

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



32nd
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 9 October 1981,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*):

Speech by Mr. Josie (Saint Lucia)	651
Speech by Mr. Mangwende (Zimbabwe)	655
Speech by Mr. Lemos-Simmonds (Colombia)	658

President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JOSIE (Saint Lucia): Sir, I should like first to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I feel confident that the good fortune which brought you to the General Assembly will attend the work of this body throughout the present session.

2. I should like also, on behalf of the Government and people of Saint Lucia, to extend a sincere welcome to the newly independent State, and the most recent Member of the United Nations, Belize. It is a signal honour to address the congratulations of the Government and people of Saint Lucia to the Government and people of Belize who, as members of this Assembly know well, had to struggle for the last 16 years to achieve the status of independence and to take their rightful place among this family of nations. We would wish it to be known that the Government and people of Saint Lucia are at one with our fellow Governments in the Caribbean Community, of which Belize is a member, in our determination to advance and sustain the peaceful and democratic progress of our sister State, a large majority of whose nationals are our own kith and kin.

3. We also wish to congratulate the newly independent State of Vanuatu, which has taken its proper place in this family of nations.

4. The political state of the world leaves much to be desired as we mark the thirty-sixth anniversary of the United Nations. The Organization, which began as the hope of all of us, continues in that singular role for the realization of the progress of mankind in this and succeeding generations. Let us then face squarely both its strengths and its weaknesses. In so doing, we must also continually examine the forces that are working within it by analysing both their methods and their aims. Moreover, we must attempt to determine their motivating factors in order that a clear understanding and appreciation of the role of the Organization may emerge.

5. The United Nations, while continuing to promote world peace, has not been entirely successful in implementing the principle of collective security. For small and weak States this is the only guarantee of their territorial inviolability. We pay lip service to a plethora of treaties and agreements which, while encompassing security guarantees for most of the small and weak States, are, in the final analysis, subordinate to the strategic interests of the larger and stronger States. In short, our salvation does not appear to lie within the tenets of equal consideration based on sovereignty, but rather on how we are strategically perceived by those that wish to control the world and thereby the destiny of all mankind.

6. As a result of this, the old animosities have given way to heightened tensions, continually fanned by a changing perspective, which leads to actual confrontations and consequently an escalating arms race. It is indeed a sad irony that insularity of one kind or another seems to be increasing with the growing interdependence of nations. The great historian Arnold Toynbee once observed that the cult of nationalism is now the world's major religion and that its God demands human sacrifice; but when that anachronistic attitude, which we euphemistically refer to as nationalism, is not busy fomenting wars in some otherwise peaceful area of the world, it is actively driving wedges which preclude meaningful co-operation between nation States. We in the Caribbean can speak with great authority on that issue. The cult of insularity has in the past thwarted meaningful economic and political co-operation among our impoverished islands, even though we share a common people and an identical history.

7. This explains our preference for regional groupings, groupings that give greater strength and lend further cohesion to the United Nations in the task of bringing peace and progress to the world community at large. They also lead to better understanding, close co-operation and friendship between peoples. Saint Lucia has become a member of the non-aligned group and, in addition, we spearheaded the movement which transformed the dependent group known as the West Indies Associated States into the more meaningful and internationally acceptable organization termed the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States. We have realized that identity in the international community as a prerequisite for the development of our political economy can best be achieved within our regional grouping. The Government and people of Saint Lucia place great faith in that new organization. To us it is a watershed in inter-Caribbean relations, indeed, the beginning of a new era in Caribbean unity.

8. But in that context we are equally a part of the Caribbean Community, that clearly distinctive, English-speak-

ing subregion of Latin America. It is there that our affinity and involvement is most marked. That is why we look with measured concern and reluctant approbation at the new thrust for the concept of the Caribbean Basin.

9. We wish to establish firmly, from the outset, that we do not consider ourselves perched on the periphery of the so-called Caribbean Basin, there to gain merely peripheral advantages from those in whose interest it is to secure that Basin. If the idea of a Basin is to have any validity, if it is to ensure the interests of its benefactors, then that, in our view, can only be done by first securing the enlightened self-interest of all the occupants of that Basin. Moreover, ensuring the material advancement and well-being of all the peoples of our small island States in that Basin must be given special attention, since in the broad perspective of history those small islands have always been the first safeguard of those benefactors.

10. The Government and people of Saint Lucia fully support the removal of the arbitrary line which has separated the proud people of the Korean peninsula for over three and a half decades. While the United Nations, *inter alia*, has traditionally been intimately involved in the Korean question, the General Assembly since 1976 has agreed that the question of reunification, consistent with the principle of the right to self-determination, must be left to the Korean people themselves. The Korean peninsula should not be a focal point where East-West tensions are played out. Reunification in today's world is not merely a lofty ideal but a most practical aspiration.

11. Saint Lucia supports the sovereignty, territorial integrity and, indeed, non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. While we do not in any way underestimate the obstacles to be surmounted, we believe that the intercommunal talks at present kept under the purview of the Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, can be a medium for a just and lasting solution only if they are conducted in a most serious and substantive manner. In calling for more serious attitudes during the intercommunal talks, the Government and people of Saint Lucia reaffirm their solidarity with the Government and people of Cyprus and strongly urge that without further delay a just and lasting solution be negotiated between the parties based on high-level agreements, the relevant United Nations resolutions and the declarations and decisions of the group of non-aligned countries.

12. National jealousies cannot be blamed for all of the world's ills. If nationalism is antiquated, then racism has always been idiotic. And if racism is stupid, then the *apartheid*-practising régime of South Africa is an affront to the dignity and intelligence of man. The people of Saint Lucia have always felt an unmitigated disgust for the *apartheid* system. Since independence my Government has consistently opposed any area that will court it. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by that *apartheid*-practising régime further aggravates the problem. It should now be abundantly clear that South Africa does not intend to comply with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) except, of course, if it can contrive to have its hand-picked lackeys retain power. There are no logical excuses to be offered for deferring comprehensive and meaningful economic sanctions against South Africa. They must be implemented now.

13. Saint Lucia welcomed the Panama Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia [A/36/24, vol. I, para. 222]. It supports without reservation a total economic, political and social embargo against South Africa. We have noted—and it does not augur well for the image of the United Nations—that in order to obtain agreement on resolution ES-8/2 adopted at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to Namibia, the most pertinent paragraphs had to be watered down to such a degree that one wondered if that was really what a number of distinguished Foreign Ministers had come to New York to achieve. But it is not lost on the world that in every way the developing world will continue to hammer out the message that *apartheid* must end, and the recalcitrant countries which wish to protect South Africa will one day have to realize that their better interests are not served by their continual refusal to denounce the perpetrators of this infringement of the rights of human beings.

