



CONTENTS

	Page
Address by His Excellency Prince Mabandla N. F. Dlamini, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the King- dom of Swaziland .....	543
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Gauci (Malta) .....	546
Speech by Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann (Nicaragua) .....	551
Speech by Mr. Aké (Ivory Coast) .....	557

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

*Address by His Excellency Prince Mabandla N. F. Dlamini,  
Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the  
Kingdom of Swaziland*

1. The PRESIDENT: I take great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Prince Mabandla Dlamini and inviting him to address the General Assembly.
2. Prince Mabandla DLAMINI (Swaziland): Allow me, at the outset, to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's warmest congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of this historic thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We are indeed delighted by your election to the helm of this Assembly, for we feel deeply convinced that with your wide experience and prudent leadership this Assembly will be eminently equipped for tackling effectively the many pressing problems facing mankind in the present decade. We have complete confidence that a man of your calibre, who has already distinguished himself as a statesman of outstanding qualities and a stalwart supporter of his country's commitment to the noble principles of human equality and justice, is indeed suitably qualified to steer the crucial deliberations of this Assembly on the right course to ultimate success.
3. I also wish to express my delegation's heartfelt gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, for his inspiring leadership and clear insight into the various matters of grave concern to humanity. We were indeed deeply inspired by his frank and practical approach to international problems. Equally, we were touched by his unflagging zeal and complete devotion to duty and by his ingenuity and ability in fostering a brotherly spirit of compromise and accommodation in the quest for solutions to international issues.
4. My delegation warmly welcomes the accession of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the United Nations. Coming as we do from the same region as our Zimbabwean brothers, we are fully aware of the heavy price the people of Zimbabwe had to pay for their freedom. It is because of this awareness that we feel overjoyed to see them take their rightful place in our midst as the one hundred and fifty-third Member of the United Nations.
5. My delegation believes that the triumphant struggle of the heroic people of Zimbabwe is also a victory for all peoples throughout the world that love peace and justice and struggle relentlessly for the creation of a more just and equitable world society, devoid of the callous and shameful machinations for the exploitation of man by man.
6. We further wish to congratulate very warmly the Government and people of the Republic of Zimbabwe on their courageous and enlightened policy of creating in Zimbabwe a land of fraternity and friendship where the spirit of reconstruction and reconciliation prevails, a land of a new social order where erstwhile opponents have turned their swords into ploughshares and are jointly working for the prosperity and well-being of the new Zimbabwe.
7. My delegation believes that the people of Zimbabwe deserve the most unflinching support of the world community in their noble efforts at creating a truly multiracial State in the heart of southern Africa, a region that is notorious for its many appalling examples of racial injustice.
8. We equally welcome and congratulate the new brotherly State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission to the family of the community of nations.
9. Thirty-five years have come and gone since those 51 founding nations, prompted by the appalling devastation of the Second World War, signed the Charter which formally gave birth to the United Nations in 1945. Since that date this Organization has played a role of paramount importance in many international spheres of human relations, particularly in the process of dismantling the erstwhile colonial empires and in spearheading the campaign for self-determination for all nations, whether big or small, on the basis of human equality and justice.
10. The past 35 years have indeed witnessed great changes in the world's political map. We have seen the emergence of many third world countries, from a position of relative obscurity and foreign domination, to their present status of full national sovereignty, in which they play an increasing role in shaping the future destiny of this planet.
11. Although rejoicing over the achievements of the past 35 years, we are still painfully aware of the persistent presence on this planet of several obstinate pockets of resistance to the process of decolonization. There are also areas on this globe where the principles of human equality and justice are

still being consistently flouted and where some political leaders are still devoting a considerable amount of their time to devising an array of flimsily disguised schemes designed to give a cloak of respectability to the abominable practice of exploitation of man by man. We are convinced that no amount of glossy political machinations by those intent on side-stepping the real issues can take the place of meeting the basic need to adopt authentic and bold measures to give genuine satisfaction to the aspirations of the underprivileged masses to economic, social and political justice.

12. Swaziland is unswervingly committed to the principles of non-racial democracy, non-alignment and complete respect for human dignity, justice and peaceful coexistence for all. It is in this context that we feel deeply concerned about the deplorable persistence of certain inhuman practices of racial injustice in our own subregion which are based purely upon grounds of colour. It is with this feeling of deepening anxiety that we fully share the Secretary-General's concern expressed in these words in his report on the work of the Organization:

“. . . the world community's concern will continue and grow as long as the manifest injustices of *apartheid* persist.” [A/35/1, sect. III].

13. We regard it as a great pity that the people of Namibia is still being denied its birth-right of self-determination, independence and full national sovereignty by frivolous wrangles that derive mainly from considerations of sheer political expediency. We regard the present stalemate as showing gross inhumanity and outright callousness to the Namibian people. We therefore appeal most earnestly to the parties concerned to put the interest and welfare of the Namibian people above any other consideration and to facilitate the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We wish to commend the untiring and noble efforts made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, to find an acceptable and peaceful formula by which the people of Namibia can be assisted to move as expeditiously as possible to independence, on the basis of free and fair elections held under the auspices of the United Nations. It is in this context that we welcome the present proposal to hold another round of talks on the Namibian question between the United Nations and the South African Government towards the end of this month. We ardently hope and pray that the forthcoming talks will lead to an early resolution of this problem.

14. We equally applaud the endeavours of the five Western Governments, as well as the efforts of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], through the front-line African States bordering on Namibia, as a great contribution towards solving the Namibian problem by peaceful means.

15. It is unfortunate that, in spite of the solemn pledge made by the founding nations of this Organization that there would be no more wars, sporadic outbreaks of regional wars and localized conflicts have continued to defy the noble efforts of this world body and are still taking a heavy toll in human lives in many parts of the world.

16. My delegation has learnt with considerable sadness of the recent outbreak of fresh violence in the Gulf region, and we wish to add our voice to those of other peace-loving

nations in calling upon the belligerent parties to exercise restraint by halting all acts of hostility in that region and to accept overtures towards a peaceful settlement of this dangerous problem. We strongly urge all the parties concerned in this conflict to adopt a spirit of goodwill and statesmanship and to embark on a process of serious negotiations aimed at resolving their current differences by peaceful means.

17. The people of Swaziland have for many years shared the concern of many other peace-loving nations of the world about the elusive problem of securing durable peace in the Middle East. It was in this spirit of apprehension and anxiety that we greeted with considerable joy and relief the advent of the Camp David accord in 1978.<sup>1</sup>

18. We fully appreciated the limited scope of that agreement and we had no illusions about the immensity and complex nature of the Middle East situation. We were hopeful that the spirit of compromise and reconciliation would pervade the entire region and create a congenial atmosphere under which a process of much more comprehensive negotiations, involving all parties to the problem, could be initiated. Understandably, we therefore feel disheartened by the latest turn of events in the Middle East and are indeed apprehensive that the lack of progress in the current bilateral negotiations between Egypt and Israel may lead to a further deterioration of security in the entire region. Nevertheless, we should still have faith that, with sufficient goodwill, the peoples of the Middle East can still find some common ground upon which valuable negotiations could be based that would probably help to bridge the gap between their divergent interests, deriving from the need for self-determination for the Palestinian people, and the right of the State of Israel to exist.

19. In keeping with its strong commitment to the principle of self-determination, Swaziland fully supports the right of the people of Western Sahara to independence and full national sovereignty. We believe that the forceful annexation of their land against their will constitutes a flagrant violation of the noble principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We also believe that the current attempt to use military prowess to bludgeon the Saharan people into accepting foreign subjugation is setting a highly dangerous precedent whereby small nations may be subjected to forceful annexation.

20. My delegation views any act of violation of the sanctity of diplomatic missions with great concern. We believe that the existence of secure and well protected diplomatic institutions is of vital importance to the proper and effective maintenance of international peace and security. We therefore urge the strictest adherence by all Governments to the norms of international law regulating the behaviour and setting out the responsibilities of Governments to afford adequate protection to foreign diplomatic missions and their personnel so as to enable them to carry out their diplomatic functions in complete safety.

<sup>1</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

21. We deeply abhor any act of violent seizure of diplomatic personnel under any circumstances whatsoever, for we believe that adequate provisions exist under the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations for dealing with diplomats guilty of abusing their diplomatic privileges.

22. The worsening crisis through which international relations and the world economy are currently passing presents considerable dangers for the world community. My delegation believes that the yawning economic gap separating rich and poor countries has not been sufficiently recognized as the major factor in the present crisis. Indeed, we regard it to be one of the greatest anachronisms of our age that these widening economic disparities should still persist at this time in history when human society is becoming increasingly aware of the extent to which it is interrelated and of how deeply the rich and the poor countries depend upon one another for the continued well-being of their respective economies. We cannot help expressing our deepening concern about the disappointing lack of meaningful progress towards the realization of the urgent goal of establishing a New International Economic Order that is more responsive to the needs of both developing and industrialized countries.

23. We had hoped that the human instinct for survival and the common concern for the well-being of present and future generations of mankind would produce an adequately strong stimulus to prompt world leaders to overcome their differences and resolve the contradictions between their self-interest and their joint interest. However, in spite of the commendable efforts made by the United Nations and the many conferences held between developed and developing countries on the question of bringing about important reforms in the current world economic system, very little headway has so far been made. Indeed, developing nations have been left with very little hope of ever escaping from the ravages of poverty and the spectre of widespread starvation and human misery that is already haunting many parts of the developing world.

