



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Johannesson (Iceland)	47
Speech by Mr. Frydenlund (Norway)	48
Speech by Mr. Väyrynen (Finland)	52
Speech by Mr. Arias-Stella (Peru)	56
Speech by Mr. Elvir Sierra (Honduras)	59
Speech by Mr. Tannis (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines)	62

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JOHANNESSON (Iceland): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to join my colleagues who have congratulated you on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your wisdom and experience will stand you in good stead in your search for solutions of the many problems which this General Assembly will discuss.

2. Allow me also to join in the welcome to the new Members of our Organization, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

3. It is a special pleasure for me to have this opportunity to address the General Assembly. In 1946 I was a member of the Icelandic delegation to the second part of the first session of the General Assembly here in New York, when Iceland was admitted as a Member of the Organization. There was optimism in the air then. No doubt the most optimistic idealists have been disappointed. They have not seen all their hopes realized. But the words and deeds of visionaries often bring results, although they themselves do not live long enough to see those results. Ideals can have wings to fly into the future and across borders.

4. When we look at the progress of the United Nations, which in the beginning raised such high hopes, we see both a bright and a dark side and many changing shapes. For more than a third of a century the United Nations has successfully accomplished a great deal for the good of all mankind. However, we are obliged to note that a number of the items of the agenda of the first session of the General Assembly, held in 1946, are still under discussion 34 years later. That shows us that, even with the greatest of effort, there are often many difficulties to be overcome before attaining a goal.

5. However, we also have in this Assembly hall evidence of the great changes in international society which have taken place in this short period in the history of the world. Since I first attended the Assembly session in 1946, the membership has tripled, and by far the greatest number of new Members are former colonies which have now become full participants in the community of nations.

6. Unfortunately, it is not overstating the case to say that the atmosphere in East-West relations has deteriorated since the conclusion of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. This turn of events, along with other occurrences on the world scene, now throws new shadows on the development of international relations.

7. The situation in Afghanistan stands out and casts the darkest shadow. A vast majority of the nations represented in this distinguished body strongly deplored the armed intervention in Afghanistan in a resolution adopted in January of this year by the sixth emergency special session [*resolution ES-6/2*]. That resolution clearly states that respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States is a fundamental principle of the Charter of our Organization. A violation of this principle on any pretext is contrary to the aims and purposes of the Charter. Therefore, all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Afghanistan immediately and unconditionally.

8. Now, more than eight months after that resolution was adopted by the General Assembly, nothing has so far been done to comply with it. Consequently, I consider it my duty as a representative of a small nation-State, which puts its trust in full respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to remind the Assembly here and now of the provisions of the resolution passed at the sixth emergency special session. It is necessary to start implementing them without delay.

9. This situation in Afghanistan which I have referred to has, in my opinion, been the major cause of cooler relations and increased tension between East and West, although other events have no doubt also had their influence.

10. The policy of détente in Europe, which had its origin in the latter part of the 1960s and was formalized by the Final Act of Helsinki,¹ has certainly taken a step backward. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that there is no acceptable alternative to détente. If international peace and security are to be maintained, we have to continue to work towards reducing tension. Technical development in communications and armaments increases the danger of a cold war turning into a nuclear holocaust, and then nobody would be

¹ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

safe, anywhere in the world. Therefore, although I have discussed relations between only a small part of the nations represented here, this matter concerns each and every human being.

11. Relations between the super-Powers and their actions on the world scene have truly tremendous influence on the development of all international matters. However, we should not forget that the small nations also carry a heavy responsibility in the world. By their firm policy they can have decisive influence on both the fortunes and the future of mankind. In our Charter and other fundamental documents, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we find the most important basic principles, which every State has to carry out both internally and externally, if we aim sincerely at the prosperity and progress of all mankind. Unfortunately, we have in many instances made regrettably little headway towards actual implementation of the policies we decided upon. However, this does not mean that we should give up. On the contrary, this performance should incite us to work harder at promoting our policies and advancing towards our goals.

12. As I just mentioned, the situation in international affairs is now more serious than it has been for a number of years. This fact is reflected in particular in the field of disarmament. Experience has showed us that mutual trust is the basis for successful agreements in these important and delicate matters. It is therefore today our urgent and pressing task to try to re-establish this mutual trust. In order to do so, all parties concerned have to show by word and deed their will to respect the basic principles which we agreed upon in the Charter of the United Nations.

13. A few days ago there was convened at Madrid the preparatory meeting of the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It is of the greatest importance that that session of the Conference succeed in reawakening as much as possible the co-operative will and trust which was originally the basis for the Helsinki Final Act. Here, I should like to express my hope that all participants in the Conference at Madrid try earnestly to regain what has been lost recently and prove their good intentions by making an extra effort.

14. One of the most serious problems our Organization has to deal with is the situation in the Middle East. I do not intend to discuss these grave issues in detail or analyse their causes. I should only like to stress that the Middle East conflict has to be resolved as soon as possible. A comprehensive peace settlement has to be found on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Peace in the Middle East requires that both the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized boundaries and the national rights of the Palestinians be accepted and respected by all parties concerned. In accordance with the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, they must participate in the negotiations on a lasting and just solution.

15. The North-South disparity, or rather the broad and widening gap between rich and poor nations of the world, constitutes another set of problems with which our Organization has been dealing, most recently at the eleventh special session, just concluded. Unfortunately, in spite of the inten-

sive search for agreements at the special sessions on international economic relations, progress has been slow. It remains, therefore, a primary task of the United Nations to achieve realistic agreements on international economic issues which would improve greatly the standard of living of the low-income nations. A major effort in this matter is necessary, not only to eradicate the shameful situation where a large number of the people of the world live in dire poverty and hunger but also to prevent the danger of war which would otherwise result from this intolerable situation.

16. Respect for human rights is one of the fundamental principles of the nation I have the honour to represent. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly almost a third of a century ago. It is, therefore, regrettable to have to say that the civil liberties and fundamental freedoms of the individual are being trampled on in the world today. This dismal situation has to be corrected. Each and every State represented here in the General Assembly is morally bound to do its utmost to make the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the guiding principle in its relations with individuals.

17. When I mention here the increasing use of violence and lack of respect for life and liberty, I come inevitably to a related matter. I refer to the shocking increase in acts of violence directed against embassies and consulates and their staff. Only last year, no fewer than 20 such violent acts were committed, and obviously the attack on the United States Embassy at Teheran and the seizure of the hostages constitute the most serious case in question. On account of these developments, the Nordic countries requested that a new item be inscribed in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly entitled "Consideration of effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives" [item 114]. I should like to express the hope that the deliberations of the General Assembly under this new item will result in increased confidence that diplomatic and consular relations, a fundamental requirement for the normal functioning of the international community, will not break down when most needed.

18. Before concluding, I should like to refer to one matter which Iceland considers among the most important tasks undertaken by the United Nations: the preparation of a treaty on the law of the sea. After seven years of conference work and extensive preparations prior to the Conference, it now appears that agreement is possible on a comprehensive treaty on the law of the sea. If this convention becomes a reality it will be one of the greatest achievements of the United Nations since its beginning. It will be a shining example of what our Organization can accomplish if the will is there.

19. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): Mr. President, I gives me great pleasure to see such a distinguished representative of the Federal Republic of Germany presiding over this important session of the General Assembly. Your eminent qualifications for discharging the duties of your high office are well known to us all and in particular to countries which, like my own, maintain the closest relations with your country. I also wish to place on record the deep appreciation of my Government of the way in which your predecessor,

Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, presided over the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly last year and the special sessions this year.

20. The General Assembly is meeting in a situation of international tension and uncertainty. This session provides the appropriate occasion to discuss ways and means to reduce the dangers we see and to advance our objective of making the United Nations a better instrument for peace keeping and peace making.

21. I should like to start by referring to two international conferences concluded this month—the eleventh special session, on development, and the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. My purpose is not to evaluate the outcome of these conferences but to raise a question borrowed from a Norwegian poet: "Humanity, why is thy progress so slow?"

22. The eleventh special session was the latest in a long series of global conferences to bring about the new international economic order. We have to ask ourselves whether the results of these conferences are in proportion to the number of meetings, the thousands of representatives, the documents and the many words. The answer is "No". The gap between rich and poor countries continues to increase.

23. We have witnessed a similar development in the field of disarmament, which has been on the international agenda for decades. Have these efforts made the world secure? The answer again is "No". The arms race has intensified.

24. Our experiences in trying to solve these vital problems through negotiations have so far not been encouraging. More often than not, impasse or deadlock has been the rule in the conference rooms. What is now at stake is the credibility of multilateral diplomacy in general and the United Nations institutions in particular. If the peoples of the world were to lose faith and confidence in the United Nations, the consequences for us all would indeed be serious. Faced with this basic challenge, our preoccupation with other divisive and conflictive aspects of international relations, however important they be, seems out of tune with the real needs of our time.

25. The lack of progress is rightly attributed to lack of political will. Our first task, therefore, must be to forge the necessary political will. Such political will must, however, be based upon a political vision which can move us beyond the realm of traditional nation-to-nation interests or disputes, because the major issues confronting us today go beyond the traditional relationships between individual countries. Nuclear war, hunger and poverty, energy and environment, development, population and resources are not only shared problems; the way in which they are solved or not solved will be decisive for all of us and for the future of mankind. This basic recognition should force us, the States Members of the United Nations, to approach these problems together, to meet these challenges as a community.

26. Adequate instruments and tools are also needed for handling these complex issues. This last point may seem to be of a technical nature, but it is nevertheless important. We

need to re-examine our negotiating procedures and mechanisms.

27. Next, I should like to elaborate further on this point in the light of the experience we have gained during the many world conferences on development.

28. Those conferences have produced important declarations of principles and programmes of action. They have been useful and necessary, drawing the world's attention to the injustice and lack of rationality of the present economic system, the ever-increasing gap between the rich and the poor and also the growing interdependence among all our countries. But we must admit that, so far, practical results have been few and modest. Impatience and frustration are the most visible results. And, consequently, the role of such mammoth conferences has been questioned, and this point needs to be discussed.