14. This year marks a full decade since the fraternal country of Sri Lanka—later joined by others—introduced in the world Organization the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. While one should have little difficulty in accepting that the process of bringing this idea to fruition would of necessity be cumulative, the lack of serious progress over the past 10 years has been most disturbing. While the security interests and *realpolitik* considerations of the great Powers made this concept idealistic, even quixotic, we none the less believe that it is time for its realization. Tensions in the Middle East and South-East Asia, including possible threats to economic desiderata in the Persian Gulf, continue to prove a hindrance to the disarming of the Indian Ocean. Recent events continue to show that the balance of terror in the Indian Ocean is no deterrent to aggression in the area. Saint Lucia firmly supports the idea of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

15. It also continues to advocate that this concept be extended to the Caribbean region as well, because if present trends continue, sooner or later we in the Caribbean will be facing situations more difficult than anything imagined at present. We have focused our plea for a zone of peace in our regional institutions with remarkable success. We now wish it to be heard and projected within this world forum.

16. It is our view that economic aid alone will not significantly alter the instability in an area which is being held back by economic stagnation. No investor will wish to move into a region full of military movements and manoeuvres. We have stated in every forum open to us that, in order to raise the standard of living of our peoples, we need to have a massive injection of investments and assistance; further, that if States continue to destabilize our area with the movement of their armed forces, the climate for economic development and progress will be destroyed. Our voice may be a cry in the wilderness, but we are convinced that it is a wilderness on which this august institution would be well advised to focus more attention. If we do not find the satisfaction of our interests in the Organization, if the developed world pays no heed to our real needs, and if we only vaunt an empty sovereignty whose value is determined by the interests of our larger neighbours, then is this not an invitation to take

our salvation into our own hands, even at the risk of violating the Charter of the United Nations which we all hold sacred, and find the solution in whatever form or fashion satisfies our needs?

17. As a small island State, Saint Lucia interprets the principle of non-alignment quite literally. While we have our own notions about the kind of political and economic system in which we ourselves would prefer to live, we are, for all essential purposes, respectful of the existence of various preferences and their justifications. We have, in terms of consistent policy, maintained good relations with all friendly nations and, in line with our acceptance of the ideological plurality of the world, we intend to expand our political intercourse to all States, regardless of their political persuasion. However, we wish to repeat here that we will not countenance or consort with South Africa or similar *apartheid*-practising States.

18. In 1979, when we entered the world stage, we were encouraged to enter forums that considered matters of vital interest to us. Hitherto such interests had been taken care of by a former metropolitan Power. Such was the case, for example, of the questions concerning the law of the sea. Since 1974 the nations of the world have been hard at work, seeking to formulate a convention to put some order in the régime of the sea. Even at that late stage in 1979, Saint Lucia sought to have its interests registered. We have held off from seeking to advance solely our own interests, however important and vital they may have been, because we felt and were encouraged to believe that it was the wish of other important States that one should not rock the boat or disturb the balance of the package.

19. We have sought through bilateral means to secure our maritime areas, especially those that are in relation to other friendly and co-operative States, and in this regard we cite the Agreement on Delimitation of the Saint Lucian Channel, signed in Paris in March of this year, between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of Saint Lucia. The Agreement is an example of what can be achieved between a metropolitan Power that shows good will and understanding of a small State's problem and an island State which is prepared to co-operate while having regard to its own national interests. From this basis it is expected that many further avenues of co-operation and co-ordination will open up.

20. Our major concern with the law of the sea is mainly with the question of pollution and that of control over the waters surrounding our island State with respect to the passage of foreign ships. For us, pollution is a nightmare from which there is no awakening. We say categorically in this forum that the present Agreement does not adequately prevent the possibilities of pollution. It does not go far enough. It is therefore necessary that we seek to advance our ideals at the next session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, since the actions of other States appear to reopen the entire package for renewed negotiations. If the Conference is now seeking to renegotiate the package, then it is logical that every area should come under renewed scrutiny. We will also seek assistance from the international institutions whose work is related to the law of the sea. Some have indicated their willingness to aid in solving our pollution problems, but we still have not seen any implementation in terms of

their letter of intent; this, unfortunately, is the weakness of international institutions. We are therefore left to turn for assistance to those States that may be willing to help us on a bilateral basis but whose particular interests may well be at variance with our own.

21. With the adoption, on 5 December 1980, of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56*], it was considered that the next phase—that of global negotiations to implement the Strategy—would follow. Unfortunately, there are interests that have decided not to undertake global negotiations at this particular time, and the issue is now in limbo. We know that the economic picture around the world continues to deteriorate and worsens with every passing day. We are thus forced into an economic position that is reflected in a deteriorating state of affairs which, as time passes, makes us more susceptible to accepting the lowest common denominator in terms of trade. What we are aware of is that the evident failure or lack of purpose in coming to grips with the global economy negates any attempt to bring peace and security to this world and thereby undermines the chances for small States to achieve the economic development and progress to which we all aspire.

22. However, the picture is not all bleak and disconsolate. We must readily commend the efforts of the participants in the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held at Cancún. They will perhaps provide more positive results in the near future. We believe that some exchange of ideas is worthwhile and may serve to engender a better understanding of some of the problems. We welcome the initiative of the four sponsors of the Meeting and we are playing our part by making the necessary financial sacrifices to attend those costly meetings in order that we may be able to present a proper economic package for their acceptance and implementation. But we cannot help thinking that we are voters in the constituency of rhetoric, for we have little to show by way of development in certain sectors of our infrastructure. This is particularly so as those very sponsors continually point to that as the reason for our inability to absorb the aid and investment which could alleviate our economic circumstances. It is a vicious circle and we look apprehensively at the unfolding of the plans to remedy this malaise. There is no small island State to adequately convey our problems as we see them or to be in a position to take the word to those that may give in terms consonant with a small island State's interests.

23. Global negotiations must lead to a substantial change in the economic régime established after the Second World War. It is our hope that all countries will participate, regardless of their economic standing and social structures, in bringing about a more equitable and just system and that the guiding factor for negotiations will be the immediate improvement of the conditions of the millions for whom this planet is an unrepentant executioner that ensures death by starvation.

24. In the opening statement by the Administrator of UNDP to the twenty-eighth session of the Governing Council, a very disheartening picture—in our view—was painted.¹ The anticipated shortfall in resources was not just a projection, but rather a reality. The Administrator of UNDP noted that, whereas at the end of May 1979, 54.4

per cent of pledges for that year had been paid, by the same time in 1980 only 30.8 per cent and in 1981 a mere 17 per cent of pledges were redeemed. In fact, the Administrator indicated that changes in exchange rate parities had significantly eroded UNDP's resource base and that the target of a 14 per cent a year increase in voluntary contributions set by the Council would not be met, not only for one year, but for the entire cycle 1982-1986.

