



Friday, 15 October 1982,
at 10.20 a.m.

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Kirca (Turkey),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BWAKIRA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all to add the congratulations of the delegation of Burundi to those already addressed to Mr. Hollai on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. The Assembly's decision to make him its President is a reflection of the respect and esteem which his country, Hungary, and he himself enjoy within the international community. His experience, competence and efficiency, as evidenced by his diplomatic career, have enabled him from the outset to give the work of this session a momentum that promises results in line with the hopes of the nations represented here. It is our firm conviction that he will manage to give our work the energy demanded by the seriousness and complexity of the questions being studied. We are all the more convinced of this as he will be assisted by a General Committee whose competence and devotion we fully appreciate. I must also congratulate Mr. Hollai's predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the outstanding work he did during the last session of the General Assembly. May I also pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the effective manner in which he has carried out his lofty duties since his election. He has spared no effort to restore international peace and security wherever they have been threatened in the world.

2. The international community is going through a period of crisis of disturbing proportions. The peoples of the world, particularly those who are economically the weakest, are rightly turning once more their anguished gaze towards the Organization, which is the special preferred and most appropriate forum for a promising dialogue among Member States. It is here that a new order—more just, more equitable and more human—is taking shape.

3. Our present discussions will once again make it possible to study the international political and economic situation, and to evaluate the depth of the current crisis in international relations. But these debates will not yield fruit as long as the decisions taken by the General Assembly are ignored and trampled on by some States Members of the United Nations, and as long as others want to paralyse the

action of the Organization by subordinating that action to their own selfish interests.

4. The political problems affecting South Africa, the Middle East and other regions of the world cannot be solved if there is lack of respect for the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and deliberate contempt for the obligations incumbent upon Member States under the Charter of the United Nations.

5. Indeed, in South Africa the vile Pretoria régime has established *apartheid* as an institution, a system of colonial and racist oppression and exploitation that the Assembly has justly described as a crime against humanity. Pretoria's power and prosperity is being built on the denial of the most elementary rights of the black population, on contempt for them, and on their relegation to a social limbo.

6. For many years the United Nations has continually demanded respect for the right of the black people of South Africa to freedom and dignity. Today, it is less a question of exposing the ignominious crime of *apartheid* than of stressing the urgency of finding a just and definitive solution to that problem.

7. The international community must hope that, in order to react against the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria régime in South Africa, the Security Council will use the powers given to it by the Charter to put an end to that odious crime. With the exception of an arms embargo decided upon in Security Council resolution 421 (1977), which continues to be violated in a concealed fashion, the Security Council has remained paralysed by the use of the right of veto by some of its permanent members each time the situation in South Africa demands recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter.

8. The Security Council's inaction in the matter strengthens Pretoria in its policy of oppression against the black population and in its aggressiveness against neighbouring countries. It is clear that the *apartheid* régime could not daily defy the injunctions of the international community calling for an end to its policy of *apartheid* without the political, military, economic and financial support of its allies.

9. Faced with the gravity of the situation in South Africa, the struggle of the national liberation movements finds itself doubly legitimized by the nobility of their cause and the extent of their sacrifices. We today reaffirm our Government's constant support for them.

10. A situation which is just as anachronistic prevails in Namibia: the racist and colonialist régime in Pretoria has become enmeshed in an illegal occupation by depriving the Namibian people of their right to determine their own destiny. Each passing year unfortunately

adds to the long list of missed appointments and postponed deadlines for the independence of Namibia.

11. When the International Court of Justice decided that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal, and when in its turn the international community recognized the struggle of the people of that Territory, the dimensions of the Namibian question became clear. It was purely and simply a problem of decolonization. It was therefore incumbent upon the United Nations, as in similar cases, to do what it could to enable the inhabitants of the Territory to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The United Nations has exercised that right consistently and constantly. It will not agree to the Namibian question so being distorted as to become a conflict on grounds and for reasons completely alien to the interests of the Namibian people.

12. Allow me, therefore, to repeat my Government's consistent position on the Namibian question. We continue to believe that it is indeed a question of decolonization, falling completely and solely under the responsibility of the United Nations. The decolonization planned for Namibia, as endorsed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), must be carried out fully. To that end, we urgently appeal to the five Western States, members of the contact group, to do everything in their power to persuade Pretoria to stop its specious dilatory tactics aimed at delaying implementation of the United Nations plan for the decolonization of Namibia.

13. We also reject all parallelism intended to link South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia to that of the Cuban forces from Angola. Our view on this is based on our conviction that such linkage not only confuses two fundamentally different questions but also entails involvement in Angola's internal affairs. Indeed, we think it is for Angola alone to adopt, in complete sovereignty, the measures it deems most appropriate to ensure its own security as long as it considers that security to be threatened.

14. We further believe that Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,¹ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, must be strictly observed. We therefore ask those who are either directly or covertly involved in the exploitation of Namibian resources, regardless of their nature or origin, to cease their scandalous pillaging. We repeat our firm and constant support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

15. Moreover, we hereby reiterate Burundi's solidarity and support for the front-line States, in particular our brothers, the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, who are the targets and the victims of acts of aggression and sabotage by the *apartheid* régime.

16. The question of the Western Sahara remains a burning issue, to the extent that no step seems to have been taken since the adoption by the Assembly of its resolution 36/46. None the less we keep our faith in the capacity of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to resolve, in collaboration with the United Nations, the problem of Western Sahara, while respecting the right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and independence.

17. The unparalleled frequency with which the United Nations considered the question of Palestine this year is a clear demonstration of the serious concern with which the United Nations views Israel's unacceptable policy of illegal occupation of Arab territories and its continued aggression against its neighbours. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, causing death and destruction, the recent massacres of Palestinian refugees in the Shatila and Sabra camps in west Beirut have, alas, only confirmed the concerns expressed for almost three decades now. Those sinister events were added to the sufferings of a people already dispersed, a people whom Israel refuses not only the right to a homeland but even the right to an identity. The General Assembly has often asked Israel to withdraw completely and unconditionally from all Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. Israel has responded by annexing the Golan Heights, by imposing its own civilian administration on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and establishing settlements, and, finally, by the invasion of Lebanon and the savage bombardment of Beirut.

18. It is not through violence, or the violation of United Nations resolutions, or by creating *faits accomplis* that Israel will ensure its own security. On the contrary its security will be safeguarded and strengthened only when it recognizes the Palestinian people's right to existence, self-determination and a homeland in its own territory, in keeping with the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

19. Today we renew the support of the Government of Burundi for the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole and unique legitimate representative.

20. Our conception of international relations follows a constant principle which rejects colonialism, racism, domination, aggression and the acquisition of territories by force. We have always held that it is up to each people, to each country, regardless of its size and economic potential, to define its own policies in complete sovereignty, free from any foreign interference and according to the priorities which those peoples and countries have chosen for themselves.

21. The solution of the current disputes in Central America, South-East Asia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Cyprus and elsewhere, must be guided, in our view, by the principles I have indicated. They demand a political solution. Recourse to force in international relations deprives the peoples involved of their right to choose the political system which best responds to their aspirations.

22. Another deplorable situation is also of concern to the delegation of Burundi. I refer to the conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran. In spite of the mediation efforts made by representatives of the non-aligned countries—to whom we pay a tribute—the war between those two countries continues. Burundi urgently appeals to the two belligerents to heed the voice of reason and bring the destruction to an end in order to promote true peace.

23. The Government of Burundi has already expressed its views on the Korean question. That question, too, demands a political solution. The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea is a prerequisite

which would establish a climate of confidence conducive to negotiations between the two parties. We, for our part, will continue to support any effort aimed at achieving the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas.

24. Four months ago we met in this very Hall to talk about disarmament. That debate, which began four years earlier, was necessary to the extent that it was becoming more and more apparent that the arms race was threatening to establish nuclear terror and to sow insecurity in the minds of nations. Is it not paradoxical, to say the least, that, at a time when a large part of mankind is bogged down in the most absolute poverty and people are dying by the thousands of sickness and hunger, the human and material resources that ought to have served to feed those people, to care for them and to educate them should be absorbed in the suicidal undertaking of the unbridled arms race?

25. One of the tasks of the General Assembly at the twelfth special session and the second special session devoted to disarmament was to start considering seriously again the devotion of our collective efforts to limiting the arms race. At that session the Assembly was to have considered ways and means of beginning to implement the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*]. So it is not at all necessary to reformulate the principles and priorities that were agreed upon in 1978, much less to question them. It is time for the nuclear Powers to engage in a frank and constructive dialogue on the reduction of the nuclear weapons in their respective arsenals. This is a question of the security and, indeed, the survival of the planet. We also think it would be sterile for the super-Powers to limit themselves to a debate in which each one would absolve itself from guilt in the eyes of the world public by attributing all the blame to the other.

26. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea finished its work on 30 April of this year by adopting the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.² The participants in that Conference succeeded after nine years of hard work and sustained efforts in reconciling positions and interests which at the outset were claimed to be irreconcilable. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will go down in the annals of history not only because of the complexity of the matters which it had to codify, the divergence of the interests involved or the time it lasted, but also and above all because it will prove to future generations that with a minimum of political will and good faith nations can, while respecting the essential interests of all concerned, solve the problems they face to the benefit of the international community as a whole, regardless of the scope and acuteness of those problems.

27. The results of that Conference will prove, furthermore, that the United Nations remains the best framework for the North-South dialogue. Similarly, we believe in the viability and possible outcome of the global negotiations. It is our hope that those that for one reason or another were unable last April to agree to the adoption of the Convention on the Law of the Sea will realize the advantages offered to them by that Convention and rejoin the rest of the international community so that together we can make the

concept of the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor as the common heritage of mankind a reality of the future.

28. In parallel with the international political situation which I have just described, a world economy is developing in a way that is of no less concern, in particular with regard to the developing countries. Unemployment, recession, inflation, the colossal debt of the developing countries, the disruption of the economies of the least developed countries, the reduction of official development assistance, the return to protectionism, the problems with United Nations funds which channelled the fruits of international solidarity to the least developed countries, the precipitous fall in raw material prices, which constitute the essential source of revenue for the developing countries—this is the not very comforting picture of the world economy. That picture is especially painful because it seems to combine with the present economic malaise actions which are even more disruptive and ineffective and which, if continued, would merely strengthen the *status quo*.

29. Whereas the present economic disorder affects international relations and requires a global approach, some persons seem to be proposing as remedies for the situation the return to selfish national interests and the strengthening of international financial and monetary mechanisms, the inability of which to meet the global needs of the international community has become clear. The role of the United Nations in the formulation of this global approach to the solution of the economic problems of our time is a primary one, although some seem to wish, for various reasons, to block its efforts in this matter. None the less, the Member States, by unanimously adopting General Assembly resolution 34/138, committed themselves to global negotiations in order to establish a new international economic order.

30. The global negotiations have not been begun precisely because there is a suspicion that they would in the long run challenge the lack of equality in international economic relations. But the opposition to those negotiations cannot continue indefinitely because the present state of the world economy makes the launching and conclusion of the global negotiations an overriding necessity. It is equally clear that the settlement of the present economic crisis demands more determined solidarity on the part of the international community.

