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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ramphal (Guyana),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): First of all, may I, on my own behalf and that of my delegation, extend our felicitations to our President on his unanimous election to preside over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Undoubtedly, it was his deep knowledge of the ways of nations and his wide experience of procedures derived from his close association with our Organization that commended his election to his high office.

2. I would also like to join other speakers in paying a tribute to his predecessor, the distinguished Deputy Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Poland, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, for the skill and understanding with which he directed this Assembly.

3. A frequent but very pleasant task is the welcoming of new Members. It is a salutary reminder that prognostications about the growing irrelevancy of the United Nations are not all that widely shared and that, for all its many shortcomings, most nations believe that international relations would be fraught with even graver perils without it.

4. This year we have admitted three new Members. The first, the Bahamas, enters our ranks by virtue of having gained its independence, and I would like to congratulate the Bahamas and its people on their new status.

5. The admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic marks the happy resolution of what had for over two decades been a delicate and intractable European problem. For the first time in centuries peace is now more assured than ever before at any time in Europe's strife-torn history. Conflicts and profound disagreements there certainly will be, but their resolution by recourse to arms is a fear that appears to have receded into the realm of the implausible. For all practical purposes

Europeans believe they have at last outlawed war among themselves.

6. I wish I could be assured of as happy a prospect for the third world. The killing, the dying and the destruction have yet to come to an end in the less-developed world as they have in Europe. Since 1945 much of the third world has been plagued by violent conflicts. It has been estimated that 95 per cent of the major and minor wars since 1945 have been in the under-developed countries. They have ranged from anti-colonial wars and wars of intervention to insurgencies, civil wars, wars of liberation and disputes between third-world countries. These, far from diminishing, have tended to increase during the past decade and have been and are being fought largely with increasingly expensive weapons supplied by, or bought from, the developed world.

7. Some of the crucial items on our agenda, which have repeatedly come before us, year after year, relate to disputes involving violence in the third world. The most serious of these is the Arab-Israeli conflict. The détente between the big Powers, though it has enhanced immeasurably the prospects of global peace and eased cold-war pressures on weaker nations, has however not in any way enhanced hopes for peace in the Middle East.

8. I have on previous occasions reiterated my Government's position on the Middle East conflict. I do so again, but with a growing feeling that reiteration of one's position will not materially affect the steadfast positions of the parties directly involved in the conflict. Since the détente of the big Powers precludes the Arab-Israeli dispute from ever becoming, or being allowed to become, a *casus belli* between the great Powers, they are not under the same pressure as they were in years past to take any major initiative in regard to this protracted conflict.

9. The initiative must therefore come, as it has in the case of the two German Republics, in the case of Viet-Nam and in the case of big-Power conflicts and rivalries, primarily from the parties to the conflict. What these new Middle East initiatives should be only the parties concerned can determine, and all that we, conscious of our limitations, can do is to ensure by our demeanour that we do not exacerbate this protracted and tragic conflict.

10. However, before such initiatives can be seriously taken, two barriers need to be cleared. The first is psychological. As long as the parties to the conflict believe that war and not negotiations will ultimately resolve their problem, peace will remain as elusive as ever. The second relates to basic principles. Before there can be any serious negotiation there must be a clear assurance that settlement would be in accordance with principles basic to our

Organization. The territorial integrity of the States concerned and their security cannot be qualified as the price of a settlement. Any negotiations postulated on the basis of victors and defeated is doomed to failure.

11. In the case of South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia and Portuguese possessions in Africa, the other unresolved items on our agenda, the white minorities have yet to be convinced that the alternative to coming to terms with the dispossessed black peoples is eventually a Viet-Cong type of revolution. Until that alternative becomes credible, persuasion and resolutions by this Assembly, though they may make the transgressor cautious, will not convince the dominant white minority that accommodation of the aspirations of the black peoples is the only rational solution.

12. Those, then, are some of the perennial issues plaguing the third world, issues which accord between the great Powers has, for the most part, left unresolved and is unlikely to solve. While we welcome the accord as a positive contribution to world peace and a rational ordering of international life, we should not forget that it is what it says it is—merely a *détente* between the big Powers to ensure that their conflicts do not escalate into mutually annihilating confrontations, and that their global interests and the delicate balancing of forces are not upset by the problems and disputes of smaller nations. That beady-eyed approach is a necessary corrective to the euphoria that the big-Power accord appears to have generated in some of us. The accord is not concerned, except perhaps incidentally, with sorting out the difficulties and problems of small nations.

13. True, the accord decreases the cold-war pressures to which many small nations were subjected during the past two decades, pressures which they unwillingly succumbed to or which they evaded by necessity, though not always commendable, deviousness. In that sense the accord gives the third world countries a respite from cold war pressures and greater freedom to find their own remedies for their accumulating problems.

14. Our problems, namely the problems of the third world, are multiplying to near unmanageable proportions and many of them overshadow in importance and significance many other problems that have occasioned as much inspired rhetoric in the past. Today, for example, the spectre of famine haunts many parts of the third world. The rising hopes that the "green revolution" would assuage hunger in the developing world appear to be receding. Something like half of the world's population today is said to be hungry at a time when possibly another billion will join the human race during the next 10 years. Most of the increase in population and hunger is in the third world and it is there too that population increase, made possible through economic, social and health improvements, has also multiplied the sum of human misery. Despite creditable growth rates, unemployment is many steps ahead of economic growth—as much as 20 per cent in many countries. Despite an impressive performance in the spread of literacy, there are today 100 million more illiterates in the third world than there were 20 years ago. The third world's rural crisis is aggravated by a spreading urban crisis. The advanced countries, too, have their urban crisis but it is

of a different order from that confronting third world cities. The third world cities are becoming refugee camps for the rural poor whom the land can no longer sustain and for ambitious rural youths who bitterly discover, too late, that cities provide only limited opportunities for people with general rural skills. The cities demand specialized urban skills and those that lack these skills turn to crime and violence as possible alternatives. The third world cities are what might be called accidental cities. They have size without a corresponding economic function. Politically and socially the cities of the third world are political time-bombs.

15. All these problems derive principally from uncontrolled population growth which, paradoxically, is aggravated by unplanned but progressive social and economic measures, by increased food supply, and by modernization of institutions without modernization of minds. In a free contest the dismal fact is that population can always outstrip economic growth and so, unless the third world drastically restrains population growth, economic growth and humanitarian measures could well result not in greater happiness but in increasing misery.

16. The reprieve we have from cold-war pressures could give us an opportunity to consider more single-mindedly than we have in the past those fundamental problems without the resolution of which all other problems remain intractable. Admittedly there is less drama involved in considerations of economic and population problems. Such problems do not lend themselves readily to mind-arresting rhetoric, but for the hungry billions today speculating where their next meal is to come from, and for the other billion waiting in the wings to greet the thirty-eighth session of this Assembly, our rhetoric may be no more than food for despair and fuel for sweeping anger.

17. But the fact remains that our population is increasing catastrophically and that could be the genesis for a new cold war as intense and possibly more dangerous than the ideological cold war which we have tried to cope with in the past three decades and which we have now left behind us. The increase in population and the insatiable needs of developed countries have raised the spectre of near exhaustion of natural resources. There is a wringing of hands over the so-called energy crisis, over a water crisis, and over possible shortages of meat, fish and grain and of a number of strategic raw materials. It is, of course, open to dispute whether we have already reached or will reach such a crisis. It is sufficient that many nations believe that with rising populations they are entering an era of scarce natural resources, and so long as that belief persists it will be real and that will affect their political behaviour.

18. Since the conquest of other peoples' land to acquire and control resources, as in the past, is no longer practical or, in the long run, economical, the sea, covering more than 70 per cent of the earth's surface, is increasingly seen as the new El Dorado. Some claim that there is more wealth in the sea than on the land. This, though unsubstantiated by facts, is indicative of the sort of fever the scramble for the wealth of the sea could generate. Today, mankind gets from the sea about 25 per cent of its protein, about 17 to 19 per cent of its oil and 6 per cent of its gas. Though minerals now extracted from the sea-bed account for only 2 per cent

of the ore produced on land, there are mind-spinning estimates of many trillions of tons of ooze and nodules containing manganese, iron, copper and nickel.

19. Undoubtedly the sea may be tomorrow's economic frontier and a possible source for as many bloody conflicts as the carve-up of the earth's surface has generated throughout mankind's history. Hitherto, the ocean has for the most part remained no-man's-land, and therefore all-men's land, simply because mankind had not the means effectively to seize and occupy the sea. Today, many nations have the means, or think they have the means.

20. So it is my contention that mankind, whose ancestors abandoned the sea millions and millions of years ago, is turning towards the sea again, possibly to reproduce all the foolishness and madness entailed in the carving up of the land. Not many people are aware that the first skirmishes have already begun in the battle for the sea. Gunboats have steamed off the shores of Asia, Africa and the Americas to assert or contest claims of possession. Far more serious disputes have occurred off the Icelandic coasts. There are also disputes pertaining to over-fishing and the possible annihilation of certain species of marine life—in particular, whales. The International Court of Justice was recently called upon to adjudicate on France's right to test nuclear weapons in the Pacific. Pollution of the sea by shipping, the discharge of industrial waste and the burial of nuclear waste—in fact, the growing tendency to treat the sea as humanity's garbage can—are potential sources of conflict.

21. These are in addition to the importance traditionally attached to the sea for communication, trade and war. The trade routes that link nations are still primarily sea routes. Marine transportation accounts for 78 per cent of the physical volume of foreign trade freight and 68 per cent of freight in terms of cost. Sea transport is still the cheapest form of transport and is likely to remain so with the development of super-tankers and containerization.

22. It is also noticeable that in recent years the great Powers are once again emphasizing sea-power as a more effective way of manifesting strength and exercising influence in times of peace. Since the sea is for the most part unencumbered by national frontiers, this is one arm of power which can circumscribe the globe in relative freedom. This includes nuclear-powered submarines, equipped with long-range multiple-warhead missiles and fortified by missiles and military installations buried in the sea-bed and directed by sensitive electronic devices.