24. Our hopes were further shattered by the failure of the international community last month, at the special session of the General Assembly on economic problems, to agree even on such preliminary matters as the agenda and the procedures to be adopted in future global economic negotiations. Of course, my delegation harbours no illusions about the many hurdles that will have to be overcome before the ultimate objective of restructuring the present international economic system can be successfully accomplished. The road to a new world economic order is fraught with numerous complex and daunting problems. The industrialized countries themselves are in the throes of a serious economic recession arising primarily from ever-escalating oil prices. Those countries are also gripped by rampant inflation and dwindling market demands which have given rise to burgeoning problems of unemployment.

25. Under these circumstances, it is to be expected that the industrialized nations should be concerned about their own economic welfare and tempted by the apparently attractive but transient advantages of restricting imports from developing countries in a bid to protect their own recession-stricken domestic industries against foreign competition. It should be remembered, none the less, that current world economic problems have a far more severe impact on the

young and frail economies of the third world nations. The unemployment situation in the developing countries is much more widespread and indeed fast approaching crisis proportions, with dire consequences to the social and political stability of those young countries. Not only is unemployment rising as a result of stunted economic growth in most countries of the third world, but also because the numbers for whom jobs must be provided are multiplying at a rate that far outstrips the sluggish pace of economic growth in those countries.

26. Most third world countries, like mine, are heavily dependent upon primary commodities for their export earnings. In most cases, developing countries export a very limited range of primary commodities, with the result that price fluctuations in world commodity markets have a severely disruptive effect on their fledgling economies.

27. My delegation believes that it is vital for the economic survival of developing nations that they be given every possible assistance to help them acquire the necessary capacity to process more and more of their raw materials so as to generate much needed employment opportunities in the developing countries and enhance the value of their exports, thus helping to broaden the base of their economies and reduce their high vulnerability to the vagaries of the international markets.

28. I am quite convinced that an internationally agreed programme of progressive transfer of processing industries to the developing countries would be beneficial to the industrialized countries as well, for it would have the advantage of locating the relevant processing industries nearer the source of raw materials and thus bringing about a substantial reduction in the currently high freight costs incurred in exporting bulky raw materials with a relatively low unit value. However, a programme of this nature can only make economic sense if it is based on a universally accepted programme of dismantling the existing plethora of tariffs and other protectionist measures that effectively deny semi-processed goods from the developing nations access to the markets of the industrialized countries.

29. Even if such a transfer programme could be accepted and supported by all nations of the world, developing countries would still take some time to acquire the necessary capacity to process a large part of their raw materials. It is in recognition of this fact, therefore, that my delegation considers it extremely important, and indeed urgent, that positive steps be taken to devise an equitable pricing mechanism that will ensure stability in commodity prices as well as bringing remunerative returns to the commodity producers.

30. I must acknowledge, however, that a small but encouraging step in the right direction has already been made under the auspices of UNCTAD and that a few commodities such as sugar, tin, coffee, and so on, are already covered by international agreements. However, this is still a far cry from the vital need for the early conclusion of comprehensive international agreements that will ensure more stable and remunerative prices and some degree of certainty to the commodity producers. This, we believe, would greatly help developing countries to maintain their foreign exchange earnings and to facilitate their fiscal planning and economic management.

31. In addition, the widening gap between the price of commodity exports from developing countries and the cost of imported manufactured goods has been the main factor in the worsening balance of trade deficits that are being experienced today by a growing number of third world countries. The dictates of justice and common sense demand that international trade relations between North and South be placed on a fairer and more equitable footing.

32. My delegation believes that the international community as a whole, regardless of domestic political and economic systems, should fully contribute to the global efforts of restructuring the existing world economic order. The ravages of widespread starvation and malnutrition affecting certain regions of the developing world are too severe and fast becoming too desperate for mankind to indulge itself in the niceties of blaming our past history for the existence of our present problems. What is needed now is not an analysis of the past misdeeds of colonialism and other forms of exploitation but a forward-looking programme of concerted action to avert the real danger of a large-scale famine engulfing growing numbers of the peoples of the third world countries.

33. The 1944 Bretton Woods international monetary system was designed to serve the needs and the political conditions that were prevailing in the world at that time. Since then, the world political map has changed considerably and new economic problems have now come to the fore. My delegation strongly believes, therefore, that there is now a real and urgent need for the present international monetary system to be restructured in such a way that it takes adequate cognizance of the special circumstances of the developing countries. Greater stability in international exchange rates is essential if the economies of third world countries, which are heavily dependent upon foreign exchange earnings from primary commodity exports, are to be protected from the harmful effects of wild fluctuations.

34. The plight of many non-oil-producing developing countries like mine is indeed fast becoming desperate as more and more important development projects have to be drastically scaled down or abandoned altogether because of the crushing pressure of the mounting energy bills. It is imperative to our economic survival that we, the developing countries, have access to adequate amounts of concessional development finance to help us sustain present levels of economic growth and cope with the balance-of-payments deficits as well as with the heavy burden of servicing presently high interest loans.

35. It has become abundantly clear that the present energy crisis is here to stay and that, if anything, it will worsen rather than improve in the foreseeable future. I need hardly say here that any changes in petroleum prices affect the whole fabric of the economies of the oil-importing countries. Consequently, any instability in oil supplies sends waves of destabilization throughout the world economy and is the main cause of the conditions of general economic malaise that have gripped the world today. My delegation feels, therefore, that there is a need not only to conserve energy but also to increase efforts in the exploration and development of new and renewable sources of energy. We look forward with interest to the forthcoming United

Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy.

36. Turning now to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, we are happy to note that this complex legal Conference, which seeks to regularize mankind's activities over two thirds of this planet, may at long last truly be said to be in its final stages.

37. If one were compelled to identify one of the most important features for Swaziland of the future Convention, it would be the articles relating to the right of access to and from the sea and freedom of transit for land-locked States. We are of the opinion that the present text relating to equal treatment in maritime ports should be amplified by providing that ships flying the flag of land-locked States shall enjoy either national or most-favoured-nation treatment, whichever is more favourable to them, in maritime ports used for purposes of access to and from the sea.

38. Additionally, the present text on the continental shelf remains unsatisfactory and serves to truncate severely the concept of the common heritage of mankind, already limited in scope by the exclusive economic zone of 200 miles. We continue to believe that the balance can only be redressed—albeit partially—if at the next session positive steps are taken by all participants to enshrine, at least by way of a declaration, the basic elements underlying the common heritage fund proposal.

39. We remain confident that the international community will continue to display the necessary political will and good faith at the forthcoming session to conclude a convention which will be universally respected and durable.

40. May I conclude by expressing the hope that the Assembly will find it possible to address itself positively and constructively to the many urgent problems facing mankind in this decade. Let us build bridges to span the gulfs created by diverse and conflicting interests so that freedom, unity, human equality, prosperity and justice may one day prevail throughout the world.

41. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency Prince Mabandla Dlamini, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Swaziland, for the important statement he has just made. I should like also to add my own thanks for the kind words addressed to my country and to me.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

42. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Last year in this Assembly I expressed<sup>2</sup> unease over the dark clouds gathering on the international horizon and detected early warning signals of a new round of escalation in lethal weapon systems. Malta's forebodings of yesterday have transformed themselves into the grim realities of today.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 30th meeting, paras. 143-147.

43. Old problems have become more complicated and new ones have emerged. The political world is behaving irrationally. Adventurism, interference, and even intervention arrogantly stride the world stage. Military options are being applied to problems which are essentially political in nature. Here, at least, we all seem to agree that the very foundations of peace are in acute danger, that we must inject new momentum into our efforts to halt our reverses and so change direction to forward movement.

44. We have in fact been declaring the same objectives, perhaps in different words and with different emphases, for the last 35 years. Our methods and our approaches have not changed much. We give rise to great expectations in debate, but negative factors overwhelm our modest collective gains.

45. We still have the protagonists of each military alliance continuing to engage in the apparently all-absorbing activity of the pot calling the kettle black. For instance, the only significant additions to their repetitive statements on disarmament have mostly been dictated by the new weapons systems that they themselves have commissioned in the period intervening between one session of the Assembly and the next. That seems to be the end-product of their commitment to what has now become almost a meaningless ritual—a verbal commitment to “general and complete disarmament under effective international control”. In reality, as the study on nuclear weapons by the Secretary-General concludes [A/35/392], the major Powers are toying with a perpetual menace to human society. In a recent survey carried out in Britain, almost 50 per cent of the people interviewed predicted an outbreak of nuclear war within the time span of the current generation.

46. For how long, then, can reasonable hope prevail over barren performance? Have the major Powers not yet realized that every action taken by either of them has worldwide ramifications and calls for an inevitable response from the other? With détente always considered so fragile, why are there elephantine lurches by one side or the other, which are bound to destroy, perhaps at a single stroke, all the patient attempts at progress made in the past? Is it possible that there can be such a lack of perception and communication in the world of today?

47. We do not lack the tools. The Charter of the United Nations is our prescription and our objective, and the Organization is our means to attain our ends. What we lack, desperately, is the will to use its institutions and to use them efficiently. Next to political will, our scarcest commodity is time, which is fast running out.

48. A lasting legacy of the imperturbable performance of Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, the previous President of the General Assembly, is the clarity and perception with which he reviewed the performance of this Assembly over the past 12 months, objectively highlighting the major problems confronting us.

49. Similarly, our hard pressed Secretary-General has once again helped us to focus attention on the major problems we face in his concise, analytical and dedicated report on the work of the Organization, which convincingly reminds us—because we need to be reminded—that our

Organization is here to serve the international community, to the extent that all Members utilize its services in their duties as representatives of the peoples of the United Nations.

