

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records



12th
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 24 September 1981,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Guyana, Mr. Ptolemy A. Reid.
2. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have great pleasure in welcoming and inviting him to speak.
3. Mr. REID (Guyana): My first words, Sir, from this podium are addressed to you in expression of our sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of this the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your own long and distinguished service in the field of diplomacy and international relations is a matter of public record. You have served not only in the interests of your own country but also in pursuit of the noble objectives of international endeavour.
4. I recall with particular pleasure the honour we in Guyana had of welcoming you in 1972 as a representative of the Secretary-General to the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries. Since your return to the service of your country you have contributed to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the parties, the Governments and the peoples of Guyana and Iraq—a friendship which is enhanced by our joint and co-operative activities as members of the Group of 77, the non-aligned movement and this Organization.
5. The business of this session promises to be challenging, if not perplexing. We are confident, however, that your skill, your experience, your aplomb and your dedication to the search for just and equitable solutions to the problems which at present beset mankind will be tactfully and maturely applied, to the benefit of the Organization and the peoples here represented.
6. Let me take this opportunity to express as well our thanks and gratitude to Mr. von Wechmar of the Federal

Republic of Germany, who, as President of the thirty-fifth session, only recently concluded, applied unremittingly his talents and his energies to the achievement of consensus in the Assembly.

7. We must specially commend him for his untiring efforts to see launched a global round of negotiations on international economic co-operation as desired by the vast majority of Member States.

8. Equally, I wish to extend to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation for his own consistent and steadfast work directed towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

9. With the admission of Vanuatu to our midst, the Organization takes one more step towards its goal of universality of membership. Today we join with others in welcoming this new Member to our ranks. Guyana is convinced that this Republic will make a positive contribution to our work.

10. It was with particular pleasure that Guyana took note of the unanimous decision of the Security Council to recommend acceptance of the application for admission submitted by the newly independent Government of the sister Caribbean country of Belize. The struggle by the Belizean people for their freedom and independence has been long and arduous. Yet even at the very last hour attempts were still being made to frustrate Belize's movement to independence. The Assembly has given constant and unyielding support to the people of Belize in achieving their independence and making secure their territorial integrity. It will be a moment of great joy for the people of Guyana when Belize joins the Organization.

11. The thirty-sixth session of the Assembly is being held at what may well be a historic crossroads for humanity. It is a moment for reflection on the real values and the present needs of mankind. It is equally a moment to make a projection as to where we go from here, for we seem caught up in the contradiction of extremes. Each hour that we meet, the number of hungry and starving people on this small planet of ours increases. While Saturn and Venus and other distant planets are being explored through the use of a technology which is a wonder indeed, there are people on this earth who spend days to get from one place to another on foot, sometimes in harsh conditions, in search of basic necessities like food, water and fuel. There are enormous extremes of wealth among nations. There are those who are luxuriously housed while others take shelter from the rain in the flimsiest hovels. There are others who remain illiterate while the bounds of knowledge expand continually. And each moment the preparations for war escalate.

12. The spectre of deformation and death due to hunger and malnutrition, that of disease and deprivation through

lack of adequate housing, and that of decimation and destruction by conventional and nuclear warfare, even invoked in self-defence, combine to imperil the survival of mankind.

13. At this particular juncture, we are all aware of serious negative trends and tendencies in international relations. Increasing turbulence within the international system has led to a pervasive deterioration in political and economic relations. Developments over the past two decades, which had encouraged the hope that principles such as sovereign equality, mutual respect, peaceful coexistence and the right of each State to pursue its own path of political, economic and social development were achieving universal acceptance, are now challenged by postures and policies of confrontation, with resultant mistrust.

14. The non-aligned movement gave a warning about the possibility of the present circumstances at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979, and more recently at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held this year at New Delhi.

15. Today there is a generalized mood of fear and foreboding. At the root of this outlook is the recrudescence, in virulent form, of confrontation and conflict, which some believe derive from ideological differences. It is a sad commentary on man's sense of values that, even as international political and economic relations have worsened and the plight of many peoples—simple men, women and children—has become more desperate, there can be an intensification in the preparations for war and an increase, both globally and within some nations, in the allocation of resources for such preparations.

16. The drums of war are beating everywhere. As yet; it is largely a war that is conducted through rhetoric by the world's powerful nations. But in some less powerful countries the war dead are being mourned. However, elaborate preparations involve policies which include not only the fabrication and acquisition of even more sophisticated components for an already overstocked war system, but also the threat which stems from the possession of such instruments of war and the determination to use them.

17. The question arises whether there are States in the various regions of the world which, egged on by the present circumstances, can feel secure in the belief that a recourse to lawlessness will go unpunished or, at worst, will be received with acquiescence by the international community.

18. Already, the pursuit of such policies has threatened to render asunder the fragile fabric of détente so laboriously constructed. True, it was a détente that was limited in both its geographical application and its substantive scope. But it represented a beginning and was an element in the process of the relaxation of tension and the democratization of international relations. It kept alive the prospect of building relationships of equality and mutual benefit and of expanding the opportunities for global consensus on the solutions of problems which are global in nature.

19. These developments threaten to negate the efforts which the United Nations has been so laboriously exerting over the years in the field of disarmament to save

succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The overall result is that the world is slowly inching further away from the goal of a secure and lasting peace which the Charter envisages and which is particularly needed in our day. In these circumstances, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled to be held in 1982, assumes an important and urgent character. It is our sincere hope that optimum use will be made by other States, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, of the negotiating machinery provided for within the United Nations. It is also our hope that the negotiations will be approached in a positive and constructive spirit, one that will best facilitate the achievement of genuine disarmament. But there are certain crisis situations which antedate the dangers inherent in the present trends and tendencies and remain in need of urgent solutions.

20. In the decisions taken at the recently concluded eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to the question of Namibia, we recorded our determination to maintain the momentum in the march towards universality. In anticipation of the adoption of those appropriate measures as provided for under the Charter, at the present session the Assembly must seek to advance further the cause of Namibian freedom and independence. We must demand that those Members of the Organization that, in one form or another, give succour to South Africa in its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its acts of aggression against neighbouring States join the mainstream of international rejection of the Pretoria racists and their *apartheid* policies.

21. The situation in southern Africa remains a clear threat to international peace and security. In this regard we must not relent in our desire to dismantle the structure of *apartheid* in South Africa itself.

22. The search for a lasting solution to the situation in the Middle East requires the reactivation of a more than peripheral involvement of the United Nations. The strategic consensus which the Organization must achieve and implement is one which would ensure for the Palestinians an independent State of their own and allow all States in the region to live in security and peace.

23. Likewise, in Korea the present apparent stalemate must not lead to the reality of permanent division. The wishes of the Korean people for their peaceful reunification on the basis of principles which are well known, including the 10-point programme of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea presented by its President Kim Il Sung, at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, must be realized without delay.