31. Recent events have shown that the bankruptcy of the developing countries, whatever the level of their development, could, if we do not act in time, lead to the bankruptcy of the international economic and financial system. The time is past when some thought they could build their wealth on the growing impoverishment of others. The economic interdependence of nations is now a reality.

32. The economic crisis affects the whole world. Nevertheless, there is a category of countries for which the present crisis is most bitter. I refer to the least developed countries. Whereas in the developed countries the crisis affects the customary well-being of the population, in the least developed countries it involves the loss of the essential minimum. In the

former countries the crisis makes life less comfortable; in the latter it makes life simply impossible.

33. We are particularly disturbed by the trend towards the reduction of official development assistance and the problems concerning the funds of United Nations bodies, such as UNDP, in which the least developed countries have placed such great hopes for a better future. Voluntary contributions to UNDP funds have made it a vital and effective instrument for development in the developing countries and the suspension of such contributions would block the development of the economies of the least developed countries. The wealthy countries must not allow themselves to become indifferent to the desperate situation of the least developed countries. It was envisaged that in the Third United Nations Development Decade special efforts would be made to enable the least developed countries finally to escape from their past and present stagnation and sombre future prospects.

34. The United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in 1981, laid the foundations for the co-ordination of international assistance to the least privileged countries. And so today we launch an appeal to the entire international community to ensure that the spirit of solidarity and generosity that inspired the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries³ adopted at the end of the Paris Conference is finally given practical effect.

35. The economic difficulties faced today by the developing countries have prompted them to explore new methods of co-operation which can best take account of their own limitations and also enable them to speed up their own economic growth and improve their position in the system of international economic relations. It is to this concern that the Programmes of Action of Arusha, Mexico, Buenos Aires and Caracas respond with a view to establishing a system of collective autonomy. The Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa,⁴ which was adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU also responded to that necessity.

36. It is through strengthening the regional and sub-regional economic groupings that we will achieve the collective autonomy envisaged in the different programmes of action mentioned. It is to this end that, in collaboration with our partners, we intend to strengthen the various types of co-operation within the sub-regional and regional groupings, of which Burundi is a part.

37. The analysis of the international political and economic situation which I have just presented to the Assembly is based on the principles which guide our foreign policy, namely, international co-operation with reciprocal respect among partners, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, good neighbourliness, positive non-alignment and support for national liberation movements.

38. Sometimes justified criticisms of the United Nations have been made. But these present shortcomings should not make us lose our faith and be discouraged. International peace and security, whose

guarantor the Organization is, demand that we concentrate our efforts on strengthening the United Nations through a progressive adaptation to the realities and requirements of our time.

39. As the Secretary-General aptly pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization:

“The will to use the machinery of the Charter needs to be consciously strengthened, and all Governments must try to look beyond short-term national interests to the great possibilities of a more stable system of collective international security, as well as to the very great perils of failing to develop such a system.” [See A/37/1, p. 4.]

40. My delegation's view is that this analysis is relevant. The dearest wish of the people and the Government of Burundi is to see the progressive establishment in international relations of a new world order where there is peace and justice, collective economic security, and co-operation with due respect for the right of nations to determine their own future and to choose freely their path of development in keeping with the aspirations of their peoples. May the United Nations be the cradle where this hope is nurtured.

41. Mr. VEGA IMBERT (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first to express to Mr. Hollai on this occasion my sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to the distinguished office of the President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly and also to extend our congratulations to the other members of the General Committee. The presidency of the General Assembly constitutes a singular honour to the Member State that occupies it, as well as to its regional group. My delegation also congratulates Mr. Kittani, who presided over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly with great success.

42. My delegation also wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, whose experience and hard work in the service of the United Nations have already been clearly demonstrated, and represent for the countries of the American continent a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction. The report which he has submitted to the General Assembly is brilliant, and is proof of this; of the many documents that the Organization produces, only a very few are as important as this call to reflection. His words not only enumerate the great problems that oppress the world, but also propose solutions to these grave and multiple problems. With the sincerity and emotion essential to the task of considering the fate of peoples, the Secretary-General has made recommendations that do not shrink from criticism of and alternatives for the action of bodies within the United Nations itself, such as the Security Council. His considered and valuable presentation has won the support and general approval of world opinion, and my delegation supports it fully.

43. The Dominican Republic is conscious of the complex and serious problems affecting the international community that are being debated at this session, and of the fact that those problems require measures commensurate with their seriousness and urgency. We are confident that within the framework of the law and the principles of the Charter it

will be possible to adopt the measures that can lead to a better and more just international order.

44. It is for me a source of great satisfaction to participate in the Assembly as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the new constitutional Government of my country, inaugurated on 16 August of this year. The Government headed by President Salvador Jorge Blanco assumed office in the Dominican Republic through the free and sovereign will of our people, expressed in free elections.

45. This Government is the result of the institutional strength of a country that has been fulfilling its democratic vocation through constant struggle and great sacrifice. During the last 20 years we have not only removed the obstacles that checked our democratic development, but we have also overcome situations that affected our standing as a sovereign nation.

46. The Dominican Republic is now enjoying a period characterized by the consolidation of its political democracy and is facing the urgent task of promoting economic development and social justice. At this time, within our institutional framework and with full respect for human rights, ideological pluralism and absolute freedom, the Government intends to make those changes and reforms that are necessary to strengthen our economic democracy, one of the most legitimate aspirations of developing countries.

47. We consider it appropriate to point out those accomplishments because we firmly believe that the continuous and strengthening exercise of democracy in a small country such as ours, belonging to the group of third world nations, is an example to be proud of and strengthens our national purpose to achieve our own destiny without interference.

48. The political stability of the Dominican Republic has created conditions which enable us to increase our effective participation in international relations, and to that end we offer our full co-operation in the search for peaceful solutions, strictly adhering to the principles of international law and of the Charter, at a time when great conflicts and tension are shaking the international community. This activity will be exercised within our sovereign rights, without prejudices, inflexible positions or hegemonic constraints.

49. The strengthening of the traditional bonds of friendship that join us to certain countries will not be an obstacle to the substantial broadening of our frontiers in the vast and complex field of international relations, in so far as this is required by our national interests. Above any other consideration, the unchangeable norm of our conduct in the international community will be absolute respect for and adherence to the legal and moral principles sustained and supported by the nations which together with ours form the Organization.

50. In his inaugural speech as constitutional President of the Dominican Republic, Mr. Salvador Jorge Blanco outlined the attitude of his Government in international affairs in the following words:

“We declare ourselves men of America, an essential part of an international community full of heroic deeds, an integral part of the new world searching daily for a collective existence, of the union of wills and efforts dedicated to the defence

of social justice, to the struggle against under-development.

“In these difficult moments for the countries of the third world the solidarity of the people of America is necessary and urgent and requires mutual support to help them overcome their pressing problems of subsistence and their terrible economic and political problems. In these difficult times, America, our *Magna Patria*, as it was called by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, should be a spearhead to thwart the constant menaces of a world holocaust and should be a bulwark of equilibrium in the concert of nations of the world.”

51. Within this new spirit, the Dominican Government has decided to exercise further its traditional vocation for peaceful action and to participate as an active element in the search for solutions to the conflicts presently afflicting our brother countries of Central America, and we are also prepared to collaborate in alleviating the international tension that affects other nations in the Caribbean basin.

52. This attitude on the part of the Dominican Government is reflected in the decision to offer our immediate support for the purposes expressed jointly by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela in a letter they addressed to the President of the United States of America, to the Council of Government of Nicaragua and to the President of Honduras, expressing their concern over the tense situation existing between the latter two countries.

53. In this instance the Dominican Government did not confine itself to simple support but expressed its willingness to participate, in whatever useful way it could, without detriment to the principle of non-intervention, in any effort to normalize relations between those two brother countries.

54. This position on the part of my Government had already been expressed in the joint declaration issued in Santo Domingo on 16 August last by the heads of State of Venezuela, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Belize and the Dominican Republic, on the express initiative of my Government, in which those distinguished statesmen ratified their support for the fundamental principles of international law, which include the sovereign equality of all countries, respect for their independence and the territorial integrity, respect for the principle of non-intervention, non-recourse to threats or use of force to resolve international conflicts, ideological pluralism, the self-determination of nations and respect for and faithful compliance with international treaties.

55. The declaration emphasizes:

“within the framework of the different proposals for peace in the Central American region and the mechanisms to implement them, rejection of violent solutions, negotiations and dialogue are necessary for the solution of this crisis, a solution which must be the exclusive product of a common will and effort, with a view to promoting democracy, economic development and social justice.”

Moreover, we also made a cordial appeal to those democratic countries interested in the establishment of peace to apply their best efforts to achieve that end.

56. For my country that declaration forms part of a profound commitment. We must help to stop the present bloodshed and thus avert the possible danger of cruel and extended confrontations. For our brother nations of Central America we desire the full exercise of human rights. We consider it just and urgent that these countries be able to choose freely their own destiny and to devote their energies to full economic and social development.

57. We must emphasize that there is perhaps no other region as cohesive in its geography, its history, its ethnology, its economy and its culture as the Caribbean. This region is characterized by the coexistence of traditional and emerging States. However, due to causes alien to the interests of its peoples, interchanges among the countries of the region have not been achieved to the extent that we would desire and welcome. The Dominican Republic has special characteristics which make it an ideal bridge for the realization of such exchanges among Caribbean countries, especially at a time when we are strengthening our relations with the region's new States.

58. For the Dominican Republic it is not Utopian to believe and to say that the Central American and Caribbean region must become a zone of peace, of balance, stability, pluralism and the total rejection of military solutions.

59. This year there occurred in the South Atlantic a deplorable event that disturbed the region but brought about solidarity in support of the just territorial claims of a brother nation.

60. An invariable aspect of the foreign policy of the Dominican Republic is our opposition to all forms and vestiges of colonialism in any part of the world. This has been a firm and consistent position expressed on innumerable occasions and in different international forums. Within the Organization, from the very outset, the Dominican delegation has constantly supported all anti-colonial recommendations and measures and has with clear determination contributed to the worthy process of decolonization that has been realized by the United Nations.

61. Throughout its history the Dominican Republic has been a peace-loving country. This position is unchangeable and is universally recognized. We believe that peace is the common goal of all mankind, the highest of social values, the indispensable norm for a harmonious and civilized life within each country and internationally.

62. We therefore address a cordial appeal to the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume within the framework of the United Nations the necessary negotiations that will through dialogue and understanding permit a dignified, honourable and permanent solution to the conflict through the peaceful mechanism available to sovereign States under the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

63. We consider it appropriate to point out that this deplorable experience has deeply affected public faith in the effectiveness of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947, as a proper instrument for the preservation of peace in our hemisphere and has once again demonstrated the urgent need to enrich and strengthen the

system of collective security in that part of the world with the same firm will and resolve manifest in Bogotá when the Organization of American States was founded there.