23. So I believe we have already entered the era of ocean politics and ocean economics. The stakes are enormous, and the conflicts arising from ocean politics may be the more important issues that in future will harass the United Nations. The law in regard to the sea has not developed beyond the vague simplicity of the decalogue. There is practically no law for exploration and exploitation of its resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. The law in regard to the extent of such national jurisdiction is founded on nothing more convincing than arbitrary proclamations and new papal bulls.

24. At the same time it is recognized that the simple concept of the freedom of the seas as enunciated by

eminent jurists and scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, like that of Hugo Grotius, requires reinterpretation and elaboration in the light of present-day reality.

25. Ocean politics and economics are essentially new manifestations of power which we have to learn to cope with. They are untrodden territory, where paths can lead to dead ends and dangerous precipices as well as to reassuring pastures and woodlands. There is a Chinese saying that every journey begins with the first step and that the first step determines the destination. So if the first step we take at the forthcoming Third United Nations conference on the Law of the Sea, scheduled to start this year, thrusts us into the jungles of sterile contention and even open conflicts, then, as with the dividing up of the land, the carving up of the seas may well be history written in blood. If the trendy thing is for each coastal State to grab what it can on the basis of the principle of "finders, keepers", then the sea must eventually become the possession of a handful of rich and powerful nations having the technological capabilities and the requisite armoury successfully to assert the dismal proposition that "might is right".

26. The other approach is to treat the oceans as the common property of mankind—of coastal States and land-locked States, of poor nations and rich nations and of the most developed and the least developed. I realize that the translation of this same ideal—in the long run, a practical ideal—into detailed policies tailored to suit the different and special interests of so many nations will not be all that simple. But it will be in the real and long-term interests of smaller and weaker nations not to lose sight of the fact that if the wealth of the sea is not made available fairly to all, then in the nature of things it must go unfairly to the few who are rich, strong and technologically equipped to enclose the seas as private property or to those who claim special rights and privileges over the riches of the oceans merely through the accident of geographical location. The rational approach to the problems of the sea is not without risks and difficulties, but they are far easier to cope with than those arising in a free-for-all scramble to carve up the seas.

27. Mr. VÅRVIK (Norway): On behalf of the Norwegian delegation I have the honour to extend to Mr. Leopoldo Benites our best congratulations upon his election as President of this Assembly. I can assure him of the full co-operation of my delegation in his important task.

28. We are meeting at a time when international relations are marked by a general trend towards rapprochement and détente. As a result of this process of détente and normalization this Assembly has just welcomed the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic as full Members of the United Nations. I should like to join the preceding speakers in expressing my Government's satisfaction that the two German States and the Bahamas will now participate fully in the work of our Organization.

29. The process towards normalization and détente has been particularly encouraging in East-West relations. Global as well as European trends, great-Power interests as well as European aspirations, have interacted to prepare the ground for taking up unsolved questions through talks in different

forums and on different levels. The rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and States of Eastern Europe represent particularly valuable contributions to the process towards normalization of relations and relaxation of tension in Europe.

30. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is a further confirmation that this positive process is continuing. My Government considers it particularly important that that Conference should enable all interested States in the region, large or small, to engage themselves actively in the work for relaxation of tension and for security and co-operation. We view the Conference not as an end in itself but as an important opening up of a new multilateral phase of East-West negotiations which we sincerely hope will progressively lead to more stable and co-operative relationships in Europe.

31. The process of détente in Europe is, however, only in its first stages. It has not so far had any direct effect on the high level of armaments, nor has it brought a solution to the underlying causes of conflict. Determination and strong political will indeed will be needed to carry forward the trend toward security and co-operation. There is a close relationship between political détente on the one hand and concrete measures for arms control and disarmament on the other. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the forthcoming negotiations on force reductions in Central Europe represent important steps in the right direction. My Government fully and actively supports those steps.

32. As to the broader question of the need for further efforts for arms control and disarmament, my delegation will at a later stage give a comprehensive presentation of Norwegian views on those vital issues. On this occasion I shall confine myself to underlining the importance which my Government attaches to the necessity of associating all States—and particularly all nuclear-weapon States—in both current and future negotiations on arms control and disarmament.

33. Reverting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, my Government has repeatedly stated that the Conference should base itself on a generous and outward-looking philosophy and should see to it that the increased co-operation between the States participating in the Conference will also benefit the developing countries and the world community. It is my conviction that it is in the best interest of Europe and the world at large that the process which has been started in Europe should continue. It is my sincere hope that this process might serve as an example and contribute to more stable relationships, increased security and more comprehensive co-operation between all States represented here.

34. Unfortunately, those general trends towards détente and rapprochement are not reflected in all parts of the world. Today, at the sixth General Assembly since the six-day war, my Government strongly regrets that the situation in the Middle East has not yet been brought nearer to a peaceful solution. The international community should not allow this rather dangerous state of affairs to

persist. We should all urge the parties directly concerned and the great Powers, which all have a special responsibility, to exert every possible effort in order to break the present deadlock and move towards a comprehensive solution, as anticipated in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). My Government holds the opinion that the basic principles contained in that resolution still constitute the best basis for a lasting and just peace in the region; that the acquisition of territory by war cannot be accepted; that every State in the area should have the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and that due regard must be paid to the rights of the Palestinians.

35. While dealing with the situation in the Middle East I should like also to pay a tribute to the work done by the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] and his staff. It is important that all Member countries now contribute towards providing UNRWA with a more solid financial basis for its work, which is important not only from a humanitarian point of view but also in a political context. In Norway, we attach special importance to the forward-looking aspects of its work, particularly in the field of education.

36. Turning now to South-East Asia, my Government is deeply disappointed that, despite the agreements reached, the parties to the conflicts in Indo-China have not yet created conditions which would secure the rights of the Indo-Chinese peoples to determine freely their own future. It is imperative that further efforts be made towards that aim. The uncertain destiny of the civilian political prisoners should be of deep concern to all of us. For humanitarian reasons we urge that all prisoners now be released and repatriated according to their free will.

37. The situation in southern Africa, where still large parts of the African population are denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, is another discouraging aspect of the present world situation.

38. In April this year Norway had the privilege of being host to the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held at Oslo, and arranged jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The Conference itself did not formulate any formal recommendations, but it highlighted a number of proposals for a comprehensive plan of action for solving the problems of southern Africa. Those proposals will be before the General Assembly at this session. We hope that the Assembly will welcome the report from the Oslo Conference, and consider it in a positive way. The Norwegian delegation will participate fully in the following up of the Conference in a realistic and constructive manner.

39. My Government's general position as regards the problems of southern Africa is well known. We will continue to support the oppressed peoples who are struggling for independence, self-determination and liberation. Our humanitarian and other forms of economic aid to the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity will be increased.

40. In line with the general principles guiding our foreign policy, we should have preferred to see the process of

liberation of southern Africa taking peaceful forms through negotiations. We realize, however, that when one of the parties refuses persistently to negotiate, the possibilities for peaceful change are frustrated, and sooner or later armed struggle becomes inevitable. In cases where channels for negotiations are still open and available we would, therefore, strongly recommend that these be used before it is too late.

41. World opinion has been appalled by recent reports of atrocities committed by Portuguese forces in Mozambique. My Government deeply regrets that the Portuguese Government has rejected suggestions presented to it by a number of Governments—including my own—to let the reported atrocities be investigated by a broadly composed, impartial international commission of inquiry, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations. This rejection on the part of the Portuguese Government cannot but strengthen the concern caused by these reports.

42. These reports have also strengthened our conviction that an end must be brought to this war and to Portuguese colonial rule. We find it difficult to understand that Portugal, in this part of the twentieth century, in contrast to other former colonial Powers, does not realize the futility of fighting the colonial peoples' irresistible urge for independence and justice. We appeal to Portugal to abandon its colonial policies and to enter into negotiations with representatives of the liberation movements, recognizing the rights of the African peoples to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

43. Turning now to the Indian subcontinent, Norway welcomes the recent agreements between the three countries in the area on the repatriation of prisoners of war and the exchange of displaced civilians. The implementation of these agreements will demand substantial financial resources, towards which the international community should contribute. Norway will for its part assist in providing the necessary funds.

44. We hope the agreements concluded will pave the way for normalization of the relations between the three countries and also of their relations with the outside world. Such a normalization would serve the interests of the subcontinent itself and the world at large. We hope that Bangladesh will this year take its place in our Organization.

45. We take it that this Assembly will have a comprehensive debate on the Korean question. My Government holds the view that the two Korean Governments should be invited to take part in this debate without any pre-conditions. Although the results of the bilateral talks between North and South Korea have so far not been too encouraging, the direct contacts established between them and the general trend towards relaxation of international tension should facilitate progress in the Korean question. The role of the United Nations in Korea should now be adjusted in accordance with current developments. This should be done in an orderly manner which will not affect the legal and political basis for the policies pursued hitherto by the United Nations in Korea. We should also constantly bear in mind that the basic aim of our discussion and decisions is to promote peace and détente on the Korean peninsula.

46. Norway and the other Nordic countries have now normalized their relations with both Korean Governments. I should like to reiterate from this rostrum the wish expressed by the Nordic Foreign Ministers in the communiqués from their meetings in Oslo and Stockholm this year that as many States as possible should normalize their relations with the two Korean Governments in order that those Governments may play their proper role in the international community.

47. I should now like to turn to some of the more general problems confronting our Organization today.

48. The Secretary-General reminds us in his latest report [A/9001/Add.1] that Governments have a tendency to pursue their strict and narrow national aims in the United Nations without regard to the Organization as such. We should all consider ourselves addressees of this warning. We should no doubt devote more time and energy to strengthening our Organization. The objective must be a strong and vigorous world Organization as the main basis of an international legal system and a global collective security system.

49. Proposals have been made for a general revision of the Charter. That the Charter is far from being a perfect document is no doubt true. On the other hand, it is difficult to see any genuine need for a general revision. The Charter has shown itself to be a flexible instrument. Through a forward-looking and pragmatic interpretation of the Charter it should be possible also in the future to give a dynamic thrust to our Organization.