24. In Cyprus, the intercommunal talks must be encouraged, but always within the comprehensive framework which was devised by this Organization and others in 1974 and subsequently.

25. Parallel to the turbulence in global political relations, to which I have already alluded, is an international economic system in deep-rooted crisis. It is a crisis from which no individual nation can insulate itself; it is a crisis with fundamental destabilizing consequences for all, especially the already battered economies of many developing countries. These countries continue to confront the twin dilemma of a long-term deterioration in the purchasing power of their commodity exports and a volatility in

the prices they obtain from such products on the world market. At the same time, the import prices for essential manufactured and industrial goods from the developed countries show a consistent upward movement.

26. Those of us who attempt to break out of this vicious circle of commodity trade by industrializing face the protectionist barriers that are erected. And some developed countries are attempting to shift from multilateral co-operation to bilateral exchanges, with deleterious consequences for the capacity of international financial institutions to promote development.

27. Compounding these difficulties is the increasing loss of skilled manpower from the developing countries to those parts of the world that are already highly developed. According to a conservative estimate by UNCTAD, over the decade and a half from 1960 to the mid-1970s, upwards of 420,000 skilled personnel moved from the developing to the developed countries. The skilled personnel that were lost included physicians, scientists, engineers, agricultural experts and other critical professional categories, all trained at immense cost and whose loss has considerably weakened our efforts to develop.

28. There are some, moreover, who would wish to blame the ills of the poor on ideological preferences, and particularly the choice a country makes between a capitalist or a socialist path to development. There are those, also, who would wish to base their willingness to assist the developing countries according to the latter's choice in a so-called global ideological struggle.

29. I ask: can we with genuine sincerity confront the harsh circumstances of today and the new reality of an interdependent world with the same old dreams, the same old illusions and the same old deceptions? We think not. The positive changes beckoning mankind cannot be contained, nor can we respond by merely clinging to the old economic order.

30. It is within this context that Guyana expresses regret at the continuing impasse in the North-South dialogue. Indeed, the expressed hope of the vast majority of Members of the Organization for the launching of a global round of negotiations has remained just that—a hope. We have not advanced much since the near unanimity on the procedures that was achieved at the eleventh special session only last year. We must seek at this session to overcome such barriers as remain to the launching of the global round of negotiations. While such negotiations can lead ultimately to the solution of problems which are structural in nature, many of us are faced with economic problems of both short- and medium-term dimensions. These problems require urgent solutions.

31. Yet even as lack of progress in the North-South dialogue is lamented, there may be a ray of hope on the horizon of economic relations at the global level. I have in mind in particular two developments. In May of this year the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries was held in Venezuela. That conference resulted in substantive decisions of an action-oriented nature designed to strengthen the bases of such co-operation. And there is to be held at Cancún in October of this year a meeting at the highest political level of a group of developed and developing countries—the International Meeting on Co-operation and Develop-

ment—for informal exchanges on the world economic situation. Guyana hopes that the Cancún meeting will, through the manifestation of the necessary political will, help to give impetus to the search by the international community as a whole for solutions to the problems besetting the world economy, including the launching of the global round of negotiations, and that it will enhance the prospects for international economic co-operation in all its dimensions. We recognize that it presents the international community with an opportunity to demonstrate a breadth of vision and the political will to impart impetus and to lend authoritative direction to the global dialogue on economic relations.

32. It must certainly be to our advantage that this meeting will be taking place against the background of an increasing realization and acknowledgement of the interdependent nature of the world in which we live. Let me hasten to add, however, that the interdependence I speak of is not the one that was born and nurtured in the systemic context of subordination and dependent relationships, for that was an interdependence between the exploiter and the exploited, between the rich man and Lazarus, one which saw the distribution of the results of that relationship skewed in favour of the powerful.

33. A present danger is a lingering desire on the part of some to maintain such a patently unjust relationship. The emerging interdependence, and certainly the one to which we aspire, must be based on the principles of equality and justice and on an equitable distribution of the gains derived from it. We have a dynamic conception of an interdependent world, an interdependence which is symmetrical and based on mutual benefit and mutual respect.

34. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has now completed its tenth session. Throughout the years of negotiations, all States have had the opportunity of full participation and have contributed to the significant progress which has been made. Indeed, we are at the threshold of concluding a comprehensive treaty. This is why Guyana is concerned that there can be attempts at this late stage to upset a balance so patiently wrought. It is Guyana's hope that all States will participate in the signing ceremony at Caracas in 1982.

35. In the finely balanced life-support system of this planet, the two most critical areas are those of food and energy. Food production and food security are now matters of universal concern. In his statement before the Committee on World Food Security at Rome in April of this year, the Director-General of FAO, in alluding to the precarious nature of the global food situation, said that we have to be prepared for the worst—not only for this year, but also in the years to come. Indeed, for two successive seasons, as the Director-General reminded us, the world has consumed more cereals than it has produced. For us, therefore, it seems eminently reasonable to seek international support at all levels for promoting agricultural development, more especially in the developing countries.

36. We in Guyana have long been embarked on a programme of self-sufficiency in food. We have not yet achieved this, but last year, along with Zimbabwe, Guyana was a net exporter of food within the Commonwealth. We intend to accelerate this process. We therefore regard as contradictory, to say the least, the recent positions taken in one of the international institutions, the In-

ter-American Development Bank, by which Guyana was denied financial resources for increasing its capacity for food production. We cannot understand how there can be on the one hand an expression of an interest in preventing hunger and on the other the adoption of positions which perpetuate that same condition. Guyana remains ready and determined to exploit its potential for agricultural development for the benefit not only of the Guyanese people but also of the people of the Caribbean and even beyond.

37. Guyana has a similar determination in the field of energy. Whereas eight years ago it required less than 10 per cent of Guyana's export earnings to pay for our imported energy needs, today we expend more than 30 per cent of those earnings, and this despite the fact that we have embarked on programmes of conservation and have begun to use again alternative but once discarded sources of energy. We in Guyana have been beneficiaries of the generous oil facility established by the sister Caribbean Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. We pay a tribute to the Government of that country for instituting such a programme and express our thanks for the assistance. In this regard, we also wish to commend Venezuela and Mexico, which have established an oil facility for the benefit of a number of Central American and Caribbean countries.

38. Everyone knows that energy is critical in the process of development. That is why Guyana participated fully in the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held recently at Nairobi. That is why Guyana is resolved to bring into use its potential for hydro-power and other forms of renewable sources of energy and will resist all attempts, for whatever reason, to frustrate our development in that respect. Guyana will support whole-heartedly all States pursuing similar policies.