29. The United Nations system is built upon the principle of universality. This principle is a political reality and has to be observed. This political reality leaves us, however, with conferences of such magnitude that practical and procedural problems arise. One of the ways to meet this problem is for us as individual countries to accept some kind of representative system, not as a substitute for global conferences but as a supplement to facilitate the negotiating process.

30. Actually, what we have witnessed over the past few years within the United Nations system is the emergence of representative and broadly based groups. This is, in my view, a positive development that should be further encouraged and that has rationalized the process of consultation and made it more effective.

31. But this system also needs to be reformed—and that is my second point. By the time the various groups have reached internal agreement, positions are hardening and further bargaining becomes more difficult. Flexibility becomes the victim of internal consensus. Greater interplay between the various groups is therefore necessary before final positions are taken. This interplay is important also during the preparatory stage. The experience gained during the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea should not be lost on us. Substantive progress on main issues was made possible through extensive intersessional contacts between groups and delegations at a high level.

32. Thirdly, we should make better use of the means at our disposal. I am thinking, *inter alia*, of the input by the international secretariats. Given the necessary resources and a clearly defined mandate, they could, within their fields of competence, use their expertise even to the extent of providing us with policy options on which representatives of Governments could act. Increased use of independent expertise, including bodies of "wise persons", could provide new insight into complex problems and facilitate matters for the decision makers.

33. Fourthly, we should seek to avoid bringing alien problems of a political nature into negotiations on technical and clearly defined subjects. The increasing politicization of world conferences complicates negotiations on the subject-matters. International conflicts should be treated by the

United Nations bodies responsible for such issues under the Charter, namely, the Security Council and the General Assembly.

34. Furthermore, I think that we have gained sufficient experience over the last decades to conclude that agreements we want to see implemented must be based on consensus. But a true consensus requires a genuine spirit of give and take. Once again we can learn from the experience and methods of the Conference on the Law of the Sea, where a "package approach" was followed. Such an approach is particularly appropriate to such diverse and complex problems as those of development.

35. Finally, I should like to comment upon the idea of limited summit meetings, as proposed by the Brandt Commission.² In my opinion, this is a good idea, provided the timing and composition of such meetings are right. Informal meetings among representative world leaders, without public speeches or statements, might generate the necessary political will and provide the impetus needed to move negotiations in other forums towards agreement.

36. Also, we the Foreign Ministers might play a more active role in generating political will. I refer to the present practice whereby we attend the opening phase of conferences and make general statements, while we are usually absent at those crucial concluding stages when the question of success or failure is being decided.

37. Those are a few thoughts based on experience from the many conferences on development.

38. Lack of progress in the field of disarmament also calls for reflection. Time and again we have heard from this rostrum how intolerable it is that billions of dollars are being spent on arms in a world where hundreds of millions of people are living in poverty and misery. Warnings have been issued here and elsewhere that existing arsenals of modern weaponry can destroy all life on earth.

39. I am not going to add anything to those or any other doomsday predictions. But they express the fear in which our peoples are constantly living; they express the resignation people feel in the face of the continued arms race; and they express the fact that the nuclear arms race in all its dimensions constitutes the greatest danger—and to all of us.

40. Negotiations on disarmament also face some additional complicating factors. Basic facts and figures are enveloped in secrecy. Suspicion and distrust prevail. Technological development outpaces negotiations by years. And, above all, this is a field of direct and vital importance to the super-Powers. We, the smaller countries, cannot bring about disarmament against the will of the major Powers. But all nations—small or big—have a stake in identifying and furthering the common interest in arms control and disarmament.

41. In the present international circumstances, my Government considers it more crucial than ever to renew

our resolve and our efforts to carry forward the negotiations on disarmament and arms control measures.

42. In the relationship between the super-Powers, the process of negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms is of central importance.

43. My Government urges rapid ratification of the SALT II Treaty,³ not because we consider it a perfect instrument but, rather, because it provides for a better régime than would prevail in its absence. It increases predictability and provides a foundation for real progress in the next phase involving substantial reductions in the level of nuclear arms.

44. Furthermore, I should like to point to the possibility of negotiations on continental nuclear missiles in Europe. We are encouraged by the signs that the two super-Powers are moving towards the negotiating table. Another round of competitive deployment of nuclear arms on the continent of Europe must be prevented. We must reach agreement on such extensive reductions in deployed systems that plans for new deployment can be abandoned altogether. Should these negotiations succeed, we would have reached a turning-point.

45. In the effort to attain a more secure world, the regional approach might also be a constructive one. Europe, for instance, is divided between East and West, and much of the world's armament is concentrated in this region. This autumn 35 countries are meeting at Madrid in a review session of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, adopted at Helsinki. In the view of my Government, increased co-operation, openness and confidence building in Europe will add a measure of stability to the entire international community. All States will benefit from such stability. It is of particular importance to amplify and expand the system of confidence-building measures so as to shorten the shadows cast over the political landscape in Europe by military activity.

46. Furthermore, Norway supports the convening of a conference on disarmament in Europe to consider in its first phase more binding confidence-building measures applicable to the whole continent of Europe. We consider such efforts complementary to the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Associated Measures in Central Europe. The time is now long overdue to get those negotiations off the ground. It should be possible to conclude a first-phase agreement at Vienna now, if there is the political will to remove the remaining obstacles. Progress in this area would create a good basis for the next special session of the General Assembly on disarmament in 1982, a session which should reinforce the United Nations as the focal point in the field of disarmament.

47. Norway has during the past two years been a member of the Security Council; hence I should like to make a few observations on the work of the Council.

48. The role of the Security Council as the central and highest international body to solve conflicts is a key element

² See *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980), p. 265.

³ 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.

in the whole United Nations system. It is a source of strength for the United Nations that the Security Council can be brought into play whenever situations arise which threaten international peace and security.

49. In the maintenance of international peace and security, a division of functions has developed between the United Nations and regional organizations. We see merit in such a development, as some conflicts are best suited to mediation or other attempts at peaceful settlement on the regional level. Regional mechanisms, however, must not be used to block the right of a Member State, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to bring a conflict before the Security Council.

50. With the growing frequency of meetings of the Security Council, we have seen an increase in the number of resolutions and also in the number of countries participating in the debates. To the extent that this trend reflects a general desire to use the Security Council for the solution of urgent problems, it is a positive development.

51. However, this development also carries with it certain problems. The Security Council, with a membership representing a delicate political and geographical balance, is the highest organ of the international community. A resolution adopted by the Council is much more than a mere expression of opinion: it is a formal decision which must be taken seriously by all the parties affected. If we adopt too many resolutions on more or less related subjects, we run the risk of undermining the authority of the Council and its decisions.

52. Similarly, it is by no means certain that the Council's ability to exercise its functions will be strengthened if the Council becomes a forum for broad general debates. This is a function which, in our opinion, is best taken care of by the General Assembly.

53. One result of this development is that the impact of the resolutions of the Security Council may be reduced and that those countries exposed to criticism can afford to ignore their content. Such a development is not in the best interest of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations.

54. In the last part of my intervention I shall state the position of my Government on some of the principal issues on our agenda.

55. Norway has acted on the assumption that the eleventh special session of the General Assembly should be a milestone in the North-South negotiations. Unfortunately, it ended up in a deadlock on the procedure for the forthcoming round of global negotiations.

56. We still think that the proposed round of global negotiations would be the best procedure for tackling long-term structural problems. We therefore hope that at this session there will be agreement on the procedure and the agenda for the global round, making it possible to start negotiations as scheduled on 12 January next year.

57. In spite of its shortcomings, at the special session some notable results were achieved. At the session there was

agreement on a text⁴ on a new International Development Strategy for the 1980s. Especially important is the target set for official development assistance (ODA). Norway, for its part, has already reached an assistance level of 1 per cent of its gross national product.

58. On the situation in Afghanistan, we will continue to be guided by the basic principles of the Charter. A political solution, including total withdrawal of foreign troops, is urgently required in order to secure the rights of the Afghan people to choose their own government and to decide their own future. This is also a prerequisite for solving the increasing refugee problem in neighbouring countries.

59. These principles must also be the basis for a political solution to the situation in Kampuchea. The efforts by the international community to bring relief to the refugees on the Thai border and to the population inside Kampuchea must not make us forget that only a political solution can bring peace and stability to the Khmer people.

60. Norway has from the outset given its support to the Camp David accords⁵ as an important first step towards a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East. But we clearly see that such a settlement presupposes a broader participation in the negotiations than is the case today. A major problem in that conflict-ridden area is the failure of the parties to recognize each other's existence and each other's right to exist. Genuine peace in the region will depend on the acceptance by all parties of Israel's right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries and the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination.

61. The Palestinians' right to self-determination can only be realized through the participation of their representatives in negotiations aiming at resolving the Palestinian problem in all its aspects, a prerequisite for a lasting solution to the Middle East conflict.

62. Constraints and mutual concessions are imperative in order to reach the overall objective of a just, lasting and comprehensive solution acceptable to all the parties involved.

63. Guided by these considerations, Norway will continue to give full support to all efforts seeking genuine peace in the Middle East.

64. I must express deep concern regarding UNIFIL and the situation in southern Lebanon. As a troop contributor to UNIFIL, my Government feels heavily the responsibilities we have assumed at the request of the United Nations. United Nations forces can only carry out their task with the co-operation of the contending parties. In Lebanon this is not the situation. It is now high time that all armed forces other than UNIFIL were withdrawn from the UNIFIL area of operations all the way down to the Israeli border. That would involve, specifically, abandonment of the so-called enclave by the *de facto* forces.

⁴ A/S-11/AC.1/L.2 and Corr.1 and Add.1-3. Subsequently issued as document A/35/464.

⁵ 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.

65. Norway is ready to support Zimbabwe in its pressing tasks of national reconstruction. The presence of the representatives of that country is a matter of pride and satisfaction to the world Organization. The international solidarity extended to the people of Zimbabwe during the war years must now be transformed into concrete expressions of support to secure the peace.

