



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate	
Speech by Mr. Saraiva Guerreiro (Brazil) .....	27
Speech by Mr. Muskie (United States of America) .....	31
Speech by Mr. Pérez Llorca (Spain) .....	35
Speech by Mr. MacGuigan (Canada) .....	38
Speech by Mr. Zambrano Velasco (Venezuela) .....	41

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning we shall begin the general debate. I should like to remind representatives that the list of speakers will be closed on Wednesday, 24 September, at 6 p.m., in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting. May I request delegations to be good enough to provide estimated speaking times that are as exact as possible so that we can plan our meetings in an orderly way.

2. Mr. SARAIVA GUERREIRO (Brazil):<sup>1</sup> Mr. President, may I offer you the first compliments in this general debate. I do so with sincere satisfaction and in the certainty that my words will be a part of a general expression of recognition of the qualifications which so well entitle you to provide the leadership in the work that we are about to begin. With you in the Chair, we have every certainty that the debates on the items to be dealt with at this session will be conducted in an efficient and equitable fashion.

3. Before going any further, I should like to express my thanks to the President of the thirty-fourth session, Mr. Salim A. Salim, who was repeatedly called upon during the past year to give us the benefit of his guidance in diverse and complex situations. It is fitting here to recall once more his impressive performance at the head of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a task that he performed with wisdom and prudence.

4. I take this opportunity of welcoming two new Members of our community of nations, the Republic of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and I congratulate

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

you and the Assembly on this occasion. Both countries have our best wishes for a future of progress and peace.

5. It is particularly auspicious to see among us the delegation of Zimbabwe, as that means the culmination of a long process of struggle. When I recently visited that country, brief as my stay was, I could appreciate the spirit with which its Government and people face the task of building a society both just and efficient.

6. We again welcome the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, whose presence in this Organization is an effective contribution to the consolidation of the principles of self-determination and independence among the Caribbean nations. Its admission will enrich the group of Latin American States, where it will be fraternally received.

7. In opening this general debate, I reaffirm my country's commitment to the general principles of international conduct which are prescribed in the Charter of the United Nations and which are the heart and soul of this Assembly. Brazil will dedicate its best efforts to the preservation of international peace and security, to co-operation for development and to the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, without any distinction as to race, language or religion, just as the Charter of our Organization provides.

8. It is difficult, unfortunately, to find causes for optimism in the present world situation. Since last year, tensions that have already caused mankind so much anxiety have grown still stronger; risks of upsetting world peace have become far more grave; the world economic crisis has become more severe; and famine and poverty persist, with their accompaniment of deep imbalances among nations. There is little reason for us to be proud of or even to accept the present state of things in the community of nations.

9. The process of international decision-making has itself too often proved short-sighted. That process, shaped in an era prior to decolonization and to the global spread of economic and political problems, and unchanged in its essence, has shown itself to be painfully defective. At the political level, it reflects and reinforces the imbalances which so much affect the lives of our peoples. It fails to include the participation of new political forces. Its centralizing character does not reflect the philosophy of our Charter, and as a result has become unworkable. On the one hand, an important and essentially positive development has taken place in recent history: no single country, no condominium of Powers, has the ability effectively to control events in the different regions of the world. On the other hand, the use that the main Powers make of their strength, which is still tolerated by the international order, is inadequate to the new realities and needs of the world. Those Powers continue to think and

act according to specific strategic interests; they continue to show perplexity and immobility regarding the crucial problems of peace and development; they continue to magnify regional tensions instead of contributing effectively to the resolution of the root causes of such tensions.

10. Neither the ideal of justice nor the recent course of events allows us to suppose that the maintenance of the present international order may lead to peace and prosperity. We have become used to references to interdependence in the world of today. At times, however, we have the feeling that no attention is paid to the fact that that word obviously conveys the idea of reciprocity. Interdependence is a two-way road. Its political dimension is mutual respect among nations. Its institutional foundations lie in universal obedience to the principles of the Charter, such as equal sovereignty among States, self-determination, non-intervention and the peaceful settlement of disputes. There is no need here for further definition and qualification. Equality means equality, sovereignty means sovereignty and non-intervention means non-intervention. It is necessary for those basic principles to be observed in their entirety by all Members of our community, for quibbling about their implementation means adding new and serious threats to already tense international relations.

11. That means that no country, however strong, can presume to legislate to the world, as if it were a kind of overlord. That means that matters which affect everyone must be decided by all, and those which relate to the life of only one country must be decided by that country alone. That means that the international system must not be vertical and centralizing, that the international decision-making process regarding issues of global interest needs to be opened to the wide and representative participation of the community of nations.

12. There is no better channel for dealing with world problems than dialogue and the effort to defuse tensions as they arise. A mature attitude is needed. The so often illusory prospects and temptations of immediate gains which characterize confrontation strategies should be resisted. Beyond immediate concerns, self-discipline and courage are required if we are to talk and negotiate rationally and objectively. A mistake frequently made is to believe that public opinion in each country and at the international level is incapable of perceiving the long-term common interests. There is no serious reason to prevent the more powerful States from adhering to truly common goals, while they use their imagination and wisdom to move beyond routine approaches.

13. In the context of the recent increase in tension, it is encouraging to note the political ability demonstrated by Western Europe and by the third world. The developing countries with their voice and their vote in the General Assembly have clearly shown the importance they attach to respect for the basic principles of international law and their determination not to be used as pawns on the chess-board of crisis. They have reaffirmed their faith in non-intervention, in dialogue and in the relaxation of tension. They have demonstrated, and surely will continue to demonstrate, a will to play a constructive role, each acting in accordance with its particular situation.

14. We are appealing to precisely that constructive approach and spirit of international co-operation. We do not restrict ourselves to the criticism of attitudes and the denunciation of injustice. We are ready to co-operate in the establishment of a more just and effective international order. My country, within the limits of its resources, has given repeated demonstrations to that effect. We are committed to fostering a climate of trust among nations; we are always alert to the possibilities of co-operation on an egalitarian basis; we repudiate the formation of Power blocs; we seek to give a forward thrust to existing opportunities for development. We have the right to expect the United Nations to work effectively for the creation of a better future, one of peace and prosperity, free of hegemonies, intervention or war.

15. The wide-ranging work of our Organization requires the adoption of an equitable scale of priorities in the consideration of the problems we must face. But peace and development are inseparable goals. No distinction should be made between them. Peace—not a state of precarious balance among heavily armed nations, but indeed a just and reliable international order—will never be attained without development. Development—not just economic growth in some areas, but indeed the redressing of the grave imbalances among nations—can be a realistic undertaking only if peace prevails.

16. The quantitative and qualitative increase in the nuclear arsenals of the great Powers continues to pose a paradoxical contrast with the unmistakable desire of the immense majority of nations to live in peace. It is embarrassing to see that the concentration of scientific and technological knowledge of those Powers is being wasted on research in and development of constantly improving deadly devices. New strategies are planned with a sinister logic, as if it were possible to survive a nuclear war.

17. The new momentum in multilateral discussions on disarmament arising from the commitments entered into at the tenth special session of the General Assembly has met with reluctance on the part of countries with intercontinental offensive power. Nevertheless, the Committee on Disarmament, a body which has our fully participation and support, has kept on trying, only to be blocked by an inversion of priorities which postpones the consideration of nuclear disarmament in all its forms.

18. The ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has adjourned at Geneva on 29 August last with significant results to its credit. However, there are still gaps in the informal text<sup>2</sup> of the draft articles which are to become the future convention, and additional efforts will be required in order to improve upon it. If the constructive spirit, serenity, and sense of collective responsibility which we have advocated throughout the Conference are allowed to prevail, we trust they will result in the adoption by consensus of a well-balanced charter of the seas that will guarantee the interests of coastal States and give substance to the principle of the common heritage of mankind in the international seabed area.

<sup>2</sup> Documents A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3.

19. Like the overwhelming majority of nations, Brazil deplores the haste of countries which, in the course of negotiations, have enacted unilateral legislation on the exploitation of resources of the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction. Such acts bring undue pressure to bear on the negotiations and contravene resolutions of this Organization and should, therefore, be repudiated by the international community.

20. In our own region of Latin America this is a period of disturbance, but the prevailing trends are essentially positive. Relations among Latin American nations are deepening and there is more room for them to co-operate with each other as equals on the basis of balanced and mutual advantage.

21. Thanks fundamentally to the operation of endogenous factors, a new and dynamic Latin American reality is being created. Political and economic stagnation is being replaced by a more complex situation, one richer in opportunities for change. Diplomacy is increasingly active and the strengthening of a network of bilateral dialogues certainly facilitates the launching of new Latin American regional efforts and the building of a more homogeneous, more creative stand for the region in its comprehensive debate with the rest of the world.

22. Brazil's stance is that regional unity should be based on the purposeful exploitation of the countless affinities among our countries. It also depends on the mature and balanced recognition of the political, economic and cultural diversities existing among us. Latin American unity is a project for democratic, egalitarian and mutually trusting coexistence among our countries. Such unity rejects hegemonies, interventions, axes or blocs.

23. President João Figueiredo has pledged himself to provide additional impetus for these positive trends and to increase his contacts with other heads of State in Latin America. During the last 12 months the President of Brazil has paid official visits to Caracas, Asunción and Buenos Aires and in turn has been the host in Brazil of President Morales Bermúdez of Peru, President López Portillo of Mexico and President Gorge Videla of Argentina. Brazil thus participates with its sister nations in the common effort for the construction of a truly operative and dynamic understanding among the Latin American nations.

24. In the course of the present session we will be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], a basic instrument for the affirmation of the right to self-determination, sovereignty and independence.

25. We must now concentrate on the questions of Namibia and of the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa, lest we face the continuing frustration of those peoples there and of all of us at the United Nations. Every effort must be made to ensure that prompt and fruitful results are gained from the work accumulated throughout these years at the United Nations towards a solution for the problem of Namibia, those people are represented by the South West Africa People's Organization. The risk we have been run-

ning since Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was adopted two years ago is that of having placed too much trust in negotiations that have not developed in accordance with legitimate expectations.

26. The persistence of military aggressions conducted by the Government of South Africa against Angola and Zambia is unacceptable. Political contrivances such as the installation of the so-called national assembly of Windhoek are also unacceptable. The very latest exchange of messages with the Secretary-General betrays the evasive and delaying attitude of South Africa. In this, as in other problems pending on our agenda, the position of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] and, in particular, that of the front-line States, is fundamental inasmuch as, on 2 June last, they have reaffirmed at Lusaka the priority they accord to the question of Namibia on the basis of documents already adopted by the United Nations.