64. The Dominican Republic expresses its deep concern at the grave economic crisis affecting the international community, which is characterized by a reduced rate of economic growth, a deterioration in the terms of trade, the stagnation of trade, a decrease in the prices of raw materials, high interest rates and increasing protectionism by the industrialized nations, together with the reduction of international economic aid and co-operation. To give just one revealing example, the increase in the gross national product barely reached 1 per cent in the industrialized countries for 1980 and 1981, and it will probably be at zero in 1982. This has produced, *inter alia*, a considerable increase in unemployment and thereby a drastic reduction in the demand for the products and raw materials on the export of which the existence of the third world depends.

65. Although this problem affects all countries, it is undeniable that the countries within the underdeveloped group that do not produce oil are those that suffer most as a result of the present international economic crisis. In fact, in real terms, the prices of our commodities have reached the lowest level recorded in the last three decades and are substantially lower than those that prevailed during the recession of the mid-1970s. The most important consequence of this situation for the underdeveloped countries that do not produce oil is that in most of them real per capita income has been drastically reduced for the first time since the Second World War.

66. This situation has created a grave imbalance in the external sector of our economies characterized by high deficits, for which we have been compelled to compensate with unprecedented increases in our foreign debt. This high level of debt today constitutes one of the most serious threats to the financial stability of many nations. We want to use this international forum to request the flexibility that the international banking community must show as regards the repayment of those debts, because it must be remembered that they have been caused by a very unusual economic situation.

67. We support the conclusions set forth at the recent meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Toronto stressing the enormous responsibility now facing the main industrialized countries as regards the recovery of their economies, the reduction of present interest rates and reversal of the present isolationist trend so as to bring about closer and more generalized international co-operation.

68. We also propose the study and identification of proper recommendations to curtail the increasing protectionist trend in industrialized nations, which manifests itself in the establishment of unjustified trade barriers that obstruct international trade and limit the expansion of markets for the products of the third-world nations.

69. In other words our delegation considers that the North-South dialogue must be awakened from its present stagnation and be activated as an instrument for frank discussions concerning the contradictions

between the developed and the developing worlds. The present condition of the international economy reveals symptoms similar—too similar to be ignored—to those that existed before the world depression of the 1930s, whose disastrous consequences we all know.

70. Let us pledge that during the current decade, through global negotiations within the framework of the Organization, those indispensable measures required for the achievement of the much awaited new international economic order will be taken and make it possible for us to live in a more secure and just world.

71. As we examine the problems that affect the international community, we cannot forget the danger posed by the policies of increasing armaments pursued by the super-Powers. Our concern increases when we observe with anxiety and frustration the paralysis of negotiations on disarmament and the fact that we cannot foresee the establishment of a new order that will give peace to the world. It is a paradox that while the great nations argue over formulas to reduce the tremendous power of their forces of mutual destruction new installations with nuclear missiles of incalculable efficiency are being set up on their territories. If this latent menace became reality, it would imply the total destruction of the world that we live in. The danger becomes greater with the outbreak of limited conflicts in sensitive areas of the world, conflicts that could easily become uncontrollable and result in a nuclear holocaust.

72. In this situation of extreme danger to all mankind, there is an urgent need for all Member States to act together to create the proper climate for constructive dialogue between the big world Powers.

73. One of the dangers is the explosive situation of increasing violence in the Middle East which during recent decades has been a negative factor for the prospects for balance and peace in the world. The seriousness of the situation has been made tragically evident by the recent horrible massacre of Palestinian refugees in the camps of Lebanon, a dreadful act of genocide that has shaken the conscience of the entire international community. Our Government has publicly emphatically condemned that horrible massacre, and has demanded that international bodies prevent its repetition and determine responsibility for it.

74. Our voice has joined those of other nations clamouring for an effective guarantee of the integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon, an unfortunate country with which we have very cordial relations. We are aware that the problems in that area of conflict have demonstrated that the Palestinian question is one of the decisive factors in the crisis. We believe that no permanent, serious solution can be reached if we do not provide a mechanism that assures the Palestinian people the exercise of its inalienable right to self-determination, which has been recognized by the United Nations.

75. Similarly, we reiterate our policy that any serious attempt to achieve peace and coexistence in that tormented region must take into account Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which, among other things, affirms the State of Israel's right to exist.

76. We regard as timely and essential to the peace effort the proposal made by the Secretary-General to convert the Security Council into a world forum where "all the parties concerned" in the problem of the Middle East may sit at the same negotiating table.

77. The Dominican Republic feels closely linked to the Arab world by the strong connections created by the historical emigrations to our territory of Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian citizens, who have enriched the cultural, social and economic heritage of our country over the years. Consequently, my Government has affirmed its determination to establish or strengthen political, economic and other ties with many of the countries of the Arab world, within the framework of international law and the principles of the Charter.

78. The war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, an unfortunate confrontation between two Moslem countries, is a cause of deep concern to us. We hope that a solution will be found in the near future, one restoring peace and making possible a policy of good-neighbourliness, with the full guarantee of reciprocal rights—within the framework of the United Nations, of course.

79. Fundamentally, the composition of the Dominican people is the product of an interracial union of Indians, whites and blacks. The result of this ethnic mixture is a mixed race of which we are truly proud. The Dominican Republic reiterates in this world forum that for us any kind of discrimination or segregation, any attempt to separate the population on racial, religious or other lines, is a crime against humanity. Therefore, we reject the policies and practices of *apartheid*. We take this opportunity to affirm that the Dominican Republic condemns without reservation violations of human rights in whatever circumstances and wherever they occur.

80. Our profound conviction on the matter and our resulting firm rejection of such attempts have a special meaning at this particular time, when we have just inaugurated in the city of Santo Domingo a monument to Brother Antonio Montesinos. A magnificent work architecturally and sculpturally, the monument is a gift from the Government of Mexico to the people of the Dominican Republic. Brother Antonio Montesinos proclaimed in a sermon in our island in 1511 "By what right and with what justice do you keep these Indians under such horrible servitude? Are they not men? Have they not rational spirits?" That was his cry of concern from Santo Domingo, the first act in defence of human rights in the new world.

81. On 12 October, Hispanic Day, our President, at the inauguration of the monument, recalled that pronouncement and its far-reaching consequences, when, in the presence of President José López Portillo of Mexico, he said:

"The rights of man, which, under another name, Brother Antonio Montesinos fought for, have been a permanent guiding light for the Dominican people. Even in those dark days when liberty was denied to us, the pursuit of freedom became the principal motive which unified our wills, criteria and actions. Only time has separated those historic moments of the struggle for liberty and democracy in our country. Our political democracy, today fully achieved, may be the great answer to those struggles and to a

full awareness of them, and the role this plays within our continent.”

82. Geographical differences do not prevent us from recalling the struggles of other peoples, however distant they may be from the Antilles. We support the efforts of the people of Namibia to regain its independence. We also express our concern about foreign interventions in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. We hope that through peaceful dialogue and the use of the machinery provided by the Charter the Korean people may be able to secure their desired unification into one sovereign State.

83. At this time, when territories are the source of still-unresolved conflicts and problems, the seas may contribute to the well-being of the world. We are now witnessing the humanization of the seas through the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea that declared the sea-bed to be the common heritage of all mankind. The Conference was one of the great successes of the General Assembly and proof of this body's effectiveness within the United Nations. Since 1973, when the Conference on the Law of the Sea began, it has been working with a new vision of international law and co-operation and is laying down rules that would satisfy our aspirations to abolish privileges, to protect the environment and to achieve peaceful coexistence. The new Convention on the Law of the Sea, in establishing a new and fruitful reality, is an example of the infinite possibilities inherent in negotiation, good will and mutual understanding.

84. Among the social items on the agenda of the Assembly, the Dominican Republic considers as being particularly relevant those related to the rights, evolution and development of women as well as to their participation in the political, social and economic life of their countries. In this connection, the new Dominican Government has set up an office for the advancement of women within a Ministry of Social Welfare as a first step towards integration of the different aspects of human advancement. We express our deep satisfaction at the fact that our country has been selected as host to the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, whose formal installation will take place early next year in Santo Domingo and for which the Dominican Government has already made a substantial appropriation.

85. We are confident that the report the Secretary-General will submit with regard to this matter, which has already been endorsed by the Economic and Social Council, will prompt other Member States to contribute to the support of this Institute and thereby assure the fulfilment of its important functions.

86. Under the present difficult international circumstances, cultural co-operation—widely debated and defined at the World Conference on Cultural Policies, known as MONDIACULT, organized by UNESCO in August—is evoked to strengthen the ties that exist between peoples. There can be no argument that all cultures have the same dignity and equality; that freedom is necessary to all intellectual and artistic creation; that all patrimonies, be they architectonic, written or oral, need to be protected and that those values are the bedrock of an inter-

dependence freely assumed but carefully preserving identities and receptive to new sources of enrichment.

87. The Dominican Republic, which suffered for a long time from cultural isolationism, now wishes to develop communication in education, science, literature and art, provided such dialogues between cultures are established on a basis of respect and reciprocity, of recognition and a receptiveness that assures interchange in the true meaning of that word. We wish to strengthen regional ties, the mutual recognition of cultures, the resources and unique expressions of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. To this end, the Dominican Republic has proposed the celebration of the First Biennial of Visual Arts in the Caribbean, to be held in Santo Domingo, a recommendation that was approved by the General Assembly of MONDIACULT.

88. However, this wish for a greater closeness to the countries of our region and Latin America does not diminish the lively interest of the Dominican Republic in extra-continental cultural co-operation and the recognition of great historical events of the past that still loom large today. We refer to the fifth centenary of the discovery of America, and we are grateful to the Spanish Foreign Minister for mentioning in his statement [9th meeting] the Dominican Republic's initiative in proposing that the United Nations General Assembly declare, in a universal context, that 1992 be proclaimed the Year of the Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of America.

89. The United Nations was founded on the ruins of that great catastrophe that history has called the Second World War. The Organization was conceived to guarantee international peace, to develop friendship among peoples, to assure self-determination and to promote, through international co-operation, their social, economic and cultural development. The Organization was conceived in support of human dignity, on the basis of respect for the rights and fundamental freedoms of all mankind without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The Organization was conceived to prevent the third—and probably the last—world war.

90. We often forget that the founders, our predecessors who signed the Charter of San Francisco, did so in the name of peoples, not in the name of States or Governments. This is not a semantic artifice, nor is it a legal subtlety. It is simply the living expression of a deep longing for peace and solidarity that was born in the universal conscience in those dark days. I believe that many of the problems arise or worsen because Governments sometimes ignore the real aspirations of their peoples. People have among themselves spontaneous affinities, natural and pure, that are deeply rooted in their cultural origins and common ideals. Those affinities transcend the boundaries of circumstantial antagonisms that are characteristic of the strict exercise of government. All Governments, regardless of ideology or of geopolitical location, would render a great service to the Organization's vocation for peace should they decide to stimulate the development of those affinities, whose roots are found in the very depth of human awareness.