25. The developing countries have come to rely heavily on UNDP assistance in their efforts to meet the developmental aspirations of their peoples. The importance which developing countries attach to UNDP can be seen simply by an examination of their own contributions to the programme. For the past year contributions from the developing countries have continued to increase, even though there have not been any significant increases in growth in their national economies. Had other countries taken up the challenge, the 1982-1986 cycle would have been in a healthier position. At a time when the overall economic picture is gloomy, we cannot allow the one glimmer of hope to fade. Saint Lucia strongly urges the donor countries to continue their support for UNDP through increased contributions and the prompt payment of these contributions. The efforts of UNDP in our development process are too critical to be neglected and allowed to flounder. It is of paramount importance that we, in the developing countries, plan as efficiently as possible the programmes and projects that will assist us in bettering out livelihood. But that planning is only possible when the sources of financing are assured. Taken together, proper planning and availability of funds will result in maximum utilization and efficient use of resources, and this assumes greater importance when these resources are already in short supply.

26. It is necessary to point out that, apart from the country programmes directly administered by UNDP, there are a number of special funds and activities supervised by UNDP personnel or dependent on the UNDP field network for their operation. These will also be seriously affected, resulting in an across-the-board decrease in activities and efficiency. This situation should not be allowed to arise. We repeat that it is therefore important in our view that all donor countries increase as much as possible their contribution to the programme and make those pledged sums available at the beginning of the year. Only in this way can developing countries achieve the programme envisaged in decision 80/30,² which has been hailed as a positive step and through which the developing countries can be sure of continued assistance in their efforts towards self-reliance and economic liberation.

27. In looking at those programmes, we wish to express our concern and apprehension over the thinking that underlies the distribution of those funds and, for that matter, the way the funds are deployed in any particular country's programme. There is an increasing tendency to think that assistance is being rendered by sending experts to the developing world. We do not entirely share that view. This is not to say that experts do not have an important role to play in our countries. But it is the consideration that experts are the be-all and end-all of the solution that causes us concern. The dispatch of experts, absorbing the better proportion of available funds, in fact hinders the receiving countries from developing the necessary technical skills and expertise in their indigenous personnel which are

useful and perhaps vital for the long-term development of the country. It also gives the impression that the institution is serving simply as a clearing house and employment agency for some entrenched persons and friends. We need to reverse this trend and redirect our efforts towards the training of persons from the developing world; towards reducing the administrative costs of the implementation of projects; towards increased participation in the decision-making process in projects designed for our countries; and towards projects that are meaningful and practical within the developmental framework of the country concerned. If those provisions are satisfied, then the assistance will be truly meaningful.

28. The Programme of Action adopted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas [see A/36/333 and Corr. 1], calls for co-operative efforts among developing countries in the areas of trade, technology, food and agriculture, energy, raw materials, finance and industrialization. These are the areas in which the developed countries should treat with the developing world within the context of the global negotiations. We regard economic co-operation among developing countries as an integral part of the collective action of the Group of 77 to restructure international economic relations and as an indicator that we have taken the initiative. In our intra-economic relations we have attempted to develop mechanisms that will prevent any small group of States within the Group of 77 to gain a position of dominance, and we have ensured that the most disadvantaged in our ranks will obtain the special consideration necessary for their development. It is in this same vein that we perceive the global negotiations.

29. We sincerely believe that economic relations among States must be based on the principles of equity, interdependence and justice. We are committed to observing these principles in our own interrelations, and we will expect their observance in our dealings with the developed world. Economic co-operation among developing countries should therefore serve as a springboard from which the world can attain higher goals and standards.

30. As early as 1976, the peculiar difficulties of island developing countries were recognized by UNCTAD and a programme of action in terms of assistance was agreed upon in resolution 98 (IV).³ That programme extended over the entire gamut of development, in particular in terms of assistance to trade promotion efforts, investment in infrastructure—namely, water, electricity, transport, industrial estates, etc. and assistance in strengthening the capacity of island developing States to negotiate with foreign investors. These measures were to assist the island developing States to overcome problems caused by their remoteness from market centres, the smallness of their own domestic markets, their low resource endowment and their dependence on only a few export commodities.

31. Today the newly independent Member States and those on the threshold of independence are mainly island developing States. These recent Members are probably in greater difficulty than their forerunners, having to face a world economy which, in our view, is hovering on the brink of depression. It is this very institution that has championed political independence and self-determination, enabling our States to assume membership. We believe that it now has an obligation to assist us in achieving economic independence. We therefore urge that the

economic goodwill to complement the political achievements must not only be present but must be visibly present. Efforts must be made by the United Nations system, by the multilateral assistance institutions and by respective Governments that are in a position to do so to increase their assistance to island developing countries so that they, in turn, may maintain the climate for investments and the growth rates which they have demonstrated themselves capable of achieving through their own efforts.

32. Few island developing States qualify under the existing criteria as least developed States. Yet, in some cases, their situation may be worse. That is a dilemma of most of the island developing countries, and unless the special measures called for in UNCTAD resolutions 98 (IV) of 1976³ and resolution 111 (V) of 1979⁴ are carried through, some developing countries may automatically deserve to be reclassified and thereby qualify as least developed States because of a worsening economic situation.

33. My Government is particularly concerned at the apparent lack of interest in the welfare and well-being of some of the less fortunate States of the Organization. Last year, following the near devastation of our country by hurricane Allen, which caused considerable damage to crops, housing, industry and infrastructure, we were able to get a resolution adopted by this body for increased assistance to Saint Lucia. That resolution 35/101, was adopted on 5 December 1980 and called for the mobilization of the financial, technical and economic assistance of the international community and the United Nations system to meet the short and long-term needs of the State. The appropriate sum of money which would enable a special mission to visit Saint Lucia to consult with the Government on the best possible modes to undertake the operation was approved by the Fifth Committee.

34. Unfortunately, no action was taken on this until September this year, over one year after the hurricane disaster. To date, a report on how this mobilization will be effected has not been issued. This shows either a considerable lack of interest or an arrogant disregard on the part of those who are charged with this responsibility. It does not speak well for the manner in which the administrative area of this body fulfills its obligations.

35. Given the critical political and economic situation which now faces the world community, some of which we have tried to highlight today, we in Saint Lucia still dare to be optimistic, still dare to live in hope. We are hopeful because when we look at the long and turbulent history of man we see that the greatest leap forward has always been achieved in the midst of the greatest adversity.

36. We have already formulated and agreed upon preliminary proposals, on a regional basis, for an improvement in food production, better terms of trade and the procurement of finance.

37. We have listened with interest to the commitment expressed at the Assembly by many nations, and we have reason to feel that in the end good sense and logic will prevail and that the integrity of the United Nations as an instrument of peace shall be preserved. This is our wish, this is our hope, this is our prayer.