39. There have been other recent developments in my region, Latin America and the Caribbean. Our area has not escaped the vicissitudes and dangers which beset the international community elsewhere. In the quest for independence, its maintenance and consolidation, in the pursuit of economic and social development, change is inevitable in Latin America and the Caribbean, as it is elsewhere. That process takes different forms and moves in different directions, reflecting the difference in history, culture and political norms and experience. As elsewhere, too, there are external attempts to dictate unilaterally the nature of change and to fit it into a prism often at variance with the wishes of the people themselves and detrimental to them. We see some of these processes now at work in our region. Let the Assembly not be seen to be equivocating on the right of the people of our region to fashion their own societies without outside interference.

40. More generally, the people of Latin America and the Caribbean have increasingly been designing their own regional and subregional institutions with a view to advancing co-operation among themselves. Our attitudes are not autarchic. We seek to build bridges of friendship and co-operation not only within our region but also with other peoples and regions. The recent Caribbean Basin initiative can conceivably contribute to the realization of these objectives.

41. The development of these mutual relations must of course be based on respect for the sovereign right of each of our States to pursue its own political, economic and

social development, free from all forms of external interference, coercion, intimidation or pressure. Equally, we of the Caribbean call for scrupulous respect for the wishes of our peoples for the Caribbean area to be respected as a zone of peace.

42. There are, however, situations arising within our region itself, some of which contain a clear potential for threatening and indeed disturbing international peace and security. One such situation stems from the present nature of our relations with Venezuela.

43. Several years ago the agenda of the General Assembly included an item entitled "Question of boundaries between Venezuela and the territory of British Guiana". The request for the inclusion of that item was made by the Government of Venezuela in 1962,¹ four years before my country became independent. The purpose of that request was for Venezuela to assert a claim to over two thirds of the territory of my country. It is apposite to note that, four months before taking such action, Venezuela had raised the question in the Fourth Committee,² when the independence of my country was engaging the attention of the Organization, then, as now, in resolute pursuit of the goal of total decolonization. Although at that time Venezuela denied that the assertion of its claim was in conflict with its professed support for the independence of my country, the manner in which Venezuela prosecuted its case was tantamount to its making a settlement of its demands a pre-condition to the attainment of freedom and independence by the Guyanese people. Simply put, an attempt was made to weaken Guyana's urge for independence. With the full and active support of the Organization, however, our objective of independence was achieved on 26 May 1966.

44. Early this year the Government of Venezuela reasserted its claim to over two thirds of the territory of Guyana. In prosecuting this claim, Venezuela embarked on a carefully orchestrated campaign aimed at the retardation of our economic development and the dismemberment of my country. I was born and bred in a village in the area of Guyana that Venezuela claims. I look forward to retiring there in peace and tranquillity. It is a part of Guyana which is rich in resources—mineral, forest, agricultural, including fish and livestock—and hydro-power, and in which more than one third of our population resides. As I stand before the Assembly, I face the prospect of one day becoming an alien in my own village, a colonial once again, after our uncompromising and successful struggle for independence, or a refugee from the place of my birth. Thousands of people in my country face this spectre, this terrible prospect of a return to the condition of colonialism or of exile from their place of birth.

45. I do not wish to burden the Assembly with a detailed analysis of the Venezuelan claim, or the absurdity of its nature; nor, indeed, do I intend to chronicle at this time the legal, historical, political and moral justification for Guyana's position. In brief, towards the end of the last century Venezuela sought and received the support of the Government of the United States of America in placing before an international arbitration tribunal the question of the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. Acting fully in accordance with the rules and norms of international law, Venezuela and the United Kingdom in 1897 signed in Washington a treaty³ which contained their agreement to submit the matter to arbitration procedures

as a full, perfect and final settlement. Suffice it to say that the Tribunal met and delivered its unanimous judgement on 3 October 1899 in Paris.⁴

46. It is on the basis of that award that the boundary between Venezuela and Guyana was finally determined. Indeed, working assiduously between 1901 and 1905, Venezuelan and British commissioners spared no effort to ensure that the boundary on the ground corresponded in every relevant detail to the arbitral award of 1899. It is that boundary which has given Guyana its present geographic form; we have lived on the basis of that boundary ever since. Incidentally, in 1932 Venezuela participated with the United Kingdom and Brazil in settling the tri-junction point where the boundaries of Venezuela, Guyana and Brazil meet.

47. In 1962, Venezuela presented its claim to the Organization, contending that the arbitral award of 1899 was null and void. The weight of Venezuela's evidence rested at that time, as it still does, on the recollections of one of the junior participants in the Paris proceedings, recorded some 50 years after the event and a few months after he had received a decoration at Caracas, and when all the major participants in the arbitration process had died. There must be speculation as to the true significance of the request by that junior participant that those recollections of his should remain a closely guarded secret until after his death, when he was beyond the reach of questions.

48. As the records confirm, in keeping with the time-honoured traditions of the Organization, Venezuela was given a full hearing in the Special Political Committee at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly [348th and 350th meetings]. As a result of the deliberations in that Committee, agreement was reached between Venezuela and the United Kingdom, with the concurrence of the then Government of British Guiana, that in order to dispel any doubt as to the validity of the 1899 award, experts from Venezuela and the United Kingdom should examine the documentary material relating to that award. At that session, the General Assembly limited its action to taking note of what had been agreed on by the parties [119th plenary meeting, para. 40].

49. When that consensual position was reached, there was no ambiguity about what was agreed upon, or the nature of the exercise to be undertaken. To make this point pellucid, let it be recalled that the United Kingdom representative said at that time:

"In making this offer I must make it very clear that it is in no sense an offer to engage in substantive talks about revision of the frontier. That we cannot do, for we consider that there is no justification for it."⁵

In recent months, the Government of the United Kingdom has reaffirmed in the British Parliament its position that the arbitral award of 1899 is valid.

50. The examination of the voluminous documentary material took place between the years 1963 and 1965. We in Guyana remain satisfied that there is not one scintilla of evidence to support the Venezuelan contention of the nullity of the award of 1899. Yet Venezuela maintains its contention.

51. As our independence approached in 1966, and in order to facilitate the development of friendly relations with Venezuela, the United Kingdom, Venezuela and Guyana concluded an agreement in Geneva.⁶ That agreement provided mechanisms for ourselves and Venezuela to continue to examine the latter's contention of nullity of the 1899 arbitral award and to find a practical solution to the controversy which had arisen as a result of that contention. But the ink from the signatures on the Geneva Agreement had hardly dried before Venezuela unleashed a campaign of hostility and aggression against us.

52. In three successive years, 1967, 1968 and 1969, in the general debate of this Assembly, Guyana had occasion to draw to the attention of the international community repeated acts of pressure, intimidation, subversion and aggression by Venezuela against us. Let me recall two examples: in 1966, only a few months after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement, Venezuela, through the use of her armed forces, occupied the Guyanan part of an island through which our common boundary runs; and Venezuela today illegally occupies that part of our territory. In 1968, even as we were engaged in discussion within the framework of the Geneva Agreement, Venezuela, in flagrant disregard of it, sought publicly and privately to discourage investment for development in the region of our country which it claims. And there are many other examples.