50. Norway has always supported the principle of universality. If the United Nations is today to play the role of an effective world organization it must be open and representative, not closed and exclusive. In our opinion no useful purpose is served by excluding any country from participation in the United Nations. This general consideration ought to apply even to a Member State which fails to fulfil its commitments under the Charter or under resolutions passed by the Security Council and the General Assembly. Also with regard to such countries it is essential that we preserve for the world community the important means of influence and persuasion inherent in United Nations membership.

51. In the many specialized agencies of the United Nations extensive technical co-operation is carried on which is of great value to all member countries. In recent years, however, we have experienced an increasing tendency to introduce political issues into the work. We realize, of course, that these organizations cannot isolate themselves from contemporary political currents and events. We must, however, see to it that progress in the many specialized agencies is not hampered by an inappropriate introduction of political issues. Such issues should not be dealt with in the specialized agencies but should be referred to the principal political body of the United Nations, the General Assembly, for discussion there.

52. The development of the United Nations has in many ways emphasized some fundamental contradictions and paradoxes in the structure of the Organization. I should like to draw the attention of this Assembly to one of them.

53. In principle the Charter prohibits intervention in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any Member State. At the same time the United Nations is committed to work for securing human rights for all. This cannot be done without some interference in what are traditionally regarded as "domestic affairs". Over and over again we see States invoking the argument of "domestic affairs" when attention is drawn to violations of fundamental human rights and freedoms. The Secretary-General has in his last report rightly pointed to the fact that the protection of human rights is an area where the credibility of the United Nations is especially at stake [A/9001/Add.1, p. 5]. All States should realize that the impact of violations of human rights transcends national borders and influences in a rather negative way not only relations between nations but also the international climate in general. Such violations, wherever they occur, are consequently the concern of the international community as a whole and cannot be considered merely a domestic affair.

54. In this connexion I want to say a few words also about recent developments in Chile. Through free and democratic elections three years ago, Salvador Allende was given the mandate to govern Chile on the basis of a progressive reformist programme aiming at social justice. This has now been brought to an end through the use of force. Thus the hopes of millions of people have been frustrated. We deeply regret these developments and we appeal for democracy to be restored in Chile.

55. We are also concerned about reports of mistreatment and persecution of supporters of President Allende's Government in Chile. The international community has the right to expect that human rights will be respected and that all political prisoners will be released immediately.

56. I shall now turn to some specific questions which will be discussed at this General Assembly and to which Norway attaches special importance. The first of these questions concerns international terrorism [item 94].

57. The serious problems caused by international terrorism are of a global nature and should therefore be dealt with within the United Nations or other world-wide organizations.

58. To be frank, we are disappointed with the outcome of the work so far done by the United Nations in this field. In our view the highest possible priority should now be given by the United Nations to the work aiming at effective measures for the combat of terrorism. Substantial progress towards co-ordinated international action should be made as early as this session of the General Assembly.

59. We realize that it will be a difficult and time-consuming process to reach a comprehensive international agreement for the prevention of all kinds of terrorism. The best way of handling the matter would perhaps be to deal with the different categories of acts of international terrorism and connected problems in separate conventions or other international instruments. Norway will support motions to give high priority at this session of the Assembly to the completion of a convention for the protection of diplomats [item 90]. Such a convention will, like the Conventions on safety in the air which have now been ratified or acceded to

by the Nordic countries, form the basis for a global combat against specific acts of terrorism.

60. When drafting conventions or other international instruments in this field, we should also have the following points in mind: first, conventions must respect the exclusive competence of the Security Council with regard to sanctions; second, conventions must not lend themselves to the interpretation that they are directed against the legitimate struggle of the African liberation movements for independence and freedom. We fully agree that, in accordance with the decision taken by the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the underlying causes for international terrorism should be studied [resolution 3034 (XXVII)]. But I should like to emphasize that these studies or any other study of, for instance, the definition of international terrorism should not in any way be permitted to delay efforts to devise effective measures against international terrorism.

61. Let me now turn to another subject to which this Assembly should give high priority. I am referring to the question of human rights in armed conflicts [item 54].

62. Norway will continue to play an active role in the work of the United Nations and the Red Cross expert conferences for the reaffirmation and development of the international legal rules regarding the protection of human rights in armed conflicts. We support the initiative taken by the Swiss Federal Council in convening a first session of a diplomatic conference on this important question in Geneva in 1974.¹ New and complex conflict situations—guerrilla and counter-guerrilla, technological and electronic warfare—have made it imperative to study the question of an improved legal protection of civilians, prisoners and combatants in such kinds of conflicts. New legal restraints should be imposed on the use of weapons and weapon systems that may cause unnecessary suffering, have indiscriminate effects or lead to ecological changes. The applicability of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 should be confirmed as regards all kinds of armed conflict, including wars of national liberation.

63. The United Nations not only is an organization for peace and security, but is also meant to be an instrument for international economic and social co-operation and solidarity in a global perspective. The promotion of economic and social growth and the ensuring of access to resources and their consumption, thereby improving the standard of living for the have-nots of the world, should be one of the main tasks of the United Nations today. In this field, however, we must admit that the world community has so far only managed to make a very modest beginning. The gap between the poor and the rich in the world is steadily widening, and this state of affairs could in the future come to represent a very serious source of conflict. I think we should all be willing to admit that none of us in our practical policies has been willing to recognize the full consequences of this steadily deepening gulf between the industrialized and the developing countries as well as of the widening disparities between and within the developing countries. We are here faced with a challenge which seems

¹ Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts.

to require a fundamentally new way of thinking, and sacrifices far beyond those that the industrialized countries and the privileged few in the developing countries have been willing to make so far. In the years ahead it will be an important task to convince public opinion in our countries of the necessity of such sacrifices.

64. Special attention should be paid to the least developed countries. Furthermore, due consideration should be given to the willingness on the part of the recipient countries to pursue a policy of economic and social justice.

65. Norway shares the view recently expressed in different international bodies—particularly in the Committee for Development Planning—that the development process should include, in addition to economic elements, certain basic social components, such as nutrition, health and education.

66. Norway has fully endorsed the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. With regard to the quantitative goal, my Government has decided to exclude private transfers from the 1 per cent target for total transfers, because such transfers consist of rather diverse elements and because governments have a limited influence on the volume of such transfers. Consideration of the poor countries' increasing indebtedness has played an important role in this regard.

67. The Norwegian Government has, with the approval of the Norwegian Parliament, established a new set of basic principles and a new quantitative target for our development co-operation. Norway intends to reach 1 per cent of gross national product in official development assistance by 1978. A part of this goal is the achievement of 0.7 per cent of gross national product in 1975 as stipulated in the International Development Strategy. With very minor qualifications, all of this assistance is to be untied and on a grant basis. Furthermore, Norway intends to continue to channel about 50 per cent of its assistance through multilateral organizations.

68. As regards the comprehensive multilateral trade negotiations officially opened in Tokyo recently, I would like to reconfirm my Government's full support for the aims of these negotiations. The benefits to the world economy as a whole of an expansion of international trade through reductions of tariffs and other barriers are obvious. However, the wider purpose of the negotiations cannot be achieved if we do not also consider the position of those countries which are not likely to benefit much from a general removal of barriers. For developing countries to achieve a reasonable balance of advantage, a new and imaginative attack upon commodity problems is definitely called for.

69. Next year will be the World Population Year. It is my hope that the forthcoming World Population Conference will lead to an action-oriented programme which can bring humanity closer to a solution of the fundamental problem of how to bring the population explosion under control. If we should not succeed in this task, our common endeavours to create decent conditions of life on this planet will probably be doomed to failure. The question also has a

strong bearing on the individual human being's legitimate claim to a decent existence and to a minimum standard of nutrition, health, housing and education. In reality, we are here dealing with a question of human rights and of the freedom and dignity of the individual.

70. In conclusion, I would like to address myself to the problems of the law of the sea. I shall not in my intervention today go closely into the substance of these problems. I would like, however, to emphasize the great urgency and the pressing need for solutions which characterize all the law of the sea issues. We must bear this urgency in mind when later in the session we carry out our review—as foreseen in last year's resolution [resolution 3029 A (XXVII)]—of the decision on the arrangements for the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

71. The rapid advances of modern technology are increasingly posing new problems as regards the protection and distribution of the marine resources and the marine environment generally. These are problems with which all our Governments are daily struggling and which, in the absence of agreed international solutions, carry in them seeds of international conflict.

72. Seen in that context the forthcoming Conference on the Law of the Sea has a bearing also on world peace. It is therefore essential that the Conference should result in solutions which can command the broadest possible support and which can reflect and accommodate the needs of the various groups of States.

73. One such solution would, in the view of the Norwegian Government, be the adoption of the proposal for an economic zone limited to 200 nautical miles, in which the coastal State would have sovereign rights over the natural resources, while guaranteeing at the same time the right of freedom of navigation and overflight in the zone. Only a solution on these lines could, in our view, provide a sufficient basis for effective resource management—including the need to allocate the exploitation of the resources in a way which takes the interest of coastal populations sufficiently into account. The coastal State's rights under the treaty should, however, in our view, be coupled with a corresponding duty to exercise those rights in a way which ensures that the living resources are not endangered through over-exploitation, and which makes it mandatory for the coastal State to co-operate with the appropriate regional and global organizations to that end.

74. It is furthermore of importance to remember that a treaty on economic zones would not by itself establish such zones. All it would do would be to ensure a recognized legal basis for their establishment, and this only to the extent that it would not be contrary to regional or bilateral agreements. Whether and to what extent the individual coastal State would wish to avail itself of this right would be for each State to decide in the light of the totality of its interests and circumstances. There would therefore be room under the treaty for regional and bilateral agreements with a view to meeting the particular circumstances of each region.