66. As we did in Zimbabwe, Norway also supports the effort to find a peaceful and negotiated settlement in Namibia. Once again, I wish to express the full support of my Government to the Secretary-General for his objective and impartial efforts in pursuance of a peaceful settlement under United Nations supervision and control. South Africa must now allow the Secretary-General to set the United Nations plan for Namibia in motion.

67. The Norwegian Government views South Africa's *apartheid* policy as the key problem facing the region. We agree with those who say that this policy cannot be reformed. It must be abolished. Increased international pressure must be brought to bear on South Africa to abolish *apartheid*. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners must be released. Arrests of trade union organizers must cease. Attempts to silence South Africa's church leaders must be brought to an end.

68. Norway is ready to consider new measures in a policy of disengagement from South Africa. We are already working together with the other Nordic countries in this respect. We stand ready to broaden this co-operation to include others. Norway will also continue and expand its support to the countries of the area in their endeavours to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa.

69. Once more I have to express the deep concern of my Government at the fact that the hostages are still being held in Iran, and again we appeal to the authorities of Iran to free the hostages. Our relations with Iran and the normal development of contacts and co-operation will continue to suffer as long as the basic concepts of international law among States are set aside.

70. The plight of the increasing number of refugees and displaced persons continues to place a heavy responsibility on all of us. We have noted with satisfaction that the Secretary-General now intends to follow up the proposal of the Nordic countries to study the question of better organization and co-ordination of humanitarian assistance in emergencies [see A/35/1, sect. VI]. We appreciate the outstanding efforts of the United Nations and of voluntary organizations to provide relief and rehabilitation to these unfortunate people. We also highly value the understanding and assistance given by countries of first asylum by providing temporary shelter for the refugees, pending their repatriation or settlement in countries of final destination.

71. Norway supports all efforts to strengthen the international protection of human rights. My Government feels that the establishment of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would be an important step forward. We attach great importance to the need for finalization of the work on the draft convention against torture, the work on a convention on the rights of migrant

workers, the international efforts to abolish capital punishment and the ongoing United Nations study on the situation and rights of indigenous peoples.

72. The outcome of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 30 July 1980, fell short of our expectations. It is therefore important that this General Assembly confirm its commitment to further the cause of women's legitimate demands for equal status and equal opportunity. Norway considers it vital not to lose momentum and to ensure the following up and carrying forward of those elements from the Copenhagen Conference on which we are all agreed. We attach great importance to the work being done by the Commission on the Status of Women and to the activities of UNITAR for improving the position of women. The idea of having a special co-ordinator for women's questions in the field of United Nations operations should be further discussed. We hope that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [resolution 34/180, annex] will enter into force at the earliest possible date.

73. Finally, the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, underlines the absolute need to preserve a code of international behaviour between nations [see A/35/1, sect. I]. This concern has also prompted the Nordic countries to suggest that a new item be included in the agenda of this General Assembly on effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives. I fully share the hope expressed by the Secretary-General [*ibid.*, sect. VII] that the Assembly will take advantage of this proposal to enhance the respect for the international laws and norms which international society has so painstakingly built up over the years.

74. Mr. VÄYRYNEN (Finland): It is a particular pleasure for me, as a representative of a member country of the group of Western European and other countries, to convey to you, Mr. President, our congratulations and best wishes. Among many common bonds, the Federal Republic of Germany—a principal European Power—shares with my country firm dedication to détente in Europe.

75. The efficient performance of the duties of the President of the General Assembly demands exceptional personal qualities. You, Mr. President, are uniquely equipped in that respect. You bring to your high office a remarkable combination of skills, determination and patience. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly will be well served by its highest officer.

76. Finland welcomes Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the newest Member of the United Nations.

77. We are facing a new decade—the 1980s. In retrospect, the past decade may well be remembered for many positive achievements of détente and disarmament. While détente is centred on Europe, its benefits have been perceived in a wider context. Disarmament negotiations produced a number of limited yet significant arms control agreements. Progress was made in the peaceful dismantling of the last remnants of colonial empires. In the economic field, the

initiation of the North-South dialogue marked the beginning of a process towards a negotiated solution for the benefit of all. All the same, towards the end of the 1970s, the international political atmosphere began to deteriorate.

78. The assessment of the international situation which I presented from this rostrum in the name of the Finnish Government last year was not optimistic.⁶ I referred to the fact that the positive trends of détente and disarmament had lost their momentum, that the patterns of peaceful co-operation were eroding and that the use of force between nations as well as within them was on the increase. Subsequent events have not dispelled our fears.

79. Thus, the immediate prospects for the 1980s are not encouraging. The relations between the major Powers are far from satisfactory. The persistent conflicts in the Middle East and southern Africa, which breed frustration and violence, still await a peaceful solution. New sources of tension with global political impact have appeared in western and south-eastern Asia.

80. Disarmament negotiations are at a standstill. The implementation of the SALT II Treaty, so painstakingly negotiated, is at best uncertain. Military expenditure has reached hitherto unimaginable levels and cuts even deeper into the resources which should be available for peaceful purposes, including development. The beginning of yet another round in the arms race, unprecedented in intensity, is already a fact. While it covers all arms, its emphasis is on the most deadly kind—nuclear weapons. Its implications are of legitimate concern for the security of all. Once again I must reiterate: security lies not in arms but in disarmament.

81. While the hard realities of the present international situation seem to give little cause for encouragement, this should make us more aware of our duties as Members of the United Nations. The United Nations is the principal instrument available to the international community for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the only universal forum where the nations of the world can unite their efforts for this purpose. The Charter of the United Nations is not only an expression of the aspirations of the international community. It is a legally binding document through which nations—big and small—have accepted a code of conduct for the relations between them. Those obligations transcend the considerations of political expediency which only too often lead to their violation. During its 35 years of existence, the United Nations has proved its viability as an international institution to prevent conflicts and assist in the peaceful settlement of disputes whenever it has been given the opportunity to do so.

82. Finland has been a Member of this Organization for 25 years. Our attitude to the United Nations is simple and clear. As a small country pursuing a policy of neutrality, Finland has a vital interest in actively promoting the development of a peaceful and rational world order based on the universal collective security system provided by the Charter of the United Nations. Our ambition has always been to conduct ourselves with objectivity and restraint, to stay consistently

outside conflicts between the great Powers and to maintain good relations with all countries. Thus we hope best to serve the organized and joint efforts of the world community and also the interests of our own people.

83. Finland has invested much political will in trying to work for the goals of the United Nations. In our opinion, those universally proclaimed goals can best be served in an atmosphere of confidence and co-operation. That has been our experience, particularly in Europe. For the peoples of Europe, the benefits of détente are so tangible, both politically and materially, that they will not be easily abandoned. The efforts not only to preserve but to enhance the results of détente on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act must therefore continue. The Madrid follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is of utmost importance in the light of the present international situation. We believe that that meeting can lead to concrete and constructive results aimed at strengthening the continuity and vitality of the whole process of the Conference, thus increasing confidence and reducing tensions.

84. The security of Europe is today faced with serious challenges. The Government of Finland therefore welcomes the various initiatives which clearly demonstrate an increased willingness to promote arms control and disarmament in Europe. For its own part, Finland last year outlined in the United Nations an initiative aimed at examining whether a special disarmament programme for Europe should be worked out.⁷ Subsequently that matter was pursued in consultations between Finland and other States of Europe and North America.

85. We now look forward to important decisions at Madrid reflecting the widely felt need for a comprehensive approach to disarmament in Europe.

86. At the same time we are, of course, particularly aware of the recent controversy over nuclear weapons aimed at or deployed in Europe. Whatever the merits of the claims or counter-claims concerning balance or imbalance in the field, the end result is added insecurity for all, inside and outside the alliances. There is only one way out: negotiations in good faith, the sooner, the better. We hope that those will now materialize, as indicated by the parties concerned, and lead without delay to agreed limitations and reductions.

87. We are concerned about arms control and disarmament, not only because they are inherently important but also because efforts in those fields contribute politically to the process of détente. Even those political results are now in peril.

88. The SALT II Treaty is a case in point. It is the latest product of the strategic dialogue between the leading nuclear Powers. It should be put into effect without further delay and succeeded by further, not only quantitative but also qualitative, limitations of nuclear weapons.

89. While the SALT Treaty awaits implementation, the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, continues and is assuming new dimensions technologically, conceptually

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, paras. 212-247.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Session, First Committee*, 9th meeting, and *ibid.*, *First Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

and geographically. Weapons of increased accuracy and versatility are being developed and introduced. The increased sophistication of nuclear weapons should not delude anyone into believing that nuclear war could be kept limited or made winnable.

90. Continued and unrelenting efforts are therefore needed in order to stem nuclear proliferation, both horizontal and vertical. In spite of certain disappointments at the recent second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we are convinced that the Non-Proliferation Treaty remains pivotal in averting the threat of nuclear war. The work of strengthening the régime of the Non-Proliferation Treaty must go on.

91. However unpromising the immediate outlook, the search for security through disarmament must continue. For that purpose, it is important that the United Nations disarmament machinery pursue its work. The agreed priorities, in particular a comprehensive test ban and a treaty on chemical weapons, retain their validity.

92. The Charter of the United Nations enjoins Members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. Yet the use of force in the form of local conflicts has plagued this Organization since its inception. Not only does the use of force bring death and destruction, it also has a tendency to exacerbate the conflicts between the major Powers. The events in south-eastern and western Asia are only the latest instances of this tendency. Intertwined with the explosive situation in the Middle East, events in western Asia may further increase the threat to international peace and security.

93. The search for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East has to be pursued in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which continue to be the only viable basis for a durable peace in the region. At the same time, the weight of events has made it increasingly clear that the full co-operation of the Palestinians is crucial for the implementation of a durable solution.

94. We fully support the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the negotiations on the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians in the context of a comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem.

95. The basic principles of a peaceful settlement remain immutable; the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. Israel must therefore withdraw from Arab territories occupied since 1967. Likewise, it is imperative that the right of Israel and all other States of the area to exist within secure and recognized borders be guaranteed.