27. The responsibility of this Organization for the preservation of international peace and security does not allow us to ignore the present escalation of intransigence, arbitrariness and violence which render the prospects for peace in the Middle East increasingly remote.

28. Particularly serious are the implications of certain measures—recently adopted or announced—of consolidation of illegal occupation and of formal annexation of territories taken by force. The Security Council has already firmly expressed in its resolution 478 (1980), its universal rejection of the measures which purport unilaterally to modify the status of the City of Jerusalem.

29. In connexion with the establishment of the basis for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace, Brazil reaffirms that it is indispensable for the consensus to prevail so as to ensure the following: the complete withdrawal of occupying forces from all Arab territories; the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, to self-determination, to independence and to sovereignty in Palestine in accordance with the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions; the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*] in peace negotiations; and the recognition of the right of all States in the region to exist within recognized boundaries.

30. We can also expect the Council to provide a more complete and appropriate framework for the consideration of the question, in which the rights of the Palestinian people are **duly recognized**.

31. I also wish to make a particular reference to the tragic situation in Lebanon, the country of origin of so many Brazilians who have greatly contributed to our national life. **Lebanon deserves our full solidarity, and its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity must be preserved.**

32. When I addressed the General Assembly last year, I noted that the world economy entered the decade of the 1980s in a state of generalized uncertainty.<sup>3</sup> The aggravation of the global economic situation, throughout the last 12 months, only strengthens the evidence that we are all facing an entirely new situation in qualitative terms.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting, para. 13.

33. We are going through much more than a simple transitory stage, that of a slackening of the rate of growth of world output and of a simultaneous increase of inflationary tensions. There is a profound and comprehensive system-wide **network crisis which affects industrialized economies** and accentuates the distortions and imbalances of their relations with the developing world.

34. The so-called "energy crisis", as central as it may be today in our concerns and as dramatic as may be its economic impact, should be recognized for what it really is: not as something accidental or exogenous, but as a component part of an underlying structural crisis of a broader and more lasting nature. The energy problem is felt essentially in the North-South dimension. Therefore, in order to be effective, its solution can be sought only within the context of efforts aimed at a global revision of the relations between highly-developed countries and the developing world as a whole.

35. This finds eloquent proof in the fact—which no one would dare deny—that developing countries have recently assumed an increasing and even decisive role in the fabric of the international economy, either as providers of raw materials, as markets, as increasingly competitive industrial suppliers, as areas for new investments or as users of capital often lacking alternatives for application in developed economies which are either in a state of stagnation or reduced growth.

36. **This role of the third world has been attained not** because the world markets have become more responsive to the aspirations and needs of the developing countries, but in fact it was achieved despite persistent and, in many cases, increasing obstacles such as the new and more effective forms of protectionism, the transferral of inflationary tensions and the generalized increase of interest rates in capital markets.

37. In the last few years, the third world has been a **weighty factor in sustaining the level of economic activity of the** developed world. Nevertheless, possibly under the pressure of its own difficulties, seen from the narrow viewpoint of the present state of affairs, the developed world has, in practice, adopted an increasingly distant attitude towards the problems of under-development. It is obvious in the summit meetings of the so-called "Seven" and in several multilateral forums that less attention has been given to the structural problems of the North-South relationship, and an attitude **has become prevalent which practically limits itself to** considering marginal measures and to assigning the responsibility for the evils that now afflict the world economy to increases in the price of oil.

38. Another and more subtle expression of the aloofness of the North towards the South is the attempt to introduce restrictive categories for developing countries, grouping them according to level of income or industrialization or classifying them either as importers or exporters of oil. An entire conceptual arsenal is being put together to bolster this effort to produce divisive and diversionary effects. In fact, this categorization is just one more proof of the protectionist attitude of the developed world and of its lack of interest in grasping the problem of under-development in its entirety, with all its economic, technological and social aspects.

39. It is time to realize that the full, true integration of developing countries into the international economy cannot be brought about by imposing upon them an institutional framework which is unilaterally predetermined by the major economic Powers but, rather, can be achieved only by allowing them adequate access to decision-making processes for the problems affecting the international economic situation. It is an illusion to presume that in the new international scene which we face it is possible to maintain privileged structures and, at the same time, solve global problems. The attempt to preserve obsolete structures of domination over international flows in matters of trade, finance and technology can only prolong and even aggravate the present difficulties. In the world today, the exercise of power is contradictory with the objectives of prosperity. The time has come for us to interpret anew the ties between nations of the North and the South and to replace the rhetorical affirmation of interdependence with the practical construction of mutuality.

40. In order to do so, the developed countries must recognize that **solutions will not spring spontaneously from** piecemeal deliberations in different multilateral agencies and forums if the present élitist decision-making structures are maintained and operational criteria remain unaltered. These might have been adequate in the past, but they no longer serve their purpose. The essential meaning of the so-called "global negotiations" is precisely that of offering to all of us what may be one last chance to seek an integrated and harmonious set of measures to reformulate the North-South relationship. This opportunity can materialize only if we are able to undertake the urgent task of devising a political thrust which can generate from the universal forum—that of the General Assembly of the United Nations—significant modifications in multilateral economic institutions, so as to make them more open to the participation of the developing countries and more receptive to their specific needs.

41. Therefore, the Brazilian Government cannot conceal its grave concern regarding the stalemate which occurred a few days ago during the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. In our opinion, the failure to launch global negotiations is not in any way compensated for by the existence of a consensus reached on the text of a new International Development Strategy.<sup>4</sup> Such a text, as my Government sees it, is not satisfactory, for it does not even take into account substantive progress related to previous agreements reached in other bodies, and it will still be subject to reservations and declarations of a restrictive or interpretative nature from the developed countries.

42. A most meaningful fact is that the third world has been able to preserve its fundamental sense of unity, despite the legitimate differences in interest which might occasionally arise and regardless of external pressure, as I have mentioned.

43. The present crisis necessarily leads to an increasing unity among the nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia in a common effort to revise the patterns of their relationship with the North. However, the crisis does not cease to

<sup>4</sup> A/S-11/AC.1/L.2 and Corr.1, and Add.1-3. Subsequently circulated as document A/35/464.

present us with renewed challenges and obstacles. Our unity should be continuously reaffirmed and reinvigorated even more so when the effort—legitimate in itself—to increase the value of scarce and non-renewable resources causes effects of a dramatic nature in other developing countries.

44. The time has come for us to deploy, within the South-South relationship, an intensified effort to diversify and enlarge the bases of understanding and co-operation. Concrete, substantive and effective flows of trade and financing among developing countries must be added to the political ties and to the common platforms in the North-South context.

45. The industrial, technological and financial potential which now exists in the third world—added, of course, to its immense natural and human resources—opens to the nations of the three developing continents broad prospects of a fruitful direct relationship, avoiding the often politically or economically onerous procedure of going through the main centres. The challenge before us is, in short, to create for the third world a profile of its own, based on its internal reality and dynamism, and not merely on the expression of the differences between us and the developed nations.

46. Success in this truly pioneer effort of establishing ties of effective partnership among developing countries rests on a clear political commitment. Only the common will to draw closer will allow us to reach concrete results. Such a decision must be as firm as the difficulties are great in establishing ties among nations like ours, which for a long time have remained far apart and which, even today, are predominantly oriented—in the economic and financial fields—towards the great industrial centres.

47. Brazil, for its part, fully trusts that the nations of the South will be able to take advantage of the present difficulties in order to reaffirm their own personality, strengthen and enrich their unity and solidarity—an element indispensable for the success of their struggle to overcome underdevelopment—and revise the terms of their relationship with the industrialized North.

48. These are, in the main, the remarks that I want to make on behalf of the delegation of Brazil as the debate at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly opens.

49. If throughout all these years we have reiterated our concerns, it is because the march of international events proceeds at an inexorable and even accelerated pace, while solutions lag behind. Therefore, our work cannot but reflect the ever-growing problems and the shortcomings of the international decision-making process. It is fitting that my delegation stress that it awaits the day when contentious subjects in our annual agenda are replaced by matters of common co-operation and understanding.

50. Throughout the three months of work before us the delegation of Brazil will spare no effort to help create better conditions for participation and international dialogue, in the certainty that the United Nations is still the most adequate instrument at the disposal of the international community for the achievement of the objectives of peace and development.

51. Mr. MUSKIE (United States of America): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. It is a recognition of your extraordinary diplomatic skills, but, more important, your election is a tribute to your country and to its contribution to international co-operation and understanding.

52. On behalf of the United States delegation to this Assembly, I come here today to express anew the United States commitment to the United Nations. I come also to express our hopes for its future at a moment when the world is deeply troubled by tension and uncertainty. Peace is threatened by smouldering regional conflicts and by assaults of the strong upon the weak. Nations large and small are buffeted by steeply rising oil prices and serious economic strains. Within many countries poverty and oppression form an explosive combination.

53. A few weeks ago I spoke to this Assembly about the international economy.<sup>5</sup> I stressed the obligation of nations to co-operate in facing world economic problems: payments imbalances, energy inflation, slowed growth in many developing countries, the spectres of environmental decay and even famine.

54. Our inability to reach a consensus on procedures for global negotiations is a pause in the process, not a failure in our objectives. I do not mean to say that the differences that have kept us from finding a formula for global negotiations can be glossed over. They are real. They are substantive. But we are prepared to use the span of this General Assembly to continue discussions that can lead to procedures, to an agenda and to a negotiating structure that will foster broad agreement among all the nations here represented.

55. Today I want to look beyond economic problems to the one condition that is a prerequisite for all material progress: peace. If we truly care about building a world in which peace and justice prevail, the world's nations, and this Organization, cannot ignore certain political and legal obligations also—obligations every bit as compelling as the economic obligations I spoke of earlier.

56. These responsibilities are not new. They are proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. But dangerous new circumstances require that we stress them anew, lest we betray the very purpose the United Nations is designed to serve.

57. Our first obligation is to refrain from aggression and to deal with it vigorously. Article I of the Charter of the United Nations provides for "the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace". Article 2 prohibits "the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State".

