seat corresponding to the region in the Security Council which will become vacant at the conclusion of the two-year term served by Jamaica in 1979-1980.

187. The group of Latin American States has not been able so far, by following its established practice, to reach a decision in this regard, as there are two candidates for a single seat. Consequently the problem may have to be resolved in the General Assembly by a vote taken according to the procedure laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

188. Costa Rica has vigorously argued that the non-permanent members of the Security Council should not only belong to the respective regions, as provided in Article 23 of the Charter, article 143 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and resolution 1991 A (XVIII), but, precisely in order to give effect to the principle of equitable geographical distribution set forth in the first of those provisions, should also represent their respective regions objectively and subjectively and should consequently be chosen and proposed to the General Assembly by their regional groups.

189. We have submitted our candidature to the Security Council in the first place because it is our conviction that at least under the circumstances now prevailing in Latin America and the Caribbean—the two being inseparably linked by common traditions, history, problems and aspirations—Costa Rica is objectively in the best possible position to represent, in the best and fullest sense, the interests and views of the region as a whole. My country not only is at the geographical centre of the Americas but also occupies the centre position among the diverse régimes which make up the vast political spectrum of our continent. It is at the centre also of the various ideological currents in the Americas and at the centre of the continent's different economic realities, standing as it does between the weakest and least developed countries and those which are gaining entry to the group of the rich and powerful. It is at the centre of America's social and cultural differences, it is in satisfactory harmony with all, and it does not represent, by its size, influence or endeavours, a possible threat or source of conflict to anyone.

190. Secondly, we have put forward our candidature because we are also subjectively disposed to accept and discharge the duty of representing our regional group in the Security Council. It is not that we believe it is always possible to achieve within the group the consensus necessary in order to speak on behalf of Latin America or as its representative. On the contrary, we are aware of our differences and

believe that they can and should be voiced with regard to the important issues discussed in the Security Council. Nor would we shirk our responsibility in decision-making in the Council for lack of a consensus.

191. The point I wish to make is that within the group of Latin American States there is more that unites us than that divides us, and that our determination to represent the group as a whole would strengthen the proper role of the group itself as a melting-pot of differences and a source of common action.

192. We have resolved, and we undertake, to convene the group to discuss problems which may arise for us as a member of the Security Council, to take into account the reasons advanced by all members, to convey, when it exists, their collective view and, when it does not, their individual views: in short, loyally and gratefully to live up to the honour of being allowed to represent the kindred peoples of Latin America by occupying their seat in the supreme organ of the United Nations system.

193. But we have also been led to submit our candidature by considerations of a universal character related to our very concept of the United Nations in general and of the Security Council in particular.

194. We believe that there is already sufficient cause for concern in the presence and extraordinary power of the permanent members of the Security Council, which represent their own conflicting interests. We must not fail, therefore, to strive to ensure that the non-permanent members refrain from aggravating that confrontation by lending themselves to a game of arithmetical skirmishing in which their role is merely to tip the balance; to ensure that they do not align themselves in any way with any of the various power groups but instead draw their inspiration solely from the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in the interests of the international community as a whole, taking a position not as partisans but as true judges prepared to vote for justice and the law even against their own immediate interests or those of the respective power groups.

195. Obviously, it is not enough merely to say this, or to be subjectively prepared to live up to it without the objective conditions necessary for doing it. Costa Rica not only says it and declares its resolve to do it, but ventures to claim qualifications backed by the complete concordance of those views with our national interest. Costa Rica's credentials in advancing its candidature for the supreme organ of international peace and security include the fact that it is one of the very few countries in the world which has taken the decision to disarm without conditions and without waiting for others to do so first, abolishing its army by constitutional provision in terms such that not even the imminent danger of world war has compelled it to renounce its stand for peace.

196. Costa Rica is proud to be the holder of several important records in international affairs. It is a country which has most speedily ratified the international conventions concluded by the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the ILO, UNESCO and other international organizations. It has accepted all international jurisdictions, such as that of the International Court of Justice, the Commission on Human Rights, the Inter-American Commission

on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. It has complied with all the decisions and even with all the recommendations of those bodies. It is also one of the countries which has made the greatest headway in subordinating its internal law to international law and in incorporating the latter into the former, to the extent that international covenants, by express constitutional provision, are applicable immediately as national laws and take precedence over statutory legislation, while the general principles of international law, comprising fundamental human rights and freedoms, whether embodied in formal legislature or not, are recognized as taking precedence over our Constitution itself.

197. It is for those reasons that we feel that Costa Rica can, as a balancing factor, bring to the Security Council its contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, given its record of voting and actions that demonstrate its true non-alignment, its faithful compliance with the principles of the United Nations, its recognized respect for international law and human rights and also its exemplary stance as one of the few completely unarmed countries in the world.

198. The wide recognition of those circumstances has already warranted extensive support for our candidature. That support has engaged our gratitude and strengthened our will to fulfil honourably our duties in the Security Council, provided that we are, as we trust, honoured with the necessary majority of votes for our election.

199. I should like to conclude by reiterating Costa Rica's confidence in the fruitfulness of our debates and in the spirit of understanding which must guide our negotiations. Since the founding of the United Nations my country has placed its trust in the Organization and today more than ever we believe in the decisive role which the General Assembly can play in making the future of mankind one of peace, freedom and universal justice.

200. The PRESIDENT: One representative asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply and I now call on him.

201. Mr. HERRERA IBARGÜEN (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Guatemala and very much to my regret, I feel obliged to exercise the right of reply in order to reject the statements made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Barbados and of Trinidad and Tobago.

202. I regret very deeply the fact that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Barbados, Mr. Forde, with whom I have personal bonds of friendship, has compared my country to

South Africa and has done so by calling us neo-colonialists and by implying that Guatemala could think in racist terms.

203. I should like to recall to my Latin American brothers that in 1823 the Central American entity, of which Guatemala was then a part, freed its slaves legally; those slaves had come in large part from British territories.

204. In that regard, we can affirm that in the years it has been a Member of the United Nations, Guatemala has always supported all movements fighting for self-determination and for the freedom of peoples.

205. Turning now to the specific question of Belize, I should like to recall that in that case there exists an age-old dispute between the United Kingdom and Guatemala. It has been stated repeatedly in this Assembly that the United Kingdom holds the Territory on the basis of a long-standing occupation, an occupation which is not legally recognized by Guatemala. That is why we were surprised to hear the gentlemen to whom I have referred stating that Guatemala does not accept resolutions of the General Assembly. The fact is that in a bilateral dispute the procedures provided for in the Charter must be followed, in particular, those mentioned in Article 33 of the Charter.

206. Since that is so, we are at this time negotiating with the United Kingdom the manner in which the dispute may be resolved. In fact the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala yesterday stated [*25th meeting*] that Guatemala had engaged in several rounds of negotiations. On 19 and 20 May this year the Foreign Ministers of Guatemala and the United Kingdom met, together with officials from Belize. The Minister also mentioned that towards the end of June he had paid a visit to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in London and that on 7 and 8 July a meeting of technical officials from Guatemala and the United Kingdom had taken place here in New York, for the purpose of seeking a solution of the various aspects of the dispute. Another meeting is to take place very shortly.

207. I should therefore like to make it quite clear that Guatemala categorically rejects the insinuations and accusations made by the representatives of Trinidad and Tobago and of Barbados and that Guatemala is resolved to find a solution of the problem of Belize that will take into account the interests of that people. Once again, however, I would reiterate that Guatemala has historical legal rights the basis for which is such that we are certain of the soundness of our position.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.