50. And the President of the current session has now taken up the challenge of leadership in the strenuous months ahead. My country and I personally welcome your election, Mr. President. It is a well-merited acknowledgement of your personal qualities and of the important role that your country has assumed in the present stage of international relations. I am confident that your experience and dedication will serve us well.

51. It is symbolic of your country's effective stimulus to economic development that, in the short span of less than a decade, the pragmatic efforts of the small team of experts on industrial promotion that the Federal Republic of Germany sent to Malta have been so successful that, I am glad to state, your country is the only industrially developed nation with which Malta maintains a favourable balance of trade, in a mutually advantageous partnership of German technology and Maltese skilled labour.

52. This model of modern friendly relations between two countries, forged through the vicissitudes of past history, inspires Malta's foreign policy; it is a success story that is a good foundation for Malta's hopes for the future regarding all other countries. We therefore augur that this session also will produce similarly positive and enduring results.

53. As others have pointed out, we have two outstanding elements on the credit side of our performance rating. The first, the long drawn-out saga of Zimbabwe, finally ended in a significant achievement which we have already welcomed, overdue as it undoubtedly was. Even that achievement, however, reminds us of the continuing frustration over Namibia and the even more insidious anomaly of *apartheid*, practised as national Government policy by South Africa. That system continues to outrage the conscience of mankind at a period in history when human dignity, social equality and racial harmony should be the hallmark of modern times.

54. The second achievement, the progress in the hitherto slow-moving Conference on the Law of the Sea, welcome as it is, does not blind my delegation to the severe dent in our original expectations as to what should derive from the concept of the common heritage of mankind.

55. During the negotiations, it has become clear that extensive, rich and more readily accessible areas of the ocean floor are now likely to fall under national jurisdiction, mostly benefiting a few well endowed nations, at the expense of the international community as a whole. The originally envisaged international area has shrunk considerably as a result.

56. The recovery and utilization of the resources in the international area, moreover, require a most sophisticated technology and highly capital-intensive efforts, of which only a handful of countries are capable. We now have grave doubts as to the financial benefits that will actually accrue to the international community as a whole, and particularly to developing countries, from the eventual utilization of those



resources. Therefore, apart from our readiness to host the proposed international sea-bed authority, it is to these sober expectations that the high hopes raised by Malta in 1968 have been reduced in 1980. And the litigation likely to arise in future from some of the vague provisions in the proposed convention, will create a paradise for international lawyers but a nightmare for national leaders.

57. Already ominous signs are emerging. Apart from the national legislation on sea-bed mining by one country, there is the refusal of some States to agree to an enforceable system of law, or even to existing disputes being subjected to the procedures that would apply to future disputes of the same kind. Those disputes are not theoretical; they are now being encountered in practice and applied against the weak to the advantage of the strong.

58. With advancing technology, dwindling energy and mineral resources, and escalating prices, offshore exploration is bound to assume increasing and frequently competing importance. Powerful technologically advanced nations fronting the oceans are currently extracting resources from dozens of rigs operating hundreds of miles offshore. Malta has been forcefully prevented from operating one single rig at a modest offshore distance of 50 miles.

59. The recognized right to exploration and exploitation of natural resources has now become an acute and actual need for all countries, but particularly for developing countries which depend on energy imports and are faced with constantly escalating costs. That was stressed by the President of OAU in his statement to this Assembly of 24 September [9th meeting]. It was referred to by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in his statement of the previous day [6th meeting], and it has been highlighted by the representative of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines [1st meeting], the newest Member of the United Nations.

60. We again compliment that nation, not only on its admission to the United Nations, which we were honoured to sponsor, but also on its perceptive statement, as an island developing country, on the importance of offshore resources and the relevance of the median line as the boundary between opposite States for the territorial sea and the economic zone, within internationally recognized limits.

61. Those rights have been enunciated in numerous resolutions proposed by developing countries. They are recognized by current international law and practice. Yet the attitudes and interpretation of States in various regions in relation to those rights and legal principles vary considerably; already in some areas there has been armed confrontation—over the past month alone—in Africa, in Latin America and in the Mediterranean. Malta was at the receiving end of the confrontation in the Mediterranean and has suffered bitterly as a result of action taken against it by a country which professes to be Malta's best friend.

62. I shall not repeat all the details of the incident, since the matter is before the Security Council. I only mention that we have spent eight years of expensive and wearisome negotiations with Libya, to no avail. For four years Libya has delayed ratification of a painstakingly negotiated agreement to refer the matter for adjudication by legal process.

63. Faced with those delaying tactics, Malta finally decided, on the advice of several friendly countries consulted in advance, to authorize exploration activities well on its own side of the median line separating Libya and Malta. Without explanation, without reason, Libya sent armed naval forces and insisted on a cessation of the peaceful and legitimate activities so vital for Malta's economic viability, on the unfounded pretext that the area of operations was a "disputed area".

64. Libya—or any other country for that matter—cannot apply two weights and two measures; once it has exploited resources on its own side of the median line, it simply cannot deny the exercise of the same rights to Malta, by using force to impede our legitimate activities on our own side. We, for our part, have not presumed to impede lawful Libyan activities, but the Libyans have impeded ours and say that they intend to continue to do so. In the circumstances which Libya has provoked, our only honourable course, as a peace-loving country, and after all efforts at good offices had been frustrated, was to seek the protection of the Security Council, instead of answering threat by counter-threat.

65. Like the Secretary-General, we feel that, as experience has abundantly shown, the Security Council should not be used as a last resort when any given situation has gone out of hand. We believe firmly in the Security Council as the promoter and the guarantor of international peace and security. We therefore do not believe that it should vacillate in the face of actions which are clearly in violation of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. There cannot be two codes of international conduct—one for the strong and the other for the weak. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France so correctly stated in his address to this Assembly, "When law is violated, silence acts as an accomplice" [8th meeting, para. 207].

66. We know—there is already evident proof—that the incident provoked by Libya is not an isolated one. It is bound to occur again in the future, as it has in the past. Therefore the Security Council must pronounce an appropriate code of conduct; it must not condone breaches of the peace; it must ensure that they do not recur.

67. The proposed law of the sea convention is innovative, but it does not inhibit established international law and practice. In fact, it foresees the necessity of practical interim arrangements until boundary agreements are reached. Article 83, paragraph 3, provides that, pending agreement,

"... the States concerned, in a spirit of understanding and co-operation, shall make every effort to enter into provisional arrangements of a practical nature and, during this transitional period, not to jeopardize or hamper the reaching of the final agreement."<sup>3</sup>

68. Malta, in its search for agreement, although constantly faced with dismaying delaying tactics and totally unfounded claims by Libya, has made a practical suggestion. Up to this very moment the only Libyan reply has been a deafening silence.

69. A heavily armed, richly endowed country thus consciously or unconsciously, stifles the legitimate rights of a

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

small, unarmed country, totally lacking any natural resources, from peacefully exercising those rights, thereby impeding its indigenous potential for economic development. That, like any other self-respecting country, Malta will never accept. And that action, whatever its source, the international community—primarily through the Security Council—cannot condone.

70. That is the only issue—a vital one for Malta, though perhaps minor for Libya—which is exacerbating relations between the two countries. That provocative and illegal attitude flies against the interest of Mediterranean co-operation and of reducing tension in the Mediterranean, to which Libya allegedly is dedicated.

71. In the past, it has given me great pleasure to praise Libya's understanding. Today, I have no option but to call it into question and to ask Libya to change its present attitude. I do it with the utmost candour, which is the true expression of friendship, so that existing doubts and anxieties will be removed. It is the least we can expect from a nation that has stood by us in difficult circumstances in the past.

72. Therefore, I very much regret that in his statement of 6 October [25th meeting] the representative of Libya, while reviewing Mediterranean problems, did not even see fit to mention the acute controversy between his country and mine, as if that question, of such vital interest to Malta, is of no concern to his country.

73. The Security Council suspended its examination of Malta's complaint so as to give Libya time to study the matter, and to this date Libya has not provided any reply, beyond stating in letters that: first, the question is a complex and technical matter which cannot be settled overnight; secondly, the law of the sea has not yet resolved the question of delimitation; thirdly, Libya is ready to go to the International Court of Justice; fourthly, Libya did not use force against Malta; and fifthly, since "the area" is disputed, Malta cannot carry out any activities therein until the border demarcation line is determined.

74. To those points I would reply briefly as follows.

75. First, eight years of patient but fruitless effort is not exactly "trying to settle the question overnight". In any case, if the Libyan People's Congress can ratify a complicated constitutional and political question of a merger with the Syrian Arab Republic in a few weeks, I feel justified in asking why it needs four years to ratify a comparatively simple agreement already negotiated between the two Governments.

76. Secondly, it is, of course, true that the Conference on the Law of the Sea has not yet completed its work, including the question of delimitation. But the world did not stop while the Conference proceeded with its discussions. Neither Libya, nor any other country, has ceased its own exploration activities. The proposed convention, in any case, does not inhibit current international law and practice, and Malta's activities were fully in compliance with those requirements. Besides, as I have already indicated, the proposed convention does foresee the necessity of interim arrangements until final agreement is reached.

77. Thirdly, Libya says it is ready to go to the International Court of Justice. Respectfully, I point out that this has been confirmed to us, repeatedly and at the highest level, over the past four years. But no action has been taken as yet, and the negotiated agreement remains unratified by Libya.

78. Fourthly, Libya says it did not use force against Malta, and does not intend to do so. To this fundamental point I have to reply at somewhat greater length.