58. Accordingly, the United Nations must confront the continuing assault upon Afghanistan. I raise this issue not to set off a rhetorical exchange, not in the interest of polemics, but in the interest of peace.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2nd meeting, paras. 93-137.



59. Today, more than 1 million refugees attest to the human toll of the violence in Afghanistan. And more is at stake than the independence of one country. If this assault continues, the independence and integrity of every small defenceless nation will be called into question.

60. Last January, at an emergency special session, this Assembly condemned by a large majority the assault upon Afghanistan [resolution ES-6/2]. We strongly believe that at the thirty-fifth session also the General Assembly must work under the Charter to reinforce the principles of the United Nations. We must work for a total withdrawal of Soviet troops and a political settlement. We must support the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and non-alignment for Afghanistan.

61. In Kampuchea as well, armed aggression continues. We welcome reports of some progress made under the leadership of the United Nations Secretary-General and international organizations in relieving the conditions of deprivation and disease so prevalent a year ago. The threat of renewed starvation requires significant further contribution from the international community.

62. Despite some improvement in Kampuchea's desperate human situation, no progress whatsoever has been made towards securing the withdrawal of occupying Vietnamese forces and the restoration of self-determination to the Kampuchean people, as called for in last year's resolution on Kampuchea [resolution 34/22], sponsored by the non-aligned nations. We strongly support the basis for a settlement, including the concept of an international conference, contained in that resolution, which was passed by a large majority.

63. Above all, let us keep in mind two basic purposes for which this body exists: to oppose armed aggression and to assuage its consequences. No achievement could be more important to the future influence and effectiveness of the United Nations. No failure could be more damaging than a failure to deal firmly with these issues.

64. Our second obligation, proclaimed by our Charter, is to settle international disputes by peaceful means. Achieving this goal remains urgently important in two key regions: the Middle East and southern Africa.

65. In the Middle East, the United States is committed to a comprehensive peace—an enduring peace based on the principles of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We are determined to pursue to a successful conclusion the peace process begun at Camp David two years ago this month.<sup>6</sup> Already that process has achieved something once thought impossible: peace between Egypt and Israel. Now the negotiations are focused upon a second goal: taking a significant first step towards resolving the Palestinian problem. The current autonomy talks have as their goal arriving at interim arrangements to establish full autonomy for the people of the West Bank and Gaza. After that, the process will proceed to negotiations which will determine the final status of those areas.

<sup>6</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

66. As we seek to resolve this conflict, we are committed to finding a solution to the Palestinian problem in all its aspects and, at the same time, to permanent security for the State of Israel. We have no illusions about the difficulties of this quest. We are dealing with a conflict of long duration and intense feelings. There can be no short cuts.

67. So today I call on all members of this Assembly to lend their support to these negotiations. Camp David has proved so far, and remains for the future, the most hopeful and productive avenue to peace in the Middle East. There is no alternative to negotiations except further conflict. Let us remember that differences are rivers to be crossed, not reasons to turn back.

68. That persistence can bear fruit—that negotiations can yield peace—has been reaffirmed in recent months in southern Africa. Through arduous negotiations, the new nation of Zimbabwe has been born in peace. Today we have reason to celebrate not only this accomplishment, but also the way in which nations worked together to achieve it. And for the future, the Zimbabwe settlement offers hope—and a model—for peaceful settlements in southern Africa and elsewhere.

69. The United States will continue its strong efforts to advance the United Nations plan for Namibia. There are no major substantive issues left to be resolved. I am convinced that the United Nations plan would be implemented fairly. All that remains is for South Africa to act in its own interest, in the interest of peace in the region, and in the interest of the Namibian people: to accept implementation of the United Nations settlement. If that does not happen soon, this chance for peace could be lost, and we would face a bitter future of protracted conflict and tragic human suffering.

70. The settlement in Zimbabwe can also provide a precedent for peaceful change in South Africa. We will continue to urge the Government of South Africa to abandon the repugnant policy of *apartheid*. We consider it urgent that talks among representative leaders begin on the issue of peaceful, orderly change in South Africa—while there is still time.

71. We must continue our search for peace and restoration of respect for international law in other parts of the world as well. In Lebanon, in Cyprus and elsewhere, we will lend our full support to the peace-making and peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations.

72. And although the holding of American hostages in Iran is not an item on the agenda of this Assembly, it remains a matter of extreme urgency that this tragic impasse be resolved—resolved in a way that strengthens peace and restores respect for international law. The continuing situation in Iran contributes to uncertainty about security and stability in South-West Asia. The security of Iran itself and the stability of the area depend on a united, strong and independent Iran living at peace with its neighbours.

73. With the end of the former régime and the death of the late Shah, a chapter in Iran's history has closed. As a new chapter opens, we emphasize that we recognize the reality of the Iranian revolution, and we respect the right of the Iranian people to choose their own form of government without

intervention of any kind. With the emergence of a new constitution and governmental structure and the gradual consolidation of authority, the Islamic Republic of Iran can assume its obligations and independent role in this community of nations.

74. An indispensable step will be the safe return to their families of the American hostages in Iran. Throughout the 324 days of their captivity, the Member States and institutions of the United Nations have expressed their concern for the hostages in numberless ways and channels. With their safe release, repeatedly called for by the Security Council and the International Court of Justice, Iran could end its isolation from those nations that live in accordance with international law, and sanctions would be terminated.

75. Today I urge the nation of Iran, its Parliament, and its people also, to consider the human face of the hostage problem. These innocent people and their families have experienced acute suffering. I ask this community of nations to join us in urging that their ordeal be brought to a safe, honourable and prompt end. We also know that in Iran, as in the United States, there are deep feelings as a result of grievances and suffering perceived in the past. We are prepared to do our part in resolving fairly the issues between us. The Iranian Parliament has announced that it will name a commission to deal with the hostage question. We hope that this positive step will bring the Government of Iran closer to a decision on release of the hostages.

76. The United States shares many common values with the people of Iran. When the safe return of all the hostages to their families is assured, we are prepared to deal on a basis of mutual respect and equality with all the outstanding issues and misunderstandings between Iran and the United States and to reach understandings on the principles which will govern our relationship.

77. As we look to the future, I urge the United Nations, as soon as possible, to take firm and effective measures to counter the global menace of attacks upon diplomats and others. The danger it poses to civilized international life is growing; no institution of peace can afford to ignore it. For our part, the United States seeks peace with all nations. Whether it be with Iran or with the Soviet Union, we are eager to reduce tensions and to restore productive relations as soon as their actions allow.

78. In all cases our policies will reflect our commitment to non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. As the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, has affirmed, we shall not interfere in Poland's affairs and we expect that others will also respect the right of the Polish nation to resolve its own problems in its own way.

79. Another obligation of nations is the control and limitation of arms. A period of heightened tension in the world makes this obligation more difficult to fulfil, but also more urgently important.

80. For that reason, let me underscore anew today the commitment of my Government to arms control, to practical measures that contribute to world peace and enhance international stability. President Carter voiced this basic

commitment when he was sworn in as President in January 1977. It remains equally valid today.

81. Let me give several concrete illustrations of that commitment. Some of the arms-control efforts I shall mention involve active participation by the United Nations; others involve negotiations outside the United Nations framework. But all are of intense concern to the international community, for an unrestrained arms race would darken the horizon for all humanity.

82. First, it is President Carter's intention to move forward as speedily as possible towards ratification of the SALT II Treaty.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the President intends to consult with the leadership of the United States Senate soon after the election with a view to resuming the ratification process as soon as is feasible. We consider it of cardinal importance to ratify SALT II and to move forward with the SALT process. The Soviet Union, however, must recognize that for many Americans recent Soviet actions have called into question the Soviet Union's commitment to international peace and co-operation. Accordingly, we call upon the Soviet Union to act in ways that will enhance, not damage, the prospects for SALT II and for other arms-control efforts.

83. Secondly, we are committed to the pursuit of meaningful and equal limitations on theatre nuclear forces in the framework of the SALT III negotiations. We are ready to begin talks with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union this week to discuss this subject and to seek agreement on the arrangements for beginning these talks promptly.

84. Thirdly, we are committed to seeking an effective and verifiable comprehensive test-ban treaty. Substantial progress has been made towards this goal and we are determined to continue pursuing these efforts vigorously.

85. Fourthly, the United States is committed in the Vienna talks to achieving mutual and balanced force reductions and limitations to diminish the risks inherent in the massive presence of military forces in central Europe.

86. Fifthly, we are prepared to develop further the security aspects of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. If the international situation permits and if there is balanced progress in all areas, including the human rights area, at the second review session of the Conference, to be held at Madrid in November, we are prepared to consider a post-Madrid European conference of the signatory States to the Final Act of the Conference<sup>8</sup> on developing militarily significant confidence-building measures.

87. Sixthly, we support the effort of the newly expanded Committee on Disarmament to develop the provisions of an international convention on radiological weapons [see A/35/27, para. 61]. We also support its work towards a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons [ibid., para. 56] and we continue to pursue our bilateral negotiations with

<sup>7</sup> Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

<sup>8</sup> Signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

the Soviet Union on an effective prohibition against chemical weapons.

88. Finally, the further spread of nuclear weapons would constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. We firmly support efforts, therefore, to reduce the risk of nuclear proliferation. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] is a corner-stone of those efforts; we strongly urge non-parties to embrace the Treaty, for it enhances the security of all nations, nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States alike. At the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons<sup>9</sup> there was unanimous agreement on the fundamental soundness of the Treaty and the desirability of universal adherence to it. For those non-nuclear-weapon States that have not joined the Treaty, we attach particular importance to the goal of achieving comprehensive, full-scope international safeguards coverage. We believe that acceptance of such coverage should become a condition of new nuclear supply commitments to such States. We shall continue to work for a world in which all nations can share in the peaceful use of nuclear energy without the danger of spreading nuclear weapons.

89. Before I leave this subject, let me emphasize our deep concern over another arms-control matter. If arms control is to be successful, agreements must be fully honoured. Questions such as those raised by persistent reports that chemical weapons have been used in Afghanistan, Laos and Kampuchea cannot be ignored by the international community. To do so would undermine both arms control and international law. The United States, therefore, welcomes the emphasis placed by the Committee on Disarmament at its most recent session on the need for international efforts to determine the facts behind those reports. We believe that an impartial investigation into those reports could most appropriately be launched under the auspices of the United Nations.