53. It will, therefore, come as no surprise to the Assembly when I report, as I do now, that during the four years which the Geneva Agreement provided for the purpose, Venezuela did not produce any evidence of nullity of the 1899 award. Instead, Venezuela demanded, and sought by all means open to it, a revision of the frontier.

54. Venezuela claims that the 1899 award is null and void, and now denies its very existence. In many formal and official statements, as, for example, a recent letter to the former President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, opposing the involvement of that bank in the development of a hydro-electric project, the Foreign Minister of Venezuela described the 1899 award as "non-existent".

55. The Venezuelan record of breaches of the Geneva Agreement is a dismal one. That record notwithstanding, the Government of Guyana did not abandon the search for an end to the controversy, nor efforts to develop friendly and harmonious relations with the people and Government of Venezuela. Thus, in demonstration of our goodwill and our desire to live in peace and harmony with our territory intact, we agreed with Venezuela, in 1970, by the conclusion of a protocol to the Geneva Agreement—the Protocol of Port-of-Spain⁷—on an initial moratorium of 12 years during which period there was to be no claim by either party to the territory of the other. Further, it was the jointly expressed hope that there should be intensive efforts to develop and strengthen relations of friendship between the two countries. That development was reported to the Assembly at its twenty-fifth session [1876th meeting, paras. 68-69].

56. It is Guyana's view that by and large the Protocol of Port-of-Spain worked well. Although provision has been made in that Protocol for the automatic renewal of the moratorium, it also contains provisions whereby either

Guyana or Venezuela could terminate it. Venezuela recently announced its intention to do so.

57. When the Protocol of Port-of-Spain comes to an end on 18 June next year, the parties concerned should return within the ambit of the Geneva Agreement and activate the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

58. Unfortunately, in signalling its intention not to renew the Protocol, the Government of Venezuela simultaneously embarked on the studied campaign of hostility, pressure and intimidation to which I earlier made reference. Venezuela has also belligerently revived its claim to over two thirds of my country, and has communicated publicly that it will oppose any major effort on our part to develop the resources, particularly a hydro-power facility in the Upper Mazaruni, located in the region of Guyana which Venezuela now claims. In doing so, Venezuela is in clear breach of the provisions of the Protocol of Port-of-Spain.

59. In this connection, at the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy held at Nairobi, Venezuela advised the international community that it would not recognize any form of co-operation which would be given for the development of Guyana if such development included the area claimed by it. The Government of Venezuela has also urged the European Community to withhold its participation in the development of the region.

60. There is a position which Venezuela persistently but erroneously adopts. It is that the Geneva Agreement and the Protocol of Port-of-Spain, both of which Venezuela has repeatedly violated, legally inhibit us from actively pursuing major development in the area of Guyana claimed by it. That position is juridically untenable. We will not succumb to such pressure. No one can reasonably ask the Guyanese people and their Government to place constraints on their development.

61. Indeed, Venezuela has reneged on an agreement reached on the occasion of the conclusion of the Protocol of Port-of-Spain in 1970. Under that agreement there was the understanding that each Government would abstain from making any statement, issuing any publication, or committing other acts which would be detrimental to the economic development and progress of each other's State. Guyana has scrupulously adhered to that agreement.

62. The history of Venezuela's behaviour on the question of the frontier with Guyana gives us little cause for optimism. What causes further concern are other policies being pursued by the present Government of Venezuela in that regard. Thus, allied with the desire of that Government to acquire new and sophisticated weapons of war, including F-16 fighter aircraft, there are increasingly clamant calls within Venezuela for a military solution to the controversy. I would remind the Assembly that the planes used to bomb the nuclear reactor in Iraq were of the same vintage as the F-16s which are being purchased by Venezuela. Thus, the purpose of the Venezuelan posture in this regard is to maintain a régime of pressure to bend us to their will.

63. I have deliberately refrained from making this presentation detailed. We have produced a memorandum

which amply describes Guyana's position. The delegation of Guyana will, through the established procedures, have that memorandum circulated as an official document of the General Assembly.⁸

64. The Government and people of Guyana earnestly desire a speedy end to this controversy. We have no other wish than that of establishing a régime of peace, harmony and friendship with the people of Venezuela, with whom we share aspirations for a just and satisfying life and with whom we can together make a contribution to our development and that of our region and our continent. If the Government of Venezuela is of a like mind, then the Geneva Agreement, if henceforth scrupulously respected by Venezuela, can provide such an opportunity. It is on that basis, and using that approach—an approach which I am sure this Assembly will endorse—that the Government of Guyana is willing to engage in discussions with Venezuela.

65. The implications of the Venezuelan claim are serious as much for the future of the relations between Guyana and Venezuela as they are for the future of several States in Latin America, and indeed beyond our region in Africa and in Europe.

66. As a result of the award of 1899, Guyana lost territory to Venezuela. I ask this rhetorical question: if Venezuela's contention of nullity is valid, is it prepared under those circumstances to entertain on an equal footing a claim by Guyana to territory which is now regarded as part of Venezuela?

67. Venezuela brought the question of our boundary to the United Nations in 1962, at a time when our independence was being considered. We bring it back to the Organization in 1981 to help us maintain our independence and to have our territorial integrity respected.

68. We have given notice to the Assembly of the dangers inherent in the prosecution by Venezuela of its claim. There can be a threat to peace and security, and we have alerted this Assembly to it. Guyana reserves the right to request, if it becomes necessary, consideration by the United Nations of the threat which the claim and the manner of its promotion pose. However, we now appeal to the Organization and each and every one of its Members to prevail upon Venezuela to abandon the ill-conceived course of action on which it has embarked for too long.

69. The complexity of the political and economic crises facing the international community today, and the vast scope of the day-to-day concerns of the world's peoples place the Organization, I suggest, before a challenge which exceeds anything conceived at the time of its creation. The Organization is not perfect. Yet it has effectively over the years helped to mute and contain confrontation in specific areas. Equally, it has played a positive role not only in promoting those principles of a universal character which should guide the actions of Member States, but also in enhancing the prospects and devising appropriate mechanisms for international co-operation on matters of global concern.

70. The range of problems of increasing concern to individual States, particular regions or groups of States has narrowed. In any event, the interrelationship of issues and the necessity for the successful resolution of conflicts and

controversies point to the increasingly global nature of problems and the concomitant imperative of a global approach to solutions. The capacity of the Organization to contribute to these solutions would clearly be enhanced if major Powers and those which act in their image would make their recourse to it less selective and self-serving.