91. A simple examination of the agenda of the Assembly, a mere study of the multiple conflicts that

divide the international community, the anguish expressed by the brave declaration of the Secretary-General in his memorable report, will surely prove that we have not yet reached these ideals. However, those harsh realities must not frustrate us to the point of losing faith in the Organization, for if we have not been able in many cases to prevent or to solve conflicts, we have at other times had successes that constitute true triumphs for mankind.

92. In this connection, it should be pointed out that if the fear of a nuclear holocaust is still the gravest threat to mankind today, there is no better hope of preventing it than that offered by this exalted forum, open without discrimination or prejudice to all the peoples and nations of the world.

93. The imperfections of the Organization must not shatter our faith in it. On the contrary, they should inspire us to overcome them, thus strengthening our confidence in its capacity to fulfil its objectives. This is the best contribution we can offer to the future of mankind.

94. Mr. LLOREDA-CAICEDO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first to congratulate Mr. Hollai on his election to the important post of President and at the same time to express the hope that, under his able leadership, this session of the General Assembly will achieve positive results. I should also like to express to his eminent predecessor, Mr. Kittani, our gratitude for the effectiveness with which he presided over the thirty-sixth session. I wish to assure the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, a seasoned diplomat of whom Latin America is proud, of our support in any action that he takes in the interest of the international community. I take this opportunity to commend the sincerity, the vigour and the vision shown in his report to the General Assembly on the role of the Organization in these times of crisis.

95. On behalf of our President, Belisario Betancur, and the people of Colombia, I should like to greet the representatives of States Members of the United Nations and to express our confidence that at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly we shall be able to work effectively in the search for solutions to the disputes that disturb the peace and threaten the security of our peoples.

96. I represent a country with a population of 30 million—the fourth largest in population in the western hemisphere—situated at the heart of the Americas and sharing land and sea boundaries with 13 Latin American and Caribbean nations. Our unique geographical position ties us irrevocably to the fate of a large part of the continent and obliges us to work in an open and constructive spirit.

97. Colombia is also a country of laws and an unsullied democratic tradition, where political differences are resolved through elections and authority emanates from the popular will. Our newly elected Government has devoted its efforts to the country's economic and social recovery and to a major peace initiative which will surely enable those groups which had resorted to armed rebellion to be reincorporated into civilian life. I have been so bold as to mention these positive attributes of my country, but I shall not dwell further on a point which, I fear, holds little

interest for the news agencies, whose preferred subject-matter is scandals and disasters.

Mr. Otunnu (Uganda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

98. My country believes in the possibility and the desirability of peaceful solutions. It defends the application of the principles and norms of international law in the settlement of disputes and advocates non-intervention, self-determination and strict observance of treaties. It none the less believes that justice complements law and it is therefore prepared to consider with an open mind all those intrinsically just causes that, for this very reason, warrant the attention of the international community.

99. The United Nations, created under the noblest of auspices to save the world from the scourge of war, to promote more equitable conditions and standards of living for the peoples and to ensure a stable economic order and harmonious development, has all too often been prevented from fulfilling its noble mission. In the view of many it has even become ineffectual. To a large extent this view is correct: purely political controversy has invaded all United Nations forums. Agencies designed to promote social progress, economic recovery and technological progress have become arenas of bitter polemics. The spirit of co-operation is gradually disappearing; self-interests predominate and the policy of blocs is expanding. Against the backdrop of this kind of Tower of Babel, the imminent danger of universal cataclysm emerges as the only reality.

100. It is not surprising that, in this atmosphere, the arms race should have intensified. What until recently was a phenomenon exclusive to the great Powers has spread like a malignant growth to moderately developed States and even to poor countries. Often it is the industrialized nations themselves that encourage this trade in death.

101. Military and economic might create conditions of dependence. The world's backward countries must sacrifice their dignity to necessity and their conceptual independence in the face of threats. The will to survive leads to a servile pragmatism which destroys ideals and fosters resentment. This concentration of the factors of power explains the formation of the major blocs and the humiliating situation of those nations that have been forced to submit to one or another sphere of influence.

102. It would be unfair to overlook the ideological motivation surrounding some of the decisions of the great Powers. This ideological confrontation is becoming increasingly rare, however. Above all, what we have is a power struggle which threatens to engulf the entire world community. As long as the system of major blocs persists, peace will be impossible.

103. Colombia is profoundly concerned about this state of affairs. In the past year, far from decreasing, the causes for concern have actually increased. The number of situations which disrupt world peace is growing, the economic crisis is becoming increasingly complex and the imbalance among nations is becoming increasingly marked.

104. Colombia is concerned by the constant violations of the principles and norms of international law. We cannot countenance the illegal occupation and annexation of territories by force or other forms of intervention that perpetuate a state of permanent anxiety.

105. Like most countries, Colombia has condemned Israel's military action in Lebanon. It advocates withdrawal from the Arab territories now under military occupation and recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to a sovereign State.

106. Colombia believes that the various formulas now under consideration with regard to the Palestinian problem must be reconciled as soon as possible. New negotiating machinery which is binding on the parties to the conflict and on the third countries involved is probably needed. We believe that this vital step does not conflict with recognition of the State of Israel and the latter's right to live in peace within its own borders.

107. We note with interest and satisfaction all efforts, such as those undertaken by the Korean people, tending to re-establish national unity.

108. We have voiced our opposition to the possible exclusion of any Member State from the various organs of the United Nations. Despite all the risks, we believe that the principle of universality, which is fundamental to the survival and historical impact of the Organization, must be maintained.

109. Unfortunately, the latest acts of aggression and violence in the Middle East are not the only ones suffered and repudiated by the international community. We have also condemned the military occupation of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the persecution of the trade union movement in Poland. In all these cases clear-cut norms of international law have been violated, resulting in the irreparable loss of human life and considerable material damage.

110. We are deeply concerned at the situation in Central America and at the risk that this region so near to us geographically and so dear to our hearts might become a new arena of international confrontation. The nations of Central America are struggling, each in its own way, to strengthen democracy and promote social change. In that process, which should occur peacefully as a result of self-determination, there has in recent times been resort to the perilous course of ideological extremism, arms build-up and foreign interference.

111. We cannot stand by and let the countries of Central America become a prey to international ambitions and their weak political and economic structures be suddenly threatened by violence and civil war. It is essential to restore peace and, by means of a constructive dialogue, to create the conditions for peaceful coexistence and development. In achieving these objectives, it would be most useful to eliminate the pernicious influence of the military apparatus that in one way or another has become involved in Central American politics.

112. At the beginning of October, Colombia participated in a meeting of Foreign Ministers organized by the Government of Costa Rica with the aim of finding common ground and discussing specific actions

which would permit a return to normalcy. As a result of that important meeting, it was agreed to create a body which would work for peace and democracy: a peace based on mutual respect and a democracy which would guarantee free political expression in each country. At Colombia's request, the Foreign Ministers meeting in San José proposed the removal of all military and security advisers from the area, in particular from El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

113. We hope that the goodwill mission entrusted to the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica will help to broaden the regional dialogue and will be well received in those countries which for various reasons did not participate in the first round of talks. My country will co-operate fully in achieving the objectives set.

114. Colombia does not advocate and has never advocated the use of force to resolve conflicts. It therefore deplores the fact that, in the case of the Malvinas Islands, the protracted absence of a peaceful solution and the persistence of colonialist practices led to *de facto* situations and that all efforts at conciliation to avoid an armed conflict failed.

115. We are now faced with the consequences: the loss of 3,000 human lives and damage estimated at over \$1 billion. But this tragic outcome is not the only cause for concern. The truth is that as a result of the armed conflict the possibility of a stable solution for the islands now appears more remote than ever.

116. The United Kingdom, having gained a military victory, refuses to discuss the question of sovereignty over the islands. Although explicable in the light of recent events, this position will prove untenable in the long run. The anti-colonialist determination of the vast majority of countries, Colombia among them, will finally prevail.

117. In order to obviate the risk of further conflict and avoid a prolongation of the harmful consequences of this confrontation, Colombia proposes that the Malvinas should immediately be made neutral and their administration entrusted to a multinational authority until a way is found of reconciling Argentina's rights with the legitimate interests of the islands' inhabitants.

118. The conduct of the United States in this unfortunate incident warrants special comment. That country's decision to abandon its initial neutral position and to afford economic, political and military support to the United Kingdom aroused justified indignation in Latin America. That episode has given rise to the feeling throughout the continent that the United States cares little for the fate of its neighbours. The United States attitude none the less had the salutary effect of uniting the peoples of Latin America for the first time in their entire history. We must seize this opportunity to create effective machinery which will make possible a joint response in moments of crisis.

119. The impact of this conflict on the continent's political future cannot be ignored. Europeans and North Americans will in the short term be able to correct many of the decisions taken during the war, but it will take a long time for the wounds to heal. Clearly, Latin America is not a priority on the great Powers' list.

120. At the centre of the armed confrontation in the South Atlantic the question of colonialism appears as a last remnant of a world which has faded into history but the vestiges of which will continue to cause constant irritation and potential conflicts for years to come. Practical problems arise in this decolonization process, including that of how to ensure that newly independent territorial entities, many of them small, avoid the dependence forced on them by their limited economic resources. Faced with the danger of new forms of domination, these young nations will have to seek, with the support of the international community, systems of association that enable them to defend their own independence successfully.

121. In analysing the factors which contribute to disturbances of the peace we are also concerned at the discouraging results of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We see the problem as one not only of nuclear weapons but also of conventional weapons. It is not enough for the great Powers to declare their willingness to refrain from the use of nuclear weapons. A decision must also be taken drastically to reduce conventional weapons and to agree to absolutely trustworthy verification procedures.

122. In Colombia's view peace is not and cannot be a precarious balance between heavily armed nations but rather the result of a just international order. Pope Paul VI made this abundantly clear when he stated in his encyclical *Populorum Progressio* many years ago that development was the new name for peace. The Pontiff's historic maxim becomes dramatically relevant in a world where opportunities are dangerously concentrated in the hands of a few and three quarters of mankind continues to be excluded from a development which would make justice feasible and freedom attainable.

123. It was this time bomb which prompted the international community a decade ago to seek a new international economic order which would make it possible to correct imbalances and bridge the gap between rich and poor. Without wishing to belittle the initial efforts that were made, we must agree that the situation is not encouraging and the prospects of establishing such an order are increasingly remote, above all in the midst of one of the worst economic crises to face the international community in three generations.

124. This crisis, which is probably both the cause and the effect of the chaotic situation in which mankind is living, is the result of numerous factors, including theoretical dependence on rigid models which for a long time now have failed to take into account the whole purpose of economic management for the advancement of man and have become worn-out concepts which, at the political level, point the way to failure.

125. The peripheral countries that traditionally revolve around these systems are often used as testing grounds. The all-out free enterprise of the so-called Chicago school on the one hand and the rigid self-management and planning, with total State intervention, advocated by the current Marxist school, on the other, are the most recent examples of how

blind adherence to economic theories whose origins are purely political is doomed to failure.