90. Important as they are, the obligations I have mentioned by no means exhaust the responsibilities which rest upon us as nations, and as a community of nations, if we are to secure peace. By peace, I do not mean the fragile, artificial stability that comes with repression of a people by its Government; I mean the true stability of societies that are at peace with themselves because the rights of their citizens are protected and nurtured.

91. So let me close by underscoring another obligation of nations: our obligation to uphold human rights and to concern ourselves compassionately with fundamental human needs.

92. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*] the community of nations has nobly defined the concepts of human rights and human dignity, just as in the Charter of the United Nations we have outlined the precepts of peaceful co-operation.

93. The failure of nations to live up to those human rights obligations is a continuing tragedy, made painfully manifest in the waves of refugees now sweeping across the world.

94. Those suffering people present a dramatic challenge to the international community represented by This Assembly. Over the past five years the United States has welcomed more than 600,000 refugees—from Africa, from Asia, from Europe, from the Middle East and from the western hemisphere. In the past five months alone we have received more than 120,000 people driven from Cuba to our shores—an influx which has presented extraordinary challenges to our resources.

95. In recognition of the human need implicit in this world-wide wave of refugees, President Carter has made known the intention of the United States to accept an additional 217,000 refugees over the next year.

96. Our country, of course, is only one of the many which have welcomed and helped refugees. More than 1 million Afghan refugees have fled to Pakistan; 400,000 Indo-Chinese are in Thailand. More than 3 million are homeless in sub-Saharan Africa. Clearly this is a global problem; it requires a global response.

97. The refugee resettlement efforts agreed upon at Geneva last year [*see A/35/12, para. 6*] demand our energy and our generosity. We must strengthen the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

98. The humanitarian programmes of the United Nations and of the other agencies require a renewed commitment from all of us to their support and to their strengthening. But ultimately this human tragedy can be dealt with only by removing its root causes: by overcoming poverty, by ending the abuse of human rights within nations and by establishing peace among nations so that no person need be forced to flee from home and country.

99. This is why my nation supports the growth of democracy and personal freedom in the Americas, in Africa and in every region of the world. Achieving these ultimate purposes remains a supreme challenge for the United Nations. Making progress towards them must be the work of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

100. Let us not ignore the facts. Ours is a moment of world-wide economic difficulty and a time of tension between great Powers. At such moments, peaceful co-operation becomes even more difficult than usual. At such moments, our obligations as members of this Assembly of nations take on new importance. At such times, when a cloud of troubling events darkens our aspirations to ultimate peace, we can light our path by adhering faithfully to our Charter, to the international law that binds us, to the standards of international conduct that protect us.

101. Let us hope that the light we generate by doing so will dispel the clouds of tension and discord that darken the world today.

102. The United States will do its part. We will live up to our obligations to oppose aggression, to build peace, to limit arms, to support human rights and to foster economic justice. For us and for other nations, these endeavours can immeasurably improve life on earth and build the just and lasting peace for which all our peoples yearn.

<sup>9</sup> Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.



103. Mr. PÉREZ LLORCA (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to express my satisfaction at your election to the presidency of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. At the same time, I should like to affirm, through you, my friendship and respect for the Federal Republic of Germany and for the noble, striving German people. Despite the fact that their histories have been different, our peoples have been able to understand one another and maintain the bridges between them in the vital knowledge that friendship and comprehension are the necessary concomitants of peace and freedom.

104. I should like to convey to our Secretary-General my thanks for his dedication and skill in carrying out his important and delicate tasks, guided as he always is by what will best serve the Organization and enhance understanding among nations.

105. I am pleased to welcome the representatives of Zimbabwe, whose people recently achieved their independence, which Spain defended unreservedly and constantly. Zimbabwe's presence as an independent and sovereign State in the United Nations is an example of how pending problems of decolonization can be resolved: with an up-to-date understanding of history, with decisiveness and without premature slackening in the negotiations.

106. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, a country whose deepest roots unite it with the great family of Ibero-American peoples, is the most recent Member of the United Nations, and I welcome it to this Assembly and transmit to its Government and people Spain's wish to strengthen the relations of friendship and co-operation between our countries.

107. It is clear that we are going through a time of profound crisis. The "Development Decades"—now several in number—the successive "International Strategies" adopted thus far in that connection, the "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States" [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the special sessions of the General Assembly have not been able to balance an economic order which is in increasing disequilibrium. World tensions and confrontation between opposing global strategies have multiplied the points of conflict. The technological revolution runs the risk of creating disturbing burdens, ignoring, in its inexorable advance, the very preservation of the ecosystem. Never in recent years have we found ourselves in such serious situations in all areas. It is clear that we must correct our bearings. We must change the codes of international conduct, balance dissuasion with détente, foster effective arms control, seek a real renewal of structures and achieve new frontiers in the protection of human rights.

108. The magnitude of the disorder, however, must not paralyse us or cause a petrified pessimism. Indolence and insensibility, according to a Spanish classic, can never be regarded as political subtlety, but rather as "detestable negligence" to which must be opposed, in the words of that classic, the intention to "remedy injustices". At this time the only sensible course is that of international solidarity, which would mobilize endeavours and adjust corrective mechanisms.

109. Spain, which because of its geography, its history and its culture belongs to the Western world, maintains close

solidarity with the West in defence of the values and principles held by some nations, which consider freedom, justice and a democratic, pluralistic form of Government to be the very foundation of their coexistence—a foundation which has recently been recovered in our country.

110. It is up to Spain and only Spain, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act and its own constitutional rules, to decide on the future course of that solidarity. Among other things it will also include the search for détente, which we regard as essential to overcome the present difficulties in international relations. In this connexion the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose preparations have just begun at Madrid, offers an opportunity that cannot be overlooked to create conditions making it possible to re-establish confidence and make progress towards dialogue, co-operation and better understanding between East and West.

111. We are establishing a policy of co-operation with Europe and of participation in its institutions because we believe in the values, the democratic political systems and the historical role of Europe, of which we have always been and continue to be irrevocably a part. No one claims that our particular historical traits have set us apart from the great European current. On the contrary, as a liberal historian said: "Our history is not 'uncommon' or 'particular'; the historical tragedies of Spain are an integral part of the historical tragedy of Europe". Hence we are ready to make an enthusiastic effort in the collective task of building the unity of Europe through full partnership in the Communities.

112. As has recently been said in Luxembourg by His Majesty King Juan Carlos I:

"A new impetus must be given to the Communities in order to broaden their geographical area, enriching them with some of the most fruitful and original contributions of European culture and making possible the building of a stronger and more balanced Europe, which would be in a position to make an effective contribution to the well-being of all its peoples, the consolidation of all its democratic systems and the cause of peace."

113. Finally, looking to the future we have to meet the political challenge of broadening the Communities. Only thus can Europe's ideals prevail against selfish interests.

114. This European and Western aspect of our foreign policy is enriched by and finds its full expression in our relations with the peoples of Ibero-America, to which so many deep links unite us. It is precisely in the dialogue between Europe and Ibero-America that Spain can carry out an important task: that of contributing to make Europe more and more responsive to Ibero-America as it is, its problems, its concerns, its expectations.

115. We are witnessing a process of the affirmation and awakening of the Ibero-American world whose voice, above tension and undeniable divisions, is being heard with growing authority and firmness in international bodies, and which is aware of its increasingly relevant role in the events of our time. And that is not only because of its strategically

important geographical location and demographic potential, its abundance of raw materials and energy resources. Above all, Ibero-America finds its strength and its future development in the enormous vitality of its peoples and the strength of their cultural values, which we share as our own.

116. Spain, a full member of ECLA and taking an active part in the work of the Andean Group,<sup>10</sup> in which it has observer status, is in full solidarity with the currents of integration that are gaining strength in Ibero-America. All rhetoric apart, my country is seeking in this connexion the development of specific kinds of co-operation so as to serve the interests of our peoples.

117. It is from that position of solidarity, to which I have referred, that we must with an open mind tackle the problems affecting peace and security, by renewing political approaches and restoring negotiating machinery capable of facilitating the solution of conflicts for which, as with regard to the problem of the Middle East and the many tensions affecting the Mediterranean, satisfactory solutions are far from having been conceived or worked out.

118. The Middle East, the tense and vital nerve-centre of ever-impending catastrophe, is the inevitable and natural concern of a country such as Spain, which is so closely linked to the Arab peoples and situated at the westernmost point of the Mediterranean.

119. The continuing policy of illegal settlements, the adoption of the "Basic Law" on Jerusalem, the repetition of acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and other events increasing tension in that area give rise to concern and require that the vicious circle of lack of understanding and intolerance be broken, if we wish to avoid new confrontations of unforeseeable consequences. The time for action has come.

120. The Spanish Government considers it necessary for a further attempt to be made to open the door to a solution. Spain will spare no effort to that end.

121. The ultimate goal we must espouse can be none other than peace in the region. It must be a just peace; a comprehensive peace taking account of the interests of all concerned and bringing a definitive solution of the historical tragedy of the Palestinian people by recognizing and implementing its national legitimate rights, including the right to a homeland; not an imposed peace, which would simply be war postponed; finally, a peace without winners or losers, making co-operation between Israel and its Arab neighbours possible, since their peaceful coexistence is the key to development in an area that has traditionally been the prey of foreign appetites and the play of foreign interests.

122. To attain that peace, the Spanish Government believes that it is necessary to arrive at a new political formula whose centre-piece must be mutual recognition by Israel and the PLO, as the parties directly concerned in the conflict, and the need for both to give up their extremist goals and agree to negotiate. One cannot try to wipe Israel and its people from the map of the Middle East, for no one

can deny them the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; but there can be no basis for including within those boundaries the annexed Arab territories occupied by force in 1967. Neither can the Palestinian people be disregarded or left out of any negotiation on the substance of the conflict. One cannot deny a people its rights, leaving it no course other than despair, because that path will only lead to violence and chaos, for which we would all be responsible and whose victims we would all become, if we did not break the impasse of the conflict. Neither the United Nations nor the great Powers can substitute rhetoric for action and, at the same time, live with conscience undisturbed.

123. Beyond that area, Spain wishes to increase co-operation with the other countries of Asia and to make clear, in speaking of this vast geographical region, that it is concerned at the serious situation in the heart of that continent. Indeed, the situation in Afghanistan is a source of deep preoccupation for the Spanish Government because the fundamental rights of that Islamic and non-aligned country have been seriously violated. It has been said many times from this rostrum that détente is global and indivisible and, hence, I believe it necessary once again to recall our unequivocal position on this matter.