96. A major obstacle has been the settlements policy of the Government of Israel in the occupied territories and similar measures undertaken by Israel. Unilateral actions designed to change the status of Jerusalem are universally considered illegal and have been declared such by the Security Council in its resolution 478 (1980).

97. An essential condition for progress in the Middle East is a courageous willingness to compromise on the part of all parties to the dispute.

98. On the basis of our own good relations with all those parties, Finland has been able to make a contribution to the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East. We deeply deplore the fact that the cycle of violence, particularly in southern Lebanon, has put in jeopardy the functioning of UNIFIL. The United Nations peace-keeping forces are not a substitute for peaceful solutions. However, where those forces perform their valuable task mandated by the Security Council, it is imperative that all concerned give them the necessary co-operation and not obstruct their operations.

99. This is a part of the code of conduct in all United Nations peace-keeping operations. If respect for those fundamental rules is not observed, the future of United Nations peace-keeping operations in general is put in jeopardy.

100. The eradication of colonialism and racism has been the main preoccupation of this Organization for more than two decades. This particularly deep concern for the nations of Africa is shared by us all. With few exceptions, the evil of colonialism has been done away with. This is one of the lasting successes of the United Nations. The case of Zimbabwe, one of the newest Members of the Organization, combines the elements of the abolition of colonialism and racism with the birth of a democratic system created through free and fair elections. Zimbabwe now has a unique opportunity to set an example of racial harmony worth emulating.

101. The attainment of independence by Zimbabwe has solved one aspect of the problem posed by southern Africa. Two others remain as pressing as ever: Namibia and the *apartheid* policies of South Africa.

102. For Namibia, the time has come. For too long Namibia has been a frontal challenge to the very credibility of the United Nations. Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) stand. The patience of the international community is wearing thin.

103. The prevarications of South Africa must come to an end. The Government of Finland remains ready to assist the United Nations in the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia by providing peace-keeping forces. An independent Namibia will be a main recipient of Finnish bilateral assistance.

104. *Apartheid* remains the root of the evil in the southern part of Africa. It constitutes a systematic violation of the most elementary human rights. It leads to repeated acts of violence and aggression. The neighbouring States bear a heavy burden for the sake of the liberation of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. Increased aid should be channelled to those States, and at the same time the international community must bring unrelenting pressure to bear on South Africa itself.

105. The convening of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly on international economic questions was yet another demonstration of the need for international

economic co-operation to assume proportions well beyond its traditional dimensions.

106. The Government of Finland welcomes the consensus on the new International Development Strategy as an important step in the implementation of the new international economic order. This agreement is important in three respects. First, it strengthens confidence in the capability of the international community to tackle the crucial economic issues which it will face in the 1980s through negotiation rather than confrontation. Secondly, the new Strategy contains new commitments by industrialized countries in favour of developing countries, notably in the area of official development assistance. Thirdly, from Finland's point of view, the content of the new Strategy corresponds well with our concept of the development process. Finland shares with other Nordic countries the view that economic and social progress must be parallel. It must involve the entire population. It must take into account the requirements of sound management of the human environment. To adopt ecologically sound development plans is part of our responsibility to present and future generations.

107. My Government also attaches importance to the adoption at the eleventh special session of two resolutions bearing on the grievous problems of the least developed among the developing countries as well as the oil-importing developing countries [*resolutions S-11/3 and S-11/4*]. The stark reality today is that close to 1,000 million people live in abject poverty with no hope of improving their lot through their own means. The elimination of this reality is the ultimate objective of our endeavours.

108. The Assembly was not able to reach full agreement at the special session on how to launch the new global round of negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. Yet, the results must be seen in their proper perspective. The Assembly came close to an understanding on how the United Nations and its family of organizations will tackle the crucial issues at hand. In its magnitude this task has no precedent in the history of North-South economic relations. If the results of these negotiations are to have lasting value, they must be based on the principles of equality and common interest which the United Nations was established to promote. They also require the firm political will of the Governments of Member States. I pledge the full support of my Government in this effort.

109. On earlier occasions, I have at this rostrum expressed the concern of my Government for human rights. In our opinion, peace, security and prosperity in the world are closely related to the promotion of human rights.

110. The record of the United Nations in creating a code of conduct for nations in the field of human rights is impressive. The international community should now concentrate on more effective implementation. The observance of the agreed norms of human rights should be complemented by the supportive activity of providing aid to the victims of abuses and failures. In the first instance this relates to refugees, as defined in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.⁸

111. The international community has been able to alleviate the suffering of refugees and displaced persons. However, only partial solutions have been achieved so far. The dimensions of the refugee problems are widening in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The problem of refugees has become the permanent and joint responsibility of all States. Refugees are the product of either external aggression or internal oppression. The responsibility of the international community does not absolve the States which have created the problem. They should be called upon to promote and encourage human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as to seek peaceful solutions to political crises.

112. The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women was another significant step towards full equality between women and men at all levels and in all spheres of life. However, my Government regrets that, owing to extraneous issues, the Programme of Action could not be adopted by consensus. Yet we fully subscribe to the principles and recommendations embodied in parts two and three of the Programme of Action⁹ and consider them a valid contribution to improving the status of women. My Government has every intention of taking the necessary measures to implement them fully.

113. We have also committed ourselves to early ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which we signed at the Conference.

114. The ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which concluded its work at the end of August in Geneva, resulted in what can justly be described as the final political breakthrough. The Conference has now reached substantial agreement on practically all of the issues standing in the way of the adoption of the Convention, which is to govern virtually all human uses of the oceans. The Government of Finland greatly values the progress achieved by the Conference and hopes that the Convention on the Law of the Sea will finally be adopted at Caracas in 1981.

115. On the initiative of the Nordic countries, the General Assembly will at this session consider the question of the protection of diplomatic missions and representatives. Our action was prompted by the weight of events familiar to all. In recent years there have been increasingly frequent violations of international law governing diplomatic intercourse, in particular diplomatic inviolability. Failure to safeguard the orderly and secure conduct of diplomacy jeopardizes the very fabric of international relations. The Governments of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland hope that this initiative will lead to appropriate measures to remedy the situation and to increased respect for the rules of international law relating to diplomatic and consular relations.

116. We are convinced that Member States will join us in this effort to fulfil the pledge of the Charter "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained".

⁹ *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap. I, sect. A.

⁸ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545, p. 137.

117. Mr. ARIAS-STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to express to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Peru on your election to preside over our work during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election represents a well-deserved tribute to you and to your qualities as an experienced international diplomat; at the same time, it is a tribute to the people and Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, with which my country, Peru, maintains special bonds of friendship which I am very pleased to confirm today.

118. I also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who, in exercising his functions, again displayed his qualities as a diplomat and statesman which we all admire.

119. The delegation of Peru is pleased to greet and welcome two new States on their entry into the United Nations: the Republic of Zimbabwe, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Their admission as Members brings our Organization closer to its aim of universality.

120. On 28 July last, the people of Peru elevated to the office of constitutional President of the Republic, with the highest number of votes ever recorded in the history of our country, the same Head of State whose term of office in government had been unlawfully interrupted 12 years earlier. The signal honour conferred on architect Fernando Belaúnde Terry acquires particular significance because it was the popular masses, both rural and urban, that a revolutionary process claimed to represent, which today contributed with renewed vigour to this overwhelming vote. Moreover, it was the armed forces that deposed President Belaúnde in 1968 and which now, on the basis of the sovereign mandate of the nation, handed over power in an act of unquestionable historical reparation to our Head of State.

121. The experience which Peru lived through during that time became a subject of examination and expectation throughout the world and is a lesson which should not go unnoticed in this universal forum. It proves that the desire to move forward in search of social justice, in countries such as ours, does not come from the imposition of ideological conceptions which claim arbitrarily to interpret collective anxieties and satisfy collective needs. It shows that, however good intentions may be, the will of the people must be ascertained directly. This has proved once again that, without freedom, control and preservation of the national interest are relaxed and the well-being of the vast majority becomes a mere dream. The struggle for justice and the quest for egalitarian values must go hand in hand with an affirmation of freedom and must be reconciled with the full enjoyment of human rights.

122. The far-reaching nature of the change of government in my country has been recognized by the international community, which was represented by important Heads of State and special missions. At this time, I should like again to express our appreciation to those countries which, by their presence, expressed their support and best wishes for the prosperity and progress of our people.

123. The exemplary elections, in which my country showed singular maturity, meant not only the triumph of Acción Popular, a political party which represents a renewed state of the collective consciousness of the Peruvian people; they also meant the affirmation of a hope. Hence the solemn commitment of the members of the constitutional Government to preserve freedom, respect human rights and build a genuinely just society.

124. We realize that in a country such as ours, divided socio-economically into one sector belonging to the economic process and another very large sector outside that process, a sector deprived of access to the legitimate standards of well-being and whose income is below the subsistence level, the priority of the State must be directed, as we are now determined to ensure, towards laying down policies representing an equitable distribution of wealth. That means that we must devise an instrument for a development strategy that has profound social significance, one that will give the underprivileged peoples encouragement and support in effectively improving their standards of living.

125. An ancestral Peruvian tradition gives us very important assistance in the achievement of these objectives: I refer to voluntary labour, which President Belaúnde has called popular co-operation.

126. Much of the greatness of Peru is due to popular co-operation. Popular co-operation brought about Machu Picchu, and cathedrals were raised on the walls of Inca temples. Popular co-operation has meant that the peoples of the hillsides have built and continue to build schools, bridges and roads, thus offsetting by their efforts the forgetfulness of Governments. Therefore, and as proof of one of the ideological bases of the new régime, the hereditary civic force that naturally exists in the minds of our people is now being activated to offer communities a mechanism of their own for their development.

127. Popular co-operation, having become an institutionalized priority programme, because of its multiplying effect, constitutes the best response in countries such as ours to the challenge presented by limited financial resources and the magnitude of the demand for an infrastructure to achieve the social and economic integral rehabilitation of our nation.