126. Another, no less important, cause of this far-reaching crisis is the rapidly growing indebtedness of the developing countries and of those countries with a so-called centrally planned economy. Between them, these countries are fast approaching a foreign debt amounting to the extraordinary sum of \$800 billion. Two circumstances aggravate this phenomenon: on the one hand, the growing involvement of private lenders—calculated at 50 per cent—to the detriment of financing through international development agencies which are finding it increasingly difficult to open the coffers of their rich members; on the other hand, the all too frequent use of foreign loans for sectors other than infrastructure or social welfare.

127. In practice, those resources have become volatile material and there are difficulties in repaying loans because production has not increased in proportion to indebtedness. There are, of course, exceptions but in the end only those countries that have exchanged foreign currency for progress will be successful and it will be difficult to find a remedy for those which exchanged loans for prestige or used them for ill-planned investments to find a way out of their difficulties.

128. The external debt problem has reached such insane proportions that what formerly generated dependence today engenders mutual fear between debtors and creditors. The entire financial problem must be approached in new terms before this fear degenerates into political confrontation.

129. Colombia is not subject at present to the pressures of a disproportionate foreign debt. Its foreign debt amounts to over \$7 billion, but to a large extent this figure represents development loans whose short-term impact is manageable. The annual debt service takes up barely 15 per cent of our foreign trade earnings. International reserves stand at over \$5 billion. We are not, therefore, pleading our own cause but rather speaking, out of an elementary sense of solidarity, as advocates of those countries which need rapid and effective support. To this end we support the preparation and implementation of a short-term emergency plan as a first step in the process of global negotiations.

130. The economic crisis also has its roots in the policies of the industrialized countries. The restriction of demand in order to control inflation has caused a drop in the growth of price indices and more recently in that of interest rates, but at the high social cost of slowing down growth and increasing unemployment.

131. This affects international trade, which is the basis for the growth of most of the developing economies, and thus exports unemployment, the social and political consequences of which are felt far more acutely in the third world than in the industrialized world. Protectionism has taken hold of the major markets, with obvious consequences for trade but also with the distressing result that the developing countries, seeing the deterioration in their trade balances and balances of payments, try to save themselves and are in turn accused of protectionism, of violating free trade agreements or simply of being trade ter-

rorists who, by stimulating exports, attack the world economy.

132. Another aspect that we must mention here is the deterioration of the situation with regard to commodities. Producer countries were used to products enjoying good seasons and bad seasons, and one usually cancelled out the other. Now there are only bad periods because of the recession affecting the main purchasers, and especially because of the irresponsible, selfish and disastrous policies of groups of developed countries which, as in the case of sugar, have brought prices down to absolutely ludicrous levels.

133. The countries that uphold this sugar policy of subsidies, increased production and the imposition of quotas cannot expect us to be grateful, to co-operate and to let them participate in our development plans. In my country the sugar sector generates considerable employment and foreign currency, and it would be inconsistent of us not to respond forcefully to seeing our international earnings reduced as a result of unilateral policies.

134. Almost all the Powers could be accused of this kind of policy with regard to other commodities. The sale of strategic reserves, the stockpiling of others by mining multinationals, the unilateral fixing of quotas for access to markets and the use of food-stuffs as a political weapon are only some of the many aberrations against which the international community as a whole will have to fight.

135. We should, however, also mention, within this bleak commodity situation, the success just achieved in London in connection with the International Coffee Agreement, of which my country has always been and will continue to be an ardent supporter. This agreement to protect the market reached between producers and consumers in the same forum is an example which I should like to mention here and which would not have been possible without solidarity between the two interest groups.

136. This already long list also includes the affront constituted by military spending. According to United Nations calculations, at 1978 prices the world spends \$1.2 billion a day on armaments, \$900 million of which represents the combined military budgets of the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France and the United Kingdom. This daily arms expenditure is equal to the sum total of the annual budgets of UNDP, the World Food Programme, UNICEF, UNRWA and UNFPA.

137. And, one further comment, compared with the over \$380 billion spent each year on military budgets, the \$21 billion in direct aid, the \$80 million from the World Bank, the \$24 million from the Inter-American Development Bank and the \$67 million from the International Monetary Fund seem paltry amounts. The \$825 million of United States financial assistance to the Caribbean and the Soviet Union's \$1,856 million to Cuba, North Korea and Viet Nam are even more insignificant. These figures speak for themselves.

138. The subject of the North-South dialogue is perhaps one of the few on which we all agree: we have failed miserably. Since 1973, the year of the oil embargo and the floating of the principal currencies,

the United Nations as an institution, its Members and the decade's most eminent personalities have reiterated the need to restructure fundamentally the economic relationship between those that are the most prosperous and those that are still the poorest. Then came the General Assembly resolutions on the new international economic order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. The latter could figure in the book of world records as the instrument most frequently violated.

139. The same happened with the 1974 Paris Conference, which throughout its three long years brought nothing new to the solution of world problems; with the various meetings of UNCTAD; the ministerial meeting of GATT; the Conference of Science and Technology for Development; the Tokyo Round; the annual rite of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and FAO; the proposal of the non-aligned countries on global negotiations; the Brandt report; the Cancún summit and the New Delhi and Oslo meetings.

140. These comings and goings of officials, diplomats, economists and politicians have achieved little. Generosity has run out; these are difficult times; such are the phrases we read in foreign ministry reports. We of the South say that the North lacks the necessary political will; those of the North say that we of the South do not know what we want. There is nothing new; every possibility, including hope, has vanished.

141. The argument that we must wait for the world economy to return to normal and regain its health is not convincing enough for us to postpone indefinitely the initiatives with regard to the North-South dialogue and the global negotiations. The illness has to be treated; the solution is in the hands of those present here—developed or underdeveloped, with or without a colonial past. It is a question of political will and of clearly identifying our goals and procedures.

142. There is light in all this darkness: co-operation among developing countries. This South-South relationship is one of the few multilateral successes of recent years and must therefore maintain its momentum and continue its identification of areas in which co-operation is possible and fruitful.

143. It is true that the developing countries enjoy only 28 per cent of the wealth of our planet, but it is no less true that they represent 80 per cent of the world's population. This tremendous sociological reality will make itself felt in the end and the developed countries realize this. Unfortunately, they neither act nor allow others to act. Years ago there was a proposal, which was never put into practice, that the rich countries should earmark a minimum percentage of their gross national product for programmes of international co-operation. The proposal never got off the ground.

144. The only alternative is to strengthen the South-South relationship. It is a question of seeking and offering support, encouraging exchanges, pooling experiences and developing new technologies. These are some of the goals. Although Colombia is not an economic Power, much less a military one, it understands and accepts its obligation to contribute to those goals and has tried to do so in its own area.

145. One result of my country's decision is the Andean Pact or Cartagena Agreement, an interesting experiment in sub-regional integration that has managed to survive for over 10 years. Another example is the plan for economic, trade and financial co-operation which Colombia is promoting with the countries of Central America and the Caribbean. These are specific examples which prove that a stable and fruitful relationship is possible among developing countries.

146. If it is not possible, as we have seen, to institutionalize the North-South dialogue and render it operational, then let the General Assembly at least offer effective backing to the agencies that promote South-South co-operation.

147. In the midst of so many disappointments, there is another very important and positive element in the work of the United Nations which shows that it is possible to find universally acceptable solutions to problems affecting the international community when the spirit of consensus prevails and multilateral negotiating machinery is properly used. I am referring to the adoption on 30 April last of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,² the culmination of nine years of difficult negotiations and six years of careful preparation.

148. The new régime for the sea recognizes and develops for the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction a principle already formulated 150 years ago by the great Latin American legal expert Andrés Bello, according to which there are assets which can remain common property for the benefit of all and belong to the indivisible heritage of mankind and cannot be marked with the seal of ownership. With regard to maritime spaces under State jurisdiction, the Convention represents not only a complete legal framework, but also an instrument for the economic and social development of our peoples.

149. Colombia was one of the 130 countries to vote in favour of the Convention and hopes that at this session the General Assembly will provide the Secretary-General with the necessary means to take on the responsibilities assigned to him.

150. The Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which was held at Vienna in August, enabled the United Nations to review the conquest of space, and the developing countries to call the attention of the technological Powers to the need for more effective and systematic international co-operation.

151. For Colombia, an equatorial country, it was significant that several of the recommendations of the Conference stressed the urgent need to plan and regulate the use of the geostationary orbit, a limited natural resource which can be over-exploited by its *de facto* appropriation by the technological monopolies.

152. Since 1975, my country and nine other equatorial States have been demanding a special régime for the geostationary orbit. In Vienna, all the developing countries, within the framework of the Group of 77, turned our demands into a dire necessity. We reiterate to the Assembly today that technological development must be regulated by international law and that con-

sequently the free consent of countries below the orbital arc must be a prerequisite of any such regulation. We really believe that the prior consent of receiving and monitored countries must be obtained before direct television broadcasting by satellite or remote-sensing activities are carried out.

153. I could go on at length on many other topics of concern to my country, but I see no practical usefulness in doing so. Each country must act within the limits of its possibilities and in relation to the questions which concern it directly. I should like, however, to share a number of closing observations with the members of the Assembly. These refer to the search for a lasting peace which would guarantee the survival of our species. If we are to achieve such a peace, we must replace confrontation by balance. This balance does not arise from the strategic parity of the super-Powers, however, but is born of the tactical unity of medium-sized and small nations in seeking to dismantle the whole threatening apparatus of war.

154. It has been proved time and again that the United States and the Soviet Union are not in a position to offer mankind the good news of effective disarmament and that they will probably pursue their intensive political, economic and military rivalry.

155. Colombia has thought carefully about these and other facts in relation to its own international position. For years, influenced by our dedication to a set of principles and consistent with a tradition, we have on occasion been regarded as a dependent country.

156. We believe that the time has come to clarify our position. Not so that we might disown an honourable past, much less abjure principles that are deeply rooted in our people, but simply so that we might better serve the cause of mankind.

157. We believe that the prospects for peace will be improved if countries able to do so adopt more independent positions. This is also valid in view of the aspirations to establish a new, more just and equitable economic order.

158. These are the main reasons for Colombia's decision to apply for admission to the non-aligned movement. We are well aware that this movement was, at the outset, made up principally of countries from other continents. We believe that the time has come for the countries of Latin America also to join in a process which, if well directed, can make a decisive contribution to the cause of peace. Some have already done so and others, like Colombia, hope to do so in the near future.

159. Mr. BIRD (Antigua and Barbuda): I wish to join with the leaders of other delegations in paying a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Kittani, who distinguished himself throughout last year in his efforts on behalf of the Assembly. I am also honoured to be accorded the privilege on behalf of my country to congratulate Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I offer him my delegation's fullest support in the tasks which lie ahead of him.