79. It is, of course, true that no foreign forces landed in Malta, although we judged it prudent to take precautionary measures. But, as the representative of Libya would appreciate, through the actual experience gained by his country from the 30 or so off shore oil wells it is currently exploiting, expensive drilling operations are not voluntarily suspended before the operation is considered complete. The fact is that Malta's solitary oil drilling operation, well inside Malta's side of the median line, had to suspend operations under the threat of armed Libyan naval units pointing menacing guns against defenceless citizens and expensive equipment.

80. The telex sent on 20 August 1980 by the Libyan Minister for Oil, to the captain of the oil rig, stated explicitly:

"We hereby warn you that your company should immediately refrain from performing any drilling operations, withdraw the rig and leave the area; otherwise, the Jamahiriya is obliged to prevent your company from doing so by all means including force, on the ground that what is being done by your company is a hostile action against a sovereign State."

81. I also happen to have available photographs of the Libyan warship—showing its identification number—taken by officials of the Maltese Government from the rig that was being threatened by the Libyan warship. Those photographs were witnessed by citizens of other countries and give the exact geographical co-ordinates and the date and time when the photograph of the incident was taken.

82. There is therefore no question but that force was used and that its use is still being threatened. The rig did not leave of its own accord, and any other rig in future will need either armed protection or an assurance from Libya that it will not be threatened. We prefer the latter alternative.

83. The fifth and final point is the claim by Libya that "the area" is disputed. But in order for a dispute to be genuine and not just a convenient pretext, it has to have some foundation. In Libya's case there is none; neither historical rights, nor geological criteria, nor contemporary international law and practice support Libya's unfounded claim. Libya itself seems to have so little faith in its own arguments that, as I have indicated, it has failed to honour its commitment to go to the International Court. Malta has been ready to do so from the very beginning.

84. Our latest contribution to an equitable accord was the honest though rather unusual step of declaring in advance that the benefits of any activities carried out by Malta would accrue to Libya if the International Court of Justice found in favour of Libya. But Libya remains singularly deaf to all approaches except those that put Malta in an economic strait jacket.

85. However, that is in the past and, despite the costly set-back inflicted on Malta, it is to the future that we must look. The issue has now been narrowed to two essential points. May I therefore, through you, Mr. President, ask the representative of Libya two specific questions.

86. First, is he publicly and solemnly willing to commit his country, in an appropriate manner, to go to the International Court this year?

87. Secondly, is he publicly and solemnly willing to state before this Assembly or in any other appropriate manner that his country will not in future use force against peaceful exploration activities carried out by Malta, under current international law and practice, on its side of the median line, subject to the understanding given by my Prime Minister and without prejudice to the claims of either side until the demarcation issue is settled by agreement or by legal process in accordance with the relevant provisions of the proposed law of the sea convention?

88. If the representative of Libya is willing to give a categorical answer to those two specific questions the whole world will be able to determine whether Libya's protestations of friendship towards Malta's independence and prosperity have any practical content, and the Security Council would then be guided accordingly.

89. In that perspective I am pleased to express my country's appreciation for the understanding shown by the Italian Government, as outlined in the statement delivered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy on 23 September [7th meeting]. It is the end result of a long series of negotiations which were finally concluded successfully—another example of the favourable evolution of history. We are endeavouring to negotiate more or less similar approaches with other Mediterranean countries and our efforts have also succeeded with friendly non-aligned Yugoslavia. We are dedicated to bringing peace eventually to the Mediterranean and to promoting ever increasing co-operation between Europe and the continents bordering upon it.

90. It is against the background of those objectives that, once again, we are forced to note with increasing dismay the paucity of political progress concerning the plight of the friendly Mediterranean sister island of Cyprus, caught as it is in a vice-like grip by outside influences which tend to ignore the real needs of the indigenous people of the island, who suffer the scars of artificial division brought about principally as a result of the heavy-handed events of 1974.

*Mr. Slim (Tunisia), Vice President, took the Chair.*

91. Subsequently, belatedly, the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General managed to break through the procedural morass that had paralysed the intercommunal talks, but it remains to be seen whether the progress that the Cyprus Government seeks and the international community has repeatedly urged will in fact be forthcoming. Malta encourages the restraint now being shown and hopes that a dynamic momentum for progress can be generated.

92. No one would dare to underestimate the complexity of the Middle East—the most recent regrettable conflict is a sharp reminder of it—but that is no reason to overlook the

core of the problem, which persists. The legitimate aspirations of the people of Palestine remain thwarted although they are now recognized and upheld by a quasi-universal consensus. The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] remains artificially excluded from the negotiating process even though the future of its people, the Palestinian people, is at stake.

93. Malta was foremost in taking a prominent role in alerting the conscience of previously marginally involved countries and in advocating a comprehensive solution to that problem by forcefully raising its voice, not in the cosy company of the like-minded, but in the halls of the Council of Europe, the Commonwealth and the Socialist International. We therefore welcome the fact-finding mission of the European Economic Community and trust that the combined efforts under way through the United Nations will result in remedying the deficiencies of past and recent approaches, whose main features have been dismal failure and simmering resentment periodically exploding in wide-scale conflict. In the same context, we trust that friendly Lebanon will be spared further suffering and that the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem will henceforth be respected.

94. Despite these and other dark clouds that hover over the Mediterranean and that are fed by the divergent approaches of the major Powers, Malta has resolutely held to its policy of freedom from military attachments. We intend to entrench that policy in our national Constitution and to register it with this Organization under the terms of Article 102 of the Charter.

95. We shall declare the Republic of Malta a neutral State, and shall actively pursue peace, security and social progress among all nations by adhering to a policy of non-alignment and by refusing to participate in any military alliance. Our constant objective will then be to seek resolutely to increase the sectors of co-operation among Mediterranean countries. We have maintained regular contact with all those countries and have sensibly sought to bring them together in preparation for the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, of which the Mediterranean is among the most sensitive components.

96. We are strenuously striving to make the dialogue that has been initiated something more permanent, more representative and more action-oriented and to give all Mediterranean countries a better role in the process, since Mediterranean issues can be discussed productively only on the basis of adequate participation by all concerned.

97. We believe there can be little prospect of easing tension in that sensitive region until some adequate mechanism is devised for planning and executing agreed programmes between the largest possible number of interested countries. Otherwise, the present tension and division will deteriorate even further and the concept of the Mediterranean as a zone of peace and co-operation will become more difficult to achieve.

98. Though Asia is far away from Malta geographically, we are very sensitive to its problems. We have watched with interest and encouragement the gradual but steady progress of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, but have noted with concern the events in Kampu-



chea and Afghanistan. We believe firmly in, and strongly reiterate our support for, the self-determination of peoples, free from outside interference.

99. We regret that the aspirations of the people of Korea to peaceful reunification remain static, while foreign troops remain stationed in the south—a permanent symbol of the country's division and an obstacle to the genuine and open dialogue required for the prospects of reunification. The time has come to generate the necessary momentum by gradually overcoming the economic, administrative and political divisions artificially inherited from the hostilities of the past.

100. The more recent evolution in the region provides an impetus for the reunification of the country and new initiatives could be taken so as to reach an agreement satisfying the wishes of all the Korean people. The death sentence passed on the South Korean opposition leader was a further set-back to the prospects for a popular dialogue. We urge that that retrograde decision should not be implemented.

101. We are closely following the discussions designed to promote the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. We fully support the realization of that objective and we believe it would receive a major impetus if the suggestion by Madagascar of a summit conference of the interested countries and parties were agreed to and the conference were held at an early date so as to complement and to consolidate the outcome of the scheduled meeting at Colombo.

102. In the obligatory glance backwards at international economic co-operation over the last months, it is only natural to determine whether a common theme has pervaded all the developments. That theme perhaps emerges best from the results of the recently concluded eleventh special session.

103. Where no binding commitment for fundamental structural reform was expected, as in the case of the new international development strategy, some sort of agreement was reached. But no such agreement could be reached in the case of the procedures for the global round of negotiations, precisely because what the developing world is demanding through those procedures is that full commitment to negotiation which has so far eluded all important aspects of the North-South dialogue. We are therefore still facing the original dilemma over the lack of political commitment. The special session did, however, have the merit of clearly identifying as never before the exact source of that lack of political commitment. Indeed only a very small number of countries persist in believing that the present inequitable and unjust international economic system can evolve in a piecemeal and haphazard fashion. The vast majority of nations are now committed to a bolder and more thorough approach. It is to be hoped that the hesitant few will agree to join the common endeavour and permit the global negotiations to commence early in the new year.

104. That brings me back to Ambassador von Wechmar's opening statement [*1st meeting*] and to some considerations which I expressed in this same hall last year. He very rightly inquired whether everything had been done to reach a consensus and pointed out the enormity of our task and the limitations of our time. Last year I also asked that some consideration be given to devising techniques to render the

process of attaining a consensus more rapid and that the consensus itself should not be set at so low a degree of common accord that it became almost devoid of content. I also felt that a process for ensuring an adequate follow-through on decisions reached by consensus should be devised to review progress at reasonably spaced out intervals. I believe we should encourage flexible and variable approaches this year under the pragmatic leadership of the President, which could usefully set a pattern for the future. If we could, with the help and experience of the Secretariat, improve our working methods which are quite haphazard at the moment, we should all benefit, as would our Organization, which desperately needs a new lease of life.

105. The fact is that, unless universal and regional institutions prove able to meet the challenges with which they are faced, the course of world politics may well assume a sinister direction towards head-on collision. The signs are already there; we should act now to avert possible calamity.