128. While peoples such as that of Peru tenaciously affirm their democratic ideals, they also affirm their hope to live in a more just world. Peace and development are not and cannot be the privileges of minorities, but are rights—or, to use an expression dear to the United Nations, they should be the common heritage of mankind.

129. I wished to bring these thoughts to the Assembly to emphasize the deep-rooted will of the new Government of Peru to build an integral democracy as an inspiration and as a way of life.

130. With the initiation of the present administration, the new political Constitution of the Republic has entered into force. It guarantees to all Peruvians enjoyment of all their rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination for reasons of politics, creed, race or sex.

131. Along with the executive power emanating from the popular will, there has been established legislative power in which all national political tendencies are represented. Next November the country will freely elect local governments, thus fully consolidating the return to democracy in Peru.

132. It is clear that, after a lengthy attempt at authoritarian politics that failed to achieve the targets set because it did not take popular feelings into account, we Peruvians have chosen political development without tutelage. We are regaining our trust that that alternative is essential to sustained and effective economic growth and true democracy.

133. The foreign policy of the Government of President Belaúnde Terry will be marked by respect for the legal norms that govern peaceful coexistence among nations. Full observance of the principle of non-intervention, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, self-determination and compliance with international treaties are the bases of all international legal order, to which Peru adheres.

134. While our foreign policy will seek to broaden Peru's ties so that interchange at various levels will be more universal and will offer reciprocal benefits, our priority will be to strengthen our links with the countries of the region by actively participating in the raising of Latin America's self-confidence as the best means of achieving its continuous progress.

135. The great importance we attach to the strengthening of our friendly relations with neighbouring countries will be reflected in our foreign policy, and here we are pleased to reiterate the permanent desire of Peru to have fraternal relations and to promote co-operation and joint respect for national sovereignty.

136. We consider integration to be a means of raising the quality of life of our people and affirming our independence. Accordingly, we wish to contribute to the improvement of the Andean Group so that it may comply more effectively with the deadlines and targets set for the progressive integration of participating nations and promote the joint development of Latin America.

137. At the recent meeting of the Heads of State of the Andean countries at Riobamba, Ecuador, it was possible to reaffirm the democratic will of the members of the Group and their firm intention to observe human rights, it being assumed that the principle of non-intervention cannot be separated from that of the self-determination of peoples.

138. In the certainty that integration constitutes the main task of Latin American solidarity, the countries of the Andean Group actively participated in the negotiations to establish the Latin American Integration Association, a task that reaffirms the ancient desire of our peoples to become integrated within a vast joint plan in order to achieve the establishment of a common market.

139. We consider that the development of our continent must be focused from a global perspective, covering, in addition to this Andean effort, the basins of the Amazon and the Rio de la Plata and, in a parallel and progressive manner, the marginal jungle road, a continental colonizing

plan that may become the backbone or linkage between those schemes.

140. The coming into being of the Latin American Economic System complements the affirmation of our regional personality and opens up new perspectives for the development of our own potential. We are certain that the presence of the Latin American Economic System as an observer at this session of the General Assembly will contribute to the strengthening of the role that Latin America now plays in the concert of nations.

141. Our efforts for the integration of Latin America must lead to the establishment of effective co-operation with all the other regions.

142. We reaffirm our solidarity of interests and aspirations with the peoples of the third world, which are equally committed to the hard task of economic and social development.

143. In his message to the nation on the inauguration of his Government, President Belaúnde confirmed Peru's identity as a non-aligned country imbued with its original principles of independent choice in the power struggles of the great Powers. We believe that it is precisely now—when certain aspects of international life that seemed to have been superseded are rising to the surface once again—that it is the duty of non-alignment to contribute to the irrevocable aspirations to peace, justice and development.

144. At this time my Government wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to President Tito, who inspired the non-aligned movement, who visited Peru during the previous Government of President Belaúnde and whose absence is felt not only by his own people but also by all the countries of the third world which admired his adroit leadership.

145. Peru reiterates its intention to contribute to clarifying and solving international problems, the interrelationship and implications of which at the present time affect the universal community. The gravity of some of these problems arouses the concern of peoples. We realize that many international problems not only have not been solved but have in fact become more serious, while other equally critical ones have arisen. The international scene appears thus burdened with uncertainties and dangers.

146. Pressure against medium-sized and small States persists. Various forms of coercion continue to be used as instruments of foreign policy. There are still serious obstacles to the decolonization process because some peoples are not yet able to exercise their right to self-determination, and discriminatory practices against social, religious and ethnic minorities are current in various regions.

147. Statements and promises notwithstanding, the arms race is accelerating in scope, speed and magnitude and is becoming increasingly difficult to endure and to understand. An excessive expenditure of billions of dollars, concentrated in a few countries, permits the continued expansion of the arms industry. This sum of money would be enough for an immediate solution of the most urgent problems of education, health and food which the developing world is suffering today.

148. Weapons are daily becoming more sophisticated, lethal and difficult to control. The threat of a nuclear war has not been dispelled and the deadlines for taking decisions to control these dangers are coming dramatically closer. Along with this, conventional armaments continue to grow impressively, weighing ominously on the economies of the developing countries which, by a notable paradox, contribute to the high cost of the research and development of these weapons.

149. In the Middle East, confrontation has not yet been overcome and concerted action for peace appears to have been postponed. In south-eastern Asia and central Asia, foreign troops continue to subjugate independent States. In Cyprus, in disregard of the decisions of this Assembly, foreign occupation continues. And in Namibia the colonizing Power resists accession by that Territory to independence.

150. We are likewise discouraged by the results of efforts to establish a new economic order in the world consonant with the desire finally to achieve a minimum level of justice compatible with the quality of human life. My country cannot understand how in the third millennium of our era we can continue on the same bases which today characterize the spectre of severe international economic crisis, which appears to be a reflection of the desire to maintain or expand political power or the domination of the few over the many.

151. The interdependence that is often referred to cannot be a type of relationship aimed at sustaining, on the one hand, the prosperity of the few and, on the other hand, the alienation and poverty of impressive majorities. Interdependence is a concept which requires a new type of economic relation, a more balanced one, which vigorously promotes development.

152. We believe that the recent failure of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to economic questions, means that we are at a crossroads. Either we continue with this absence of communication and make a reality of the gloomy prospects which some have forecast for the year 2000 or we rid ourselves of prejudices and sterile dogmatism and face the joint task of building a new international economic structure.

153. It must be very clear that when we the developing countries make claims before the industrialized world—whatever might be the economic or political affiliation of its members—it is not because we would threaten the stability of that world. We simply hope that they will realize the need for an equitable and concerted solution of the structural problems which afflict us.

154. It is evident that in the last decades the development of science and technology has reached unexpected levels. But this development should have purely positive implications. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in many areas, particularly in agriculture, education and health, scientific and technological achievements are at odds with the possibility of their universal application for the social good.

155. The population explosion and the shortage of food, the undue use and the depletion of non-renewable sources of

energy and the break in ecological balances are problems which affect the future of mankind, problems on whose solution depends the very survival of the species.

156. If we bear in mind that we are now seeing a re-evaluation of ideologies which were previously considered to be rigid and inflexible and a review of political practices as part of an effort by all nations increasingly to adapt them to their own realities, we may well wonder whether the time has not come to seek new and more imaginative premises for an effective solution to the questions put to us by the world of tomorrow.

157. Given this scenario of questions and uncertainties, we cannot fail to recognize certain facts which prove that, despite all the difficulties, the perseverance of the universal concerted will has produced some significant achievements.

158. The eradication of smallpox announced by WHO at the end of 1979 represents the first case in history in which a scourge of mankind, because of scientific and technological progress, has been eliminated from the face of the earth.

159. We have great hopes that the positive results achieved so far by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will come to fruition with the signing of a world convention which will establish a new legal order for the use and exploitation of seas and oceans. That convention, conceived as an instrument of justice, will promote co-operation and the development and welfare of all nations.

160. For us Peruvians, it is particularly gratifying to note that the international community has finally accepted the validity of the argument in favour of the 200-mile limit, which has been defended for more than 30 years by Peru and the South Pacific system, with the support of other countries of Latin America and of the third world. Acceptance of this concept and recognition of the sea-bed as the common heritage of mankind have constituted a contribution by the developing world to an enrichment of international law.

161. The search for new premises and solutions for the problems I have referred to will not be successful within a short time. Therefore we must continue to make use of the present forms of international co-ordination.

162. The constitutional Government of Peru respects the principles of the United Nations Charter and the United Nations resolutions. Our major efforts are directed towards full compliance with the Charter, and we shall continue to support any initiative to make more democratic and effective the various bodies constituting that great world body.

163. In this Assembly, the Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament, my country has contributed to dealing with the important subject of disarmament, and it participated in the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade.¹⁰ We appeal to the great Powers to assist in bringing the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion and thus to initiate within a short space of time

¹⁰ Elements of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, text adopted by consensus at the 40th meeting of the Disarmament Commission (see A/35/42, para. 19).

an era of peace and co-operation on the basis of shared responsibility.

164. Peru considers that it is necessary to accelerate the nuclear disarmament negotiations among the great Powers and will continue to promote the already advanced efforts to establish the status of Latin America as a zone effectively free of nuclear weapons.

165. In accordance with the principles of international law and within the context of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, we support the opening of a dialogue on an integral and lasting solution of the problems of the Middle East. Peru supports all efforts undertaken by the international community and this Assembly to bring about a resolution of those conflicts, with respect for the sovereign equality of all the States of that region, a guarantee of a secure life in peace and the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

166. My country opposes policies of racial discrimination and the continuance of colonial and neo-colonial systems. As free men, we cannot accept the continued existence of shameful forms of social domination.

167. The Government of Peru ardently hopes that in Cyprus, central Asia and south-eastern Asia, where there are armed conflicts, these will be resolved by peaceful means and in a spirit of solidarity and mutual respect.

168. At this time, when my country is entering a stage in which the people determines its destiny, we reaffirm our conviction that the achievement of social justice is indissolubly linked to the exercise of political democracy and respect for human rights.