75. As far as the natural resources on the ocean floor outside national jurisdiction are concerned, my Govern-

ment believes that only the creation of a strong international authority with broad regulatory powers can answer the challenge which the situation gives rise to. Norway strongly supports the concept of the international sea-bed area as "the common heritage of mankind" and would like to see the new international machinery established in a way which would reflect that concept as fully as possible. And this must be done before an uncontrolled race for the resources concerned gets under way. Afterwards it may be too late.

76. In line with the general consideration that the coastal State should be given extended jurisdiction over the natural resources in the coastal area, the Norwegian Government has expressed understanding of the reasons behind Iceland's decision to extend its fishery limits. Given Iceland's overwhelming dependence for its livelihood on coastal fisheries, we have shown understanding of the fact that Iceland did find it difficult to await the outcome of the forthcoming Conference on the Law of the Sea. Today we welcome the fact that temporary agreements have been or are about to be concluded, through peaceful negotiations between Iceland and certain other countries, among them Norway. We sincerely hope that the necessary conditions will soon be created for the resumption of talks about similar arrangements between Iceland and the United Kingdom in order that a very unfortunate conflict which tends in fact to disturb the general atmosphere and stability in the area may be brought to an end.

77. Mr. MONTIEL ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): After greeting you, Sir, most respectfully, I am happy to begin my intervention, as head of the Nicaraguan delegation, with an expression of congratulations to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who was elected President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. To his outstanding personal achievements and his long experience in the work of this Organization must be added the fact that he represents Ecuador, a country that enjoys a preferred place in the affections of us all. Latin America has been honoured by this choice.

78. May I also congratulate Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński for the wise and efficient manner in which he presided over the session of the General Assembly last year.

79. I also wish to congratulate the Secretary-General, whose untiring efforts in favour of the purposes of the Organization deserve our full recognition and appreciation.

80. I come before this world forum as representative of a country that only nine months ago was the victim of a devastating earthquake, which almost entirely destroyed our capital city.

81. This painful tragedy was an occasion for an expression of human solidarity in the form of assistance rendered to us in such a noble, generous and timely manner by international organizations, Governments and private individuals alike. May I express to them all the profound gratitude of the people and Government of Nicaragua who will never forget those who lent them a helping hand in their hour of need?

82. I wish most especially to tell Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, that the Nicaraguan people will never

forget his interest, his efforts and his constant preoccupation with the tragedy that beset our country. We are also most grateful to him for his vision in choosing his able assistant, the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Bradford Morse, to direct the assistance rendered to our country.

83. I could not come before this General Assembly without being the bearer of the expressions of gratitude of our people for all the co-operation extended to it without any discrimination in such tragic moments.

84. Thanks to the assistance it received, the Nicaraguan people has been able to overcome its grief, and the work of reconstruction is well under way. It is, however, a hard struggle, and our people look to this Assembly for a resolution that will lay down the necessary norms in order that we may find in the United Nations greater facilities to help us out of our despair and assist us in the reconstruction of our destroyed capital city, without disrupting our economy, while at the same time assisting our people in its spiritual and material resurgence, and helping it to overcome the trauma that still has our children and adults in its grip. A sister country, a peaceful and friendly people, must not be abandoned, for now, more than ever, they need your co-operation, the co-operation I am requesting with the dignity and patriotism of which we Nicaraguans have always been so justly proud.

85. I believe that in our hearts we all harbour mixed feelings regarding the attitude of the international community and the behaviour of political groups and States.

86. On the one hand, the situations of conflict in the Middle East have not been solved, and there is not even a glimmer of hope for their solution, while the danger exists that violence may again erupt at any moment.

87. Moreover, we have been witnessing an increase in terrorist acts which are repugnant to human conscience and the only effect of which is the repudiation of those who commit such atrocities and of those who favour or allow such acts to be perpetrated.

88. On the other hand, we are extremely pleased with the turn of events in the relations between the larger and more powerful countries on earth. They have abandoned the cold war policies and, setting aside ideological differences, have reached agreements that augur greater co-operation among them for the benefit of world peace. It is not that we intend to leave to the great Powers the exclusive responsibility for peace, for all of us, large and small, must co-operate towards that end. But we must be realistic and recognize that, while all co-operation efforts have the same intrinsic value, they do not carry the same weight.

89. It is only fair to recognize that such concrete achievements in the search for peace as the end of the fighting in Viet-Nam and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin have been the result of diplomatic negotiations between the great Powers, rather than of the efforts of smaller countries or deliberations in the world forum of the United Nations.

90. And yet, rather than discourage us, such achievements should encourage us to support this Organization, to

correct its deficiencies and strengthen its authority and prestige.

91. In addition, we must never forget that true peace is not based on the absence of violence alone; it must be founded on justice—not only justice for individuals within States, but justice for States within the international community. And just as internal peace cannot be achieved while social injustice continues, so, too, there can be no international peace while there are irritating differences, such as the existence of highly developed countries, on the one hand, and, on the other, under-developed countries, whose populations not only struggle against poverty, disease and ignorance, but are deprived of the right to an equitable share in the natural wealth and resources of their countries. I sincerely believe that in the world the United Nations can, and must, play an important role. We must all pledge our efforts to this end.

92. I must make special reference to the satisfaction with which we have welcomed the arrangement between the two German States which has made possible their admission as Members of this Organization. We believe that such an arrangement might serve as an inspiration to other countries that are in a similar situation and help them to settle their differences.

93. It is the foreign policy of my country to support any initiative aiming at the establishment of peace and security. But we believe that true peace cannot and should not be imposed. Rather, we must try to create a favourable climate for co-operation among States, and especially we must help to facilitate means of communications between States in conflict, so that it will be primarily those States that will seek mutually acceptable solutions to their differences. Resolutions which tend to exacerbate tensions, to intensify differences and harden positions will never benefit the cause of peace. Quite the contrary; by such means we would only be contributing to a prolongation of the conflict.

94. There is not a single State that does not pay lip-service to the cause of peace, but in many cases that dedication is not translated into deeds. When the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice is not accepted, or when it is accepted with reservations that make it inoperative, we are not working for peace. When manifestations of colonialism over peoples sufficiently prepared to choose their own destiny continue, we are not working for peace. When obstacles are raised to disarmament, and particularly to the elimination of chemical, bacteriological and atomic weapons, we are not working for peace. When human rights are not respected, and when due support is not given to international co-operation for development, we are not working for peace.

95. I believe that the consideration of the question of the economic and social consequences of the arms race and its highly detrimental effects on world peace and security [item 29] is of particular importance. Two years ago we welcomed with satisfaction a report on this subject prepared by the Secretary-General.² We must now keep this

report before us, ponder its contents and use it as a source of inspiration in our deliberations on questions dealing with disarmament.

96. I stated earlier that, in my country's view, there can be no true peace without development, and that the achievement of that development calls for active international co-operation.

97. In accordance with the Charter of our Organization, the Economic and Social Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, should determine the international policies for co-operation in the economic, social, educational and health fields, as well as the co-ordination of such activities. My country is gratified at the large number of ratifications of the amendment to the Charter which was approved in 1971, and which has raised to 54 the membership of the Council.

98. My country believes that this increase in the membership, which will allow for a more equitable geographic representation for the distribution of seats, will strengthen the Council and help it better to discharge its functions. We may even hope that within the Council we may reach that much-desired agreement between developed and developing countries concerning their respective responsibilities in the field of international co-operation.

99. During my country's recent emergency, to which I have already referred, we received ample co-operation from the various United Nations development funds and programmes for development. May I again express my gratitude to the countries that contributed such assistance and the officials who administered it? Nicaragua believes that special priority should be given to the strengthening of such funds and programmes and to the creation of sufficient fund allocations to assist Governments in cases of natural disasters and similar contingencies.

100. We should also contemplate assistance for the forecasting and prevention of disasters, as well as measures aimed at preventing or reducing damage.

101. Particular importance should be attached to the United Nations Environment Programme adopted last year. The proposed United Nations Conference-Exposition on Human Settlements should also prove beneficial to mankind.

102. In the course of our deliberations we shall have before us the report of the Trade and Development Board [A/9015/Rev.1] of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD].

103. We fully understand that the debates in UNCTAD on the liberalization of trade were difficult, and we express the hope that this year's round of negotiations held under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade will succeed in eliminating the barriers that prevent or hamper trade among nations, and in many cases unfavourably affect the developing countries.

104. The Trade and Development Board is seized of the proposed charter on rights and duties of States drawn up by a working group following on a proposal of the President of

² *Economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures: report of the Secretary-General* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.IX.16) and addendum thereto (A/8469/Add.1).

Mexico, Mr. Luis Echeverría Alvarez. Nicaragua believes that in the present circumstances of inflation, high cost of living and monetary instability there is an urgent need to accelerate the process which would make it possible to crystallize basic principles on this most important subject.

105. With reference to human rights as enshrined in the Universal Declaration, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of which is to be celebrated on 10 December this year, my delegation will support proposals aiming at the strengthening of international protection, particularly in the case of armed conflict, religious intolerance and racial discrimination.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) took the Chair.

106. As regards the legal questions before us for consideration, my Government believes that the items dealing with international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space [item 30] and the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting [item 31] are of particular significance. We believe that much progress has been made but that there is still much to be done and, in particular, that we must lay emphasis on devising ways and means that will enable developing countries to share in the utilization of outer space, thus benefiting from the progress achieved in space technology.

107. But we consider the question of the law of the sea to be of even more immediate interest. Last year we agreed to hold the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, with preparatory meetings to be held in November and December of this year and a second stage to discuss matters of substance next year. In our view, this time-table should be maintained. Should the preparatory work require longer, I believe that the work could still be completed in the time available to us.

108. We are firmly convinced that the law of the sea must be updated, and the sooner the better, thus eliminating an important source of actual and potential conflict. Should the present situation continue, those conflicts would be aggravated and would endanger world peace.

109. Nicaragua advocates the creation of a zone beyond the territorial sea of each State wherein that State would enjoy exclusive rights over the natural resources of the sea without impinging on the legitimate interests of the international community, especially as regards navigation. Only thus would it be possible for each State to meet its responsibilities for preserving its natural resources for the benefit of its people without infringing the rights of others.