38. Mr. MANGWENDE (Zimbabwe): I am very grateful for the opportunity to address the thirty-sixth session

of the General Assembly. May I be allowed, first of all, to convey to this gathering warm greetings from the President, the Prime Minister and the Government and people of Zimbabwe. The Republic of Zimbabwe further wishes to assure you all that 15 months after our own admission to the United Nations we still firmly stand by our pledge and commitment to support the efforts and ideals of this great Organization. We rededicate ourselves to the United Nations ideals of freedom, equality and social justice for all.

39. On my own behalf and also speaking for the Zimbabwe delegation, may I congratulate you, Sir, and your country on your well-deserved election to the most important position of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The Assembly could not have made a better choice of a successor to the President of the thirty-fifth session, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany. Your predecessor presided over the deliberations of the thirty-fifth session and of the special sessions with skill, dedication and, indeed, distinction. May I congratulate him through you. Your own experience and distinguished career as diplomat and member of the United Nations Secretariat amply qualify you for the difficult task which the Assembly has given you. Let me assure you of my personal wishes and those of the Zimbabwe delegation for a most enjoyable and fruitful term of office.

40. The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly has before it an agenda which is as long as it is truly reflective of the current international scene. Even the most optimistic observer of international affairs will readily admit that our world is today characterized and, indeed, threatened by potentially explosive tensions which have in some regions already led to open armed conflicts, thus menacing regional if not international stability, security and peace. Political oppression, flagrant disregard for and violation of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of a sovereign State, territorial expansionism, racism, disrespect for human rights and inequitable distribution of wealth, nationally and regionally, are among the most common generators of these tensions and open conflicts. In other words, the dangers to regional and international stability and security are very much man-made. In our view, the United Nations, which was founded to ensue world peace and security and to protect the rights of the individual and those of the nations and peoples of the world, must stand firmly and without fear of favour behind the principles and ideals of its Charter. The United Nations must unequivocally denounce, condemn and reject outright any acts, designs or tendencies, from whatever quarter, which are aimed at compromising the principles and ideals that have always made this international body a truly effective guarantor of human rights and world peace and security.

Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Vice-President, took the Chair.

41. May I now turn to the southern African region, one of the world's danger spots. We from that troubled area are very much concerned that unless the international community, through the United Nations, intervenes quickly and effectively, the rapid breakdown of regional stability now threatening world peace and security may soon get irretrievably out of control. It is our sincere hope, therefore, that this warning will be taken seriously

by the General Assembly and that appropriate measures will be adopted to deal with the situation.

42. Almost all the causes of the tension and open armed conflicts already mentioned are at work in southern Africa and are attributable to the racist *apartheid* Pretoria régime. Not only does this régime employ the most repressive police and military machines to silence internal opposition and resistance by the politically oppressed and economically and culturally exploited black majority, but the white racist minority Government also, without any provocation, repeatedly invades the neighbouring sovereign States. Thus, unashamedly, the régime's forces have invaded and continue to attack the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Botswana, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of Zambia. Again, without any provocation, the racist Pretoria régime has declared its intention to attack our young republic and is currently doing everything in its power to destabilize it.

43. By far the most dangerous crime in the racist régime's endless catalogue of brutalities against humanity is the recent unprovoked invasion of Angola. As representatives know, the invasion was followed by the occupation of the southern part of Angola by the enemy forces, which killed thousands of civilians and senselessly destroyed much Angolan property. The world was stunned and revolted by the régime's disregard of international law. And yet, it must also be sadly observed that Pretoria was not without advocates, if not supporters, in its acts of brutality against the peace-loving people of Angola. As representatives will recall, when in August last the Security Council met to discuss *apartheid* South Africa's aggression against Angola, certain voices would not support the relevant draft resolution. Those voices wanted the invasion to be seen within a context other than that of an unprovoked aggression against another State resulting in the violation of that State's territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

44. In addition to its attacks against the neighbouring States with its well-equipped air force, it is also a well-known fact that the Pretoria régime finances, equips and trains dissident and unpatriotic Angolan, Mozambican, Zambian and Zimbabwean criminal elements which are regularly unleashed to return to their respective countries to commit sabotage, rape and murder against their own people. Nor is this list of the racist régime's crimes complete. The activities of the murder and kidnapping squads of the *apartheid* Pretoria Government are well known in the capitals of neighbouring Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, where hundreds of Namibian and exiled South African patriots have been cold-bloodedly murdered. Many more have been and are being kidnapped and abducted to *apartheid* South Africa to be tortured to death in the régime's death chambers, euphemistically called prisons.

45. The international community has now given the racist minority régime more than enough warning and opportunity to end its crimes against the black majority in South Africa and Namibia in particular and humanity in general. And yet, racist Pretoria continues arrogantly to defy with impunity the already very numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. It has disregarded, again with impunity, an equally large

number of calls and resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned movement to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and to facilitate genuine political changes internally in order that the black people of South Africa may exercise their full rights as free citizens of their land.

46. We have already expressed grave concern and warning about the dangerous military consequences for our region caused by the régime's destabilizing policies and activities. We must also emphasize and warn against the equally injurious effects of the *apartheid* system upon national as well as regional economic developments. For instance, it is not a secret that, taking advantage of the fact that the economies of the neighbouring States are linked to it by geographical and historical factors, *apartheid* South Africa often adopts a policy of economic intimidation and blackmail. Pretoria's economic bullying and its military aggression against the front-line States are aimed at deterring us from giving material, moral and diplomatic support and assistance to the oppressed South Africans and Namibians and their respective authentic liberation movements.

47. The Republic of Zimbabwe joins its free and independent neighbours in the region in telling racist South Africa unequivocally that intimidation, whether military or economic, will never deter us from our progressive and internationalist duty and responsibility to give whatever assistance we can to the forces fighting for social justice, political independence and sovereignty in our own region or for that matter anywhere else in the world.

48. Those of us living in the troubled region also know full well that economic independence is crucial not only to our ability effectively to support the processes of liberation in South Africa and Namibia, but also to the maintenance of our own respective hard-won national independence and sovereignty. Consequently, not only do we, as the concerned nations, promote diplomatic relations among ourselves and with other regions, but we are also taking practical measures to develop our respective national and regional economies. Our countries are co-operating amongst themselves economically and are also encouraging co-operation with other regions. The formation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in early 1980 clearly demonstrates that determination to develop our economies through regional and inter-regional co-operation and also effectively to resist the racist régime's economic blackmail.

49. Those honest efforts can succeed only if there is an effective mobilization of our national and regional resources, as well as generous assistance from the developed countries which are Members of this international body. I should like, in that context, to express our sincere appreciation and gratitude to those countries, organizations and institutions which have already responded so generously to our appeal for financial, technical and material aid and assistance. Indeed, the remarkable success of the Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development in March this year was largely attributable to a positive international response to our needs.