71. I believe that now more than ever we need to optimize the use of the Organization for the fulfilment of its primary purposes. Foremost among these must be, in the words of the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". We must resolve to turn back the tide, which is heading towards a holocaust of unprecedented dimensions. We must resolve to embark unrelentingly on a programme of general and complete disarmament.

72. The second purpose is the provision of security of food, clothing and shelter for the masses of the world's peoples.

73. Finally, there is the dire necessity to create the conditions for a régime of genuine peace and security. We are increasingly an interdependent world in which survival is dependent on mutual support and on collective action for mutual benefit.

74. The non-aligned movement has been in the vanguard of international action for the achievement of these goals. It continues to fulfil its vocation as an independent non-bloc factor in international relations, free from competition for spheres of influence and from hegemony and domination. The role of the movement as a force for positive and constructive change in the international system is universally acknowledged. There is now no question of the authenticity of our positions or the legitimacy of our cause.

75. So successful have we been that instead of the derision which we have attracted in the past there is now the adoption of not-so-subtle stratagems for infiltrating the movement and diverting it to purposes which are not of our making or in our interests. We need to continue to resist these efforts. Now more than ever we in the movement need to adhere to our principles and to be resolute in our determination to pursue the policy of non-alignment. To those ends the people and Government of Guyana remain irrevocably committed.

76. Guyana believes that when a better world is created by us all through our co-operation and concerted efforts it must be managed by us all in keeping with the standards and qualities befitting our humanity. Even the mightiest and most sophisticated implements of war cannot achieve this. Such armaments can only achieve what they were created for—destruction, not only of the weak but also of the powerful and strong.

77. The developing countries must be encouraged to use the resources, both human and natural, that are available to them for the benefit of their peoples. The development process should be geared towards producing self-reliant nations which can benefit from the reality of independence, not by patterning their development styles after other nations but by a global effort for mutual co-operation and true partnership.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank Mr. Reid, Prime Minister of the Republic of Guyana, for the important statement he has just made.

79. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to convey to you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the important responsibility of presiding over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and to greet you as a distinguished representative of Iraq, a country with which Romania is developing close relations of friendship and co-operation.

80. The present session begins its work in circumstances of continuing tension in international life, which gives rise to profound and legitimate concern among all peoples. The international climate is marked by an intensification of the imperialist policy of force and *diktat*, of consolidation and a further division of spheres of influence and domination, by the maintenance of hotbeds of conflict and war in various parts of the world, by the sharpening of the contradictions between States and groups of States, by the escalation and renewal of the arms race and by the widening of the gaps between the poor and the rich countries, against the background of the most profound economic crisis since the Second World War.

81. All peoples and the United Nations are now confronted with urgent tasks requiring extraordinary responsibility. The President of Romania has in this regard pointed out that in the present international circumstances the most pressing need today consists in bringing about unity and ever closer co-operation of peoples, of progressive forces everywhere, for the purpose of putting an end to the exacerbation of the international situation and resuming and continuing the policy of détente, independence and peace in order to stop the arms race and embark on disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament.

82. In the spirit of these imperatives, Romania has been taking an active part in international life and is acting to promote the settlement, in the interest of all peoples, of the major problems confronting mankind. In his frequent political contacts, as well as in international forums, the head of the Romanian State, President Nicolae Ceausescu, has been promoting assiduously and on the basis of principle the ideals of co-operation and understanding among States, mutual respect, uniting the efforts of all nations for the complete elimination from inter-State relations of the use or threat of force and interference in the internal affairs of other States, for the defence of the freedom and independence of peoples and for the strengthening of international peace and security.

83. We are developing broad relations of friendship and co-operation with all socialist States. We are expanding our relations with the developing countries and with the non-aligned nations and, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, we are promoting relations of co-operation with all States of the world, regardless of their social system.

84. Romania bases its relations with all countries on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, mutual advantage and non-use of force or the threat of force, and is working actively to

bring about a generalization of those principles throughout international life, convinced as it is that this is the only appropriate basis for developing relations among States and for promoting détente, security and peace.

85. In the present circumstances, the key to the resumption of the policy of détente, confidence and co-operation between nations is the undertaking of effective and substantive disarmament measures, which is the radical means of eliminating the main sources of confrontation and the danger of war, and relieving the peoples of the heavy burden of military expenditures. It is also the way to allocate vast resources for solving problems relating to the progress of each country and for substantially increasing the assistance given to the developing countries. It is the basic means of achieving a healthier political climate in the world, accelerating economic and social development, and increasing the well-being of all peoples.

86. Mankind is understandably disappointed at the sterility of so many of the negotiations which have taken place in recent years and which have resulted in resolutions on disarmament, while the arms race itself, far from slowing down, has been given new and powerful momentum. Military budgets are at record levels, and the new types and systems of weapons that are being perfected introduce additional elements of destabilization. All this feeds the infernal cycle of action and reaction, increases the risks of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict and complicates negotiations on the limitation of armaments and on disarmament.

87. It is only too obvious that the arms escalation has brought mankind to an impasse and that to escape from it requires a new, courageous approach that will lead to the achievement of a military balance, not through the piling up of armaments but through a continuing and systematic reduction of military expenditures, armed forces and armaments, through resolute measures for disarmament under effective control and, above all, through the final elimination of nuclear weapons. The peoples of the world are convinced that the unprecedented accumulations of arms is not directed to the defence of peace, but in fact represents preparations for war. If there is a genuine wish for peace, and for stability and confidence to prevail in the world, the efforts of all must be constantly subordinated to the urgent need to enter without delay into effective negotiations for the cessation of the arms race and disarmament, and first and foremost, nuclear disarmament.

88. As a European country, Romania is particularly concerned at the accumulation on our continent of the most powerful arsenal of military forces and modern armaments ever recorded, including nuclear weapons. It is in Europe that the two military alliances are confronting each other, and many of the contradictions and conflicts existing in the world today have their origin on the European continent.

89. Europe, which is already saturated with armed forces and armaments, is inescapably caught up in the whirlwind of the arms race. Consequently, Romania believes that it is particularly important for the General Assembly to come out firmly against the deployment and development of new medium-range nuclear missiles, and for a beginning to be made as soon as possible on specific negotiations to banish those missiles, and nuclear

weapons in general, from our continent. Romania believes that all European States with a vital interest in this question should take part in those negotiations.

90. We vigorously oppose the production of the neutron bomb, which is in fact also intended for Europe. Generally speaking, we consider it an illusion to believe that security can be achieved through the constant accumulation of new arms, since experience itself has shown that weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, bring only insecurity.