110. As regards the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, where the possibilities of commercial exploitation increase daily, every effort should be made to secure a consensus on a system of management leading to the utilization of this common heritage of mankind.

111. The agenda includes as items for deliberation a draft convention drawn up by the International Law Commission on the prevention and punishment of crimes against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected per-

sons [item 90], and "Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes" [item 94].

112. Although these two items are not necessarily connected, they are closely related in practice. On this subject, I should like to quote General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who addressed this Assembly in 1970 when he was President of Nicaragua, and said:

"Our America also lives these upheavals. With the unwise granting of refuge to airplane hijackers, mankind is threatened; with the kidnapping and murder of diplomats and other persons, the most fundamental rights of man are violated; with the abuse of the right of asylum, the substance of a humanitarian American institution is distorted; and with mass exiling, political imprisonment and firing squads, the despair of peoples is increased. Until these activities are no longer indulged in, there can be no real peace in the world."³

113. My country has ratified the Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Acts of Terrorism Taking the Form of Crimes against Persons and Related Extortion that are of International Significance. It has also ratified the Conventions of Tokyo,⁴ The Hague⁵ and Montreal⁶ on air piracy and is ready to support any measure aiming at the prevention and repression of these crimes which are repugnant to the international conscience.

114. We believe that, rather than embarking on theoretical debates on the causes and definition of terrorism, which can be prolonged indefinitely, we should focus on concrete and practical measures.

115. We also believe that at the current session of the General Assembly we must consider the functions of the International Court of Justice and the reform of its Statute as far as its headquarters is concerned, subjects that have been before us for consideration on repeated occasions. It is very important to give that body of our Organization the greatest possible support so that it may better discharge its functions for the solution of international conflicts.

116. As I come to the end of my statement, I should like to reiterate the determination of my country to co-operate in the strengthening of peace and justice among nations.

117. If we proceed thus, we shall have implemented the fundamental principle of our Organization and helped to bring happiness to the whole of mankind.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1881st meeting, para. 168.

⁴ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

⁵ Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague on 16 December 1970.

⁶ Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on 23 September 1971.

118. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am most grateful to the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua for his very kind words.

119. Mr. FITZGERALD (Ireland): It is an honour for me, Mr. President, as a newcomer to this Assembly to offer the congratulations of the Irish delegation to you, whose long and distinguished career at the United Nations has now culminated in your election as President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your declared loyalty to, and faith in, our Organization will inspire our work. In you too we salute the loyalty to the United Nations of Ecuador and Latin America. As you have so rightly said, Ecuador has been guided in international affairs by "the ethical and legal principles which form the common cultural heritage of Latin America derived from a thousand years of history" [2117th meeting, para. 44], from its own soil and from its blending with the culture of Europe. And perhaps I may be permitted to recall that an Irishman, Florence O'Leary, companion and biographer of the great Bolívar, was privileged to fight for liberty beside Juan José Flores, who became the first president of your country. We in Ireland treasure these links with Ecuador and Latin America and they give us an additional reason for rejoicing in your election to your high office.

120. My delegation also wishes to pay a tribute to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński of Poland, the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, who carried out the duties of his high office with outstanding efficiency, distinction and courtesy.

121. Ireland is happy to welcome the Commonwealth of the Bahamas as the one hundred thirty-fifth Member of the United Nations—this first land of the New World seen by Columbus, and a land whose culture unites those of many continents.

122. And we warmly welcome what you, Mr. President, have described as "historically and politically the transcendent event of this session", the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany, our partner in the European Economic Community, and of the German Democratic Republic. The achievements of the German people in the realms of literature, philosophy, music, art, science and scholarship have enriched the cultures of all our countries and pervaded our thinking. Gutenberg, Luther, Goethe, Kant, Marx, Beethoven—there is no end of famous men and women of whom we might say, as Goethe did of Kant, "Even if you have not read him, he has influenced your thinking". These are the makers of European and world culture, for they are not bounded by any country; these are true citizens of the world who are not so much children of Germany as of humanity.

123. The Federal Republic has long been a Member of the United Nations family and has given loyal and distinguished service to many of its organs. Its presence in the Assembly and that of the German Democratic Republic will bring to our deliberations the great qualities of the German people as a new and active element in the Organization. Perhaps, too, we can hope that their co-operation here, where they sit side by side, will hasten the day when Germany will again be peacefully reunited.

124. In his introduction to his annual report on the work of the United Nations, the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, has told us that this body will not develop through ritual public statements of approval and support which are not backed by inner conviction, realism and whole-hearted participation [A/9001/Add.1, p. 2], and he has asked us in his closing words to examine our consciences, to decide just what kind of world organization we need and are prepared in reality to accept [ibid., p. 8]. Do we want an Organization which is more than a conference machinery and a forum for the pursuit of national policies, one which will develop an impetus of its own?

125. These blunt questions deserve thoughtful and at the same time frank answers. The role of our Organization needs to be reviewed at this time for two quite different reasons: first, and most obviously, because of public disquiet, one might indeed say disillusionment, with its achievements as they are known—incompletely, be it said—to public opinion; but also, and ultimately more importantly, because the last few years have seen the emergence of world problems not previously realized or understood, some indeed quite new. Their resolution will require without question a global approach through an Organization representative of all the peoples of the earth.

126. The last two decades have seen for the first time in the life of this planet the emergence of an almost comprehensive range of organized independent States representing virtually all the peoples of the earth. In the perspective of history it will no doubt be seen as ironical that this should have coincided precisely with a stage in the economic organization and in the economic development of the world that began to render unworkable the very concept of absolute national sovereignty and to demand, with rising urgency, a pooling of sovereignty in certain specific areas of activity in the joint interest of the world's peoples. For some long-established and powerful States this is an unwelcome development, accustomed as they have been to an almost unfettered exercise of sovereignty in the interest of their own peoples—often in the past, be it said, without much regard for the interests of others. Such countries naturally find it hard to accept the constraints on the exercise of their power which this new situation imposes. But this development also poses great psychological problems for States that have come into existence only in recent decades, with an understandable ambition to exercise, within the limits imposed by their economic power and geographic extent, the attributes of sovereignty, so long and so harshly denied to them. As the representative of one of these newer States, I am very conscious of this aspect of the problem and can sympathize with the many even newer States that have hardly yet had the chance to consider how best to use the sovereignty so recently secured. We in Ireland know just what is entailed in a recognition of the need to pool parts of our national sovereignty; we have faced this choice and our people, in May of last year, by a majority of five-sixths, decided to recognize that it would be counter-productive and contrary to their interests to insist on the preservation, undiluted, of sovereignty in matters where this sovereignty could not effectively be exercised save in co-operation with neighbouring States. The reality that we in Ireland have faced is one that all the Member States of this Organization—even the most powerful and the most proud—must

also recognize as this extraordinary century draws to its close. None of our States is capable of controlling single-handed the environment in which their people live. Pollution is ubiquitous. Technology is universal. The airwaves reach every corner of the globe, and out beyond it to the stars, whose secrets we are starting to probe by voyages into space. No State can by its own laws or its own power safeguard its people's interests from external influences, be they good or bad. We have no choice, therefore, but to seek each other's co-operation in determining which of the pervasive forces of technology and which manifestations of economic power endanger our peoples unless controlled and in agreeing on how to control them.

127. Our human loyalties start small: first to our families, then to our local communities. For many people even the extension of loyalty beyond the local community to the State is difficult. And so we do not find it easy to widen our loyalties to new and larger entities perhaps lacking in cultural cohesion and comprising other States or peoples with which we have in the past had deep and perhaps bloody differences. Least of all do we find it easy, yet, to see the world as one community of peoples owing loyalty to each other and to the earth which gives them life and sustenance and shelter. That is why the first tentative efforts towards a recognition of the interdependence of States in the modern world has come at the regional level, among peoples who, however diverse their individual cultures, share a common heritage. Western Europe is today the scene of a development which, while yet at this stage unique, may prove a fore-runner of other similar free unions of culturally diverse sovereign States seeking to overcome mutual suspicion in a sharing of their sovereignty over those features of their economic and social affairs which can no longer be controlled at the level of the individual State.

128. Many of these problems, however, today demand global rather than regional solutions. They require, in the words of the distinguished representative of the United States, Mr. Henry Kissinger, whom we warmly welcomed here this morning, the acceptance of the imperatives of a global society [2124th meeting]. As Mr. Kissinger said, they will not be resolved by a world fragmented into self-contained nation-States or rigid blocs. They will not, indeed, ultimately be resolved until the world's peoples can raise their sights to a level of vision elevated enough to command a wider view of these problems.

129. But we cannot afford to wait—for the growth of technology and the expansion of economic activity will not delay—until a sense of global loyalty emerges, strong enough to carry the superstructure of common decision-making needed to resolve all these problems at one swoop. Instead we must start together to tackle these problems with the very limited means now available to us—the cumbersome mechanisms of decision-making by unanimity which is all that our peoples, and, be it said, their governments, are ready to concede at this stage. The problems that fall to be tackled in this way—first of all through the existing quite inadequate level of international co-operation, but ultimately by something much more highly-developed and more appropriate to the scale of these problems—are well known to us all. First there is the problem of the maldistribution of the world's resources in

relation to the spread of its people on the surface of the globe. Here we face both the problem of the maldistribution of natural resources, and that of the maldistribution of the capacity to harness them. There are countries with natural resources far exceeding their present ability to develop. There are States with virtually no natural resources at all, which also lack the technological base to import and process such resources. And there are advanced countries which, with or without their own natural resources, have, through their historical development, secured a position of economic power and wealth which places them many levels above States in other parts of the world.

130. Such disparities between people on the one hand and wealth on the other are morally unsustainable. They fly in the face of the conscience of a growing proportion of mankind which is coming to feel that our neighbour is indeed every other human being; that this feeling is most acute amongst the younger generation in our countries is perhaps one of the most hopeful features of the modern world.