160. Never in the history of its existence has the Assembly convened against such a background of pervading universal gloom. Unemployment figures in

the industrialized countries are assuming proportions traditionally associated with developing countries: 10.1 per cent in the United States and a similar figure in the European Economic Community. Every month that passes witnesses thousands more people being cast on to the heap of the unemployed with no prospect of jobs, no means of maintaining their standard of living and little means of ensuring the well-being of their families. Many marvel every day that there have not been widespread violent reactions in the streets; others expect those reactions to erupt at any time if this all-consuming recession continues unabated.

161. And while unemployment in industrialized countries reaches the level normally linked with developing countries, the ranks of the unemployed in poor States are swelling to record volumes. Only an immunity to suffering born of generations of deprivation keeps some developing States from explosion.

162. A blanket of misery has been cast upon the world: it has spared no country and it has brought many to the brink of disaster. This misery can only be measured in human terms—for it knows not colour, nor religion, nor nationality. It grips many millions in developed countries who must struggle to survive on State support and many more millions in poor countries who must suffer with no support at all.

163. In the 1930s, when mankind experienced a global economic recession such as the one we now face, the economists called it "the Great Depression". It was the forerunner of a terrible war which brought even greater human suffering than had obtained before it. As conditions currently exist in the world, it would not be too far-fetched for some to contemplate wars, however limited, as a solution to the current economic crisis. Indeed some are already advocating the Keynesian theory that military spending will create jobs, increase public demand and stimulate economic growth.

164. In these troubled times, the global community should be able to spurn the irrationality of the war-mongers and turn instead to the United Nations for a sane and sensible direction. The words spoken in the Assembly by the world's leading personalities should invoke in mankind a spirit of hope and a sense of optimism for the future. But we are yet to hear those words. We are yet to hear an attempt at dialogue between the two super-Powers; we are yet to hear an attempt at peace between warring neighbours in the Middle East; we are yet to hear nations climb down from their nationalistic pedestals to the table of peaceful discussion for the benefit of all mankind. What we have heard is a discourse of the deaf; a mouthing of prearranged statements with no interest in response or reply. Statements have not been made for the benefit of other nations, let alone the world; they have been made for political mileage in national capitals.

165. In that context the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] is both important and timely, for it summons us to recall the principles of the Charter and to review the mechanisms of the Organization in order to make this body strong, not sterile; decisive, not dilatory; functional, not ornamental. It warns us that in a world

fraught with tension and peril the United Nations is indispensable. The Secretary-General's report has identified a number of important ways in which the effectiveness of the United Nations could be improved and enhanced, particularly in regard to collective international security. The recommendations, especially the call for a meeting of the Security Council at the highest possible level to discuss the problems of the United Nations, should be given the support of all Member States. In my view, part of the agenda of that meeting should be consideration of how much more effective the United Nations might be if we ended the veto system provided for the permanent membership of the Security Council. The concept of a veto was developed at the end of the Second World War when a few nations held dominion over many. But surely the results of a war, in whose creation the majority of the world's people played no part, should not continue to advise the procedures of the Security Council on an everlasting basis.

166. In his report the Secretary-General has himself said that "allegations of partisanship" have been used by some Member States to justify side-tracking the Security Council. He has called on us to "take such matters with the utmost seriousness and ask ourselves what justifications, if any, there are for them and what can be done to restore the Council to the position of influence it was given in the Charter".

167. There is no doubt that there exists among Member States a genuine fear that in certain circumstances members of the Security Council could act in a partisan manner. In fact recent history has shown that the veto has been used to safeguard narrow national interests in defiance of world opinion and the decisions of the Assembly. The use of the veto in such a manner does not inspire confidence in the Security Council.

168. In this context my delegation contends that the most effective action that can be taken to restore the Council to the position of influence which the Charter intended for it is to end the veto system and to democratize the process of decision-making.

169. Even as I state my delegation's position I am sadly aware that it has little chance of becoming a reality, for those that hold power seldom relinquish it willingly. None the less that is precisely why I state it, for the attention of the Organization and other international organizations must be focused on their collective impotence to meaningfully address the problems of the world while the will of a few dominates the aspirations of the many.

170. As we consider the issues about which the many in the Organization have been concerned, we are struck by the dismal record of failure which confronts us. Let us first examine efforts in the Assembly to bring about change in the global economic arrangements. Although 1981 was the date set for the completion of global negotiations on trade, energy, raw materials, development finance and monetary issues, the few have ensured that this body has failed to produce agreement even on the procedures for such negotiations. Discussion on the global negotiations has been shunted from the thirty-sixth to the thirty-seventh session of the Assembly.

171. While this delaying game has been played in the United Nations the prospects for growth and development in poor countries have been diminished by similar actions in other international organizations. At the recent joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank group in Toronto the few ensured that an urgent call by the Group of 24 for an increase in the Fund's quotas of not less than 100 per cent would be ignored. Equally, efforts to persuade donors to the International Development Association to improve their contributions in view of the Association's vital importance to poor countries met with only partial success.

172. Developing countries have not only been denied the opportunity to discuss a framework for an international economic system based on the fundamentals of social justice and equality; they have also experienced a reduction in the quantum of badly needed assistance.

173. Official development assistance from the Western industrialized nations decreased by 4 per cent in real terms in 1981. Official development assistance from the Eastern European countries, including the Soviet Union, is of course selective, and these countries have yet to show any interest in the international dialogue on aid, though they are active participants, to their own benefit, in the process of trade.

174. Only a few nations provided more than 0.7 per cent of their gross domestic product, which this body established as a desirable minimum, in the form of assistance. Those countries have the gratitude of the developing world; they deserve the respect of the international community as a whole. They are Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, from Europe, and Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, three major donor countries that are members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, which gave 3.02 per cent of their gross national product in 1980.

175. It is true that by providing aid in the volume that they have those donors have greatly assisted poor third-world States which are the worst victims of the current recession. But those donors have also rendered a service to the global community, especially the rich, for the third world countries are now the biggest market for the goods of the industrialized nations. For instance, one in every 18 jobs in the United States is in manufacturing for the third world. In such circumstances it is in the interests of all, including the industrialized nations, for third world States to survive. For if we are unable to purchase goods produced by the developed States they will lose many more millions of jobs, and that may be the trigger for those violent reactions which have not yet erupted in the streets.

176. I have already mentioned our failure to advance the global negotiations and the reduction of aid to developing countries as setbacks to a prosperous global economy. Let me now add protectionism. The protectionism practised by some developed States is the short-term answer to the problems of adjustment raised by the current recession. It is believed in some capitals that by shutting out the goods of developing countries local production will be stimulated to the benefit of the national economy.

177. The evidence against that argument is now well known. Indeed recent studies have shown that between 1975 and 1977 protectionist measures imposed by the United States on goods imported from Latin America and the Caribbean resulted in a loss to consumers of \$1,250 million for carbon steel, \$1,200 million for footwear, \$660 million for sugar, \$400 million to \$800 million for meat, and \$500 million for television sets—a total of \$4 billion for these five items. The cost to the consumer for every job protected was more than \$50,000 per year. I submit that the national economy did not benefit in the long run.

178. In this time of disarray in the world economy it is crucially important to establish an international trading system in which the developing countries are accorded a fair and equitable place. Therefore we call on Governments represented in the Assembly to approach the GATT Ministerial Meeting in November with the will to return to a set of agreed principles and rules applying to all international trade and providing a recognizable and ordered framework within which it can grow. Therein, we believe, lies the basis for promoting a sound world economy.

179. Failure to achieve change in global economic arrangements is not the only example of the Assembly's resolve to right wrongs being thwarted. South Africa is yet another burning example.

180. South Africa continues to be a running sore upon the face of this earth. The inhuman system of *apartheid* has gone beyond excess in its brutality against the black majority. The iniquities of its régime continue to mock the authority of this body. And what is reprehensible about the success of the South African régime is that Pretoria has received tacit support from many large transnationals and some of the very Governments which sit in this Hall.

181. Many will plead that, although they have a connection with South Africa, they decry and bemoan the system of *apartheid*. But this is simply an excuse, for they are as aware as we are, though perhaps not as painfully, that any support given to Pretoria serves only to strengthen the régime and intensify its atrocities.

182. Those atrocities are now legion: the permanent imprisonment of South African blacks for the crime of believing that they have a right to be free; the sentencing to death of young men because they fought to wrest their country from minority control; the dumping of hundreds of thousands of black South Africans in hastily created Bantustans in order to deprive them of citizenship in the land of their birth.

183. We do not appear to have much chance of addressing the problem of South Africa in the comprehensive manner which it demands if we are unable to compel Member States to comply with our resolutions. We do not appear to have much chance of isolating the virus of South Africa, when an *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the General Assembly in 1976 to draft an international convention against *apartheid* in sports is unable to present an agreed convention six years later.

184. But we must continue to try, for what is happening in South Africa is a mark against all mankind, an assault on our decency, a violence to our worth

as human beings. It behoves every Government represented in the Assembly to support efforts to focus on creative ways in which the wrongs in South Africa can be put right.

185. Not least amongst our efforts must be the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which establishes the framework for the independence of Namibia. The freedom of the people of Namibia must no longer be blocked by the perpetrators in Pretoria of the wicked system of *apartheid*, nor must it be delayed by any attempt to link it with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The independence of the Namibian people is just, justified and justifiable; it should not be used to serve the national interests of other countries.

186. I wish I could point to the Middle East as an area where the United Nations has been effective, for if this were true thousands of lives would have been spared, cities would have been saved from ruin, and millions of dollars would have been channelled into improving rather than destroying societies. Unfortunately, the principles of the Charter have been flagrantly disregarded and resolutions of the Security Council have been wilfully ignored. Consequently, the people of the Middle East, who have suffered so agonizingly long, have found no respite from the pain of war.

187. The recent massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut was a cold-blooded and brutal act of barbarism. It goes beyond merely epitomizing the tragedy of the Middle East; it adds a new dimension to the horrors of the confrontation.

188. Lebanon has become the bleeding heart of the world. Its anguish is shared in every man's conscience. This country deserves the urgent support of the international community to bind its wounds, restore its national pride and reconstruct its economy. The Israeli forces could now be helpful to that process if they were to withdraw immediately from Lebanese territory.

189. The tragedy of Lebanon points once again to the manner in which some nations are willing to bypass the United Nations and to disregard its peace-keeping role. The fact that a search for a solution to the Middle East problems is going on and that a peace-keeping force is in Lebanon without the involvement of the Security Council considerably dilutes the worth of the Organization. It makes small countries like mine wonder about the purpose of coming here at a cost we cannot afford, when the United Nations is dismissed by those who are its greatest power-brokers.

190. Central to the issue which has wrought such catastrophe in the Middle East is the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their further right to a land of their own in the West Bank and Gaza. These legitimate rights of the Palestinian people must be satisfied, and my Government will steadfastly support every initiative to secure those rights for the Palestinian people, while recognizing that Israel also has a right to exist securely within agreed and recognized boundaries.

191. In any event, as my country has opposed acquisition of territory by force in our own Latin America and

recently in the South Atlantic, so we oppose similar acts of aggression in the Middle East.