169. Vast, complex and urgent, as in any developing country, are the problems and tasks that my Government must face. We cannot expect to resolve them in a short time, because we are aware of our limitations, but with the people of Peru we are committed to building a future of prosperity and equality, and we know full well that, as has been recognized by the United Nations, the primary responsibility for development lies with us.

170. We are convinced that the objectives we pursue internally must be in harmony with external goals, because we are part of a diversified but interdependent world which requires genuine international co-operation.

171. Accordingly, my Government hopes that at its thirty-fifth session the General Assembly will bring about effective progress towards the achievement of the goal, so often proclaimed, of a universal community and a full life, in peace and justice.

172. Mr. ELVIR SIERRA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all I wish to extend to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Honduras on the well-deserved honour of being unanimously elected President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your well-known qualifications and diplomatic experience constitute a firm guarantee that our debates will be directed with wisdom and impartiality, in an atmosphere of understanding and tolerance.

173. We also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Salim, who firmly, skilfully and with statesmanlike vision guided the proceedings of the General Assembly during a particularly difficult year.

174. We also congratulate the Secretary-General on his tireless and patient labours to achieve the objectives of the Charter, and, in particular, world peace and security and the promotion of genuine international co-operation.

175. We cordially welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as a new Member of this Organization from our American continent and therefore a young country enjoying our affection and friendship.

176. Unfortunately, it is not news that at the beginning of our session the world is immersed in an ideological, moral, economic and social crisis. It is not news, because mankind, since it came into being, has always lived in a state of crisis. What is really alarming is that the situation is becoming increasingly aggravated, and ethical and legal principles regarded by our forefathers as immutable are now being questioned and attacked.

177. It has been said more than once that the sign of our times is development and that the new name of peace is development. Not only material well-being but also freedom and justice can be achieved by means of development.

178. Yet I would venture to maintain that another characteristic of our times is paradox. Indeed, never before has man been able to unravel so many of the secrets of nature or to master such advanced technology. Never before, moreover, has he been so close to bringing about his own total destruction. Distances have disappeared, but men are ever more remote from their fellows. Purely natural factors have added immeasurably to the wealth of a few and have deeply impoverished many others. On the one hand, culture has reached spectacular levels, while, on the other hand, it has sunk to abysmal depths, as occurs in warlike confrontations based on differences of religion and race long thought to have been done away with forever.

179. That is why we firmly believe that the Committee on Disarmament must work even harder so as to ensure an end to the arms race, the adoption of effective disarmament measures and the initiation of sufficient transfers of economic resources to meet development needs.

Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

180. Honduras took part in the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held recently at Geneva, and regrets that obstacles remain which make it impossible to strike the necessary balance between the obligations of the nuclear Powers and non-nuclear-weapon States. Similarly, we are worried that a number of countries which, because of their financial resources and technical ability could within a short time manufacture nuclear weapons, have not yet acceded to the Treaty. Hence my country believes that we must improve the inspection machinery of IAEA, the better to be able to supervise the transfer of nuclear materials, thus

lessening the legitimate anxiety caused by a possible proliferation of nuclear weapons in the present international situation.

181. In 1980 we are witnessing an aggravation of international tension and a proliferation of wars and internal conflicts, thus increasing the probability of serious conflagrations throughout the world. These dangerous events bring into question the machinery for the Pacific settlement of disputes established under the United Nations Charter and create doubts as to the will for peace of the great Powers, which can involve the medium and small countries in their ideological and strategic confrontations.

182. The war in Lebanon continues unabated, without the presence of the United Nations forces, which Honduras supports, being a sufficient element of deterrence to prevent both armed incursions into Israel and military actions and bombing by Israeli forces within Lebanon. Our country, which in past years has urged caution on the parties to a conflict imposed on the people of Lebanon, once again condemns the circumstances of senseless bloodshed and urges respect for the territorial integrity, self-determination and well-being of the Lebanese.

183. Although the overall situation in the Middle East has been stabilized between Israel and Egypt, owing to the commendable initiative of President Sadat and the Camp David accords, it nevertheless remains tense and likely to lead to explosive consequences.

184. The problem of security for all the countries of the region, and Israel in particular, is closely linked to the prompt consideration of and justice for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, which do not relate merely to their status as refugees.

185. Honduras continues therefore to favour a negotiated political settlement which, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), will guarantee peace to all parties, including the Palestinian people, and put an end to the continuing Israeli occupation of various Arab territories.

186. Our country is carefully studying the resolutions adopted at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly [*ES-7/1 to 3*] and is closely following the initiatives of the European Economic Community. At the same time, we cannot accept unilateral measures altering the status of Jerusalem, and we consider that the continued policy of Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories is a serious obstacle to the peace process.

187. The tension in the Middle East has recently been extended to the coastal countries of the Indian Ocean, which have in various forums shown their legitimate concern at the escalation of confrontation in the area.

188. Our Government continues to be seriously concerned at the occupation of the United States Embassy in Iran and the holding of members of its staff as hostages. We take this opportunity to reiterate our appeal to the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran to ensure their prompt release in a dignified manner, in conformity with international law.

189. As we said at the sixth emergency special session, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is a flagrant violation of international law and creates a situation of growing danger, which several neighbouring countries of Afghanistan have denounced. General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 therefore continues to be relevant, and we expect that measures will be taken to comply with it.

190. Meanwhile, in South-East Asia, Thailand continues to be threatened by the unforeseeable consequences of the war in Kampuchea. Once again we are encountering an area of tension in which foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a country threatens to engender a conflict of more serious proportions which, unfortunately, might successively involve the great Powers. For its part, Honduras is in favour of United Nations action aimed at normalization of the situation and supports the countries of ASEAN in their efforts to bring that about.

191. Those problems have also brought to light the great human tragedy of the refugees. Our country, which in the past two years has had to bear the grave consequences of the displacement of refugees in Central America, once again wishes to draw the attention of the international community to the need to give greater support to the programmes of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

192. For some years the Central American region has been one of conflicting interests for some and of concern for others, and it is regrettable that what attracts world attention should be the violence that has racked some of the countries of the isthmus.

193. Because of its geographical location, Honduras is at the very heart of Central America and shares boundaries with Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua. This proximity goes hand in hand with a special affinity among our peoples, since we have the same origins and are aware that we share a common destiny. It is therefore logical that what happens in neighbouring countries is of extraordinary significance for us. We therefore view with profound sorrow the continued bloodshed among our brothers, and with growing concern the results to which violence could lead us.

194. It is a source of great satisfaction to me to represent the Provisional Government of Honduras at this session of the Assembly. That Government came into being after the general elections held on 20 April last, which led to the convening, on 20 July, of the freely elected and democratically representative National Constituent Assembly. The latter, after preparing a new Constitution for the Republic, will call for direct presidential elections in 1981.

195. Fortunately, our country enjoys political and social stability and channels its economic development efforts towards the greater well-being of all. The peace which my country enjoys is scarcely the product of mere chance or coincidence: it is the result of persevering efforts begun three decades ago by all sectors of the people and Government of Honduras to create an atmosphere of freedom, political stability and social justice. In this respect, I deem it appropriate to quote the following words of General Policarpo Paz García, the President of Honduras, on 20 August last, when he established the new Government Cabinet—words which

summarize the philosophy behind governmental action in a new stage of our institutional process:

"We have not been vaccinated against violence. Accepting this premise does not mean that we contemplate the future pessimistically, but rather that we acknowledge that all Hondurans, regardless of their place in society, have a serious responsibility for the maintenance of peace. It means that the armed forces and the political, economic and social forces of the nation must form a national front capable of ensuring for the Republic inviolable, sovereign and secure boundaries and an internal atmosphere in which, united, we can face the challenges of this decade—poverty, backwardness, sickness, ignorance, unemployment and lack of physical communications—and establish on sound bases a pluralistic and reforming political régime.

"This imposes on us the urgent need for a thorough review of our economic system in order to bring about a just and equitable development of our society, by the adoption of the necessary machinery and the bold institution of the reforms considered appropriate to our particular characteristics, our real capabilities and the experience we have acquired thus far . . .".

196. In the Central American context, I am pleased to be able to say that the mediation procedure adopted by Honduras and El Salvador to settle the differences that have existed since 1969 is proceeding normally, under the wise guidance of the eminent Peruvian jurist, Mr. José Luis Bustamante y Rivero. The political will to find a settlement evinced by both sides gives us legitimate grounds for hope that in the near future a just, dignified and final solution to all the pending problems between the two countries will be reached.

197. In conformity with its domestic policy, Honduras, furthermore, seeks to reaffirm, at the Central American and Caribbean level, the principles of territorial integrity, self-determination and democratic pluralism. We therefore participated in the meeting of Foreign Ministers of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama, who, on 15 March 1980, adopted the San José Declaration, an instrument which we consider very important for the development of integration and co-operation among the countries of the Central American isthmus.

198. In our view, the countries of Central America and the coastal States of the Caribbean should join forces to foster a normalization of relations among the countries of the area. That could be followed by positive increases in commercial and cultural relations and economic co-operation among them.

199. In this respect, it is also fitting to recall the agreement on financial and energy co-operation reached by Honduras and other countries with the Governments of Mexico and Venezuela on 3 August 1980, which represents, in our opinion, a specific effort at the economic solidarity so badly needed in the economic crisis we are experiencing.

200. Indeed, the international economic situation continues to be characterized by monetary disorder, inflation and increasing protectionism, as well as by stagnation—

with a few honourable exceptions—in the levels of financial and technical assistance for development. The North-South dialogue must go on.

201. The recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly sought to make effective the postulates of the new international economic order by sponsoring a round of global economic negotiations within the United Nations. Nevertheless, some industrialized countries still lack the necessary political will. Accordingly, at this session of the Assembly we have to work out the agenda and timetable for those negotiations.

202. The Government of Honduras, for its part, is making serious development efforts through a five-year national plan and a short-term programme of action. Similarly, in 1980, with the support of all social sectors, it initiated a broad national literacy campaign to mobilize throughout the country thousands of educators, and the completion of this will significantly reduce the illiteracy rate, which is so detrimental to the overall improvement of the population, particularly in the rural areas. Our national plan seeks also, among other priority goals, to increase agricultural and food production and to promote the diversification of industry and of communications and tourism services, as well as to construct the El Cajón hydroelectric complex.