131. But that is only one of many problems which must be tackled globally. There is the problem of our environment and the using up of resources some of which we now believe to be within sight of exhaustion within the lives of our children or grandchildren. There is the problem of multinational companies, many of them, be it said, responsible for technological breakthroughs which have benefited mankind but which, nevertheless, escape the control of national governments. Some are operating on a scale controllable in the public interest only by a world authority, exercising at world level the same protective function as that undertaken by our national governments within our own States vis-à-vis purely domestic private interests. And there is also the overflow effect of modern international advertising, operating through pervasive communications media, which may involve abuses that no national government could today control effectively in its own territory without impairing the ability of its own domestic enterprises to hold their own in competition with external concerns free from such constraints.

132. Because these and similar problems can be tackled effectively only at a global level, and because the interests of the world's peoples demand that they be tackled, the United Nations has a future role to play, the importance of which should not be underestimated. It was perhaps with considerations such as these in mind that a working group was established some time ago to prepare a charter of economic rights and duties of States, and it was such considerations also, no doubt, that the President of Mexico had in mind when he some weeks ago addressed a letter to the Secretary-General asking that work on that charter be accelerated [A/9142].

133. But it is not only in areas such as these that the old concept of absolute national sovereignty must start to give way to a wider sense of human solidarity. Human rights transcend national boundaries. In our membership of this body, and in certain of its activities, that fact is partially recognized. But we are still far indeed from the point where throughout the world the basic rights of human beings are protected by a code of legislation universally enforceable on an international basis. There is more lip-service, and less

real commitment, in this aspect of our joint activities in the United Nations, than perhaps in any other.

134. In this particular area the member States of the Council of Europe have something to offer. We have accepted a significant measure of derogation of sovereignty in human rights matters—permitting domestic actions in matters involving human rights to be effectively challenged in an international forum. My own country was indeed one of the first to be challenged by this process; happily we were vindicated. I believe that if what we in the Council of Europe have developed were to become generalized, and if States in other parts of the world were to accept the same measure of derogation of sovereignty in this field that we in that Council have accepted, great progress could be made. This is an area where, it must be said, there has been a deterioration rather than an improvement in recent years as, in more and more countries—most recently in Chile—régimes have come to power lacking the consent of their peoples, and many of them hold on to power by repressive measures that undermine human rights.

135. In this year when we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Secretary-General has very pertinently said that the credibility of the United Nations is especially at stake [A/9001/Add.1, p. 5]. That credibility can be restored only if, as the preamble to the Universal Declaration proposes, human rights are protected by the rule of law—the rule of international law—which alone can be effective vis-à-vis domestic repression in Member States.

136. How can we make real progress in this matter? Surely by seeking to create an effective international human rights jurisdiction. Many States will, I believe, accept such a proposal—in Western Europe alone there are more than a dozen that do so already. Others can be embarrassed or shamed into doing so. And those who remain outside—or who, having joined, later renege on their obligations—will have identified themselves as unwilling to give their own citizens the guarantees that only the international rule of law can provide, without which, as the preamble to the Declaration states, the seeds of violence will be sown.

137. This problem of human rights takes on a special dimension in southern Africa. There the deprivation of individual freedom is based on race and colour. No consideration of personal achievement, level of education, or even of loyalty to the régime, influences the treatment meted out to those whose colour is different from that of the ruling minority. From birth, and because of birth, the majority are condemned to unequal treatment, humiliating to the human spirit, degrading those who impose it as much as those on whom it is imposed.

138. We condemn that policy, and believe that its intrinsically evil character makes it ultimately unworkable. Condemnation alone is not enough, however. Indeed condemnation without any attempt to understand the fears that lie behind this evil imposition may be counter-productive. We have to face the fact that because of their history white South Africans have become a dominant but fearful minority in that beautiful land. Their fears, however unreal they may appear to us, are real to them, and one way of

helping to bring the curse of *apartheid* to an earlier demise will be to seek means of reassuring this misguided dominant minority as to its future in a free and democratic South Africa. In the policies which the United Nations adopts in relation to South Africa this consideration should have a part, without our ever for a moment relaxing our abhorrence of the evil itself or ceasing to counter the attempts by reactionary elements in some countries to mitigate or explain away this most degrading of all repressive policies.

139. A separate and special problem is that of Rhodesia, where the illegal régime retains its control and where there appears to be little immediate hope of change but, rather, ominous signs of greater misery ahead. Hopes that the way to a just and peaceful society recognizing the principle of majority rule might be paved by a constitutional conference have not been fulfilled, and the illegal régime seems bent on even more intransigent and suicidal measures to preserve control by the white 5 per cent of the population. The majority have shown great patience and have continued under their chosen political leaders—some imprisoned for many years—to search for peaceful solutions. Ireland will maintain its support of the right of that people to independence, and will continue strictly to adhere to the Security Council's mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime.

140. Elsewhere in southern Africa, there are the problems of Namibia and of the Portuguese Territories. The attitude of the people of Namibia to the illegal South African régime—which persists in exercising authority in the region in defiance of the United Nations, which seven years ago terminated South Africa's mandate for the Territory [resolution 2145 (XXI)]—has been shown by the boycott of elections in one of the so-called “homelands”, by industrial action, and, indeed, by rebellion against the denial of human rights. We support the United Nations in its efforts to free this country from the illegal South African régime.

141. We also support the calls made by the Security Council and the Assembly to Portugal to recognize the right of the people in the Portuguese African Territories to self-determination and independence. There is no other solution, and in the end that will be the solution. Much misery—not alone for the Africans in those Territories but also for the Portuguese in Africa and at home—could be spared if that reality were to be recognized by the Portuguese Government, which in its present policy is doing an injustice to its people, to their traditions and to their past contributions to human knowledge and culture. The tragedy of this residual colonial situation has been deepened recently by the disturbing reports of massacres in Mozambique, which have not yet been the subject of an independent investigation.

142. The problems of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America owe a good deal to past colonialism, but by no means all their problems can fairly be attributed to that cause. In addition to past exploitation, there are also deep underlying causes of poverty in many of those countries which cannot be solved in the foreseeable future without generous recognition by the better-off States of the world of their obligation to share their wealth with countries less fortunate.

143. My country shares with other developed countries this duty and obligation of aiding our economically less fortunate neighbours in the world community. It is a duty which our membership in the United Nations has brought clearly to our attention. It is a duty and obligation which Ireland has accepted in principle but one where to date our performance does not match our duty. In the past our performance operated on an unplanned basis. My Government accepts that there is a need for real and substantial improvement in Ireland's aid to developing countries. In the current year our official financial transfers to developing countries have been doubled. The intention of my Government is to increase thereafter the annual level of this assistance in absolute terms and as a percentage of our gross national product in a planned manner over a period of years. We are developing a comprehensive and coherent programme which will show a balanced growth in its various sectors and will be designed to achieve the greatest benefit for developing countries. That will still not immediately match the generous acceptance of this obligation by some other developed countries, but it is an indication of our will to meet our United Nations obligations in this essential work.

144. In what I have said here today I have hitherto concentrated on problems which concern our Organization outside the field of peace-building, the settlement of disputes and détente. That is not because I underestimate the importance of seeking a de-escalation of tensions between States in many parts of the world; indeed, unless such relations are improved and peace preserved none of the other matters of which I have spoken will have much relevance. But we must face the fact that it is in this area of activity that world public opinion has expected more from the United Nations than it could possibly perform and where at the same time the Organization has at times performed less well than might have been expected even by realistic and reasonable people. This disparity between expectations and performance has damaged the credibility of our Organization, and I have no wish to aggravate this problem by highlighting the unresolved problems that remain in relations between States. But I think it is right to remark that there is a measure of détente since at last the futility of the cold war and its sterile polemics is recognized. The major Powers do seem to be moving, however slowly, towards a measure of accommodation with each other, although the balance thus created is not yet stable since the world has yet to learn to cope with the more complex interactions between Powers and blocs in this new situation.

145. The most explosive situation remains that of the Middle East. We regret that its solution does not seem to have been brought any nearer, though we realize how grave are the problems involved and the difficulties facing diplomacy. We welcomed the visit of the Secretary-General to the countries of the Middle East, under the aegis of the Security Council. We can but hope that that visit may result in some initiatives which might break the present deadlock and help the process of diplomacy in securing peace between the parties, in finding a peaceful solution to their problems based on acceptance by all countries concerned of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). In the meantime the major Powers can help towards a solution by adopting a genuinely neutral attitude towards the contending interests

rather than, as has been the case in the past, aligning themselves with either side, thus converting this tragically divided region into a mini-cockpit of the cold war. They could also help by agreeing amongst themselves to refrain from arming the two sides in a manner that can only make a recurrence of violence more likely and more bloody if it occurs. The intransigence of the parties to this dispute has in the past been intensified rather than eased by the actions of outside States pursuing what they have conceived to be their own interests through involvement with the contending parties. Hopefully, this phase is coming to an end, and with that the chances of peace in the area should be enhanced.

146. Before concluding, I must refer to the tragic situation in Northern Ireland. The conflict that has torn apart that little community of 1.5 million people, costing almost a thousand lives and injuries to many thousands of others while reducing large areas of its urban centres to rubble, has yet to be resolved, but there are signs that a solution may be found in the months ahead. None dare put it more hopefully than that.

147. The divisions that have contributed to this tragedy owe much to history. Fear lies at the root of the situation—the fears of the majority in that area that they might against their will be forced to become a minority within an all-Ireland republic and the fears of the minority in Northern Ireland for their future in a situation dominated by a frightened majority. Those two communities in Northern Ireland, locked into a situation of apparently inevitable and endless conflict, differ somewhat in their origins. But unlike, for example, the more deeply divided communities in the island of Cyprus, they speak the same language, English. In the absence of linguistic differences, the most evident distinction between the two communities happens to be one of religion, and it is this that has given the conflict its anachronistic reputation of being a religious war. Differences on points of dogma between Christian denominations have little to do with the conflict between the two communities, however.