106. As we pass through this dark period in international relations, we may perhaps derive some comfort from the old truism that the darkest hour comes before dawn. At this session we have at least thrown the collective spotlight of our analysis in an attempt to penetrate the darkness. Now it is up to all of us to act, each one in accordance with his capacity and responsibility towards the international community. If we fail, we shall all be losers.

107. As far as Malta is concerned, I believe that what I have stated above is sufficient practical and unequivocal evidence of our deep, abiding faith in this Organization and of our credentials to serve its highest organs.

108. Malta may be one of the smallest and least armed States Members of the United Nations but we do have the moral fibre unflinchingly to defend the principles of law and justice from being threatened from any source, no matter how strong, no matter how near or far that source may be.

109. Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like at the outset to welcome Mr. von Wechmar and to express our most sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We should also like to express our appreciation for the excellent work done by the outgoing President, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, during the last regular session, the two emergency special sessions and the recently concluded special session. We welcome with great pleasure the heroic people of Zimbabwe to membership of the United Nations. It was an honour for us to be present at its proclamation of independence. We also bid a very warm welcome to the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as it joins our Organization.

110. As Mr. von Wechmar put it so well, "this Assembly convenes at a time when the world has entered a difficult decade" [*1st meeting, para. 45*]. It is difficult primarily because of the lack of political will and the incredible lack of vision, which seems to be symptomatic of a state of moral bankruptcy preventing the developed countries from appreciating the justice of the demands of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world. That majority is eager to uphold not only the right to live with a minimum of decency

and dignity but also the fact that the right to such a life requires a new international economic order, a transfer of capital such as to make possible a significant increase in the industrialization of third world countries. They demand above all the right to fight for their liberation and to choose or build the development systems most in keeping with the just aspirations of peoples. We consider that the decisions which will be taken in the first years of this decade will be of unprecedented importance for mankind, for we must not forget the lessons of history with regard to the risks entailed when justice does not prevail through the persuasive capacity of reason. The obvious failure of the recently concluded special session of the General Assembly shows the lack of political will and vision, which is the most serious threat to world peace.

111. Aware of this complex situation and eager to promote peace, Nicaragua believes that lasting peace can be achieved only through the eradication of exploitative régimes, together with imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, zionism and all the other ills contrived by capitalism to justify the exploitation of man by man. That is why, directly after the overthrow of the genocidal Somoza Debayle, we joined the non-aligned movement, whose principles and objectives Nicaragua will uphold within this Organization.

112. The National Directorate of the Sandinist Front for National Liberation, which was in the forefront of our revolutionary process, and the Government of National Reconstruction are aware that the best way for us to stand together with those who want a genuine peace is to continue the fight to achieve or consolidate justice in our own country, Nicaragua.

113. The world learned of the Nicaraguan people's heroism, determination to be free and patriotism, which, under the leadership of the glorious Sandinist Front for National Liberation, put an end to the 70 years of agony during which the enemies of freedom and justice, the allies of imperialism, tried to crush the indomitable spirit of the Nicaraguan people. But, as our poet, Rubén Darío, said, "Nicaragua is made of vigour and glory, Nicaragua is made for freedom". So it was that, shortly after the infamous Knox note whereby the United States initiated one of the darkest chapters in the history of interventionism, Benjamín Zeledón emerged on the scene in Nicaragua. He was the hero of the anti-imperialist resistance of 1912 and a precursor of the Sandinist struggle.

114. The achievements of the General of free men, Augusto César Sandino, half a century ago showed once again that moral superiority and patriotism are more important and can achieve more than the mere power of money and weapons in the service of plunder or domination. That great man, whose spirit represents the best of our people, lives in the hearts of all true Nicaraguans, as was amply demonstrated in the heroic insurrection that defeated the Somoza dictatorship and continues to live in our present struggle to rebuild our plundered, bombed but finally liberated Nicaragua.

115. We had not yet recovered from the earthquake that destroyed the capital in December 1972 when the Somoza

oppression became even stronger, intensifying the suffering of the people who were fighting for liberation.

116. The economic disaster inherited by the Government of National Reconstruction has no precedent in the history of Latin America. To the tremendous material damage, amounting to \$500 million, done to the physical and social infrastructure and the commercial, industrial, agricultural and livestock sectors, there should be added the state of complete internal and external financial insolvency.

117. The external debt was about \$1,650 million, much of which had been contracted with private international banks, with repayment periods and interest rates that were incompatible with development policy and especially incompatible with the payment possibilities of a destroyed country like Nicaragua. Thus in 1979, even with all our export earnings, we should not have been able to repay the capital and interest we owed.

118. Our gross international reserves were barely sufficient to pay for two days of imports; the public finances had been totally destroyed and were in a state of insolvency; stocks had been exhausted or plundered; the distribution networks had been destroyed; and at the time of the triumph of our people, half of them required assistance in the form of food in order to survive. What is even worse, considering its long-term consequences, the agricultural cycle had been seriously interrupted.

119. The gross domestic product for 1979 decreased by 25.1 per cent, and together with a negative growth rate of 6.9 per cent in 1978, brought us to the unusual position in which the gross domestic product *per capita* had dropped to its level no less than 17 years earlier, in 1962.

120. What is more, 45,000 people were killed, between 80,000 and 100,000 were wounded, and 40,000 children were orphaned. All this bears striking testimony to the suffering of our people.

121. The material and economic damage showed us what tremendous effort we would have to make. The plight of the people gave us the will to make that effort. Our only asset was the political legitimacy, national and international, of the Revolutionary Government.

122. That legitimacy made it possible to unite the whole population behind the national reconstruction effort and, with the conscious support of an organized people, to carry out such important measures as the nationalization of banks and foreign trade, the repossession of the mines and natural resources, agrarian reform and administrative and institutional changes, which are powerful instruments for promoting national development.

123. Our international political legitimacy was the result of the firm exercise of the independence won by our people. The broad sympathy and solidarity awakened by our struggle also made possible a suitable renegotiation of our external debt with private international banks.

124. The efforts which have been made so far have focused on the Programme of Economic Reactivation that was

established by the revolutionary Government in January 1980. This programme designates the working people, the patriotic elements of private enterprise, the Government of National Reconstruction and the international community as the historical elements of the national reconstruction. The mobilization of these elements has made it possible for us to overcome the serious problems resulting from the scarcity of basic commodities, to harvest the limited 1979-1980 crops, to root out speculation which tended to institutionalize inflation, to raise the employment level and to carry out the literacy campaign, taking people out of a state of ignorance, and to organize the "first agricultural year of the Revolution", a matter of great importance in a country as essentially devoted to agriculture as Nicaragua.

125. While economic stabilization is of obvious importance for any country in a position similar to that of Nicaragua, it also should not be forgotten that what our people earned through the sacrifice of tens of thousands of its best sons was the right to carry out a genuine revolution, one which involved the eradication of crime and exploitation as a system and the creation of a new order guaranteeing respect for the inalienable rights of the human person, the rule of law and the satisfaction of basic necessities such as education, health and housing. Of course, this whole new order cannot be truly revolutionary unless the people are able gradually to take part in the entire process. It is not enough to abolish the totalitarianism which characterized the former régime; one must fight against attempts to create a democracy that is merely a matter of form, that is, one which defends only the interests of the privileged. Popular democracy is the only way of guaranteeing the right of our people to effective participation in the revolutionary process. Therefore we vigorously reject the attempts of those who, adopting a sanctimonious attitude, are trying to impose on us certain specific forms of democracy against the interests of our majority. The allies of the Somoza régime, the interventionists and those who try to impose presidents on us have little moral authority to speak of democracy.

126. This is not the time to go into detail about the many achievements of our revolution in the first 14 months; but we would mention a few things to demonstrate what can be achieved when there is a will to move forward and overcome problems that at first appear to be insuperable.

127. In the area of human rights, we wish to say that the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction has from the start expressed its concern to ensure full respect for the promotion of human rights. One of the first acts of the Government was the promulgation on 21 August 1979 of the Statute on the Rights and Guarantees of Nicaraguans, article 5 of which provided for the abolition of the death penalty, and on 20 July 1979 the Basic Statute of the Republic, which guarantees, in article 6, full respect for human rights. A few weeks after the revolutionary triumph, the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights was ratified. We have also ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights with its Optional Protocol, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

128. Also, as an official policy, the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction has opened its doors to all international bodies which wish to see for themselves

whether human rights are being fully respected. We have received two visits from Amnesty International and one from the International Commission of Jurists, which published a report that said, *inter alia*:

"It is obvious that the Government is concerned to prevent the torture and ill-treatment of detainees. A climate of freedom and guarantees exists in the country. The Government has demonstrated that it is favourably disposed to dialogue and prepared to consider carefully those suggestions which come from institutions and organizations which protect human rights."

129. At the present time, at the special invitation of the Governmental Junta, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights is in our country, looking into the question of respect for human rights.

130. At the judicial level, it is important to say that when the people's Sandinist revolution took control of our country, its first act was to abolish the Political Constitution, which supported the Somoza régime and all its structures, and to deprive of their powers all the former magistrates and judges who, for the most part, had already fled the country because of their complicity in all kinds of violations of the law.

131. As a result, in the first days of the revolution, the country had no organized tribunals, police or other authorities, and everything had to be created.

132. However, notwithstanding the ravages of the war and the precarious economic situation, just 14 months after our triumph the judicial power is functioning fully throughout the entire country; the military power of the revolution has been replaced by the legal power and the rule of law is now on a sound basis.