124. Just as détente is indivisible, so respect for the basic rules of international law is the minimum prerequisite of any peace strategy. Hence, in mentioning this area, it also appears necessary to recall the attitude of the Spanish Government with regard to the taking of hostages in general and in embassies in particular, specifically in Iran.

125. Détente and the basic principles of international law are also being trampled underfoot in the present situation in Kampuchea.

126. Spain cannot view with indifference the fact that the Mediterranean, which has traditionally been a vehicle of culture and prosperity and the cradle of civilizations, has today become a centre of rivalry and the scene of conflict and tension threatening the security and affecting the well-being of its coastal States.

127. In this regard we view with hope the discreet and constant efforts of the Secretary-General to have the inter-communal talks resumed in Cyprus. We hope that through those talks, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, a negotiated solution can be achieved ensuring the territorial integrity and political independence of Cyprus and the peaceful coexistence of its two communities.

128. But throughout the Mediterranean area there is still a long way to go, not only to deepen and broaden co-operation among the coastal States but also to give a new dimension to our approach to the problem of security which, as stated in the Helsinki Final Act, is closely linked to the security of Europe.

129. Co-operation, concerted action for development and security are the ingredients of a global framework, which we have to put together and implement.

<sup>10</sup> Signatory countries to the Cartagena Agreement for Subregional Integration, done at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

130. The repetition of stereotypes, like that of aphorisms, simply increases incredulity. But it is a verifiable and visible fact that Spain is the European country closest to the African continent. Spain's foreign policy will give greater emphasis to this fact and place it in a proper perspective.

131. Spain's interest in Africa is nothing new. The line of Afro-Mediterranean countries to which we have always been linked by close neighbourhood and common history makes this clear. To strengthen Spanish co-operation with Africa south of the Sahara is one objective of my country's present foreign policy. We have to find new formulas for such co-operation and give special attention to those States where our industry, technology and trade can best link up with the aims of those countries, with scrupulous respect for their sovereignty and their own identity. The most important symbol of that interest is to be found in recent visits by Their Majesties, the King and Queen of Spain, to several friendly African countries south of the Sahara.

132. In the history of Spain there is one particular African country in which our language has put down roots and grown. The Republic of Equatorial Guinea is an African nation which speaks Spanish. Thus it is not strange that our collaboration is a close one and that, after the years of turbulence—today forgotten—our reconciliation has been rapid and intense. Spain will continue to help the people and Government of Equatorial Guinea as it has been doing—as long as the people and Government of that nation so desire. On the other hand, I must place special emphasis on the fact that the Spanish Government will maintain this cordial relationship without interfering in any way and with the strictest respect for the independence and sovereignty of that country.

133. Spain also follows with interest and concern existing tensions in southern Africa. The continued occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia, contrary to the resolutions of the United Nations, is a persistent element of conflict in the entire region. We consider that that illegal occupation must be brought to an end as quickly as possible, and therefore we have supported the most recent resolutions reaffirming the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and independence, and the territorial integrity of a united Namibia. We are also concerned at the continuance of the policy of *apartheid* and territorial segregation by South Africa, which gravely affects the human rights situation and is a challenge to the international community.

134. The Spanish Government is also following closely the development of the situation in the Maghreb, with whose peoples Europe is closely linked because of geographical proximity and strong historical, cultural and human ties. We wish to maintain and develop those close relationships of friendship with all the Maghreb peoples, based on principles of balance, co-operation and good neighbourliness, and we continue to be ready to collaborate actively and disinterestedly in any endeavours to secure détente and peace in the region.

135. The Spanish Government wants to see an end to violence and suffering in the Western Sahara and hopes that that problem will find a just solution based on respect for the principles and resolutions of this Organization and of the

OAU, which will safeguard the right of the inhabitants of the Territory to self-determination.

136. This is, and will continue to be, our position on a dispute in which Spain ceased to be a party when it irrevocably and definitively terminated its responsibilities as administering Power of the Territory of Western Sahara. Indeed, on 26 February 1976 Spain terminated its presence in the Territory and the administrative role that it had carried out there. The Spanish Government at that time communicated this fact officially to this Organization<sup>11</sup>, and has made it clear ever since to all the parties. Spain seeks no advantage for itself or for anyone; it seeks peace, stability and harmonization of the legitimate interests involved. Neither appeals nor pressure, whatever form the latter may take, will divert us from our unswerving, consistent line. We are sure that this is the only way in which Spain can help in achieving peace: by absolute impartiality in dealing with the parties to the conflict and resolute adherence to our principles. I have mentioned pressure, and I cannot but protest most energetically at the violence which is being directed against innocent citizens of my country who, contrary to international law and with utter contempt for human rights, are being used as hostages.

137. When the Charter of the United Nations was signed at San Francisco 35 years ago, no provision was made for the prompt liquidation of colonial empires. On the contrary, machinery for international trusteeship was established through the trusteeship administration system provided for in the Charter, bearing in mind that there were still territories which were not independent. But new nations developed, going beyond the political and legal system which, after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)—the twentieth anniversary of which we shall celebrate this year—had become completely invalidated. The result has been the gigantic work of decolonization, which is one of the most notable achievements of the United Nations. But that work is not yet completed, because there are still colonial situations, such as that of Gibraltar.

138. The British and Spanish Governments made a preliminary step towards a settlement of that dispute when they adopted at Lisbon, last April, a joint declaration in which both parties undertook, in a spirit of friendship and in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to begin negotiations to solve the problem of Gibraltar.<sup>12</sup>

139. This will not be an easy task. What is important is the convergence of the political will to embark upon a course which has only one goal: the settlement of the dispute, so that Gibraltar, once again part of the Spanish fatherland, will never again be an obstacle between Spain and the United Kingdom.

140. The balance of terror is a negative concept which destroys real peace and coexistence among peoples and which has not been able to achieve the absence of war. Therefore, disarmament is still for us an unalterable objective. We must check the race to stockpile and develop nuclear weapons, which consumes incalculable skills and

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1976*, document S/11997.

<sup>12</sup> See document A/AC.109/603 and Corr.1, paras. 12-13.

resources and injects suspicion and mistrust into the relations between the great Powers.

141. My country also considers it necessary to limit conventional weapons to the levels necessary for the preservation of a country's security and to that end we have made constructive proposals for the regulation of the fraudulent traffic in conventional weapons.

142. A few days ago there ended the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the new International Development Strategy and to global negotiations. Thus it would be premature to make any evaluation of the results achieved. None the less, we should like to state our satisfaction at the consensus attained on the far-reaching subject of the new International Development Strategy, although we deeply regret that it was not possible to take account of the concerns of the industrialized developing countries which import energy, among which Spain figures.

143. As to the balance of what was achieved in the preparations for the global negotiations of 1981, I cannot but express our disappointment. When the Group of 77 put forward its proposal on global negotiations,<sup>13</sup> Spain was the first Western country favourably to welcome that initiative, as it publicly proclaimed in this hall,<sup>14</sup> reaffirming the traditional position of our country in favour of a North-South dialogue, which would be institutionalized and ongoing, and the agenda for which would include the crucial subject of energy. However, despite the long and intense efforts made, we were unable to reach unanimous agreement on the way in which the negotiations would be conducted; nor did we deal with the way in which the agenda would be drawn up.

144. There was not the political will to break the vicious circle of rhetoric and demagoguery and to implement an effective plan which would make it possible to carry through the necessary changes in international economic and financial structures and make it possible to establish a new, more just and humane order which would ensure greater and more balanced economic and social development for all peoples. In a word, what was lacking was true solidarity in the planning and winning of the war against disease, ignorance and poverty.

145. The Spanish Government believes that the final basis of true peace can be found only in respect for and protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual. We have legal instruments which define those rights on the world and regional levels. But we need effective machinery for safeguard and protection because totalitarian régimes continue to exist, and new ones arise, under which men are persecuted or discriminated against because of their race, ideas or beliefs and because human rights include not only civil and political rights but also, as a harmonious and inseparable whole, economic, social and cultural rights.

146. This Organization must bring to bear its ideas and initiatives so that those rights can be guaranteed and effectively protected.

<sup>13</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 34*, part three, annex I.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting, paras. 168-171.

147. In the social field, one of the constant concerns of the Spanish Government continues to be the protection of the human rights of migrant workers and their families. We view with interest the work which the General Assembly is to undertake this year in drafting a convention on the effective protection of those rights.

148. With regard to progressively better training of women and their necessary legal equality with men, the Spanish Government took an active part in the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July this year, in the course of which we signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*resolution 34/180, annex*].

149. All of us in this Organization must pursue in solidarity energetic action in the struggle against terrorism, which has declared an implacable war against freedom, democracy, the servants of law and order, and innocent, weak and defenceless people. No one can support terrorism. No one can support it because terrorism constitutes the ultimate form of totalitarian barbarity, which must be eradicated by us.

150. The rights of others are inseparable from our own rights. Terrorism therefore affects everyone because it attacks our own human status. Only with that understanding can we join hands in solidarity to do battle against terrorism and win.

151. Epilogues are often favoured occasions for platitudes, but I shall confine myself to reaffirming the confidence of Spain in the capacity of the United Nations to mobilize and unite and in its lofty potential for encouraging and alerting mankind. The United Nations carries out a function which is fundamental to survival. Spain intends to strengthen the Organization as far as it is able to do so, and to be attentive to its call.

152. This Organization came into being so that peoples of succeeding generations might be saved from war, domination, injustice and oppression. That calls for true solidarity, wisdom in action and tenacity in endeavour. It requires that we give up, in the words of one of the great contemporary Spanish poets, "that second innocence which leads to not believing in anything".

153. It is not opportunism on my part if today I mark the commitment of the renewed Spanish democracy—evoking the memory of one of its oldest inspirations, the knight of La Mancha—to righting wrongs; or, in the language of our times and our circumstances, to lending a hand in reducing intolerance, lessening tragedy, alleviating catastrophe and supporting the aspirations embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

154. Mr. MacGUIGAN (Canada): Mr. President, my first words must be ones of congratulation to you on the assumption of the highest office in the Assembly. Your election represents not only a recognition of your own outstanding personal qualities but also an indication of the respect in which your country is held by the community of nations.