148. The fears of the northern majority are the key to this situation, for it is their actions in response to those fears that pose a threat to the lives and well-being of the minority in Northern Ireland. If those fears, aggravated by the uncertainties and physical distress of the past four years, could be eased, the problem of Northern Ireland would be on the way to solution. My Government has a role to play here. We do not seek to impose or to have imposed on the people of Northern Ireland any solution unacceptable to a majority there.

149. We know that any attempt to impose such a solution could only multiply the bloodshed and the bitterness. It is the people of Ireland we seek to unite; the territory of Ireland is nothing without its people. And this unity of the people of Ireland can be secured only in peace and reconciliation, with the consent of a majority of the inhabitants of Northern Ireland.

150. The solution now proposed to this terrible problem is one on which broad agreement exists between my Government and that of the United Kingdom. It entails the establishment of a new executive in Northern Ireland,

comprising elected members of the Northern Ireland Assembly, drawn from parties representative of both communities; the reform of the police and civil service in Northern Ireland so that they may be acceptable to the minority community as well as to the majority; and the creation of a Council of Ireland, with equal representation at executive level for Northern Ireland—which has half the Republic's population—and functions in relation to economic co-operation between the two parts of Ireland. That Council must have the power to evolve and to undertake new functions, but the pace of any such evolution must be governed by the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. The desire of the minority to identify with the new institutions should be recognized, and also their concern that justice will be fairly administered.

151. We believe that this policy reconciles the concerns of the majority in Northern Ireland with the legitimate aspirations of the great majority of the Irish people to national unity. It is a policy of reconciliation; it is a policy which we believe we can submit to this Assembly as one in full accord with the principles of the United Nations. And I hope, and I believe, that my Government will enjoy the sympathy and understanding of the States represented here in pursuing such a policy.

152. Should we fail in our efforts, together with the United Kingdom Government, to secure a solution along those lines, the situation could become grave indeed. I hope and pray that we shall not fail, and that I shall not at any time in the future have to come before the General Assembly to seek your assistance in finding a way out of the dangerous and tragic situation that could then arise.

153. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland for his kind reference to General O'Leary and to all the Irish who fought for the independence of my country.

154. Mr. BARREIRO (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation, and with the greatest pleasure, I greet the President of this Assembly, the most illustrious universal gathering, to assure him that Paraguay is happy to see this enlightened personality of a brother people, Ecuador, presiding over this session, so rightfully, so impartially and so brilliantly.

155. We know what a difficult commitment this honour entails. We know what a responsibility it is to preside over this General Assembly. We feel sure that the vast experience of Mr. Leopoldo Benites, his talents placed at the service of his country and of the peoples of the world, and his recognized international erudition and sagacity will make it easy for him to discharge the task so honourably given to him. Paraguay, in congratulating him and wishing him every success in the task assigned to him by the world, promises him full co-operation.

156. The United Nations was built on the ashes of a world in material and moral ruin 28 years ago. Not in vain have waters run under the bridges of life in that period of history. The evolution of things has meant a logical and substantial change in the characteristics of the world, as compared with 28 years ago. Prosperity has reached some—relatively few—countries while the just aspirations of

the majority to achieve development rise day after day like an uncontrollable tide. The then warring nations, destroyed by war, have today recovered their economic splendour, their industrial potential and their possibilities for permanent expansion, and they forget the priority needs of giving integral assistance in creating a better and more humane world so that economic and financial relations with the developing countries may be organized through a just system of equity which will make possible the progress of all countries.

157. All peoples and nations anxiously seek international peace and harmony. All men and women dream of a calm and fruitful world, where man will sing hymns in praise of labour, creative labour, with no asphyxiating clouds on the horizon. With the advance of technology in those 28 years the world has become small and relations between men and peoples have become so close that a conflict in one part of the world is a burning-point which touches one and all equally and undermines the desire for peace at its roots.

158. The United Nations has become ecumenical and in the course of time many nations which have at last attained a free and sovereign life have joined it. This universality of the Organization's membership requires work which in the field of peace and its strengthening has not been completed. The man of our world knows that, despite all the labour of the United Nations in so many areas of concern linked to man and his habitat, peace is in daily and horrifying danger. And there is the daily sadness of the universal citizen at the inextinguishable hotbeds of violence and aggression which, while they may appear to cool down at times, require only two or three accidents for a return to the initial explosive stage.

159. This world, so deeply concerned by the possession of nuclear weapons and devices, has not lost its faith in the Organization but looks upon it with critical eyes, permanently awaiting from it and from nations, especially the super-Powers, the definite resolution, through United Nations bodies, of all conflicts which may endanger peace.

160. We do not believe that life and the world have left the Organization behind. We believe it still has a far-reaching role to play in creating peace and for the development of peoples; and in the ensuring of collective peace, which is the supreme desire of mankind, it has total responsibility. But this cannot be achieved successfully unless all nations beginning with the great world Powers, come to the halls of the Assembly in a suitable frame of mind.

161. Multilateral diplomacy must be used, with bilateral diplomacy placing its sometimes spectacular achievements at the service of such diplomacy. All countries, starting with the super-Powers, must be definitely prepared to submit to the rules of international coexistence as required within the Organization. It is not fair or advisable to praise peace universally by every means of social communication when interests other than those which are strictly basic for just and lasting international harmony prevail, regardless of what pretexts are adduced. United Nations meetings must be attended without prejudices or mental reservations, without ill-will or objectives determined in advance which admit of no reconsideration. Without a genuine dialogue of communication and good will there will be no peace—or if

there is peace it will be only a weak flame which the first gust of wind will extinguish, so that night will again envelop the earth. There will be no lasting light without the final elimination of hatred between men, races and nations.

162. The multilateral action of the United Nations will never be a barrier to bilateral diplomacy. On the contrary, it is its indispensable complement. Any successful action by the Organization not only solves an international problem but gives greater prestige to the entity established so that man will have more faith in a world of peace, justice and liberty.

163. To arouse happy hopes among men in this century which is so heavily laden with disillusion and disenchantment is in itself a start towards building a better future for our anxiety-ridden mankind.

164. The world of today, rightly concerned by many collective problems, such as those of the environment, natural resources, improper distribution of wealth, both nationally and internationally, the conquest of outer space and the utilization of the resources of the sea, must still bear the asphyxiating fear of war or of an explosive lack of harmony between peoples and nations, when everything tells us that the integration of national economies and the obvious interdependence of countries are the basic resources to be used for a good future.

165. We must mention some notable achievements with legitimate satisfaction. Positive contacts between the great Powers have brought about a page of relief demonstrating at the same time that the quest for new means for the good of mankind is never-ending, that there are steps which have always to be taken if we have a sincere desire to shorten distances without thinking of prejudices, seeking solely understanding between peoples and countries which appear at first sight to be spiritually far apart.

166. Freezing the long and sad war of Indo-China has been another valid step on the rough road to peace.

167. We hope that the countries involved in this problem will find a final solution based on respect for the substantive values of mankind, without which even life is not worth living.

168. We must not seek a solution for its sake alone, sacrificing the moral values which perish in the attainment of an easy success. Peace needs form, solid and definitive foundations, for today, for tomorrow, for ourselves and for the children of our children.

169. Let us hope that the solution of international conflicts will always be based on respect for the free and sovereign existence of nations, the self-determination of peoples, the impossibility of waging war for military, economic or ideological conquest and on the elementary principle of coexistence and non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

170. The unflagging work of the Organization in the quest for peace is praiseworthy. In all explosive places—Cyprus, the Middle East or southern Africa—its presence is an effective action which the world itself undertakes to find a

solution to the problems which overwhelm it. As I said, this is a ray of hope on the difficult but irreplaceable road to peace.

171. My country, Paraguay, wishes to make public a positive affirmation of its faith in peace and in the work of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. My country appreciates at its full value that daily, silent, sometimes thankless task, which has no substitute, in the common good of nations.

172. The opening meetings of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which were held in Helsinki are another milestone which is worthy of mention. A united Europe, above all one clearly aware of its vast international responsibilities, both political and economic, is of concrete assistance towards a just and lasting peace.

173. We anxiously hope to see better horizons in the conflict, by now almost classical, of the Middle East. It is a thorny and closed dilemma which places on trial not only the United Nations actions but its very existence, because the layman in every region judges the reality of the United Nations by the positive achievements in situations of conflict which are daily in the news.

174. Paraguay believes that, subject to two governing principles—express recognition of the full and sovereign existence of the State of Israel and the right of the Palestinian people to their own country—the application of resolution 242 (1967) of the Security Council of the United Nations has to be the way to a happy solution which all men of goodwill hope for.

175. There can be different formulas to win peace. All of course require a spirit of dialogue, that is to say, a simple willingness to be receptive to reason, even though it comes from the other side, so as to be able to understand the objective realities which constitute every human conflict, and even more obviously the cooling of passions which reveal shady corners of opprobrium and lack of dignity in the very place where only good judgement should prevail.

176. Among our hopes, we have already pointed out the achievements of the great Powers and the relaxation of tensions among them. We hope that this will be final, so that they will co-operate among themselves in the solution of problems and in positive international action.

177. Will these achievements eradicate the obscure and terrible problem of the accumulation of arms? Will mankind continue to invest thousands of millions of dollars in weapons of every kind? Will common sense and a lasting sense of responsibility finally prevail so that the multimillion figures will be reversed and used to improve the standards of living of the developing peoples?

178. It is up to the great and powerful nations to set an example, so that the freezing of conflicts and relaxation of tensions will bring forth fruit in a real limitation in the manufacture and sale of arms.

179. It is impossible to understand the arms race of some developing countries whose people so urgently ask for the satisfaction of their priority and elementary needs. Such

attitudes defy the hunger and poverty of millions of human beings. There are developing countries which ask of the world more credits to give impetus to their progress. In the meantime, paradoxically, they invest millions of hard currency in the acquisition of ultra-sophisticated or obsolete weapons.

180. The roses of peace and international understanding cannot bloom along the route of an arms race. Any excessive growth in the might of military installations arouses suspicions, fears and rivalries among nations. The mere accumulation of weapons and the rivalry among States for their possession are already a beginning of war, which can lead us to painful experiences. It is best not to play with the elements of death, hatred, pain and destruction.