91. Romania attaches particular importance to a successful outcome of the current Madrid meeting that would lead to free and extensive economic, technological, scientific and cultural co-operation on the basis of respect for the social system of each country and the independence and sovereignty of every people and would help to forge a united Europe in which every nation could develop freely, without any aggression or interference from outside. At the same time, we must ensure the continuity of the process of building security and developing co-operation on the continent. It is precisely in taking into account the existing situation in Europe, and the fact that about 80 per cent of world armament expenditures are accounted for by States signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki, that Romania believes it is of the utmost importance for the Madrid meeting to agree on convening a conference devoted to the strengthening of confidence and to disarmament in Europe, a conference which would become an essential element in an effective disarmament process.

92. In the present international circumstances, Romania believes that the most urgent and important task is the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, on the basis of appropriate agreements and under adequate international control. To that end, Romania has proposed that principles be worked out to govern the reduction of military expenditures, a proposal which is already before the Disarmament Commission. In our view, the formulation and adoption of such principles as soon as possible would facilitate the negotiation of specific agreements to reduce military budgets. The Romanian Government believes that it would be a particularly positive step if at this session an understanding were reached on the freezing of military expenditures at the 1981 level.

93. In the debate and in the resolutions that will be adopted at this session, priority should be given to the problems of nuclear disarmament. Romania believes that we must make every effort to unblock the present situation, and that the Geneva Committee on Disarmament should begin without delay effective negotiations on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the reduction of nuclear weapons.

94. Romania regards as well-founded and just the proposal made by the Soviet delegation from the rostrum of the Assembly [7th meeting, para. 116] that anyone who is the first to use atomic weapons would be declared a criminal. Anyone who makes preparations for the use of atomic weapons against other States is in fact pursuing a policy against mankind, a criminal policy. Such a policy must be resisted with the utmost vigour by all peoples and should be considered a crime against mankind. The peoples of the world must take action now, before it is

too late, to stop the progress towards the use of that weapon. Romania therefore considers that everything possible should be done to put an end to the manufacture of nuclear weapons, which represents a serious danger to peace and mankind.

95. Romania believes that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be held in 1982, is of particular importance. At that session the Assembly will have the task of adopting a comprehensive disarmament programme and of bringing about a radical change in the situation in the field of disarmament negotiations.

96. The supreme duty of the Governments of all States is to heed the voice of the peoples, a voice which is being raised ever more firmly against the danger of war and is demanding an end to the accumulation of armaments and the production and deployment in their countries of new nuclear weapons. It is our duty to tell the peoples of the world openly the whole truth, and not to permit the creation of any illusion that one can live in tranquillity and security as long as the vast accumulations of the means of destruction continue to grow. The unprecedented dimensions of the arms race pose a particularly grave threat to world peace and to the security and life of the peoples of the world, making it necessary for all States to show responsibility, lucidity and realism.

97. In the interest of civilization, the safeguarding of life on earth and present and future generations, we must turn from words to deeds and act before it is too late to call a halt to this dangerous development, and we must do everything in our power to stop the arms race and embark resolutely on disarmament, above all, nuclear disarmament. Let us see to it that human genius, science and technology—as was stressed, incidentally, at the recent international scientific meeting "Scientists and Peace", in Bucharest—are used not for creating weapons, not for destructive ends, but exclusively for peaceful purposes, to accelerate the development of the least developed countries, to solve energy and food problems and for the economic and social progress of all peoples.

98. The statesmen of our time will win for themselves a worthy place in history not by an irrational armaments policy, but by the courage and determination with which they act to bring about the cessation of the arms race and by their contribution to solving this crucial problem that is facing mankind.

99. In view of the grave political and social problems facing mankind as a result of the persistence of the phenomenon of underdevelopment and the many structural crises affecting the world economy, a firm commitment by mankind to an effective reversal of present tendencies in order to ensure the limitation of armaments, and the adoption of specific measures of disarmament, emerges as a task of particular urgency.

100. In strict solidarity with other developing countries and as a developing country, Romania continues to work for the establishment of a new international economic order.

101. Unfortunately, so far very little has been done to satisfy this aspiration of the majority of mankind. The

gaps between the developed and developing countries constantly grow wider and the state of underdevelopment is perpetuated, which breeds serious economic anomalies at the world level, and mistrust, animosity and tension in international life.

102. In these circumstances, the present economic, energy, monetary and financial crises are having a profound effect on development and world economic and political stability, exerting a very powerful negative effect on the economy of all States, particularly the developing countries. As has been stressed during the course of the present debate by high-level representatives of other States who have preceded me at this rostrum, an important role in the perpetuation and aggravation of this situation is being played by the unprecedented increases in the cost of international credit and by exchange rate policies. Artificially inflated interest rates have had a powerful negative impact, above all on the economies of the developing countries, aggravating the dimensions of their external debt, diminishing their already limited possibilities for development and undermining their efforts to overcome underdevelopment. Furthermore, those excessively high interest rates are affecting developed countries as well, causing the stagnation of production, investments and exports, as well as an increase in unemployment and a decline in the standard of living of the masses.

103. The international community must act with the utmost determination to put an end to these practices of force, plunder, oppression and exploitation which, in effect, are expressions of neo-colonialism, pursuing in new forms, more refined but as painful as the old ones, perpetuation of the exploitation of the weak by the strong and the enrichment of advanced States at the expense of the others. It is imperative, in our view, to introduce the practice of reasonable interest rates, bearing in mind that widening the existing gaps is detrimental to the rich States themselves, since it causes the world market to shrink, endangers general progress in which all States have a vital interest, creates instability and makes even sharper already existing international contradictions. In Romania's view, we must bring about an international understanding that the ceiling of interest rates will not exceed 8 per cent. For developing countries, that ceiling should be about 5 per cent; and the least developed countries should be granted credits without interest, or with a maximum interest rate of 2 to 3 per cent.

104. In proposing a maximum interest rate of 8 per cent, we realize that this is particularly high when compared with the normal return on economic projects and, at the same time, that financial relations and international credit should not constitute an obstacle to the progress of each country and of international co-operation but, rather, should be a powerful instrument for the stimulation of material production, the expansion of commercial exchange and the promotion of economic, technological and scientific co-operation among nations. Considering the special role played in economic life by international credit and the gravity of the problem of the external debt of developing countries, the General Assembly at this session should issue an appeal to all the Governments of developed countries and to international financial co-operation organizations urgently to take measures to ensure the implementation of a reasonable system of interest rates within the limits I have mentioned.

105. The Romanian Government believes that in order to implement the new international economic order it is essential to establish new principles of equality and economic co-operation, to eliminate all forms of inequality and oppression, to eliminate the neo-colonialist practices which have the effect of perpetuating the exploitation of peoples, to ensure equitable exchange and to give more substantial support to the least developed countries for the development of the forces of production in both agriculture and industry. At the same time, there must be better access to modern technology and to the conquest of science, in advantageous conditions for the developing countries; we must abandon the trend towards using technological and scientific monopolies to institute new forms of exploitation and dependence, and to exert political and economic pressures in international relations. The efforts of each people—an essential factor in an accelerated economic and social development—must be blended harmoniously with broad international co-operation, primarily among the developing countries.