192. The conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran is another instance of the United Nations being ignored. This two-year military engagement has also cost many thousands of lives. It has been particularly savage, with prisoners-of-war on one side being slaughtered in contravention of their rights as prisoners. We appeal to both countries to renew their commitment to the Charter and to end this bloody conflict, by complying with Security Council resolutions 514 (1982) and 522 (1982). In doing so, they would ease the suffering of both their peoples, who have been the greatest losers in the confrontation.

193. One cannot help but wonder how many thousands of lives would have been saved, how much destruction averted and how much real development achieved had the Assembly's work on disarmament provided positive results rather than unmitigated failure. Much was expected from the second special session devoted to disarmament held earlier this year, particularly as tension heightened in so many parts of the world. Not least among those who had high expectations of the disarmament session were hundreds of thousands of young people all over the world. This summer they openly demonstrated in major cities, including here in New York, the seat of the United Nations. The protests of this generation against the continuous, unrelenting stockpiling of weapons have broken out like a rash. It is a rash of resistance, an epidemic of health in an otherwise unhealthy world. Many of those young people associate the failure to halt the arms race with the ineffectiveness of the Assembly, for in the creation of the United Nations did not Governments enshrine in the Charter a role for collective security? Did they not promise mankind to make the world a safe place in which to live? Did they not extend the hope of an enduring respite from the horrors of war?

194. A generation has come to maturity with conventional wars and the threat of nuclear war still menacing their lives. They are not content that it should remain so. They want a broader, more comprehensive response from Governments, and it is obvious that such a response must be practical steps to arrest the arms race and to devise a system of collective security which demands of each nation a commitment to the protection of mankind as a whole.

195. The arms race competes with development objectives. It not only robs the productive process of resources, it also deprives humanity of the funds needed to improve the quality of life. It not only creates international tension, it stagnates national economies.

196. There are shocking statistics available to all who would pay attention. Funds allocated for technical assistance to all developing countries for the next five years are less than will be spent on weapons in the next five days. Developing countries received approximately \$20 billion in assistance from industrialized nations last year; this year the United States alone will spend \$18 billion on exploring the military uses of outer space. Total military spending last year was \$700 billion. That sum totals more than the entire

income of 1,500 million people living in the 50 poorest countries.

197. We should all consider what those funds would mean to the quality of life in developing countries if a portion were released for development assistance. Moreover, the rich nations should consider what effect the release of such funds would have on the productive sectors of their own economies, on jobs for their own young people and on health care for their old.

198. My delegation was pleased to see a report this week that the chairmen of the biggest corporations in the United States, including many of those that count on the Pentagon for their business, have called for a cut in military spending. Although their objective may be confined to narrow national concerns in the United States, it is at least an acknowledgement by a powerful group that military spending is not sacrosanct.

199. A halt to the arms race has become a matter for urgent global action in the cause of mankind's survival. The Assembly would fail to satisfy the noble ideals for which the United Nations was established if we turn a deaf ear to the eloquent calls for peace and a halt to the arms race that have echoed so profoundly across so many continents.

200. The depression of the 1930s and the Second World War were followed by unprecedented international co-operative efforts to reconstruct the world economy. The international economic order, which was established as a result of those efforts, can no longer cope with the realities of the 1980s, but the efforts which attended its creation are worthy of emulation. For it is a similar kind of international effort which our global community requires today, one which includes countries of the North and South, the East and West.

201. Such an effort must have as its goal a vision of how the world could be if there were a will by Governments to make it so. It should be a vision which acknowledges the pluralistic nature of our societies, accepts the inevitability of our economic interdependence and resolves that our children should inherit a peaceful and prosperous planet.

202. The Assembly is in a unique position to help mankind establish that vision, for the conditions outside this building—in the cities and rural dwellings of our many countries—demand urgent change. It is a task which should be embraced with alacrity, for future generations will judge us harshly if, despite our recognition of a need to act, we sacrifice long-term global well-being for short-term national gains. Antigua and Barbuda stands committed to help make such a vision a reality.

203. Mr. BODSTRÖM (Sweden): I should like first of all to congratulate the President on his election to his office for this session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that, with his wide experience of the United Nations, he will successfully carry out the important tasks ahead of him. I should also like to pay a tribute to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Kittani, who presided over the previous session with great distinction and skill. It gives me great pleasure to join the many preceding speakers who have congratulated the Secretary-General,

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, on his election to his high office. In the exercise of his functions he has already earned a reputation for great dedication and integrity. I can assure him and his staff of the Swedish Government's full support for their endeavours in pursuit of international peace and co-operation.

204. The international situation has increasingly deteriorated since the late 1970s. We are living in an era of distrust. The policy of détente has been superseded by a policy of confrontation between the super-Powers. A dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union has, it is true, been initiated, but there is reason to be sceptical about the possibility of its yielding any quick results. We must, by our concerted efforts, reverse these trends.

205. My country has chosen to pursue a policy of neutrality, one of non-participation in alliances in peace time and neutrality in the event of war. This policy, supported by a strong defence relative to our situation, contributes to the calm and stability in our part of the world. We shall pursue this policy with firmness and consistency.

206. Swedish territory will be protected from violations with all available means. Such violations will be treated with equal determination, no matter whence they emanate. International law gives us the right and the duty to safeguard our sovereignty and territorial integrity. Let no one entertain fears or expectations that Sweden would, even under strong external pressure, abandon its policy of neutrality.

207. Our policy of neutrality does not, however, condemn us to silence or passivity. On the contrary, it challenges us to pursue an active foreign policy in the cause of peace, freedom and international co-operation.

208. Sweden will, in accordance with its traditions, seek to promote peaceful solutions and to play an intermediary role in international conflicts. In common with so many others, we have three fundamental values to safeguard, namely, sovereignty, security and solidarity.

209. All our considerations must start from the right of peoples to determine their own future. National sovereignty is the foundation of political legitimacy in international contexts. This is self-evident, but not uncontested. Peoples have had to struggle for their independence, and that struggle is still going on. More than 100 States have gained their independence in recent decades. But they know, as do all other small and medium-sized States, that in a world dominated by great Powers and powerful transnational economic interests, this is a struggle that must go on for a long time to come. The real content of sovereignty is largely conditioned by the ability to pursue an independent, effective economic policy.

210. Against that background it is not surprising that the movement of non-aligned countries has attracted such a large membership and has shown such great vitality, despite internal crises and conflicts of interests. National sovereignty must always be safeguarded. One recent example of the violation of this principle is Israel's invasion of Lebanon. By invading Lebanon, Israel has demonstrated indifference to the principles of the Charter and of international law. It is

a tragedy that the State in whose creation the United Nations played such a decisive role now acts in a way that counteracts the authority of the Organization. The international community has rightly condemned Israel's assault and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops.

211. Sweden has on repeated occasions condemned acts of terrorism perpetrated against Israel. But in our view these can never justify what has now taken place in Lebanon.

212. The massacre of Palestinians in Beirut aroused feelings of horror and disgust in my country. The immediate responsibility for these crimes rests with their perpetrators. But this outrage would not have been possible had its perpetrators not been allowed into the camps.

213. Thirty-five years have now passed and five wars have been fought in the region since the adoption of the United Nations partition plan for Palestine [resolution 181 (II)]. A just and realistic solution presupposes that Israel and the PLO acknowledge one another as negotiating parties. The PLO must recognize Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders. Israel must, for its part, recognize the Palestinians' right to determine their own future, including the right to establish a State of their own, in the spirit of the original partition plan.

214. The borders existing before the 1967 war are more time-honoured and internationally recognized than any others. Obviously, the two parties must be at liberty to agree between themselves on adjustments of these borders which both can accept.

215. The Israeli Government's claim of supremacy over the occupied areas has no basis in international law. The settlements policy pursued in these areas constitutes a serious obstacle to the efforts to solve the problems of the Middle East. The acquisition of territory by force cannot be tolerated. Israel must discontinue its occupation of the areas it captured in 1967. A solution must also include arrangements as regards Jerusalem which guarantee the right of free access to the Holy Places for all religious worshippers, regardless of nationality.

216. The various proposals and plans recently put forward from different quarters contain many constructive elements. Together with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) they should be able to form the basis of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

217. For the United Nations to play a role in solving the conflict, it is necessary that Israel remain a Member of the United Nations and that the PLO continue to be able to present its views before this forum. My Government disassociates itself from any attempt to deprive Israel of its membership or to limit it. To be effective the United Nations must rest on the principle of universality.

218. The Soviet Union has occupied Afghanistan for nearly three years now. The Assembly has condemned this brutal assault. But the Soviet troops are still there, and reports leak out about continued assaults on the civilian population. This is all the more serious when we consider the fact that the Soviet Union is a permanent member of the Security Council with

special responsibility to uphold the principles of the Charter relating to peace and security. We demand that the Soviet troops leave Afghanistan, and we hope that the talks which have now begun under the auspices of the United Nations will be able to create the conditions necessary for a durable settlement of this issue.

219. The right to determine their own future without interference from outside is also the due of the people in Kampuchea. There, too, a peaceful solution must be found in accordance with the principles of the Charter, and the foreign troops must be withdrawn. In recent months some signs of an incipient dialogue between the countries in the region have been evident. We welcome this as a step in the right direction.

220. Namibia is still being denied by armed force its self-evident right to national independence. South Africa's illegal occupation of the country is in flagrant defiance of United Nations resolutions. South Africa continues to delay the United Nations plan for Namibia. This plan is the only course for achieving a peaceful and democratic solution. There is a risk that this course will be abandoned if elements alien to the United Nations plan are introduced into the negotiations on Namibia. The countries in the contact group bear a special responsibility for ensuring that the liberation of Namibia is not further delayed.

221. South Africa is constantly guilty of subversion and armed aggression against the States neighbouring it. It is not enough to condemn these lawless pursuits. The South African Government should be subjected to increased and effective pressure from the United Nations as a peaceful means for achieving the abolition of the *apartheid* system. The Security Council should, as quickly as possible, impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We are surprised to hear from States which have resorted to sanctions in several other contexts outside the United Nations framework that sanctions against South Africa would not be effective.

222. The international community must give the afflicted States and liberation movements in southern Africa all the political, economic and humanitarian assistance it can mobilize.

223. The ever-growing use of force in various parts of the world is a cause of concern. The Charter contains a clear and unequivocal prohibition of the use of force in international relations. This is one of the foundations of international law.

224. In our time, the issues of national security have assumed a new dimension. Beyond the question of who is right or wrong in a conflict, there looms the greater question of the survival of mankind. In the world of the super-Powers, one side cannot achieve security at the expense of the other. We must, together, try to find common security for everyone's survival.

225. Nuclear weapons have changed the rules of the game. If that ultimate weapon is used, the result will be collective suicide. We must create the political conditions which will ensure that weapons of mass destruction will never be used.

226. In Europe, considerable headway had been made in the process of détente at the beginning of the 1970s. The two military pacts were on the way to finding a new *modus vivendi* based on an approximate

balance of military power and on mutual respect. Relations between the two German States improved. Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* was a pioneer achievement. Contacts developed across the borders between individuals and peoples. The increase in economic exchange was of mutual benefit. Détente between the super-Powers provided greater scope for small and medium-sized States in the region to have their legitimate interests respected. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held at Helsinki laid the foundation for continued peaceful relations between the States of Europe.