50. I should now like to turn to other areas where foreign aggression, occupation and domination continue to

deny the indigenous societies their sovereignty, with serious consequences for regional stability and international security.

51. On our own continent, for instance, the Sahraoui people of Western Sahara are still denied their right to self-determination by a foreign Power claiming their Territory. The Sahraoui, under the leadership of the gallant and revolutionary POLISARIO⁵ movement, have for many years been fighting for their country's liberation. Zimbabwe stands solidly behind them because their cause is just and in conformity with the principles of the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement.

52. The delegation of Zimbabwe also wishes to see the United Nations and the OAU take the necessary measures to implement their respective decisions and resolutions to bring about a cease-fire in the area. Zimbabwe wishes to see the people of Western Sahara establish their republic on their own territory. We believe that the referendum mentioned in the resolution on Western Sahara, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [see A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)], is a step in the right direction.

53. My delegation is equally concerned about the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Middle East. As representatives know, for decades the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement have been warning against the dangerous situation developing in that region.

54. As in southern Africa, in the Middle East too the rapid deterioration is mainly attributable to one factor, in this case zionism. Indeed, as political and social doctrines, zionism and *apartheid* share several common characteristics; hence the existence of what has been called a Tel Aviv-Pretoria axis. They are both racist philosophies whose followers believe that certain races are inferior. Both doctrines justify and encourage the territorial occupation, dispossession and colonization of the so-called racial inferiors.

55. In the Middle East Zionist expansionist policies and practices have resulted in the grabbing of Arab land and are seriously threatening the very existence of some Arab States and communities. The main cause of tension in that region is zionist Israel's refusal to accept the universally recognized fact that the Palestinians are a people which, like every other people, is entitled to its own freedom and an independent and sovereign State. Naturally, the dispossessed and oppressed Palestinians and their gallant revolutionary movement, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], are fighting with all the means at their disposal to wrench their fatherland, including historic Jerusalem, from the Zionists. Again Zimbabwe fully supports the just and legitimate Palestinian struggle for survival, liberation, independence and sovereignty that is being waged in that area.

56. We also wish to call upon the United Nations urgently to take appropriate steps to compel Israel unconditionally to withdraw from all Palestinian and other Arab lands occupied during the 1967 expansionist war, including the city of Jerusalem, in order to facilitate Palestinian self-determination. In the meantime, the international community, collectively and severally, must continue its political, diplomatic, material and military support for the

struggling Palestinians under their gallant liberation movement, the PLO.

57. The delegation of Zimbabwe holds the view that the Arab States which are resolutely and determinedly supporting the Palestinian struggle, in spite of Israeli aggression against them, must be commended for that internationalist duty. They should also be assisted by the international community in the defence of their sovereignty and territorial integrity against Zionist aggression which is designed to deter them from supporting the PLO and from giving asylum to Palestinian refugees.

58. The United Nations is the only hope left to all the peoples still living under foreign occupation and oppression for their freedom, self-determination, peace and the fulfilment of their national aspirations. Accordingly, my delegation very strongly supports the people of East Timor in their efforts to enlist United Nations assistance in their struggle for self-determination. We call upon all freedom-loving people to support the FRETILIN⁶ liberation movement, which is guiding the East Timorese in their struggle for freedom.

59. We also note with joy that, after decades of colonial rule, the people of Vanuatu have now gained freedom and independence. It pleases us even more to see them occupy the seat, which has always been theirs by right, in this assembly of sovereign nations as the one hundred fifty-fifth Member State of the United Nations. To them we extend our warmest congratulations.

60. By the same token, we also wish to salute Belize, which attained nationhood on 21 September this year, and we are extremely pleased to see the Belizean delegation occupying its seat in the Assembly.

61. One of the most sacred principles of the United Nations is that of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign State. Regrettably, however, this fundamental pillar of relationships among nations has been, and continues to be, transgressed in several areas, including Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Korean peninsula, to mention only some of the areas where such violation is taking place. As representatives know, in all these cases, external interference not only makes murky waters even muddier but also certainly endangers world peace and security. Zimbabwe strongly believes that it is the right of every sovereign nation to settle its internal affairs without outside intervention and interference. Accordingly, Zimbabwe supports the call for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed on Afghan and Kampuchean territory. We also appeal for the strict observance of, and respect for, the territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of both Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

62. On the Korean peninsula, external intervention and interference have taken the following main forms: a massive foreign military build-up in the South and foreign propaganda geared towards the throttling of any positive move towards the reunification of Korea. The enemies of Korean unity would like, for instance, to perpetuate disunity among the people of the peninsula by preaching the divisive myth of the so-called two Koreas policy. The United Nations must reject outright any designs to create two Koreas and the international community should, in-

stead, support those patriotic forces in Korea labouring to bring about the reunification of Korea under one national government. We believe that the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the South and the cessation of malicious propaganda will greatly contribute towards the creation of an atmosphere conducive to this goal.

63. Zimbabwe also fully supports the initiatives of President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and his Government. We believe that the establishment of a confederate system as envisioned by President Kim Il Sung is a most realistic step towards the ultimate unification of Korea.

64. I should like now to turn to the economic factors which are some of the main causes of tension on the international scene. Many speakers before me have already referred to the deteriorating world economic situation. Some have warned against its national and regional consequences, which are bound to have serious repercussions on world stability. It has been observed that every country, developing and industrialized, has been experiencing a low level of economic performance, stagnation in industrial output, inflation and increasing unemployment. The ravages of the adverse world economic situation have been more severe in the economies and societies of the developing countries than in those of the industrialized nations.

65. What is more disturbing is the fact that the immediate future is not promising for the developing economies and societies, which are certain to experience a further decline in the coming years. The only hope, in our opinion, lies in an international approach to what is certainly a world-wide crisis. While no one would blame the economic woes of the developing countries entirely upon the economic policies and practices of the major industrialized nations, most observers would agree that leading industrialized countries have so far been responsible for retarding progress towards the achievement of international co-operation in dealing with the declining world economic situation. For instance, it is the total lack of political will, coupled with stubbornness in some quarters, on the part of these nations that has been the chief stumbling block to the launching of global negotiations for the creation of a new international economic order.

66. The delegation of Zimbabwe wishes to pledge its full support for, and co-operation with, any efforts to bring about international co-operation in dealing with the serious world economic situation. Although we do not believe that there is any panacea for the current economic woes of the South, we are convinced that North-South co-operation will contribute markedly to averting the catastrophe facing our world today.