106. Furthermore, problems of underdevelopment and of the new international economic order cannot be solved by superficial measures. Without courage and the will to make decisive progress and advance rapidly towards that goal, mankind will not be able to overcome the grave crisis it is suffering from at present. The solution of these problems necessitates fundamental changes in international economic relations and the allocation of substantial sums for economic and social development, funds which can be obtained primarily by the reduction of military expenditures.

107. The cessation of the arms race and the inauguration of disarmament would make it possible to save vast financial resources which could be allocated to economic and social development, to assist developing countries and to improve the well-being of peoples. Romania's President has already made specific proposals along those lines with regard to the gradual reduction of military expenditures over the next four or five years by at least 10 per cent to 15 per cent. Half of the sums saved in that way could be used for the economic and social development of the countries which have made those savings and the other half for the progress of the developing countries.

108. The Romanian Government believes that, in the process of eliminating underdevelopment and establishing normal functioning of the world economy, the developed countries have a legal and moral obligation to support the progress of the developing countries. This obligation stems primarily from the fact that during the long period of colonial domination vast riches found their way to the metropolitan countries. Furthermore, as Romania sees it, it is in the interest of the rich States themselves to participate in the liquidation of underdevelopment, since it is only in that way that the stability of the world economy and their own future progress can be achieved.

109. In our view, the United Nations is the most appropriate framework for undertaking firm and effective measures to improve the state of the world economy and assist the efforts of developing countries. The prompt initiation within the framework of the United Nations of the global negotiations proposed by the Group of 77 remains an objective of fundamental importance which could both meet the short-term and long-term interests of world economic stability and ensure the development of all countries.

110. The intensification of efforts to bring about the settlement by exclusively peaceful means of all disputes between States is a fundamental prerequisite for peace and détente and for the relaxation of tensions. Recourse to arms, force or the threat of force in dealing with disputes between States causes great damage and suffering to the peoples concerned and, at the same time, poses immense dangers to world peace. There is no denying, and experience has often confirmed this, that the use of force automatically engenders force. The time will never return when peoples of the world could be brought to their knees without resistance, when world public opinion remained passive in the face of acts of force committed by the strong against the weak. The recourse to military means or to other kinds of force in any part of the world creates tension and anxiety and gives rise to reactions on the part of all countries.

111. The Romanian Government is firmly convinced that there is no problem or controversy anywhere in the world that could not be settled by political means, through negotiations conducted in a spirit of understanding and mutual respect. As stated by President Ceausescu:

"There is no reason for peoples to have recourse to arms in order to settle differences. On the contrary, the interests of all peoples and the general interests of peace itself require that all disputes between States be settled solely through negotiation. There is only one reason that can justify recourse to arms: a people's need to defend its national independence and its right to a free life. We must do everything possible to ensure that nobody can attempt any longer to quell the independence of peoples or subjugate them."

112. We consider that in the present international circumstances the United Nations should give priority to action against recourse to force or the threat of force, to ensure the complete renunciation of the use of military means for the settlement of international problems.

113. In proposing, at the thirty-fourth session, the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Settlement by peaceful means of disputes between States" [item 122], Romania was in fact proceeding from the need to exploit the possibilities provided by the United Nations and the Charter for more vigorous and effective action to prevent and settle conflicts between States on a just and lasting basis. We appreciate what has been done so far with a view to producing the declaration on the peaceful settlement of disputes and believe that the timeliness and important political significance of such a declaration require a continuation of efforts in order to accelerate its implementation.

114. The Romanian initiative concerning the development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States, which was included in the agenda of this session as item 57, also falls under the heading of the strengthening of international security and the prevention of disagreements and tension between States. I wish to stress in this regard too Romania's ceaseless efforts to develop relations of co-operation and friendship with all Balkan States, and to transform the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, a zone of friendship, peace and good-neighbourliness which would contribute to the security of the European continent and to the peace of the entire world.

115. Romania wishes to stress the active role that should be played by the United Nations in eliminating hotbeds of tension and conflict which more than once have endangered world peace and security.

116. The Romanian Government believes that all disputes that still exist in the Middle East, South-East Asia, South-West Asia, Africa and other parts of the world should be settled by negotiation, with respect for the freedom and independence of each people and its sacred right to independent development through progress and civilization, without any outside interference.

117. Our country favours a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East conflict and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area, on the basis of the withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the 1967 war; the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people by recognizing its legitimate rights, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own independent State; and the guaranteeing of the independence and sovereignty of all States of the region. The continuation of the tension in the Middle East, aggravated by Israel's recent military actions on the territory of Lebanon, as well as by its bombardment of the Iraqi nuclear research centre near Baghdad, is an impediment to the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

118. Romania believes that the General Assembly must endorse effective measures to ensure a lasting peace in the Middle East and the convening of an international conference under the auspices and with the active participation of the United Nations, in which all countries concerned, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the Soviet Union and the United States would take part, along with other States which can make a positive contribution to a comprehensive settlement of the situation in that part of the world and to a solution of the Palestinian problem.

119. We give every support to the constant and constructive efforts and proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to fulfil the legitimate aspirations of the Korean nation to live in a free, united, independent, democratic and prosperous country, which is the wish of the whole Korean people, and to create the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

120. There is an imperative need today for the urgent and final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. Romania gives its unstinting support to the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], to abolish the illegal occupation of Namibia and to achieve, without delay, its sacred right freely to choose the path of its future development, in accordance with its own legitimate aspirations and interests. The Romanian Government resolutely condemns the policy of racism and *apartheid* of those in power in Pretoria towards the African population, as well as their armed attacks against neighbouring African countries and their aggression against Angola. We demand that all military actions against the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola be halted unconditionally.

121. We are particularly attentive to the problems of social development, human rights and freedoms, the human condition in general and international co-operation in

these fields. In our opinion, the concern in these areas, within the framework of the United Nations, should focus on solution of the fundamental problems of mankind and on ensuring essential rights—the elimination of exploitation and of major social differences, the equitable distribution of income among the various social classes, the guaranteeing of the right to work and to equitable wages, particularly in circumstances of chronic unemployment in many countries, as well as the guaranteeing of the right to education and the best possible living conditions for all citizens.

122. In our view, the effective achievement of human rights implies the elimination of domination of one people by another, the abolition of colonialism, of the imperialist policy of force or threat of force, and the creation of a world of peace without arms or wars. The danger of a conflagration which could lead to the destruction of life on our planet emphasizes the elementary truth that the right to life, security and peace, the right to live in freedom away from the threat of aggression, represents a fundamental right of all peoples.