155. During the special session of the Assembly on economic co-operation, I had the opportunity of appearing here twice to address the Assembly. Different evaluations will be made of the results of the session but none of them will term the exercise a full success. The world's economic problems remain starkly visible: hundreds of millions of lives wasting in poverty, the development goals of many developing nations knocked askew by soaring bills for essential imports and recession in the industrialized world. Solutions are not easily available. The issues are complex. Quite clearly, approaches vary. In many respects, the difficulties of the special session in reaching agreement reflect the difficulties inherent in the world's economic problems. However, I urge all nations to look towards productive compromise on the negotiating issues so that the process of trying to deal together with the problems can go forward. The General Assembly provides that opportunity.

156. Meanwhile, Governments need to look hard at their own efforts to contribute to economic redressment. As announced at the closing meeting of the special session, Canada will for the rest of the decade be increasing its aid contribution.<sup>15</sup> We are also studying other areas where our contribution to development can be improved.

157. The world which this Assembly reflects is one buffeted by change. Both a dynamic of development and an irresistible force, change is in many respects a mixed blessing. It can be volatile, destabilizing. Northern and southern methods and cultures meet and sometimes clash. Accelerated aspirations are often frustrated. People fear change: they may reject it, often after breakdowns occur, or suppress its social and political expression, which can be an invitation to revolution.

158. But change will go on and must go on. We must, whenever possible, make both technological change and social change acts of progress. The task of our world Organization is to prompt and channel change into positive and predictable directions. The end lesson, as far as the work of the General Assembly is concerned, is that economic development and orderly adaptation to its dynamic of change are basic ingredients of peace and security.

159. For example, I say again that there cannot be authentic or enduring security in the world as long as there is widespread global poverty and economic injustice. Increasingly, we recognize the economic interdependence of the nations of the world. This reflects both an economic fact and a method of approaching issues. Our interdependence is a sign of changing world relationships and is also a response to the dynamics of rapid change itself.

160. The North-South dialogue has its political dimension, as can be seen in most world crises. And just as we must accept change in our economic relationships and reject intervention and the economic subordination of one country by another, so we must reject the political and military equivalents. Just as we are strengthening our international instruments for promoting and channelling economic change, so we must continue to strengthen our methods and means for promoting international peace and social and political justice.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 21st meeting, para. 14.

161. A glance at our political geography can help to illustrate this.

162. Where is there greater evidence of the resistance to change than in the perpetuated insult which *apartheid* in South Africa represents to any human being who cares about human dignity? "Oh, but they are beginning to change", I am told; "Do not disturb the process". What process? Where are the changes? A minority of whites still totally dominates a majority of blacks through a repressive society and a system rooted in racist supremacy. This is not acceptable in any form and it never will be. South Africa must recognize the inevitability of change.

163. We again welcome Zimbabwe to this body. We applaud the changes which its presence here represents.

164. Similarly, we look forward to the day when we can welcome the representatives of Namibia to the General Assembly as representatives of a Member State. After more than three years of intensive United Nations effort, the settlement expected in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is within our grasp. Technical arrangements are in hand. Only the commitment on the part of South Africa is missing. Right now the circumstances for reaching a final and peaceful settlement are promising. If left untended, they will only deteriorate. A team of the Secretary-General's representatives is to meet shortly with representatives of South Africa in an effort to clear the way for reaching that final settlement. The consequences of continued resistance to change will be severe.

165. It is with the deepest and most troubled apprehension that we contemplate Soviet action in Afghanistan. What is the occupation of that non-aligned country if not old-time great Power behaviour of the kind which the United Nations was formed to eliminate? What has this invasion meant to us all? The process of East-West détente, of vital importance to the world community, is now undermined; world peace itself is now more fragile; confidence about intentions is now shaken; non-alignment is certainly now in jeopardy; and, lastly, the flouting by the Soviet Union of the solution proposed last January by the huge majority of States in this Assembly, and particularly of the call for the early and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops, inevitably colours our reaction to positions the Soviet Union takes on other issues before this Assembly. We again call on the Soviet Union to restore to Afghanistan the sovereign rights which its people are entitled to expect and deserve.

166. I turn now to the situation in Kampuchea. There again we have witnessed the invasion of a small nation by a powerful neighbour wishing to impose its solution, its views, its régime. There again we have an outpouring of refugees looking to the world for survival. Is this what some leaders consider to be *realpolitik*: a policy of strike when you can, take what you can? What cynicism. Kampuchea, racked for decades by other peoples' wars and then by a régime of undiluted destruction, is a global concern. Many of us have joined Kampuchea's neighbours in keeping the survivors alive and in settling the refugees. But the real problems of that area require a political solution and we emphatically reject the occupation of Kampuchea and the attempt to control change by force of arms which Viet Nam's invasion by definition represents.



167. I welcome and support the vigorous efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations to promote an equitable solution to the issues. I urge the international community to persevere in this just cause and not to accept that a *fait accompli* has been imposed by Viet Nam.

168. Let me turn now to the Middle East. Is that situation to exasperate this Assembly for the next 30 years? Has the past not taught us how dangerous a state of continual unresolved tension can be for the people of the area itself as well as for the world as a whole? Respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every State in the area and for the right of all States, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries must remain the corner-stone in efforts to reach a comprehensive solution to the Middle East dispute. There must also be recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Like other peoples they are entitled to political expression within a defined territory and to participation in the negotiating process to find a just and comprehensive peace settlement.

169. The current negotiations have led to a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. There has been progress in dealing with serious problems, but difficulties remain. Further decisions must soon be made or else achievements to date will be jeopardized with all the consequences that this would entail. Whatever the method or forum, I urge all parties to recognize the force of change and to move away from confrontation and violence to moderation and compromise.

*[The speaker continued in French (interpretation from French).]*

170. The aforementioned situations are some, but by no means all, of those where there is a threat to world peace through resistance to change or through the recourse to arms to impose change. In different ways, they serve to illustrate the need to abandon prevailing methods of resolving conflicts in exchange for collectively developed machinery, and not to revert to the rule of force. The world will not become more stable in the next decade. The rate of change will accelerate. There is a real probability that certain States may try to exploit the vulnerability of others to their own advantage. A determination to channel and to control the volatile impact of change into constructive, peaceful directions is necessary. First, however, we need to break away from old patterns of approach and attitude.

171. The North-South dialogue is an obvious example in this respect. We must recognize our global responsibilities, but resist the notion that every problem must have a global, generalized solution. I also think that there are issues and stages of discussion where bloc-to-bloc negotiation will be less useful. By way of illustration, I think of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. There a complicated array of different groupings of countries arranged to correspond with differing economic, political and even geographical interests, has wrestled with long-standing questions of principle and tradition. This method has enabled the countries involved to draft, in effect, a new constitution for two thirds of the world's surface in the more pragmatic, realistic and, I believe, productive way which a pluralistic approach can afford. Change demands such departures from accepted dogma and I believe that our approach to

North-South issues is clearly in need of both stimulation and reform.

*[The speaker resumed in English.]*

172. Another area of potential institutional improvement is the United Nations Secretariat itself. The office of the Secretary-General has unique value as an instrument for attenuating conflict. The Government of Iran still keeps United States diplomatic personnel hostages almost a year after their forceful seizure. Although the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General to arrange a solution have not yet achieved their objective, they illustrate the potential of his office for promoting solutions, at least in other less unreasonable and chaotic circumstances. In the past 35 years his predecessors have in fact often led the Organization into significant developments, such as peace-keeping operations, which improved our collective ability to manage conflict. Yet there is a potential for further improvement to increase the Organization's capability for mediation in conflict.

173. Cyprus is a case in point. There, we need a two-pronged effort to heal the divisions which have plagued its two communities since shortly after independence. First, peace-keeping efforts should continue. Canadian armed forces have served with UNFICYP for 16 years, and Canada intends to maintain its contribution as long as active efforts to achieve a settlement appear to have promise. Secondly, direct mediation efforts by the Secretary-General and his representatives should be encouraged, to promote substantive negotiations with representatives of the two communities in order to resolve their differences peaceably. In this case, peace-keeping and mediation go hand in hand, both dependent upon the skill and dedication of the United Nations to furthering our common aim of ensuring peaceful change.

174. By a similar token, I believe that greater use should be made of the Secretary-General's responsibilities under the Charter to act with the authority of his office in situations arising from violations of human rights. For many years Canada has introduced and supported proposals in the General Assembly to reinforce the Organization's abilities to promote and protect human rights.

175. I continue to support the concept of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the strengthening of the role of review and inquiry of the Commission on Human Rights. Although the attainment of these objectives may take some time, interim solutions are available. I urge the Secretary-General to use his good offices where the evidence of human rights violation is sufficiently serious. All States should extend their co-operation to him in order to alleviate difficulties and avoid confrontations and to further the interests of international co-operation.

176. Neither the political nor the humanitarian roles which I have suggested demand changes in the Charter of the United Nations or fundamentally different mandates from the General Assembly. Rather, these roles rest on a willingness of Member States to respect the Charter, to recognize the desirability of channelling the winds of change into constructive directions and to abandon old behavioural patterns.

177. Another area to which the Canadian Government attaches special significance is disarmament. At this General Assembly, the midpoint between the first and second special sessions on disarmament, I welcome the much greater attention which the United Nations gives to the subject, although I regret the lack of specific and ratified agreements on further measures of arms control and disarmament. Are the peoples of the world not entitled to feel impatience, for example, that our Governments have still failed to negotiate a nuclear test-ban treaty which can be accepted and ratified by all States, or that a treaty to ban chemical weapons remains blocked by disagreement over means of verification?

178. Canada is committed to breaking the pattern of madness which spiralling rearmament represents. Our recently appointed special Ambassador for disarmament will be working at this session towards the goals set out by Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada two years ago at the special session on disarmament,<sup>16</sup> especially those that restrain and cut back the competition in strategic nuclear weapons. Without restraint in this area we can have little reason for optimism that the proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world can be stopped. As a first step we will pursue vigorously the cessation of the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons.

179. Breaking the patterns of the past, adapting to change, improving our collective machinery—these are the emphases we should give to this Assembly's work. When countries revert to outdated type by hanging on to privileges, using force, keeping self-serving methods of approach to issues, our collective achievement is diminished.