67. By far the biggest threat to international peace and security, and to the very existence of human life on this planet, is the vicious arms race between the two super-Powers. This race, which began just after the Second World War, is being fuelled by growing East-West tension, as each super-Power seeks to gain mastery over the whole world and to ensure its security against the other by the massive production of arms, including nuclear weapons. United Nations efforts and calls to stop the further spread of military nuclear technology have been—

and continue to be—ignored, and the list of countries possessing this dangerous technology has become even longer. Also, since 1963, when the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the United Kingdom signed the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,⁷ many tests have been carried out by those same countries. Even more disturbing, other countries, including *apartheid* South Africa and Zionist Israel, are known to have added their names to the list. It would appear that some countries regard every region of the world as available for their nuclear testing activities. The calls by the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement to create nuclear-free zones in such regions as Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Middle East and South-East Asia have been ignored contemptuously.

68. The search for an international agreement to reduce arms, and ultimately to bring about general and complete disarmament, must be continued vigorously. My delegation is most appreciative of United Nations efforts in this regard. We also support the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and we believe, too, that a world conference devoted to this issue is in the interest of world peace and security.

69. Mr. LEMOS-SIMMONDS (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Permit me first of all to convey the congratulations of my Government to Mr. Kittani on his election as President of the General Assembly. That action is an appropriate honouring of his country and of his distinguished personal qualities. The Organization has placed its trust in a highly qualified person who, because of his experience, is well aware of the delicate responsibilities of his high post.

70. I also wish to express the congratulations of my Government to his illustrious predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, who, by his actions during a particularly difficult time, amply justified the trust placed in him by the international community.

71. Let me also take this opportunity to welcome the admission to the United Nations of two new States, Vanuatu and Belize. Colombia is pleased to note this new and important step in the process of decolonization, and offers its best wishes for the peace and prosperity of both new nations.

72. The report on the work of the Organization presented to the Assembly by the Secretary-General [A/36/1] is further proof of his intelligent approach to complex situations and serious conflicts; it provides much food for thought, including an objective description of the difficulties and challenges which place formidable obstacles in the path to world peace.

73. This annual meeting of the General Assembly has been overshadowed by the tragic news of the assassination of President Anwar El Sadat. He was a statesman who fought for world peace with exemplary courage and constancy. His death, which has moved all those working for harmony among peoples, was his legacy to that cause, to which we should all contribute with the same courage and with a similar will to sacrifice.

74. In entrusting to Mr. Kittani the guidance of this body, conceived as a forum for peace, the Assembly

wished to indicate that discussion and dialogue are the most effective means for resolving any conflicts that may arise between peoples of the world. War, that last hazardous and terrible recourse, leaves nothing in its wake but the grief of desolation and the always fearful danger of rancour. It is strange that, after so many and such long sufferings, the astonishing human intelligence has not been able to perceive such evident and tragic proof as that offered on every page of the book of history that there is no more fragile peace, no more precarious conquest, no less stable alliances; than those achieved amidst the roar of cannon and the sinister aegis of fire and sword. However, mankind, or at least a large part of it, continues to harbour its blood-stained illusions. As in barbarous times when private disputes were settled summarily by blows of the club, because there were no laws and none to apply them, no reason or justice which could prevail over force, and power was reduced to the naked exercise of violence, war continues to have a fatal attraction and fervent supporters. However, very little or nothing is resolved by those extremely costly and atrocious adventures, which inevitably begin as an exultant march from which, with no known exception, there returns a generation of young people, without any clear idea of what they were supposed to be doing on the battlefield, mutilated, angry and wasted, young people who would have better served their country and of course their own cause if they had been allowed to apply their strength and unbounded enthusiasm to less bloody undertakings.

75. It was precisely to prevent nations from coming to blows after the first disagreement or the first conflict and from turning disputes that could be discussed and settled into a catastrophe that, after many setbacks and great effort, international law was established. It was simply a matter of transferring to international relations the same rational mechanism as that which in the domestic jurisdiction had deprived those prepared to strike first, deal a cowardly blow, or hit hardest, of the ability to impose their will on others. If something as elementary but also as difficult as this—i.e. that it is up to the laws and the interpreters of the laws, the mediators and the courts, to decide who was right in the innumerable disputes among citizens without waiting for them all to come to blows to establish who was in the right—could prevail, of course with some regrettable exceptions, within countries, why not try the same on the international level? In the final analysis, if the experiment has been successful—not without a certain amount of inevitable coercion—among uncivilized and ignorant people who fought over land, water, cattle, and the right to survive and even the right to believe, to have opinions and to persuade others of the virtues of their beliefs and opinions, why should this not be applied in relations among nations, which are supposedly ruled by men and women who are more enlightened, wiser, and more sensible and far-sighted?

76. For four centuries and even longer perhaps, jurists, theologians, statesmen and skilled diplomats, sophisticated or pragmatic, undertook the colossal task of convincing their peers throughout the world of the excellence of their project, and designing, and making acceptable to reluctant nationalism the institutions that would safeguard it. Its evolution was extremely slow, but the very bestiality of war—to which nations repeatedly resorted, attracted by profitable imperial trade, by simple vanity or

by suspicion, or because the diabolical rhetoric of some delirious demagogue had razed the last barriers separating insanity from good judgement—imposed the need to come to terms before fighting, of talking before the wagons bristling with weapons crossed borders, before soldiers killed each other, before whole populations were senselessly destroyed and before women and children, who were taking no part in the storms of war, paid their tragic dues of hunger, death, pestilence and ruin, in settlement of the account for some senseless quarrel.

77. Without question, the Organization is the culmination of that long and arduous effort. As is stated in the Preamble to its Charter, it was created “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”. In a way, then, it is the tangible embodiment of that ecumenical humanitarian purpose: to avoid war and to convince nations that there are more civilized systems—and certainly much more effective ones—than those of general butchery in settling their pending affairs and even their grievances, which are generally the result of some other dispute for which no solution was found and which only brought out latent rancour.

78. That being the case, it seems to me that there can be no more appropriate forum or more responsive audience than this one for reference to a subject of concern to my Government: the obvious crisis in international law.

79. While throughout the long period of its creation great and even malicious departures from it were used with notorious cynicism to justify wars of aggression and greedy acts of conquest, today's international community is based on the acceptance of certain fundamental basic rules, without which the maintenance of international peace and security is impossible. They are not many or very complicated, but they suffice to prevent the planet from becoming a vast pile of debris, if they are respected and not placed—through cowardice or perhaps through chronic confusion—in the deceitful hands of those who adhere to them without conviction, perversely and with suspect reservations. Those rules include: the sovereign equality of all nations, large and small; the self-determination of peoples; the prohibition of interference in affairs essentially within the internal jurisdiction of States; the duty to comply in good faith with obligations stemming from treaties and other sources of international law; the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means; and the prohibition of any form of attack on the integrity or political independence of any State. Those norms, to be sure, were in large part incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations on the initiative of the Latin American countries, which for many years lived under the threat of foreign interference, from the dreadful punitive expeditions organized by the great Powers to cancel sometimes insignificant debts to their nationals, to the old and scandalous international trickery aimed at distorting the will of peoples or at nullifying it by placing at the head of Governments cruel, venal and greedy men, as obliging towards foreigners as they are merciless towards their own fellow-citizens.