181. Paraguay has for many years struggled arduously while lacking greater financial assistance and, above all, more flexible and generous assistance, in an ardent quest for better days. The philosophy of labour and production prevails. The infrastructure moves forward at a rapid rate in every area. Education, housing, health, production, export promotion, energy—these are vital concerns of a Government which seeks only peace and thereby the progress of our nation. Its people, which in its history was viscerally torn apart several times by war and internal anarchy, embarks on these undertakings with faith and firmness. Its armed forces, which are subject to the Constitution, to order and to the law, have been placed at the service of communities and at the service of creating a better world for all without any kind of discrimination. The army, the navy and the air force are inspired by this desire for peace and development and work side by side with the people in works of national interest. Schools and public buildings, roads, new means of communication, telecommunications, the merchant marine, local and international air services, health centres and agrarian reform testify to the concern of the glorious armed forces of Paraguay, which are the legitimate pride of its people.

182. My country and its armed forces invest in these patriotic and progressive tasks monies which could have been invested in the purchase of arms.

183. Based on these convictions, my country will continue to advocate in this great forum the need to contain the arms race and to support a policy of an honest and honourable disarmament which would be the result of a fruitful dialogue between all countries, starting with the super-Powers.

184. If there is one scourge which is characteristic of our times, it is the rise of terrorism. The hijacking of aircraft, the taking of innocent hostages, indiscriminate violence, horrible murders, the mutilation or killing of people without any valid motive constitute cankers which are a denial of civilization.

185. This is the most cruel and heartless of crimes.

186. In cold blood, in a calculated way, deliberately, in silence and in secret, terrorists prepare their destructive and nefarious activity which sometimes reaches, kills or destroys people who are tragically powerless before such refined evil.

187. What have these innocent human beings to do with the causes which are cited as the reasons for such spurious criminal action?

188. Where will our civilization go, and where will our ethical values go, if this dark and clumsy course continues?

189. Is there really honesty when in every national and external forum we speak of peace, of tolerance, of justice, of collective well-being and yet do not put an end to or punish this heartless type of activity which is repudiated by all men throughout the world, regardless of their colour, language or religion?

190. Paraguay wishes to affirm that this chapter of our memory must be added to the list of the major collective frustrations. The committee of our Organization which is studying terrorism⁷ arrived at no concrete results in weeks of study and debate.

191. The evil is everywhere. The illness stalks every day the entire geography of our planet. It is not from a definite country. At the current rate, terrorism has become international and its consequences explode in any place, at any hour, at any time, without respect for the life of anyone. There is not even any definite place for the activity itself: today it is the point-blank assassination of a man in his home, tomorrow the painfully amputated hands of a modest employee of the post office.

192. The basic solution is to be found in the eradication of the generating causes. Let us study the problem and find a prompt and final remedy. Here I have in mind: the oppression of peoples who seek their autonomy, their own independence and national identity; the pessimism of many men and women who see in the work of the United Nations no solution to the chronic problems which afflict their countries; the obsolete colonial status of communities which are ethnically different from the metropolis or their oppressors, which are not able to express themselves freely in order to state their sovereign will; the unjust and immoral exploitation by oligarchic groups of majorities maintained in racial or economic discrimination, or both at the same time, maintaining people in an inhuman status and persecution for ethnic, social, religious or political reasons.

193. Without questioning the right of these peoples or communities to seek their own way towards liberation or autonomy, we should make practical efforts to put a halt to the present wave of terrorism which is making our own world impossible to live in.

194. Mankind, in its perennial quest for greater well being, is setting its sights on and devoting its most advanced technology to the rational use of the resources of the sea.

195. Food, energy and processing industries hope to find within the sea almost magic sources, the yield of which is as yet unknown but may reach unexpected figures and derivations.

196. Without going into detail as to the value of the sea as a provider of resources and minerals, we must also

⁷ *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism, established under General Assembly resolution 3034 (XXVII).

mention its vast usefulness in the field of transportation and communications between peoples and men.

197. Paraguay, because of an unfortunate historical determinism, not only has been deprived of a coast but is within the heart of South America bereft of the benefits which a sea coast would have given it.

198. This fact explains, to quote my predecessor, Mr. Miguel Solano López,

“... our firm determination and our constant fight in all forums and in all organs to obtain endorsement of the principles of an increasingly enlightened international law which, through international justice, compensates for the obvious disadvantages deriving from a land-locked position.”⁸

At the meeting held on 17 April 1971 in San José, Costa Rica, during the first regular session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States [OAS], the illustrious Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, Professor Raúl Sapena Pastor, referred to the question of the breadth of the territorial sea in order to express the point of view of Paraguay. This is what he said:

“The Republic of Paraguay is an inland land-locked country, and geographical and historical circumstances have deprived it of the extraordinary benefit of having a coastline. None the less, Paraguay has the right to enjoy freedom of the high seas and unlimited navigation and to have access to fisheries, the underlying resources and the airspace over the sea. To the extent that the States with coastlines arbitrarily increase their sovereignty by widening their territorial sea, they are also arbitrarily limiting the rights of the Republic of Paraguay and of all inland or land-locked countries.

“The breadth of the territorial sea can be fixed not by national precepts, whether they are derived from law or the Constitution; but through the consent of all States, including those that are land-locked and those that have coastlines, a consent expressed in the form of international agreements”.

199. Mr. Jorge Aja Espil, who is a member of the Inter-American Council of Jurists, affirms:

“Within the American continent we must bear very much in mind the situation of the land-locked countries such as Bolivia and Paraguay, which have expressed their disagreement with the extension of the territorial sea to 200 miles, because this implies a limitation of their rights over the high seas. Without these two countries one cannot speak of a uniform regional agreement”.

200. In taking up the common elements in principles and rules on the question, the Inter-American Juridical Committee, on 9 February of this year, stated that:

“The coastal States shall authorize the land-locked countries which are part of the region to exploit the living

resources within the zone from 12 to 200 nautical miles and grant them preferential rights in comparison with third States and in accordance with criteria which will be stated in multilateral, regional or bilateral conventions”.

201. These common elements are the ones which the Committee recommends to the American States so that they can be taken into account and submitted to regional or world-wide conferences on a new régime for the seas.

202. Elementary international justice requires that the land-locked or the shelf-locked countries have a right to exploit the living resources in the zone, whatever the name given to it, on a footing of complete equality with the nationals of the coastal States; and not only the living resources but also the mineral resources must be reserved for the exploitation of States in their respective regions, without taking into account their geographical location.

203. In regard to frustrations, one chapter deserves special treatment, and developing countries continue to hope that the declarations and recommendations made at international gatherings and conferences will become a reality. Their economies continue to suffer from the continuous deterioration in the terms of trade in their trade with the highly industrialized countries, to the direct detriment of the future of their peoples.

204. The countries supplying raw materials and exporting primary goods continue to suffer the unfavourable impact of the unstabilized prices of their export goods and the revaluation of certain currencies, which is a punishment impossible to foresee and one that has a harmful effect on the return of credits and international loans, with an increase in the prices of goods which our countries must of necessity import to satisfy their consumers and their plans for expansion and industrial development. The rich become richer and the poor become poorer.

205. It is not possible that only a few countries should participate in reforms of the monetary system when the consequences have a repercussion on all nations and a special impact on the economies of the developing countries.

206. Development is not an exclusive commitment of each nation; it is a responsibility for all nations and requires co-operation within the measure of the possibilities of each, with complete respect for the principle of non-intervention. Logically, the powerful and prosperous countries are obliged to co-operate more, quantitatively and qualitatively, in this ecumenical crusade. Technology, which is the key to expansion, can no longer be a closed club, the price of admission being the price of gold. Technology, trade problems, investments, financing and the opening of new markets constitute instruments which are essential for countries to progress.

207. Peace is not only an absence of armed conflict; it is also an attitude of understanding on the part of the highly industrialized countries and just co-operation for the development and well-being of our peoples. Justice in economic relations, monetary decisions, the policy of general preferences, the granting of credits and financial assistance, the use of technology and investment policy is

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2062nd meeting, para. 11.

the only possible vehicle by means of which to arrive at a world which will be more humane, fair and just.

208. Disillusionment, discontent, extreme poverty, the rise in privileges, the unjust and unequal distribution of international labour and the scarcity of financial assistance for development will never be a help towards peace, stability or international understanding. If we wish for neither war nor conflict, let us see that the great countries, in the first place, put their shoulders to the wheel so as to change economic relations with a view to giving just treatment and genuine assistance to the developing countries. Their progress ultimately will be a triumph for our world and our institutions, a factor of good economics and harmonious and fruitful trade relations. The well-being and prosperity of all countries will ensure the well-being and prosperity of each.

209. Paraguay, which is a founding Member of the United Nations, has long since emerged from a long process of political anarchy and lives under the guidance of a genuine patriot, General Alfredo Stroessner, and we live a life in which republican institutions are paramount. We have left behind us the cruel confrontations between brothers so as to devote our days completely to the tasks of fruitful labour. We have swept away hatred so as to march ever forward towards the goals of collective well-being and

national development. We have superseded the provisional institutions and we work under the rule of peace and progress, with the powers of the State and public opinion functioning fully. Today, we are concerned with peace, egalitarian public education, health, housing, the opening up of new markets for exports, a policy to create employment and an efficient development of the resources of the country. That is to say, we are concerned with that which interests man and the development of peoples.

210. Within that spirit Paraguay would reply to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, that we wish to have a United Nations which is "more than a conference machinery and a forum for the pursuit of national policies" [A/9001/Add.1, p. 8].

211. Paraguay wishes this to be a dynamic Organization above the emptiness of verbalism, something far more than a simple forum: an entity of solidarity, a solidarity where the great and the powerful will genuinely assist in advancing the world and its peoples. Paraguay wishes the light to shine at every dawn for every man in every region, with no privileged States and no countries cast into oblivion, with no foreign intervention, exploitation, economic dependence or ideological domination.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.