203. These efforts require international technical and financial assistance, and Honduras is expanding its programmes with United Nations institutions, regional and subregional agencies, friendly Governments and the international private financial sector so as to co-ordinate and carry out those projects more effectively.

204. In the social field, we shall implement to the fullest extent the recommendations of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Copenhagen, and the programmes for children, which are of particular interest to us, as can be attested by our interest in and traditional support for UNICEF.

205. The Government of Honduras is, by deep-rooted conviction, a zealous defender of human rights—an apparently simple matter, but controversial in practice. Violence, in all its manifestations, leads to violation of the rights of individuals and of peoples, and Honduras, which has never claimed to set itself up as a judge of Governments or of countries which have painful experience of such violence, nevertheless considers that national and regional efforts should be combined to face its fatal consequences.

206. On the one hand, sooner or later every Government will have to answer for its acts before the most implacable and severe of judges: its own people. On the other hand, the international community can effectively assist in the universal implementation of human rights, as prescribed in international instruments adopted by the United Nations.

207. And here we should emphasize that Honduras considers that one of the major violations of the present is the odious policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African authorities. We once again consider that the greatest political and economic pressure must be exercised to achieve its elimination.

208. Our country, which at the beginning of this month welcomed the entry of Zimbabwe into our Organization, believes it necessary to refer also to the disappointment caused by the delay in holding free elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision. We believe that, not only because of its humanitarian consequences but also because of its political consequences, that situation has to be corrected and the valiant people of Namibia must be allowed to accede to independent existence, while maintaining the integrity of its territory and the essential freedom to determine its own destiny.

209. I should like to point out that our Government actively participated in the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and that, with certain reservations, we were satisfied with the results. These were the outcome of delicate negotiations and, to be sure, of a great effort of will to compromise among the negotiating parties.

210. In 1981 we shall hold the final session of the Conference and, although some important issues remain to be settled, the draft convention which has been prepared¹¹ brings the participants closer to a consensus. In consequence, within the framework of the rules, this will greatly facilitate a final decision on the set of articles and annexes which constitute it.

211. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is obvious proof of the real possibilities for agreement which exist within the United Nations and constitutes a remarkable effort at international co-operation which will provide the international community with a more just and rational order for the use of the resources of the sea and its subsoil for the benefit of mankind.

212. To conclude, I wish to reiterate the faith and confidence which my country places in this Organization as the means most suitable for the achievement of the highest destiny of man and nations. We consider that it is the unquestionable duty of all its Members to strengthen and improve its systems so that it may fully comply with the noble objectives set forth in its Charter.

213. Mr. TANNIS (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines): I wish to endorse the sentiments expressed by my Prime Minister on the day of the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to this world body as its one hundred and fifty-fourth Member. I am convinced that the selection of Mr. von Wechmar, by the group of States to which he belongs, for recommendation to this Assembly as its President is an indication of its recognition of his proven skill and competence in guiding and directing the affairs of the Assembly. I have no doubt that Mr. von Wechmar deserves this expression of confidence and I should like to wish him a productive and satisfying term in office.

214. As the representative of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines who attended the 2198th meeting of the Security Council on 19 February, when our admission to this Assembly was unanimously recommended, I must here record my appreciation for that unanimity in favour of my country's

admission to this world forum. We feel a sense of pride and satisfaction that the United Kingdom should have acted as our sponsor during that meeting. We feel pride because the United Kingdom and we ourselves have been capable of ending one relationship and beginning a new one as equals in the true spirit of the United Nations Charter, without rancour or bitterness resulting from our historical relationship and past differences and experiences.

215. I was moved by the solemnity of those proceedings and the ready response of all nations in accepting us as a Member. We were deeply touched by the warmth of the sentiments expressed on the day of our admission to the United Nations.

216. We are a small nation, but one with a clear view of what role we can play in world affairs. For financial reasons, there will always be obvious limitations to our ability to perform in the manner that may be desirable. This financial constraint notwithstanding, our position on issues will be made quite clear. Our intention will always be to assist this Organization in achieving and maintaining world peace, as well as economic and social justice. We will uphold respect for the democratic process and will of necessity be more closely drawn to those countries that share similar ideals. We will, as a Member of the Caribbean region, so direct our foreign trade, fiscal and foreign policies as to promote greater unity in all areas of development among the peoples of the region wherever there is a compatibility of interests and objectives.

217. We believe that economic relations between one country and another should rest on the basis of equality and mutual respect for the systems of each, recognizing as we do that it is the right of all peoples to determine the system of government they wish, as expressed by the will of the governed.

218. Our foreign policy will therefore develop as an integral part of the ideas of our people, expressed as the Government and people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines conceive it, and that policy will pursue the ends which we want it to serve in world affairs.

219. The central concept of our foreign policy is that of assisting in the promotion of an international order based on the principle of the equality and sovereignty of all nations; the total eradication of imperialism and colonialism in all its forms; the rejection of all forms or doctrines of racialism; the desire for lasting peace, freedom and prosperity and the need for international co-operation in all fields of human endeavour.

220. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines will, as a consequence, build its foreign policy on the foundation of this concept. The safeguarding of our national interests will, *a fortiori*, be the primary aim of our country's foreign policy. We are conscious of the fact that we live in a changing world with concomitant shifts and realignments of relationships between Powers and groups of Powers. While, of necessity, aspects of our foreign policy will therefore be flexible, our concern will be to safeguard our independence and to strive for a better way of life for our people while assisting in the promotion of peace and order.

¹¹ Document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3.

221. In an effort to prevent any erosion of our independence, we will not attach ourselves to any power bloc, Eastern, Western or non-aligned. We see ourselves as having an equal interest in creating, maintaining and safeguarding international peace as an essential condition of our own economic, social and industrial development. Our ties with the nations of the world will be forged through the signing of treaties of peace, friendship and co-operation. We have long-standing traditional ties with many countries. Where it serves our national interest we shall strengthen those ties and, where appropriate, forge new ones.

222. If Members, however, find us tardy in forging ties of new friendship, it is because we want to ensure that they are meaningful and lasting.

223. We believe that the principles of non-interference by one State in the internal affairs of another and of scrupulous respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States are essential to peaceful coexistence. We condemn the use of force in international affairs. We believe that, if that principle is strictly observed, the tensions of the world would be reduced and conflicts avoided. We are therefore opposed to all forms of aggression and any direct military intervention by one country in another, whatever the pretext.

224. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines supports the United Nations stand on decolonization and hopes that Members of the United Nations will combine their influence to ensure the removal of those obstacles which are hindering Belize from becoming an independent country. Freedom and independence for the world cannot be complete so long as Belize and other countries are denied theirs. We therefore urge the United Nations to use its best endeavours to ensure that Belize becomes an independent nation at an early date.

225. Equally, I must reiterate that, as my Prime Minister said earlier, greater efforts should be made to ensure that Namibia be granted the right to self-determination by the holding of free and fair elections under the supervision of the United Nations at the earliest possible time.

226. We believe that the conscience of this world community must be further aroused and challenged, not only against South Africa, where racial discrimination is official State policy, but against the emergence of racialism in any form in other areas of the world. We believe that Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and other small States should, by their approach to international issues, act as a source of stable objectivity mirroring the concerned conscience of the United Nations.

227. We are of the view that the Organization of American States is a truly hemispheric institution that can further, through co-operative and collective endeavours, peace and stability with progress and prosperity for its members. Being the oldest international regional organization in the world, the Organization of American States has the experience and the know-how to tackle the problems of economic, political and social co-operation of member States of the western hemisphere. We shall therefore seek membership in that organization at an early time.

228. We believe small States ought not to see themselves as being part of anything other than a fourth world. That is not out of a desire to advocate the creation of a new grouping; it is only consistent with the reality of our size, both in area and in population, and the vulnerability of our economies on a vast scale to the forces of nature. It is necessary for us first to perceive ourselves for what we are, without any illusion of grandeur. If that is done, it would therefore be easier for others to understand that we realize our capabilities, limitations, and the inhibiting factors to any meaningful development by us through our sole efforts. For even where efforts have successfully been made to move forward, they could be negated by the raw, brutal and uncontrollable forces of nature. Our problems, therefore, because of our small size, demand solutions. If such problems exist in larger countries of the third world, they do not have the same disastrous impact as when they occur in our fourth-world countries. Cyclical disasters have a more immediate and far greater adverse wave effect on the economies of small States such as Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Our problems, it is true, are not unique—and yet, they are in a way unique. That uniqueness demands favourable consideration and urgent attention by those who possess the abilities to help.

229. When one recognizes the disparity of income between countries and the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, it is evident that there is urgent need for a redistribution of wealth. Many countries have given assistance in the form of soft loans to poor countries, but the onerous conditions often imposed make it impossible at times for such loans to be taken up, and even when the conditions are met so much time may have elapsed as to cause a viable project to become non-viable. Worse still, even if the project may still be viable, because of the high rate of inflation there would be a tremendous escalation of costs which serves only to impose greater debt servicing responsibilities on the poor recipient countries. A new machinery is now needed by donor countries, consistent with the realities of the times in which we live. That machinery must substantially reduce the period in which disbursement is to commence and ensure that the necessary corrective measures are implemented at an earlier time and within the cost estimated. Without a restructuring of the lending machinery by donor countries and agencies, notwithstanding the awareness on the part of recipient countries that donors wish to ensure that their funds are properly spent and for the purpose intended, we in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines believe that the effect contemplated may not be achieved to the extent desirable to meet the needs of the recipient country as the urgency of the situation dictates.

230. A new and less cumbersome lending procedure must be devised, which reduces paperwork and which does not overtax the human resource capability of small States. We are therefore very seriously concerned about this ever-widening gulf and disparity of incomes, now fuelled by rampant inflation, and we believe that the North-South dialogue is a step in the right direction.

231. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines further believes that the report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt, merits careful study—which, I know, has already begun—in this body, with a view to the implementation of some of the recommendations which will tend to

reduce, if not eliminate, much of the suffering, conflict and confrontation which from time to time arise within the world community.

232. It is also of great significance that we have the benefit of another valued study: "An examination of the world economic crisis". That Commonwealth perspective concluded in a way which is worthy of quotation:

"Change is inevitable. The issue, as we see it, is whether the structural changes and adjustments necessary to solve the current economic crisis and the problems of development will be accompanied by economic confusion and chaos, with each nation struggling in isolation to maximize its own gain, or whether they can be achieved in harmony on the basis of a global consensus for the mutual benefit of all nations."¹²

233. We hold the view that energy is the primary problem of the world. We therefore believe that every effort should be made to find an early solution as a matter of urgency to this problem of frequent, periodic price increases. The indexing of prices to inflation cannot be the answer. Each increase in the posted price of oil will itself be the catalyst that generates further inflation world-wide. Those increases are the cause of chronic balance-of-payment problems in developing and underdeveloped countries, where neither the export price of primary products nor wages have for the farmer or the labourer the purchasing power to cope with the attendant evils of inflation. In mini-States like Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, with an agricultural, export-oriented economy, a frightening scenario is being painted: the unfulfilled expectations of the young, the diminished hopes of the old.

234. We should therefore strive to achieve the following: first, the freezing of all oil prices, which are already too high; secondly, the taking of positive steps on a global scale to conserve in the use of oil and natural gas, to permit time to develop alternative sources of energy; thirdly, the stimulating of the development of the technology to exploit gas on the biomass principle as fully as possible and to provide assistance with loans to poor countries to finance such energy development; and fourthly, the assisting of poor and small countries to exploit the development of such energy resources as are available.

235. I am under no illusion that those objectives will be easy to achieve, but we can try. We must not be afraid to offend in so crucial a task. We believe that the present initiatives of Mexico and Venezuela, as well as Iraq, are first indicative steps of their awareness of the existing problems of poor oil-importing countries. It is a commendable first step that should be emulated by others. It is a good beginning, but this must not be the end.

236. We condemn violations of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961¹³ by any country or its nationals who deliberately violate, to achieve an objective, the norms of respectable conduct in relations with diplomatic representatives of a sending country in a receiving country. The Convention was adopted to permit accredited representatives to perform their duties within the limits of the law of

the land, in peace, and thereby foster greater contact and intercourse between their country and the host country. Aberrations of this sort must be strongly condemned, and those who are in a position to exert influence to bring to an end such violations should do so with responsible commitment.

237. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines applauds the efforts being made to conclude a final convention on the law of the sea, which now seeks to resolve those issues which were not settled by the 1958 Geneva conventions. While those conventions resolved in a definitive manner matters such as the territorial sea, the high seas, fishing and conservation of living resources of the high seas, the continental shelf and the compulsory settlement of disputes, there are still major issues to be resolved which are of concern to our new nation—a nation spread over many miles of seas and comprising a large number of inhabited and uninhabited islands. Inhabitants have had a long history of use of and dependence on the resources of the sea. The Caribbean sea is our lifeline, as well as a potential source of wealth for several Territories within the region and, as specifically determined by us or agreed upon by convention, for us in our areas of sovereign jurisdiction.

238. We accept and recognize the desirability and wisdom of the right of all States to innocent passage through territorial seas and transit passage through straits used for international shipping. However, in the case of warships, prior notice must be given before such passage through our territorial sea. In the absence of agreement to the contrary, we accept the median line as the dividing line between States whether it determines the limit of the territorial sea or of the economic zone. There can be no doubt that every effort should be made to ensure the promotion of trade—even in spite of differences between countries—by unrestricted passage through and the accessibility of ports and harbours of States to trading ships.

239. With island States in such proximity as we are in the eastern Caribbean, particularly in the case of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines with many islands, islets, quays and rocks, it is important that an agreement be reached and an acceptable convention be concluded on these outstanding issues. It is clear now that, after many years, such a convention is in sight. After the resolution of myriad issues there is now a bright light at the end of the tunnel.

240. We are concerned about environmental dangers and damage to our ecology, particularly from oil pollution. The channels between several of our islands are safe and convenient passages for many of the world's supertankers travelling to and from Caribbean destinations, North America, Europe and the Middle East. It is more than reasonable to assume that there is a high probability of oil spills, occurring through negligence on the part of crews in cleaning and disposing of oil and indifference to the consequences spills may have, or through substantial damage as a result of navigational errors leading to massive oil spillage from heavily laden tankers beyond our limited human and financial resource capability to deal with.

241. For countries such as ours, with a tourist-oriented economy—agricultural exports apart—and a very limited

¹² Document A/S-11/13, annex, para. 43.

¹³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, No. 7310, p. 95.

industrial base, this could be a very serious tragedy, hampering our foreign-exchange earnings and worsening our unemployment situation. While we agree to transit passage of ships of all nations in the furtherance of international trade, we believe nevertheless that companies or nations should assume the responsibility of compensating for the economic harm done to a country, particularly a poor country, and the obligation of cleaning up the damage caused.

242. Small States like Saint Vincent and the Grenadines cannot sit idly by until disaster strikes; we must anticipate the event, even though we hope it will never occur, and seek to ensure that this world Organization exerts its not inconsiderable influence to alleviate hardship caused through no fault of the affected country. The manner in which that objective could be achieved is for consideration. Nevertheless, I am satisfied that oil-producing countries should be made to assume a part of such obligations. The rationale for that is obvious and needs no further amplification. I hope that this Assembly has already addressed itself to this problem and that prompt relief would be possible were such an event to occur.

243. What for a developed or large developing country may be a matter of no major concern, except for the impact of the damage *per se* on the ecology, or a small fourth world country like ours would assuredly be a major disaster. It must never be forgotten that, measured on the same scale, what is minor for a large country can be a catastrophe for a small one. Unless that is fully appreciated, the urgency of this appeal may be lost.

244. Having enunciated our position on several issues and our concern in certain areas where we perceive threats inimical to our national interests, may I reiterate to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly that the one real and lasting safeguard for States, large or small, is respect for the authority of this Assembly.

245. While we are not dealing in geometric terms, since national interests are a continual challenge to reason, it is well that we remember the parts cannot—and, in terms of political reality, should not—be greater than the whole, and should not conflict with or set themselves outside the whole.

246. This thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly has several new and outstanding issues to be resolved. Among them are the many hot spots in the world that could be cooled if adversaries would show less fear and more understanding of the other's point of view and if each was prepared to appreciate that the words "compromise" and "accommodation" can be given real meaning in the conduct of discussions which could resolve disputes. Intransigence and the hard line are not necessarily an indication of strength, but often the products of fear and insecurity. But the best safeguards against fear and insecurity would be negotiated settlements which bear the stamp of the approval of the United Nations. It is wrong for any nation, large or small, to show open defiance of the resolutions of this world Organization, since by ignoring its authority, albeit only a persuasive authority, they thereby effectively seek to weaken its usefulness. The Assembly can be a most effective instrument; but it cannot be and will not be greater than all of us collectively have the will to make it. Each of us representa-

tives possesses the perception by conscience to know right from wrong. Nevertheless, we are all subject to the policies of our Governments and must represent them or resign. But can we not in the light of our thinking strive to influence those decisions, if by so doing we would enhance respect for the integrity and credibility of this world Organization? To fail in this endeavour is not the problem; only to fail to try.

247. Do not think us naïve; we are only concerned.

248. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I shall now call on representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

249. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I have asked to speak for the purpose of a clarification which my delegation believes to be extremely important in order to eliminate the confusion which the Secretary of State of the United States deliberately attempted to create with respect to my country in his statement this morning before the General Assembly [*4th meeting*].

250. Actually, in his statement, which I recognize was eloquent, Mr. Muskie referred in a most inopportune manner to the use of chemical weapons in my country. That statement, which is based on absolutely no valid evidence, but only, perhaps, the slanderous accusations of certain reactionary Meo elements which fled Laos after the crushing of their counter-revolutionary efforts, was designed to discredit my country, which scrupulously respects the provisions of the international convention which prohibits the use of such weapons.¹⁴ My delegation publicly challenges the eminent representative of the United States to support his allegations by producing the slightest bit of serious evidence, apart from the defamatory fantasies and inventions of certain individuals in the pay of the United States, to show our guilt in this matter.

251. As far as we are concerned, without wishing at this stage to make any specific accusations against the United States, we have overwhelming proof of the iniquitous and intensive use of such inhumane weapons and other murderous weapons by that country during its aggressive war against our country and our people.

252. A clear conscience of the American people and of the peoples of the world, we believe, would be better preserved if allegations of the type that we heard this morning were not put forward by Mr. Muskie, who should recall quite well, I think, that it was his own country which, in 1945, dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, causing death and unspeakable suffering to millions of human beings and creating a nightmare for all mankind.

¹⁴ Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction (General Assembly resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex).

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) resumed the Chair.

253. Although Laos is economically underdeveloped, it is generally known for the degree of development of its feelings of humanity and tolerance, and attempting to accuse it of acts of cruelty such as the use of chemical weapons is a vain exercise which can only disturb the calm process of our general debate. In rejecting the assertions made by the Secretary of State of the United States concerning my country, I should like, in the name of the security of peoples and in the name of human rights, to urge Mr. Muskie to use his powers of persuasion to persuade his Government to ratify speedily the SALT II Treaty, which has been delayed for many months, and to engage in serious negotiations to put an end to the arms race, including that in chemical weapons, which the United States is continually developing and of which it possesses the largest stock in the world.

254. Mr. VU SONG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): It is a matter of public knowledge that the United States of America committed the longest and most violent act of aggression against Viet Nam and perpetrated inhuman crimes against our people, and that Canada was one of their principal allies which supported them in that aggression. The representatives of those two countries have nevertheless raised their voices to give a lesson on morality to the victims of their policy of aggression.

255. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam categorically rejects the slanderous allegations of the American and Canadian representatives against its country.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.