227. The process of détente must be resumed and carried forward. National security is promoted by extensive exchanges across borders in the interests of all parties. The common interest in peaceful development will then grow.

228. At their meeting in Stockholm in August, the Foreign Ministers of the neutral and non-aligned States in Europe declared their intention to play an active and constructive role in the meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be resumed at Madrid. Provided the two super-Powers show a minimum degree of willingness to compromise, at that meeting the Conference should be able to achieve a comprehensive and balanced final document on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act and also to decide on the convening of a conference for disarmament in Europe.

229. In our part of Europe, close and trustful co-operation has existed for many years. There are no nuclear weapons in the Nordic countries. It is essential that this situation remain unchanged. Sweden is striving to achieve agreements which, among other things, will make the Nordic region a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Agreements of that kind can ease the tension between the blocs and reduce the risk of those countries being subjected to nuclear attack.

230. In Europe, there is the most horrifying accumulation of weapons of destruction anywhere in the world or at any time in history, as well as the largest standing armies. It is a prepared battlefield. Nevertheless, we must note that it is in Africa, Asia and Latin America that the wars have been fought, ever since the end of the Second World War. Those wars have already claimed, and are still claiming, innumerable victims. Starvation, disease and deprivation follow in their wake.

231. All this is very largely due to a colonialism which is not so far back in the past. The world is still shaken by the convulsions of liberation, which are the more violent and the more prolonged the longer the powers-that-be try to suppress the peoples' struggle for independence.

232. In Central America, centuries of oppression have given rise to a revolutionary situation. It is absurd to claim that the workers, the farmers, the students and the middle class have revolted in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala because some foreign Power asked them to do so. On the other hand, it is obvious that a foreign Power—the United States—plays a crucial role when it comes to keeping tottering dictatorships on their feet.

233. The violence in Central America is provoked by those who oppose the demands of the people for a bearable life. Peace in the region also presupposes respect for the national independence of all States. It is still possible to achieve negotiated solutions and put an end to the bloodbath. More and more Governments, both in Europe and Latin America, are joining the call for a political solution in the region.

234. Fundamental national security may not and cannot be won at the expense of the freedom and development possibilities of other nations. Peaceful development on reasonable terms for everyone presupposes solidarity. The demand for solidarity must be equally strong whether it applies to individuals in the struggle for human rights or to nations in the struggle for international justice.

235. In our neighbouring country Poland, the central trade union confederation, Solidarity, has been declared illegal. The military take-over shocked us deeply. The process of democratization was interrupted, and fundamental human rights are still being trampled under foot, in contravention of the Helsinki Final Act. And thus, the dream of genuine reform has been temporarily shattered. If real dialogue and reconciliation are to be achieved in Poland, martial law must be lifted, imprisoned and interned trade union leaders and other political prisoners must be released and trade union activities must be allowed to be carried on freely, in accordance with ILO Conventions which Poland has undertaken to respect. The strikes and protests of the last few days confirm the fact that the Polish workers are not prepared to accept an imposed model for their trade union activities.

236. Our protests also apply to the military dictatorship in Turkey, where political parties are banned and trade unions are prevented from working freely. The régime's opponents are subjected to mass arrests and mock trials.

237. Demands for democracy, for social justice, for human dignity and for national independence are made with the same force and conviction in the East as in the West, in the North as in the South. Oppression may assume different guises and forms, but it causes its victims the same human suffering, the same enslavement. Our solidarity must therefore never be one-sided.

238. It is obviously in the interest of all to have rules governing political relations. Presumably they also wish to have rules governing economic exchanges. But in the long run, rules of this kind work only if they can satisfy the legitimate interests of all parties.

239. World trade and world production have been experiencing the deepest crisis of the post-war period for several years now. The international system of payments is creaking at the joints. The world has been confronted by acute and chronic problems in regard to its supplies of energy. The North-South dialogue has become a series of parallel monologues. Small countries have a particular interest in trying to strengthen international co-operation. In the prevailing economic situation, the GATT Ministerial Meeting and the coming world trade conference will be of great importance.

240. For three years we have been trying in vain to agree on a formula for global economic negotiations. There is, however, the capacity in the United Nations system to negotiate the answers to at least the most urgent questions and there is, after all, little difference in positions as regards the initiation of the global negotiations.

241. A few years ago the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, presented a report with the challenging title *North-South: A program for survival*.⁵ The members of the Commission were people of varying political convictions and geographic origin; nevertheless they succeeded in arriving at common conclusions. Their report becomes increasingly valid.

242. A common strategy is needed to solve the growing problems of the international payments system. More and more countries are staggering under a debt burden which stifles expansion potential not only for the countries themselves but also for their trading partners. Transfer of resources must be increased and as far as possible reformed in order to make them more automatic and predictable. The need for concessional resources is particularly great for the poorest countries. A common strategy is necessary also for the adjustment of world trade to new realities. One such reality is the industrial development of the developing countries.

243. Sweden is among those countries which, as a result of their own experience, regard free trade as extremely beneficial. The industrialized countries must now demonstrate that they are prepared to allow other countries and peoples to enjoy the fruits of free trade. An adjustment of this kind must take place, with account being taken of two conflicting but equally legitimate interests: the need of the developing countries to create sufficient resources so that they can participate in trade for their own benefit and the need of the traditionally industrialized countries to realign their production without creating even greater unemployment.

244. The countries producing raw materials must receive reasonable and foreseeable incomes from their production and gradually acquire the capacity to process a much greater proportion of their own raw materials. No country should be confined to the role of mere suppliers of raw materials.

245. In a world marked by heightened antagonism between the great Powers it is essential to emphasize the possibilities which none the less are available. The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, under the chairmanship of Olof Palme, consisted, like the Brandt Commission, of people with varying backgrounds and political convictions. In spite of considerable conflict of interests, they also managed to achieve a measure of mutual understanding. Allow me to comment briefly on a few points.⁶

246. The Commission proposes a total ban on nuclear-weapon tests. This has long been the central issue in the disarmament negotiations. Sweden has for its part, by its own proposals and monitoring efforts, done all it can for the attainment of this goal. I wish to indicate the Swedish Government's satisfaction at the fact that the Soviet Union has submitted to the

Assembly a draft agreement which is largely based on previous common endeavours. It is our hope that the other nuclear-weapon Powers will demonstrate a corresponding will to negotiate, so that agreement may finally be reached. May I also emphasize that a test ban is a focal element in the efforts to freeze the nuclear-weapon capacity and to proceed to reductions. I am convinced that the freeze idea will play an important role during this session. In this context I wish to express our appreciation of those popular movements which work independently for disarmament and peace.

247. The military forces stationed in Europe today are much larger than can be justified by the security requirements of the parties concerned. In fact, large balanced reductions would increase security.

248. The vast number of nuclear weapons deployed in Europe or targeted against that continent are the source of special problems. Substantial reductions of these arsenals of nuclear weapons are necessary; but there is a connection between nuclear weapons in Europe and balance between East and West as regards conventional forces. One condition for getting rid of nuclear weapons in Europe is that both sides should also agree on a rough parity in conventional forces. The smaller—so-called battlefield—nuclear weapons in Europe constitute a particular danger, as they could be used at a very early stage of a conflict. The Commission proposes that these battlefield weapons be withdrawn from the most forward positions and that a zone be created in Europe which is entirely free of these weapons, a zone which could stretch 150 kilometres on each side of the East-West border. This idea has our full support.

249. The Swedish Government attaches great importance to all negotiations, such as those on mutual and balanced force reductions and on theatre nuclear forces and the planned European disarmament conference, which aim in this way to reduce or abolish the role of nuclear weapons in Europe.

250. The Commission also proposes an international agreement on the total prohibition of chemical weapons, as well as a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe. In the view of the Swedish Government, the pre-conditions of implementing such an arrangement for the purposes of confidence-building should be examined more closely. The proposal should also be used in the extensive efforts being made in the disarmament negotiations in Geneva to achieve the total prohibition of all chemical weapons.

251. The most important instrument we have for achieving common security is the United Nations. It is encouraging that during this debate so many Governments have emphasized that it should be possible to use this instrument for preserving peace and security in the world in a more resolute way.

252. The Secretary-General has emphasized the importance of this question by devoting the whole of his first report on the work of the Organization to it. His report is a clear-sighted assessment of the international situation and of the role of the United Nations in the international system. By departing from the standards and duties which we set ourselves in the Charter of the United Nations we are as the Sec-

Secretary-General warns, "perilously near to a new international anarchy" [see A/37/1, p. 1].

253. No purpose of the United Nations is more important than the maintenance of international peace and security. Yet the United Nations has repeatedly failed to realize that purpose and never have the failures been more evident than in the last few years. In the long run no organization can survive if the members do not respect its rules. The prohibition in the Charter of the threat or use of force in relations between States is absolute; so is the obligation to use only peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes.

254. We need a more active and imaginative approach by the Security Council to potential conflict situations. There are many ways of achieving this. One is improved co-operation with the Secretary-General, who has already announced his intention to develop and activate the preventive role foreseen for him under Article 99 of the Charter.

255. A factor which has greatly contributed to the erosion of the authority of the United Nations is the repeated failure of the Security Council to secure the implementation of its own decisions. These are, according to the Charter, mandatory for all Member States, and yet we have repeatedly seen them flouted by those to whom they were addressed. The Council must not, because of lack of foresight or for some other reason, place the Secretary-General in impossible situations but, on the contrary, must give him all possible support in the assignments he is given.

256. Many ideas similar to those put forward by the Secretary-General are to be found in the report of the Palme Commission, to which I have already referred. The report deals, *inter alia*, with the need for agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council on early action primarily in border countries in certain predetermined areas. This would mean that in case of such conflicts it would be possible to initiate action by the United Nations in time to prevent the use of force. In this way the risk of great-Power rivalry in areas of conflict would diminish.

257. It is inevitable that the permanent members of the Security Council, by virtue of the special powers and ability to act vested in them by the Charter, have special reason to reflect seriously upon the role they play. To put it simply, the United Nations cannot carry out its functions without the full co-operation of the great Powers, among themselves and with the rest of the world. They should use that power and influence for the purpose of making the ideals of the United Nations come true.

258. This session of the General Assembly has been convened at a time when many of the world's problems have assumed crisis proportions. It is therefore only natural to dwell particularly on the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security, and its ability to contribute to a solution of the economic crisis. The defence of the principles of international law is a vital task for the United Nations. This is a challenge for the future. With the rapid advances in the field of technology, more and more issues are of a kind that cannot be solved by each State on its own. Here we are faced with the necessity for common international solutions.

259. We must co-operate. The future always contains both promise and threat. Let us together ward off the threat and fulfil the promise.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.

² Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

³ See Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁴ See A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁵ Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980.

⁶ See "Common Security—a programme for disarmament". See A/CN.10/38. See also A/CN.10/51.