80. The 51 original signatories of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the others which have joined the Organization in the course of its 35 years of existence, have willingly accepted those norms, and have sol-

emply pledged themselves not only to comply with them, but also to create conditions in which justice and respect among all the world's peoples, based firmly on those norms, may be reasonably expected to be maintained.

81. Those principles and norms, along with international mores, judicial decisions and the doctrines of the most competent writers in the field, are the essence of international law and govern the conduct of nations in their mutual relations, but they seem to have entered into a disquieting crisis, turning almost imperceptibly into a flexible catalogue of amorphous solemnities, often used with unabashed cynicism to support the not always sound domestic objectives of some States and, on more occasions than we would like to admit, the blatant expansionism of others.

82. The traditional procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes such as good offices, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement, which are enshrined, after visible compliance with ritual formalities, in many bilateral or multilateral instruments, are in the process of becoming laughable dead letters with no use other than serving as rhetorical disguise for manifest ill will. Some States, when they sign international agreements, skilfully manoeuvre to present themselves to the international community as standard-bearers of principles in which they do not believe, principles which, in their domestic policies, they do not apply, or disregard, and which they would not hesitate to violate if, for any reason, they did not meet the interests of the Government in power, or of the system, or of the political ideology they attempt to impose and consolidate.

83. At times, they go to the extreme of using a change in régime as an argument—of course, with no grounds in international law—to support the denunciation of international territorial treaties, which are flawless and unassailable, and were agreed on years before and ratified in due form by the pertinent legislative powers. Faced with such serious evidence, one might say that we are going backwards to the uncertain and dangerous times when, with unheard-of insolence and, of course, with distorted intentions, it was declared that treaties were nothing but meaningless pieces of paper.

84. Law, in any of its manifestations, is based on an elemental principle of good faith: without good faith, it is impossible to govern mutual relations. At the domestic level, the great social pact which establishes a very subtle but valuable line between anarchy and harmony, is guaranteed by the restraining power inherent in the pact itself. But good will is essential, the conviction that only by heeding the laws and the principles which inspire them is it possible to build a disciplined, harmonious, equitable and sound society. Without this deep conviction that the law is necessary and valuable, and of course perfectible, although it imposes limits and constraints, is restrictive and sometimes unpleasant, no community of free men can exist. But even were a community temporarily to survive the insuperable challenge of its own disorder, it would not be respected, and all other communities would be wary of making agreements with it or trusting in its statements, however sensible they might be. Thus, if there is no intentional subjection to rules of conduct which are the same for all, there is no society, no credibility which

could support it, and no pact, contract or agreement of any kind which could be understood as having any qualities beyond those of improbable expectations.

85. On the international level, where this enforcement power does not exist, or exists vaguely and questionably, good faith, the sincere will to honour agreements, and not only formal adherence to them for the sake of appearances, can guarantee genuine lasting peace. Unfortunately, sufficient awareness of this unassailable fact does not always seem to exist. Furthermore, contrary to what one might logically expect, it is the weak countries, whose survival depends to a large extent on a strict body of norms which defend them against the arbitrary behaviour of those stronger than they, that most frequently and lightly disregard them to attain casual advantages, not understanding that such behaviour may then become a precedent to justify an illegal act against their own vital interests.

86. Any devious interpretation of what should be a transparently clear explanation will turn against whoever makes it and set in motion his own downfall. To behave as though one believes that only what is in one's own interest is ethical exposes oneself to the calculated risk of leaving the fate of international harmony in the hands of the strongest or the least honest or a dangerous combination of the two.

87. The thorough and enlightened discussions of many complex issues which have taken place over the years and which are taking place here now, will be meaningless unless we all seek to bring about an effective return to faithful compliance with international law. The independence and self-determination of peoples will be nothing but empty words devoid of content if real or veiled intervention—and in some cases actions which openly violate international law—by some countries in the internal affairs of others, shielded behind pretexts and artificial considerations, are yet part of a clear political design. We have reached such extremes of complacent complicity and unpardonable leniency in the application of international norms that there are those who do not consider as flagrant intervention cases of economic, political and even military support for minority groups which at times violently challenge the legitimate existence of Governments that are supported by large majorities. Others, as if it were an insignificant matter, allege that the supply of arms and military training to extremist organizations or terrorist groups (which act in the broad area of subversion with the open and declared purpose of destabilizing democratically constituted Governments and imposing by force on other countries the systems and ideologies that exist in the countries that assist and finance) does not constitute intervention or damage the juridical structure, which was so difficult to build and which is now threatened with destruction by the indifference of those who should be the most concerned by its gradual disappearance.

88. On the other hand, general and complete disarmament will continue to be not much more than an irrelevant item of academic discussion if, as could occur now, States do not have the opportunity of recourse to law to avert the risk of a real or imagined threat to the integrity and stability of their Governments. As long as the present alarming indifference exists regarding the fate of international law, there will always be justification for the ac-

quisition of arms and for increasing the war potential. Even worse, it is possible that some who, for reasons of prestige or profit or with even less admissible motives, see a good opportunity to derive political or economic profit from a generalized arms race, are the same who promote such a state of affairs by advising their Governments that, instead of relying on the rules of treaties, they should resort to the insidious security of weapons to preserve the law, without actually having to fire those weapons.

89. If the full rule of law were restored, as it should be, it would not be necessary to affirm, as, unfortunately it too often is nowadays, that the only purpose of the arms race is the routine replacement of equipment, the search for a rational balance with other Powers or the natural defence of the country, since the juridical mechanism would suffice to cause any attempted aggression to be rejected immediately or to be heavily punished by the international community. But as long as that is not the position, on the pretext of the demands of national or even collective defence, enormous amounts will continue to be spent on sophisticated weapons, thus diverting those resources from development projects and the improvement of the general well-being.

90. If disregard of the norms of international law can bring about changes with unforeseeable consequences in the field of political relations, the same is true in the field of international economic relations. What is required there—and perhaps with the same urgency—is not only a substantive review but also the full restoration of the compulsory nature of international agreements and strict respect for their provisions.

91. We have had seven years without practical results of the commitment to establish a new international economic order; five years without implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities; more than 15 years of sterility and despair in the implementation of the agreements in principle on the law of the sea; and more than two years to begin a modest cycle of global negotiations. Those are only some indications, in my view serious ones, of what may await mankind in the future if we do not counter weakness, reluctance, lack of responsibility and negligence with a firm decision to respect our agreements.