133. In order to improve the standard of living of the Nicaraguan people and to eliminate the extreme poverty of the groups and sectors on the fringes of society, we have created a Ministry of Social Welfare, which, despite all its limitations, is developing a series of programmes to help the most deprived who, under the dictatorship, have traditionally been on the fringes of society, namely, women, children and the great working masses.

134. On 19 July 1979, after 45 years of dictatorship, the general picture of housing in Nicaragua was truly gloomy. Substandard housing and slums made up 60 per cent, or 300,000 of the living units in the country.

135. In the first year we have completed or initiated 10 times the number of units built in a single year during the dictatorship; but the challenge of the future is immense. To make up for lost time and meet the requirements of the growing population it will be necessary to build 30,000 housing units a year between 1980 and the year 2000. In other words, every year we shall have to build more than the dictatorship built in half a century.

136. After the triumph of the people's Sandinist revolution, a number of fundamental changes were made in the educational system in order to put education at the service of the masses. The elitist, vertical, fragmentary education

known in the past was abolished, as were the other flaws in the educational system that were the legacy of Somoza.

137. A national literacy campaign involved the mobilization of more than 100,000 persons promoting literacy in all corners of the country. The result of their efforts has been to reduce the illiteracy rate from 54 per cent to 12.9 per cent of the population. All this has taken place in scarcely a year since Somoza's defeat. A campaign has been started among the English-speaking, Miskito and Sumo-speaking people on the Atlantic coast, and it is hoped that by June of next year the illiteracy rate will be reduced to 8 per cent.

138. I will conclude this part of my statement with a few observations regarding the Council of State of the Republic of Nicaragua.

139. The Council of State is a new institution, an innovation for which the revolution is responsible and an instrument intended to be a living expression of the democracy of our people. It brings together 29 people's organizations, trade unions, guilds, and political and social organizations, and there are 47 representatives of these organizations.

140. For the first time in the history of our country, workers, peasants, women, young people, people from the towns and the country, discuss without intermediaries all the problems that concern them. They have decision-making authority with regard to those problems and can translate into laws the solutions which are viewed as appropriate by our workers and peasants.

141. The Council of State is made up of democratically elected representatives; it is an experiment in democracy in the making; it is of benefit to our people as they seek structures that will make it possible for them to build a genuine people's democracy.

142. In the area of international relations, Nicaragua has tried to strengthen its bonds of friendship and co-operation with old friends and our relations are indeed very cordial with many countries, including Mexico, Cuba, Panama, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Ecuador, Jamaica, Peru, Grenada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, the Netherlands and Sweden.

143. We have also established new and very good relations with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Bulgaria and practically all the socialist countries of Europe. We have made overtures to Africa, a fraternal continent with whose people ours have much in common, including common aspirations. We have established diplomatic relations with Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania and a number of other African countries with which we wish to have strong bonds of friendship and co-operation. We have achieved those with our good friends in Algeria, our dear friends in the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and the heroic POLISARIO<sup>4</sup> Front, whose cause we support.

144. We wish to strengthen our bonds with many other Arab countries, too, and have already established diplo-

matic relations with some of them. India is a country with which we have diplomatic relations and we should like to bring them to a level of great cordiality and co-operation. We would also like to strengthen our ties with other countries in Asia, where we have spiritual bonds with the heroic people and Government of Viet Nam, a living example of dignity, patriotism and valour.

145. As we have already said on many occasions, we wish to maintain the best possible relations with the United States, and we are willing to continue to make whatever effort is necessary to heal the wounds which still exist among our people as a result of the policies of intervention and of complicity with tyranny which, until only a short time ago, were dominant. We appreciate the important efforts made by President Carter to bring about changes in the traditional policies of the United States towards our people. Regrettably, as the entire world is probably now aware, there are still powerful interests within and outside the United States Government that are eager to slander and damage the only popular, democratic and nationalist Government that Nicaragua has ever had over the past 70 years. There are two trends in the United States today—one realistic and the other interventionist—and the nature of our future relations with the United States will depend on which trend emerges triumphant. We wish to be friends, but we will never sell out, nor will we ever flag in our sacred task of building a new free and sovereign Nicaragua.

146. Although we have nothing but the most cordial feelings for the sister people of Colombia, the obligation to defend our territorial integrity has obliged us to issue a declaration regarding the invalidity of the Bárcenas Meneses-Esguerra Treaty,<sup>5</sup> which was signed and ratified during the United States occupation of Nicaragua and—this is important—under United States pressure. Although we realize that the present Colombian Government cannot be blamed for the fact that the 1928 Government took advantage of the United States occupation of Nicaragua to gain control over part of our territory, once we achieved independence and sovereignty with the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, we could not fail to declare null and void a Treaty which had never expressed the sovereign will of our people, and which, even from the legal standpoint, is invalid, since it is at variance with the provisions of the Constitution in force in Nicaragua at that time. It is a matter not only of the San Andrés and Providencia Islands and the keys, but of more than 80,000 square kilometres of Nicaraguan territory on our Atlantic continental shelf. We shall continue to do everything we can to see to it that this conflict is settled within a framework of fraternity and respect, and we maintain that dialogue is the best course of action. In our view, it is also important to stress that this is not a border conflict, since Colombia and Nicaragua have never been neighbours in the geographic sense.

147. If I have dwelt on the progress of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, it is because I feel the international community has the right to know the truth concerning a process about which the media speak so much, but often with the sole intent of distorting the facts. We should not be

<sup>4</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>5</sup> Treaty concerning Territorial Questions at issue between Colombia and Nicaragua, signed at Managua on 24 March 1928. For the text, see League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 105, p. 338.

surprised that there are many who would like to see the Nicaraguan revolution fail. However, the fact is that, due fundamentally to our people's fighting spirit and will to win, and due also to the solidarity of the international community, the Sandinist revolution is gaining ground increasingly, to the point that we have no hesitation in declaring that it is now an irreversible process. It does have problems to one extent or another, but what is important is that there is now no turning back.

148. We do not regard our revolution as something separate and apart from the world-wide revolutionary process; quite the contrary, it is an integral part of the fight of peoples for their liberation. That is why we cannot fail to identify with and to stand by all those still involved in this same process.

149. Yesterday it was the people of Nicaragua. Today the heroic people of Zimbabwe is another link in the long, powerful chain of peoples that have waged great struggles for national liberation. And, just as the example of the Nicaraguan victory serves to advance the cause of liberation in Latin America, so does Zimbabwe's victory represent an enormous stride in the struggle for liberation in southern Africa, as did the victories of Mozambique and Angola before it. With Zimbabwe's victory, that struggle has reached a decisive stage, and we are convinced that, sooner rather than later, the people of Namibia, represented by its sole vanguard, the South West Africa People's Organization, will join us in this hall.

150. But it is the mortally wounded beast that is the most dangerous. The cornered racist régime of Pretoria is committing ever more criminal acts of aggression against the front-line States. At the same time, it is trying to impose its system of exploitation and repression by means of so-called "internal settlements", which violate the popular will of Namibia. More valid than ever now is the statement issued at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 3 to 9 September 1979 at Havana, that "freedom, peace, security and progress cannot be achieved in southern Africa unless the *apartheid* system of institutionalized racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression is crushed".<sup>6</sup> That task devolves fundamentally upon the South African people, but we believe that the role of the international community must not take the form of mere resolutions unimplemented by concerted action of the kind envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

151. No less than racism and South African expansionism, zionism and Israeli expansionism have been repressing the peoples of the area which are defending their inalienable right to self-determination. The Government of Nicaragua, which recently formalized diplomatic relations with the people of Palestine and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, considers it a primary duty of the United Nations to help bring about peace and stability in the Middle East, which, of course, involves defence of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians, including the right to establish a State of their own. Defence of the Palestinian struggle also implies rejection of any partial approach or agreement aimed at settling the future of the occupied territories and of the

Palestinian people without full participation of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

152. We need decisive, imperative measures that will lead to a settlement of the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem. We are all well aware that the Middle East conflict may have a decisive bearing on international peace and security, and since the Palestine question is the crux of the problem in the region, we can only conclude that it is Israeli intransigence and that of Israel's supporters that keeps the world on the brink of disaster.

153. In the course of the past year, the areas of confrontation in the world have apparently widened and become more serious. Nicaragua is well aware of the fact that, as long as there are exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, there will have to be struggle—often bloody—if peoples are to move forward in history. But the possession of nuclear weapons, particularly by a Power which today is toying dangerously with the absurd idea of preventive attacks and reckless concepts of limited nuclear warfare—which is undermining our efforts to secure non-proliferation and disarmament—only serves to increase international tension. The search for military bases and the creation of rapid deployment forces also increase international tension.

154. Failure to ratify the SALT II treaty, manoeuvres by naval forces, the supply of weapons to reactionary Governments and military intervention by major Powers against countries in the Middle East and Indo-China further increase international tension and endanger world peace. In this context, with regard to the case of Afghanistan, our country would like to reiterate the appeal made at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly<sup>7</sup> that a dialogue be started, without conditions, between the countries involved in this conflict, between the parties which in one way or another support or oppose the revolutionary plan that motivates the Afghan people, in order to preserve peace and stability in the area.

155. In reiterating our support for the right of the Afghan people to self-determination, we consider that any discussion of this subject in this forum that is not accompanied by efforts to bring the peoples of the region together, as we have already said, will only serve rhetorical purposes, increase tension and make a settlement of the conflict even more difficult.