180. As an example, may I return briefly to the recent results of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The emerging law of the sea treaty would be robbed of much of its meaning without universality and durability. Those conditions will be fulfilled only if all interested parties commit themselves to a consensus which is fair to all. We have not seen such a consensus in at least one vital area, that of sea-bed mining. If, for example, the interests of the land-based mineral producers, including Canada and many developing countries, are ignored or overridden because of the desire of some States to secure unrestricted access to the mineral riches of the sea-bed, then the future of the treaty of the law of the sea may be badly compromised. The problem can only be compounded by States stepping outside the internationally agreed framework to play the game by their own set of rules.

181. In order to bridge the gap between producing and consuming countries and find a common basis of agreement on this issue, we have joined a number of countries from the developing world in initiating an independent United Nations study to determine the impact of the sea-bed production formula proposed by the major mineral-consuming States. I hope that the results of this study will encourage a fresh look at the whole question. That fresh look could be crucial to the future of the new convention, which, in turn, is crucial to the future of us all.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th meeting, paras. 2-50.

182. The recent law of the sea experience is instructive in two different respects. First, it has demonstrated that serious negotiations carried on within a sensible, practical framework can resolve difficult questions involving deep changes in the approach to issues where the willingness to do so exists. Secondly, it demonstrates in perhaps the most cogent possible way that no institution, no matter how well conceived or well administered, can function in the absence of agreement on such a fundamental question as adherence to the principle of consensus.

183. I have spoken about change in the international system, and I have tried to underline our collective responsibility to ensure that the forces of change lead in positive directions. This Assembly is itself a symbol of change in the world. Three times as large as it was 30 years ago, with quite different emphases in its work, it needs now to set its imperatives against the ideals identified in the Charter. Although the Charter was drawn up in the absence of most countries represented here, I am sure that those ideals still represent a valid framework for our endeavour. Indeed, they are constants in a sea of change. I urge our rededication to them.

184. Mr. ZAMBRANO VELASCO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I should like to fulfil the pleasant duty of extending to you, on behalf of the delegation of Venezuela and on my own behalf, our sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Your outstanding performance as Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, a country with which Venezuela has close links, your thorough knowledge of the United Nations and your great personal qualities are the best guarantee that this General Assembly will have wise and effective guidance.

185. I also wish to congratulate and express our gratitude to Mr. Salim, who presided over the thirty-fourth session of the Assembly, the two special emergency sessions, on Afghanistan and Palestine, and the eleventh special session of the Assembly, with the deftness and skill which have characterized his outstanding career as Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania.

186. The United Nations has played a decisive role in decolonization, a field in which, precisely, Mr. Salim has distinguished himself. The entry of two new States as Members of this world Organization once again highlights the role of the United Nations in this field. In this connexion, I am pleased to welcome the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and to reiterate our greetings to the delegation of Zimbabwe, which are joining us in the work of the General Assembly.

187. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time of acute international confrontations, of anguish and threats of war, together with major challenges and unswerving aspirations to peace.

188. At the outset of the Third United Nations Development Decade, not only economic problems are besetting relations between nations but also, with increasing priority, political-military problems have arisen in various parts of the world. Thus, since the last regular session, an atmosphere has been created such that often, and with a certain undertone of inevitability, one hears talk of the world wit-

nessing the prologue of what will be the third world war. Such a situation compels us to stop and consider, first, the fundamental role of the United Nations itself and its ability to rise above the risks of an existence which internationally carries the sign of fear of war.

189. Our Organization was born of the concerted political will which, after the Second World War, decided to embody in a supreme international forum the shared aspirations for peace, freedom and justice.

190. The international community has found in the United Nations, despite the shortcomings of the Organization itself and of Member States, an instrument well suited to the continuous striving towards the high goals that were and continue to be the common aspiration of mankind.

191. It would therefore be irrational to disregard the merits of the United Nations. We praise them and, in a positive spirit, maintain that what is needed today is that the collective political will that brought about the birth of the United Nations be attuned to the specific requirements of the hour.

192. It is obvious that responsibility for present international tensions lies with the great Powers, which look upon the United Nations and the international scene with a self-centred attitude. Thus, for the great hegemonic Powers, peace becomes a mere balance of power.

193. The traditional international order is one that has as its weak underpinnings the common fear of the great Powers of the consequences of a nuclear war and the added fear of the other countries, which, while not being or aspiring to be front-rank Powers, know that the tragic and incalculable results of a third world war would not only affect the nations that started it, but would be devastatingly reflected in all the countries in the world.

194. The most negative forces of conservatism in the effort to preserve the present international *status quo* are the great Powers. This conservative attitude, which is projected in any review of the international situation in terms of their selfish hegemonic interests, is the back-up position for the irrational wave of warring that is shaking the world.

195. The United Nations must have the capacity for self-transformation so as to deprive the great Powers of their archaic privileges, which are a threat to the common good of mankind. We are convinced that for this Organization and for the world the hour of truth has come.

196. The crisis is structural and deep-rooted; it is felt world-wide. We have been brought to this by an intrinsically unjust international system: artificially induced consumption; waste of natural resources; irreversible environmental damage; monetary and financial chaos; economies in bondage; uncontrolled inflation; manipulation of human beings, not just in body but, what is worse, also in spirit; stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction that could in a flash transform this beautiful planet we were given as our dwelling-place into cosmic dust; and while, on the one hand, needless luxuries and weapons are amassed at astronomical cost, on the other, two thirds of mankind suffer chronic hunger and subsist in subhuman conditions.

197. The United Nations has developed basic principles for harmonious coexistence, which speaks highly of its willingness to face bravely the challenges of this tragic time. Those principles include non-intervention, collective security, the self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and permanent sovereignty over natural resources—to mention only some.

198. But unfortunately, we must point out that these have often been ignored by the great Powers with deliberate selfishness, and no way has been found to control this attitude. Some attempts have even been made to justify it by invoking the principle of the reserved dominion of the State, a principle that was brought forth in history to protect the weak and afflicted, not to provide an aggressor's action with a cloak of honesty.

199. This hour of truth implies an appeal to reflexion: we are still able to sit down and discuss, rationally and without passion, the events that are inexorably bringing us to a collapse; we are in a position to measure the depth of the crisis and, through deliberate decisions, to correct the course of history. Crises are, in the last analysis, the consequence of human action, and human will can therefore bring about their positive solution.

200. In order to achieve such results, an essential condition must be met, a condition that the Government of Venezuela has made a permanent norm of its policy—a fervent belief in justice and in solidarity. Any principle is but an empty shell unless it is permanently powered by this vital concept.

201. Our peoples believe in justice; they are aware that it can be achieved in this world; they know that a better mankind is possible if one fights for it. This vital aspiration will brook no opposition from principles interpreted at whim, or from deadly weapons, which can do no more than contain the first onslaught by an endless multitude. Let us hope that this distressing reality of our era will be understood before it is too late.

202. Therefore, as has been repeatedly stated by President Luis Herrera Campíns, Venezuela's foreign policy is based on international social justice and on solidarity. That is why he has affirmed his belief in a more just and more humane international law based on the development of the human person and of all men, and rooted in peace, justice and integral and harmonious development—a peace which is not only absence of war, a justice imbued with social feelings between the peoples of the earth, and an integral harmonious development which makes man the centre and aim of its concern. At the same time, that international law would have solidarity as part of its substance, which implies the conviction that relations must have their foundations in the law and in the obligation of those who have the most towards those who have the least—not as a gift or as a gracious concession, but as a rule of international legal norms inspired by social justice.

203. Those are the terms of the hour of truth. This is the moment when one clearly perceives that the new international order is not going to be achieved by short-term adjustments, which would only prolong and intensify the agony of the present order, but by a change in the vital conception of the world in which we live.

204. Latin America, Africa and Asia can and must act jointly in the United Nations with a clear policy aimed at achieving democratic management of the international community as an element of balance vis-à-vis the great Powers.

205. Our peoples are the major creditors of history. And since we have had a wretched experience with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, we are bound to act together so that we may achieve effective changes that will enable us to throw off the shackles of dependence which have often made our peoples mere pawns in the games played by the super-Powers.

206. In their already lengthy struggle, the third world countries have had positive experience in concerting their efforts in their own internal processes, as well as in their bilateral and multilateral relations.

207. The achievements of the Group of 77 and the unity they have maintained in the North-South dialogue, as well as the improvements they have gained in the specific terms of South-South co-operation, constitute an encouraging example of what can be done in the immediate future.

208. Given the dangers and risks of the present international situation, we the developing countries cannot maintain a mere attitude of complaint or accusation. The certain possibility of democratic management of the international community compels us to be constantly united in our efforts.

209. In this context, the struggle against the international *status quo* will require of medium-sized and small States clear objectives, creative capacity, political imagination, negotiating flexibility, realistic positions, bold constancy and a steadfastness of purpose.

210. Democratic management of the international community, based on the principle of the legal equality of States, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, must be a main goal in the struggle of our countries to ensure predominance of this principle. It is a goal to be achieved through a succession of partial gains.

211. The strategy of the major centres of hegemony will be directed at sowing the seeds of dejection, by presenting as illusory or as doomed to failure an effort which only an immature point of view could present as being susceptible of immediate achievement.

212. Democratic management of the international community can and should be of concern to all countries that cannot agree to important decisions relating to their own destiny being taken without their participation. In this connexion, recent events in Poland provide significant evidence which should give much food for thought in view of the factors they have brought to light.

213. The pre-war climate of uncertainty is rooted in the great-Power rivalry for mastery of geopolitically important areas and for access to and control over strategic resources. The pre-war risk exists because of the senseless behaviour of the great blocs, which devise and carry out covert or overt

forms of domination over peoples, blatantly seeking only to increase their actual power.

214. Without democratic management of the international community, the new international order will not be achieved. In the present international *status quo* which the majority of the developed countries want to maintain, the new order will be a difficult goal, and the global negotiations to attain it will continue to be fraught with problems.

215. Attempts are being made to divide and weaken the Group of 77. But the political maturity and serious-mindedness of the Group must lead it to seek tenaciously a meaningful dialogue aimed at practical agreement and effective action. The strengthening of such a dialogue would bring us closer to our goals.

216. The Government of Venezuela is convinced of the need further to secure our horizontal relationships of economic and political solidarity among small and medium-sized countries. Often, the policies and strategies followed by the developing countries were a reaction to the developed countries' attitudes and policies or, at least, the results of structurally asymmetrical relations between the centre and the periphery.