92. I believe that we are passing the limits of credibility. Organizations such as this one and those associated with it, but not ensuring respect for agreements, run the risk of being replaced by structures which respond better to the aspirations of the international community. It is unnecessary to state what a backward step it would be in the search for understanding among nations if that were to occur. But unfortunately that will be the case if decisions, agreements, rules and settlements are not strictly and promptly implemented or respected. What we are witnessing with increasing concern is a scandalous succession of acts which directly or indirectly infringe the norms which protect justice by means of the law in the field of international relations. Diplomatic prerogatives, which were formally agreed to or which have been accepted for centuries to facilitate normal communications among Governments, are brazenly violated. Juridical mandates are being disregarded and trampled underfoot, mandates which translate the principle of non-intervention

proclaimed in conclusive terms by the General Assembly in its Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty, adopted unanimously in 1965 [resolution 2131 (XX)]. There is open violation of the principle of non-aggression by means of armed attacks which are completely unjustified and which treacherously violate the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. There is scandalous mockery of decisions of the International Court of Justice, the highest court of the world, the judicial body of the Organization, and of other international institutions. The obligation to resort to the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes provided for in Chapter VI of the Charter and in other multilateral and bilateral conventions is not respected. The duties relative to the protection of human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and in agreements emerging from competent bodies of international organizations are ignored. Foreign territory is invaded unilaterally and with complete disregard of the most elementary legal principles. In practice, the principles of the equal rights of States and the self-determination of peoples are repudiated. Even in those fields which most obviously call for the universal co-operation of nations, such co-operation is denied, although it would be beneficial to all if everybody contributed to the preparation of and respect for the relevant conventions.

93. Let us think for a moment of the consequences of a possible final and total disruption of the legal norms on which is based the operation of international organizations, the continual activities of which guarantee the functioning of the various sectors of what could be termed international public administration. The disappearance of those bodies, the existence of which we have come to consider natural, would mean a world without postal services, telecommunications, international civil aviation, economic or financial co-operation among States, meteorological data from outside national boundaries, preventive measures against the spread of global epidemics, without the means of continuing, promoting and increasing world food production, without action or joint guidelines in the field of education or labour, without the possibility of maintaining scientific and cultural exchanges, without stimulus for the support and progress of maritime navigation, without co-operation in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, without a network of international intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations dealing with the most varied needs of peoples at the international level, without international commerce; in a word, without any trade at all, since the least trade presupposes the existence of rules governing it.

94. Colombia, which prides itself above all on its respect for law, can therefore not ignore such an alarming situation. It is to the crisis in international law and the lack of interest shown in it that we attribute phenomena that have created tremendous tension and that will probably bring about untold calamities in the community of nations.

95. The presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, despite the reiterated appeals made by the Organization to guarantee to those countries the right to self-determination, is nothing but one more example—and, of course, one of the most disquieting—of the casual attitude of some nations to the civilized practice of

international law. If in the future somewhere else in the world another invasion occurs there is no doubt that a good part of the responsibility for that nefarious act will rest with those who seem unaware of the importance of the full application of international legal norms.

96. Something similar could be said about one of the most offensive and abhorrent violations of the dignity of the human person—racial discrimination. Colombia, which has traditionally been a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, has always rejected and continues vigorously to reject *apartheid*. It also considers that the fate of the Territory should be determined by its inhabitants, without the intervention or support of foreign Powers. In keeping with this position, it considers that the Government of South Africa has an inescapable obligation to bring about the independence of Namibia and not put obstacles in the way of its legitimate claim to self-government.

97. My country is of course aware of the general concern at the situation in the Middle East—which has been further complicated by the assassination of President Anwar El Sadat. We welcomed the dialogue that made possible peace between Egypt and Israel and the agreements that were the happy result of that splendid gesture of conciliation and goodwill. That is why, as a contribution to peace in the Middle East, Colombia has decided to take part in the multinational force which will guarantee the demilitarization of the Sinai Peninsula. My country would like to see a similar climate prevail with regard to the definitive solution of the Palestinian problem, which certainly cannot be solved without the participation of the legitimate representatives of that people.

98. In the continuous process of the legal codification of relations among States and between geography and man there is a field that is still subject to rules of law that are inadequate and reflect the unfairness of the relations of force which led to their adoption. I am referring to the régime which exists for outer space and the geostationary synchronous orbit.

99. That orbit is a scarce resource and should not be allocated on the basis of the excessive advantages that the unequal development of technology offers to a very small number of States. This points to the advisability of convening an international conference for the purpose of filling the gaps in the treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [resolution 222 (XXI)] and elaborating a proper law of space, consistent, equitable and harmonious.

100. Equatorial countries have already begun an international debate on the geostationary synchronous orbit, a debate that has shown the gaps in that Treaty and has enabled peoples of the third world to begin to see how a vital element of contemporary civilization, satellite communications, is becoming the object of a process of increased monopolization. That is why we must legally distinguish the geostationary synchronous orbit from the amorphous concept of outer space. In that essential task developing countries must promote an international legal order which, responding to the legitimate rights of equatorial States, will regulate the use of the orbit bearing in mind the common interest of mankind.

101. My country and other equatorial States would not find it at all satisfactory if, in the absence of the legal reforms that have been recommended, third world peoples 10 or 20 years hence, in order to free themselves from the subjection and inequality created in space, had to fight from a position of disadvantage and face serious *faits accomplis*, as is the case today in connection with the international economic order. By then it will not be easy to achieve a new international legal order in space, just as it is now difficult to achieve a new international economic order.

102. I belong to a country which believes more in the force of law than in the force of arms; which admires more the quiet labour of jurists than the clamour and arrogant ostentation of strong men; which has created a civilized society that respects the popular will and is peaceful and republican. All those circumstances, together with the disquiet that we experience owing to the progressive deterioration of a true international legal order, have led me to put before the General Assembly a subject which may not have the same apparent topicality as others which have properly been dealt with here. But I would say that it is perhaps in the ostensible breach in international law that we may find the origin of our many present tribulations and of those that will undoubtedly follow if we do not act courageously to restore what we have left to fade and languish through our negligence, in our improvident hands.

103. Were international law to disappear and were organizations such as this one, where dialogue is still possible, to remain as another monument to the futility of our efforts to make reason prevail over unbridled force, humanity would have unwittingly entered into a new dark age. But if, on the contrary, we persevere in the worthwhile task of replacing the ferocious code of war by a judicious and thoughtful code of agreements, against all forecasts we shall have done more lasting work for peace than that resulting from the precarious and sombre balance of terror. If we are to coexist, as we must, at least as long as the planet tolerates us and provides for us, it will not be as the result of a sterile, inclement and ruinous play of mistrust, shock and contained violence. Let us seek, as so many before us, the best of the species, have done successfully, an intelligent framework of impersonal and abstract laws so that our strong aspiration to peace may not be frustrated by the merciless and fateful law of the jungle.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See DP/SR.708.

² See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 12, chap. XI.*

³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one, sect. A.

⁴ *Ibid, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A.

⁵ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁶ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁷ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.