156. Nicaragua takes a similar approach to the situation in South-East Asia; there too certain Powers are trying to destabilize the area and aggravate regional conflicts. How else can we explain the fact that the genocidal Pol Pot régime continues to occupy a place in this hall? Why are armed and economic provocations continuing against Viet Nam? Can it be that the necessary conditions for renewed aggression from the north against Viet Nam are being prepared? We vigorously reject the policy of punishment and threat of the use of force, which violates the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

157. Tension in the Indo-Chinese region must be reduced. In this connection we applaud the proposals of the legiti-

<sup>6</sup> See document A/34/542, annex, sect. 1, para. 78.

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, para. 104.*



mate Government of Kampuchea put forward in July at the meeting of Foreign Ministers at Vientiane, where, together with Laos and Viet Nam, the decision was taken to solve the problems with Thailand by the creation of a demilitarized zone along the border. We believe that this proposal deserves the attention and the support of the General Assembly. We maintain that co-operation and understanding among the States of the area must be fostered and not obstructed.

158. Of course, there is no greater need for understanding than among peoples which have been artificially divided. I refer to Korea and the just demand of the Korean people for peaceful reunification of its homeland, which the people and the Government of Nicaragua fully endorse. We condemn the unbridled military repression of the Korean people in the south.

159. This year we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. In few other areas has the United Nations been more successful in promoting the ardent desire of peoples for peace, progress and freedom, that is to say, in giving effect to the purposes and principles of the Charter, than it has done in the field of decolonization.

160. However, resolution 1514 (XV) speaks of the eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. We emphasize those words because there are still attempts in the world to give colonialism a new face, with the aim of impeding the historical process of liberation. There are peoples, such as those of the Sahara, Belize, East Timor and Puerto Rico, which have not yet achieved their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

161. Furthermore, there are countries which seek to dilute the principle of the complete transfer of powers to colonial peoples as a prerequisite for decolonization, as required by resolution 1514 (XV). Thus, in the case of East Timor, there are a number of resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Indonesia from the Territory and self-determination and independence for its inhabitants. Similarly, the General Assembly has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the Sahraoui people against Moroccan occupation and urged Morocco to undertake direct negotiations with the POLISARIO Front, the indisputable representative of the Sahraoui people. Both Indonesia and Morocco have turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the international community and have at the same time responded with new military aggression. In both cases the occupying Powers are counting on weapons being supplied by the imperialists and their allies.

162. Nicaragua and the Latin American peoples are seriously concerned about the colonial status of Puerto Rico because Puerto Rico is the only Hispano-American nation which has not yet achieved independence. We reaffirm that Puerto Rico cannot continue to be an exception to the process of decolonization. That has also been stated by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in its resolution of 20 August 1980<sup>8</sup> calling on the Government of

the United States to present as soon as possible a plan for the decolonization of Puerto Rico and declaring unacceptable any measure aimed at changing the political status of that sister island without the explicit consent and participation of the people of that nation.

163. That resolution calls attention to the military activities of the United States in the town of Vieques, which not only violate Puerto Rican rights but also constitute provocations against the peoples of the area, and tend to worsen the tense political situation in the Caribbean and Central America.

164. The Bolivian people has constantly sought to recover its legitimate right to sovereign access to the sea. The fact that that country is land-locked is a major factor obstructing its economic and social progress. To that is added the constant unswerving struggle against foreign oppression and the need for a stable pluralistic social democracy. Those positions were reiterated during the elections which last July led to the victory of the People's Party of Democratic Unity. That triumph was suddenly interrupted by a *coup d'état* unprecedented in the history of that country and of Latin America in terms of political crimes, the killing of miners and corruption. It is necessary to point out that, unlike in the past, the political power generated by the economic power deriving from drug trafficking, under the auspices of various military members of the present dictatorship, had a decisive influence in the coup of García Meza. Thus those are crimes committed by people who deserve no political consideration or protection. Hence the régime is absolutely without popular support and remains isolated from the Catholic and Methodist Churches, the democratic parties, trade unions, farmers, students, and the honest sectors of private enterprise.

165. That coup has provoked such widespread repugnance that, three months after the régime took power, it has not been able to consolidate its position within the country and is rejected by the overwhelming majority of the international community. Nicaragua hopes that the isolation of those unworthy representatives of the military will continue and that the heroic people of Bolivia will be able to exercise their right to self-determination and be governed by those who were democratically elected on 29 June of this year.

166. Nicaragua fully supports the two political demands of the Bolivian people: for an outlet to the sea and for democracy.

167. We support the people of Belize and the Government of Belize who are about to realize their aspirations to be an independent country. We support the just demands of the sister republic of Cuba regarding the withdrawal of American troops and the reincorporation of the territory of Guantánamo into the country.

168. With the liberation of Nicaragua, the situation in Central America has been changed in an irrevocable manner. Neither destabilization campaigns nor military manoeuvres, nor the most brutal military repression will stifle the desire for freedom of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala. We warn the world that outside intervention in El Salvador would involve a spreading of the conflict to the entire central American area. Nicaragua does not

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. I, para. 78.

intervene in the internal affairs of its neighbours, and we reject the ill-intentioned accusations which are levelled at us in this respect with the sole aim of disguising or justifying the intervention of those who have been intervening since the last century, as the history of Nicaragua shows. We reject any intention to set up what was erroneously named inter-American peace forces, because they are merely new forms of intervention and new weapons for use against peoples.

169. The Nicaraguan revolution stands with the peoples fighting for their liberation, and we wish to issue an appeal to the international community to increase its efforts to win respect for the principle of non-intervention and self-determination of peoples as an indispensable condition for the peace which the peoples of the world desire.

170. Mr. AKÉ (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): May I at the outset, on behalf of the delegation of the Ivory Coast and on my own behalf, offer most heartfelt and cordial congratulations following the unanimous vote which has brought Ambassador von Wechmar to the office of the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. His election is the recognition of the contribution of the Federal Republic of Germany to the establishment of détente between East and West, and peace in the world. It is likewise a tribute to his personal qualities and to the meritorious efforts which he has unswervingly deployed since he has represented his country with unlimited distinction at the United Nations for the triumph of the ideals of the Organization. Nor are we ready to forget the decisive role he played within the group of five Western Powers working towards a peaceful settlement of the Namibian conflict and which has elaborated for this purpose a plan which the United Nations has endorsed. I wish from the bottom of my heart that the lofty mission entrusted to him will be fully crowned with success, and I wish to assure him of the entire and unalloyed co-operation of my delegation.

171. May I offer my sincere gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who has carried out his task with the talent and competence that are well known to us. There is no doubt that the General Assembly, in electing him as a representative of Africa to direct its work, chose well.

172. I would be remiss if I were not to express my gratitude to our dynamic and courageous Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless dedication to the objectives of the United Nations.

173. The Ivory Coast is pleased with the progress achieved since the last session of the General Assembly in the sphere of decolonization. The access to independence of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines was preceded by that of the Republic of Zimbabwe and the Republic of Vanuatu. It is with great joy that I hail the admission of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations. I should like to assure their delegations of all our sympathy and our earnest desire to maintain the best possible relations with them. We are particularly gratified at the process by which the transfer of power to the majority has been carried out and at the reconciliation which has taken place between the racial communities within Zimbabwe.

174. The Ivory Coast hopes that the Republic of South Africa will soon draw the necessary lessons from the settle-

ment of the question of Southern Rhodesia, because the situation prevailing in southern Africa is a source of profound concern to us.

175. The war continues to claim victims in Namibia and in the neighbouring States. Violence continues to grow in South Africa itself. Blind, merciless and bloody repression strikes down school children who in their turn dare to denounce openly the inhuman and odious system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. Those who endure this system and South African occupation are quite naturally ready to enter into a pact with the devil himself to escape their situation and to satisfy their legitimate aspirations for freedom and human dignity.

176. The occupation of Namibian territory, *apartheid* and racial discrimination thus constitute threats to peace and security in Africa and are promoting foreign interference. With every passing day this danger increases. It is indeed high time to put an end to this situation.

177. The Government of the Ivory Coast urgently appeals to the South African Government to facilitate the implementation of the United Nations plan for the settlement of the Namibian question. An internal settlement of this question, of which the establishment of a council of ministers seems to be the beginning, appears quite clearly to be doomed to failure, as was the case with Southern Rhodesia. Only the organization of free and democratic elections, as provided for in the United Nations plan, can lead to a lasting settlement of the conflict and bring peace to Namibia. We exhort the five Western Powers to continue to work for a peaceful solution of this problem, in spite of the difficulties which prevent the implementation of the United Nations plan.

178. The Ivory Coast wishes to reaffirm its position with respect to the policy of *apartheid*, now that the Government of South Africa has taken an initiative in creating a consultative body composed of representatives of the various communities of the country, but excluding the black community. My country considers that it is only through dialogue between all the communities without any exception that it will be possible to promote their harmonious coexistence. That coexistence cannot be conceived of except in an acceptance of fundamental freedoms and equality of rights for all citizens of South Africa, without any consideration of race.

179. The Ivory Coast is deeply concerned also by other conflicts on the African continent, those in the Horn of Africa, in Chad and Western Sahara. It cannot conceal its bitterness at the fact that interventions by OAU have so far not made it possible to make any progress in the settlement of those conflicts. It deplores foreign interference in the Horn of Africa. The situation prevailing in that region strengthens us in our conviction that the only way to protect Africa against such interference is through a policy of neutrality based, as we have so frequently stated from this rostrum, on peace within each African country; peace between African countries; and peace between African countries and the rest of the world. We renew our appeal to the parties to the conflicts in the African continent to settle their conflicts by resorting to peaceful means, to brotherly dialogue, free from any foreign interference.