217. We do not deny the usefulness and value of such positions or the imperative need for them to be upheld and strengthened in the future. At the same time, far more meaningful efforts should be made to expand the South-South links. I would go further and even venture to say that if we have not made more progress in the North-South dialogue, it is because practical solidarity among developing countries has not been sufficiently strong.

218. This is an underlying challenge which, so far, we have met with only piecemeal responses; yet, its vast possibilities are within our reach: all we need is the will and the determination to arrive at an understanding among ourselves.

219. In the context of the international political situation, we must sadly recognize that there are examples of those who expect to be able to ensure the, albeit uncertain, survival of their régimes through docility to the dictates of the great hegemonic centres.

220. They are the ones who fall prey to the historical cynicism of applauding the whittling down of the sovereignty of peoples, whenever it is carried out by the Power to which they have given a lien on their destiny, all the while pretending to be the prophets of a just and dignified future, whereas their own indignity and injustice, in a less hypocritical world, would strike them dumb with shame.

221. The great capitalist and socialist Powers should know that the developing countries are not prepared to acquiesce in mute resignation to a so-called *realpolitik* by which they seek only the international hardening of their attitudes.

222. We developing peoples are the great creditors of history and the best reserves for peace. Our effective responsibility and our serious international dynamism are more than ever needed today to lessen tensions, to ward off the risks of war and to instil new life into international organizations. The democratic management of the international

community must become a reality and an effective guarantee for peace.

223. Five years after the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki, the real results, aside from occasional rhetoric and the demagoguery of bloc politics, could hardly have been more disappointing.

224. The second review session of that Conference is to take place at Madrid in November. If Governments continue to view summits like these as opportunities to assess their strength and to win Pyrrhic diplomatic victories with no positive impact on the life of peoples, we fear that, even though the signatories of the Act to be adopted at the Madrid session be equal to or greater in number than those of the Helsinki Final Act, there is little for Europe in particular and the world in general to expect from the Conference.

225. The international community wishes that Conference to meet without this balance of dread, a false balance of fear, as a backdrop for the talks. The international community knows that, since the Helsinki Act was signed, there has not been one moment without specific reports from all sides of a lack of compliance with what was agreed to there.

226. Furthermore, in the time between the Helsinki and Madrid Conferences, deplorable events have occurred as evidence of the intention of the great Powers to resist any significant change in the international order in which they enjoy a privileged status.

227. We, the genuinely peace-loving peoples, understand that part of the approach of the super-Powers is their intention of creating docile sub-Powers, which will acquire and maintain this essential trait because of their systems of political and military co-operation.

228. The developing world is familiar with that kind of procedure. It knows full well that anyone who becomes a party to warlike adventure and irresponsible violence is setting out on a fratricidal road and ends up with his own sovereignty and that of others tarnished.

229. Since Helsinki such sorrowful and reprehensible events have occurred as the emergence of the tragic situation in Kampuchea and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Venezuela stated here, at the United Nations, on the occasion of the sixth emergency special session, its rejection of such aggression.<sup>17</sup> Today we ratify our condemnation. Afghanistan is still an occupied country and the repression unleashed by the invading army against the Afghan patriots, the type of weapons used and the inadmissible reasoning put forward to defend what is indefensible call for a consistent and unswerving denunciation by the entire third world. Our repudiation of such procedures, which are drawn from the most conventional imperialist geopolitics, is clear and trenchant.

230. As a result of events in Afghanistan there is a not insignificant crisis within the non-aligned movement. We shall support every effort to achieve adherence by the movement to the principles which brought it into the world.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, and Annexes, 3rd meeting, paras. 81-94.

231. Non-alignment is the guarantee for the complete self-determination of peoples and the sound foundation for absolute sovereignty, the self-respect of nations, mutual respect in relations among States, a balanced peace and the hope for an ever more just future, and not for the balance of fear of war and the growing degradation of the weakest peoples. Finally it is the guarantee that it is possible to achieve democratic management of the international community, a new world law and the new international economic order.

232. Bloc politics—as we see—leads only to a balance of terror and to limited conflicts and hotbeds of local wars, which ultimately causes direct harm to developing countries.

233. Venezuela pin-points the position adopted by Zimbabwe as hopeful and positive in the context of the present African and international situation. The statement made by Prime Minister Mugabe when his country joined the United Nations<sup>18</sup> offers a clear definition of constructive and authentic non-alignment. The people of Zimbabwe proved that independence can be achieved and maintained without any alignment at all with the great hegemonic centres of world power; that internal and international leadership is enhanced when respect for one's own patriotic dignity is set as an effective containment wall against the interests of the super-Powers, whose only wish is to acquire docile instruments; and that independence can be achieved and maintained without the doubtful help of foreign armies on one's own soil.

234. In Zimbabwe the people were able to choose their own destiny by the civic and peaceful means of the vote. The leadership of Prime Minister Mugabe is strengthened by popular opinion, as expressed in free elections, which showed the world which choices the people of Zimbabwe really wanted, and which were simply the effect of orchestrated propaganda.

235. On greeting the presence of Zimbabwe once again, we affirm in solidarity that African problems can be solved only by Africans. We say this because we want the problems of Latin America to be solved only by Latin Americans.

236. We have not allowed, nor are we prepared to allow, any attempts to be made to play irresponsibly with the future of the peoples of Latin America by the use of whatever influence anyone may have over them to increase the impact of ominous bloc policies through organized violence.

237. We support all genuinely Latin American proposals which, in this hour, which is crucial for our hemisphere, and especially for Central America and the Caribbean—seek to overcome problems by civic and peaceful means.

238. This is an appropriate opportunity to reiterate most energetically our condemnation of terrorism as a form of struggle, whatever the political beliefs of those who engage in it and regardless of where it takes place. Criminal acts cannot be justified by any flag.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 4th meeting.



239. Venezuela's basic principles of solidarity and co-operation have been evident for years, especially in Central America and the Caribbean.

240. The recent Venezuelan-Mexican programme for co-operation in energy and finance, signed by President Herrera Campíns and President López Portillo at San José, Costa Rica as part of the programme for the region implemented by Venezuela during the past five years—a programme which earned the praise of the international community—proves that effective terms for co-operation are to be found in genuine forms of civilized life and not in fostering organized violence. It is through them that we shall make true headway in building the Latin American future of our peoples.

241. Venezuela believes that the Caribbean should be a zone of peace. The establishment of the Caribbean as a zone of peace would require the dismantling of the military operations bases and installations of those that are rivals for world supremacy, and would call for a stop to all interventionism, whether intra-regional, extra-regional, continental or insular. The establishment of the Caribbean as a zone of peace would also call for an immediate demonstration of co-operation aimed towards the solution of the grave economic, social and other problems of the area.

242. Speaking of the Caribbean, we wish to reaffirm here that, for historical, geographic, social, cultural and sentimental reasons, we consider Puerto Rico to be an integral part of the Latin American community and not otherwise. Our support for the right of Puerto Ricans to self-determination is the result of a deep democratic conviction and an expression of Latin American solidarity which has stood the test of years in a variety of circumstances.

243. At the recent Caracas meeting on the new international information order, a strategy harmful to the developing countries was in evidence. What is at stake is nothing other than the right to inform and to be informed. The two facets of this right to information have been manipulated, and attempts are still made to manipulate them.

244. Venezuela advocated at the Paris and Caracas meetings, and will advocate at the General Conference of UNESCO, now opening its twenty-first session at Belgrade, the concept of a new independent information order, one that is sovereign and that will serve as a guarantee of effective defence by developing peoples against sophisticated forms of domination.

245. Venezuela supports all actions designed to eradicate from the face of the earth racism in all its forms, especially the form which claims to set itself up as a system, as is the case in South Africa with *apartheid*.

246. Our support for the independence of Namibia, in accordance with United Nations decisions, is clear and unequivocal.

247. We view with concern the existing situation in the Middle East. Peace in that region of the world will not be

possible as long as efforts continue to be made to impose sectarian policies which are contrary to the best spirit of the international community and which refuse to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

248. Venezuela has supported United Nations resolutions which recognize both those rights and the right of the State of Israel to existence and security, resolutions which advocate comprehensive, peaceful, just and equitable solutions with the participation of all the parties to the conflict.

249. We fervently hope that peace will return to Lebanon, the tormented nation with which we are united by many ties of friendship and affection.

250. At the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, concluded in August this year, considerable progress was made. Basic questions were resolved through compromise formulas which had the support of the vast majority of the participants in the Conference. It is our hope that at the tenth session, to be held in April 1981, pending matters will be settled to the satisfaction of all States concerned. We are pleased that the lengthy process of laborious and complex negotiations may soon come to an end with the adoption of an international instrument to be called the Caracas Convention on the Law of the Sea.

251. At the present time, the global negotiations on economic co-operation are a matter of importance. The fact that three countries—the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany—did not join in the general consensus arrived at after long and arduous discussions prevented the eleventh special session of the General Assembly from setting the opening date of the global negotiations for next year as had been anticipated. Like all the other Members of the United Nations, Venezuela hopes that those three countries will reconsider their position and will join in the consensus as quickly as possible.

252. The General Assembly must complete, during the current session, the work which was not achieved with regard to procedures and the agenda. Venezuela and the other countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries affirmed, at their recent trilateral meeting,<sup>19</sup> their full support for the global negotiations. The international community must resolve to do everything in its power to achieve results that will be of benefit to all, and especially to the developing countries.

253. In many areas, and following various initiatives, the United Nations is working ceaselessly towards a new international order. There are many obstacles. Great difficulties will arise. The guarantee of progressive achievement for the benefit of mankind must be found in the clear political will of the majority of Member States.

254. Today, more than ever, peace is needed. The yearning for peace is sincerely shared by all peoples of the world. In this connexion, the President of Venezuela, Mr. Luis Herrera Campíns, has stated that "the desire for an international life free from armed conflicts is a meeting ground for all people of goodwill".

<sup>19</sup> Held at Vienna from 15 to 17 September 1980.

255. Peace is consolidated by justice. Peace requires freedom. Peace is the result of truth. In a memorable message, His Holiness Pope John Paul II rightly affirmed that "truth is the strength of peace".

256. Let us be capable of responding to the challenges of the hour with truth, and with the effectiveness of practical goodness.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*