180. Because of its persistence and its gravity, and because of the destruction and sorrow it causes, the conflict in the Middle East continues to be a source of profound concern. Our position in this respect remains unchanged. We continue to believe that only recourse to dialogue can provide a global, fair and lasting settlement of the conflict. After 30 years of war that have inflicted untold suffering on the peoples of the region, sown death and desolation and caused so much ruin, we could only welcome the attempts at a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

181. The Ivory Coast is pleased with the results already obtained along those lines. It is profoundly convinced that an over-all just and lasting settlement of the conflict is possible if all the parties agree to seek it through negotiation—that is to say, by means of dialogue. We shall not cease to affirm that that presupposes at the outset refusal by the parties to delude themselves as to the realities of the region. There can be no solution of the conflict without the withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab territories and without its recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, in particular its right to an independent homeland. Nor can there be any solution unless the Palestinians recognize Israel's right to exist. That is the price of peace in that region.

182. We cannot hide our indignation at the violations of such sacred principles of the United Nations Charter as respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs, nor our anguish at the resultant threats to international peace and security.

183. Those violations and their consequences, which inevitably bring to mind the sorry period of the cold war, have demonstrated that détente is desired and sought only between the great Powers, and that the developing countries are but pawns and victims of the merciless struggle that pits the two blocs against each other. The great Powers confront each other through proxy States or proxy rival factions within States. Nor are there any scruples about invading a State directly or through an allied Power, regional or otherwise, in order to impose some faction or régime upon it. And unquestionably that is neo-colonialism and imperialism.

184. Thus détente is seen as the absence of any direct confrontation between the great Powers, particularly the two super-Powers, but not as the disappearance of the fundamental antagonisms between East and West, which will come about only through the elimination of one of the competing conceptions of a just order that the two blocs represent.

185. In fact, the great Powers wish to achieve peace not through détente but through the old and dangerous principle of a balance of forces, which inevitably leads to mistrust and an arms race and has begotten all the wars that mankind has known.

186. Disarmament is not possible under such conditions. It is therefore not surprising that the measures adopted so far in this field have not resulted in any significant reduction in armaments, and that they have all been aimed at stabilizing the nuclear balance and consolidating the strategic *status quo* on the basis of parity. We would reiterate the appeal to

the great Powers made by President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, when he said:

“Men have adopted the régimes of their choice. They did not create the world. Let them beware of destroying what they have not created, that is to say the world and mankind with it.”

187. The two blocs will be able to achieve peace through détente and disarmament only if they give up trying to convert each other and to impose upon the world their ideologies and their truths, and if each recognizes the right of the other to exist and to be different. In order to assure peace and international security, détente must be global and not limited to the great Powers.

188. The Ivory Coast believes that those States that are not parties to a bloc can contribute positively to the strengthening of peace and international security if they practise a genuine policy of neutrality. Such a policy implies peace within each of those States, peace between those States, and recourse to dialogue to settle any potential disputes between them.

189. Only neutrality of that kind can protect them from subversion, interference and foreign intervention. It would save the developing countries from allowing themselves to be drawn into the rivalries between the two blocs, having to spend millions of dollars for the purchase of weapons and the creation and training of powerful armies and thus sacrificing their development. The only worthwhile kind of competition between the great Powers in these countries is competition which relates strictly to the economic, social, technical and technological fields.

190. Our policy of being open to the world, without any exclusions, which was affirmed at the Congress of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast, just held at Abidjan, is based upon those considerations.

191. It is clear from the positions I have just outlined that peace is a fundamental goal of my country's foreign policy. Hence the economic crisis through which the world is now passing cannot but be a source of profound disquiet for my country because it contains the germs of conflict and so threatens international peace and security. As a result of unjust economic relations and of an economic system instituted by and for the developed countries, nearly 1 billion human beings in the developing countries are undernourished, and many millions of them are dying from hunger.

192. The World Food Conference that was convened in 1974 following the food crisis of 1972 and 1973 considered that within 10 years it might be possible to ensure that no child would go to bed with an empty stomach and that no family would have fears about food for the morrow. Today it appears that, if considerable efforts are not made during the next 20 years, there will still be 400 million malnourished persons in the year 2000.

193. And yet the development efforts of the developing countries are being held back by the decrease in their export revenues that results from the constant deterioration in the terms of trade. That is why the Ivory Coast is gratified by the felicitous results of the negotiations on the creation of a

Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities<sup>9</sup> of UNCTAD.

194. Certainly, all the wishes of the developing countries have not been fulfilled. In particular it is clear that, compared to the \$6 billion initially contemplated for an attempt, with some chance of success, to stabilize the prices of the 18 commodities of the Integrated Programme, the \$750 million finally agreed on is not very much. But the agreement that made it possible to establish a Common Fund seems to symbolize the rich countries' realization of the need to stabilize the export incomes of the poor countries.

195. We hope that the conditions for the operation of the Fund will rapidly be formulated—in particular as far as concerns the entry into force of the agreement that established it, the constitution of its two windows and the conclusion of agreements on commodities.

196. We wish the establishment of the Common Fund to mark the beginning of the disappearance of the spirit of speculation that prevails in exchanges between developed and developing countries, and the beginning of the process that will lead to the stabilization of the prices of raw materials, the principal element of the new international economic order.

197. It is indeed paradoxical that the developed countries should be asking for the stabilization of petroleum prices when they do not agree to the stabilization of the prices of commodities such as cocoa and coffee. Need we recall that it was in order to avoid the speculation to which petroleum fell victim that the exporting countries established a common front?

198. The spirit of speculation of the wealthy countries is therefore at the root of the rise in petroleum prices which is engendering inflation throughout the world, excessive indebtedness, increased deficit in the balance of payments, and increased wretchedness in the developing countries. It leads to the death of freedom and encourages subversion and foreign interference and intervention in those countries. In short, it leads to their destabilization.

199. As has been stated by President Houphouët-Boigny,

“Poverty resulting from speculation on other raw materials may well in the long run create a situation that is dangerous both for those who are the victims of those evil practices and for those who engage in them, a situation that is bound to be exploited by those who try to fish in troubled waters.”

200. A new international economic order implies also that manufactured goods produced in factories, sold to the developing countries by the developed countries should not be restricted or denied access to the markets of the latter. The industrialization of the developing countries would gain as a result, and achievement of the goal of the Lima Declaration of 29 July 1980, which provides for their share of world industrial production to be increased from 7 to 25 per cent by the year 2000, would be facilitated.

201. It would be mutually beneficial for the developed as well as the developing countries if the Tokyo Round agreements concluded in 1979, which are designed to lower customs duties and to eliminate non-tariff barriers to trade, could be implemented. It has been demonstrated that the number of unemployed in the third world would be reduced by 6 million by 1986 without halting the expansion of employment in the developed countries if the latter would progressively end restrictions on the import of manufactures from the South. The argument according to which a broadening of the developed countries' markets for such imports would lead to increasing unemployment in those countries is therefore groundless. On the contrary, it is protectionism which constitutes a threat to employment in the developed countries.

202. The establishment of a new economic order also calls for reform of the international monetary system. The latter must take the form of replacing the floating exchange rates, which generate insecurity, by fixed or stabilized parities. There again, it is the developed countries which bear the responsibility for the reforms. It is for them to put an end to the present monetary disorder. The reform of the monetary system should make it possible to establish a link between the creation of new liquidities and the granting of supplementary resources to the developing countries so as to bring about a large-scale transfer of the financial resources necessary for their development.

203. We are therefore pleased at the decision taken during the annual meeting of IMF and the World Bank, which has just been held, to authorize the developing countries to receive larger loans than those that have been granted to them in terms of their quotas.

204. Any discussion of a present economic crisis must include a reference to the problems of the world energy supply. It has been shown that without a massive and generalized mobilization of all energy resources, there will be an energy shortage within 20 years. Energy consumption in the third world countries will triple by the year 2000 and will represent 37 per cent of world consumption, compared with 25 per cent at present.

205. The investments required in order to ensure fulfilment of energy requirements by the year 2000 are enormous. They are estimated at \$10,000 billion. More than half that amount relates to the nuclear power industry, the principal replacement source of energy in the industrialized countries. However, it is essentially in the developing countries that the problems of investment with respect to energy arise most acutely.

206. We are bound, therefore, to welcome the project to establish a branch of the World Bank designed to finance the energy development of the poor countries, whose author is Mr. Robert McNamara, President of the Bank. We trust that the project, which comes at the right time to strengthen the hopes that we have placed in the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, will soon see the light of day.

207. We urge the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly to adopt decisions to set in motion global negotiations

<sup>9</sup> Document TD/IPC/CF/CONF.24.

within the framework of the North-South dialogue. We also appeal to the developing countries, and in particular to the richer ones, to display their genuine solidarity by organizing among themselves a system of co-operation in order to deal with the world economic crisis.

208. The division of the world into two political and military blocs has not made it possible for the United Nations so far to come anywhere near assuming its responsibilities with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security. But it could be different if Member States, accepting themselves as they are, had a just, equitable and realistic understanding of the growing interdependence of their economies.

209. The Organization could then be the framework for fraternal and active solidarity in which Member States could take joint action to ensure that millions of people do not die of hunger, that 70 per cent of the children of the third world no longer suffer from malnutrition, that a billion human beings are no longer doomed to illiteracy and that the riches of the earth can be equitably distributed among the nations.

210. Before this common aspiration for the happiness of men, of all men without exception, man's hostility towards man would begin to be blunted, force would be replaced by dialogue and the world would come to know genuine peace.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*