123. Romania believes that particular attention should be paid to the growing concern of the United Nations about the problems of young people in the light of their role in the life of modern society and in determining the future of civilization in tomorrow's world.

124. It is imperative that young people in all countries should be guaranteed the right to education and the right to work so that they can use their knowledge in activities useful to society, as well as the right to play a full part in the social and political life of their countries. The Organization and all Governments have a duty to educate the youth of the world in the spirit of the ideals of freedom and social justice, friendship and mutual respect and of the common struggle for the cause of peace and progress, and at the same time to protect the younger generations from the adverse influence of neo-Fascist and racist circles and the degrading impact of what have become full-scale enterprises of the subculture, propagating and fomenting hatred and violence.

125. The Romanian Government therefore feels that the period of preparation for the International Youth Year, to be held in 1985, should be used for stepping up the efforts of Governments to solve the specific problems of the younger generation. In this regard, we believe that the draft programme of measures and activities drawn up by the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year [see A/36/215, annex, sect. IV, part A, annex to decision I (I)] is comprehensive and represents a real strategy for contributing to the identification and solution of the fundamental problems which are of concern today to the younger generation, and for exploiting its creative potential. We are convinced that this draft programme will receive the endorsement of the General Assembly.

126. The solution of the complex problems confronting mankind today requires the democratization of international relations, the creation of conditions for the participation in international life, on a basis of full equality, of all States, regardless of their size or social system.

127. At the present time we must act to strengthen co-operation and solidarity among the developing and non-aligned countries, and the small and medium-sized coun-

tries in general, in order for them to take an active part in the settlement of existing conflicts through negotiations, the bringing about of a new international economic order and the inauguration of a genuine process of disarmament. The United Nations today offers the most appropriate framework and opportunity for finding, jointly and in a spirit of responsibility, solutions to the major problems confronting mankind.

128. The United Nations is made up of all its Member States, all of us. It is therefore up to us to act in concert and with determination to strengthen the role of the Organization in international life, so that the United Nations can establish its world political priorities and the most important objectives, as well as the practical means of achieving them, so that the aspirations of peoples will no longer be disappointed through false hopes and through grievances. The United Nations should adopt concrete measures which would be conducive to the systematic and lasting solution of the problems confronting mankind, with the participation of all States on a basis of full equality.

129. Experience has shown that it is not possible for major international problems to be settled in a small group of States, however big and powerful they may be. That is why we believe that the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and the improvement and democratization of its activities, in accordance with the requirements of international life today, are of major importance if international peace and security and the development of co-operation among all nations are to be ensured.

130. The overcoming of major difficulties in international life and of grave situations of tension and conflict, the resumption and continuance of the policy of détente, national independence, security and peace, all require efforts supported by all States and an active and responsible contribution on the part of all nations.

131. The Romanian delegation, along with all other delegations, is determined to make its own contribution to the search for just and equitable solutions to the problems facing the United Nations, so that this session of the General Assembly may fulfil the expectations of peoples throughout the world and contribute to the improvement of the international situation, to the resumption and continuance of the policy of détente, independence and peace, to the cessation of the arms race and the adoption of measures of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and to the strengthening of international peace, security and co-operation.

132. Mr. MALMIERCA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Any court of law, any responsible forum, condemns murder. International law also condemns aggression. The killing of children is in particular even more revolting. Ninety-nine children have died in Cuba. They were victims of the haemorrhagic dengue epidemic that took a toll of 156 lives. This epidemic broke out simultaneously in various parts of the country when there had been no news of any cases in other States of the area.

133. In less than three years our country has suffered the scourge of five grave plagues and epidemics, which have hit our cattle, our plantations and now our people.

134. Swine fever, blue mould in tobacco, sugar-cane rot, haemorrhagic dengue and, more recently, when we were still in the process of fighting off that last disease, haemorrhagic conjunctivitis. We are convinced that the imperialists, the agencies of the United States Government, are using biological weapons against the people of Cuba. We all know—and it has been published even in United States official publications—that the United States has for many years been developing a very wide and sophisticated arsenal of weapons of this type and carrying out many tests for their possible use.

135. We all know also that the United States has used these weapons, particularly during its war against the people of Viet Nam, and many are the United States veterans of that war who are still suffering in the United States from the effects of exposure in areas near places where such weapons were used.

136. In the case of the haemorrhagic dengue epidemic, this is a disease produced by the dengue virus No. 2. The thorough, serious and detailed studies carried out by Cuba's technical and scientific personnel, who have also had the aid and co-operation of highly qualified experts from other countries, have led to the conclusion that this virus was deliberately introduced into Cuba.

137. As a result of a systematic and exhaustive analysis of all the available information from health agencies and institutions as well as from other sources, we have verified that when the haemorrhagic dengue epidemic appeared in Cuba no epidemic outbreaks of the dengue virus No. 2 had taken place in any of the African or South-East Asian countries with which we have relations. Our health authorities have determined that no Cuban or foreign citizen coming from those regions or from other areas had suffered from the disease produced by that virus.

138. Nor were there outbreaks of dengue virus No. 2 in Latin America or in the Caribbean basin. The last cases registered there date from 1978. On the other hand, we know that the research centres of the United States dedicated to the development of biological weapons have devoted special attention to dengue virus No. 2.

139. We are firmly convinced that, to the long list of aggressions of all sorts against our people—military, economic and political aggressions committed by the Republican and Democratic Administrations that have succeeded one another during 22 years—the United States has now added the use of biological weapons.

140. The President of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of Cuba, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, in speeches on 26 July and 15 September of this year, has denounced the perpetration of this unspeakable new aggression against our people by the United States Government. We have requested the distribution to all those here present of these speeches, which contain numerous references to and much evidence of the admission in official documents of the United States Senate and other bodies that, on various occasions, as part of the activities aimed at the overthrow of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, the preparation of the use of biological weapons was mentioned.

141. These facts have not been denied by the responsible authorities of the United States Government, in spite

of the fact that President Fidel Castro has challenged them to state before world public opinion whether or not they have authorized the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] to perpetuate such acts.

142. For more than 20 years we have suffered from all types of aggression from the United States imperialists, and we have accumulated a vast amount of painful experience. But, as President Fidel Castro has stated, "we do not fear the imperialists' threats. They may perhaps know when to start a conflict against us, but what nobody knows is when and how it will end".

143. It particularly pleases the delegation of Cuba to see you, Mr. Kittani, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Iraq, assume the presidency at this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your recognized ability and experience will enable you to guide our work at this session, which we are sure will be no easy task, for the session is being held in an international climate of tension and turmoil in which the policy of blackmail and imperialist aggression threatens to put an end to the precarious and uncertain peace in which we live today. Fraternal bonds of friendship and co-operation link us with your country, and I can assure you that you will not lack the support of the Cuban delegation.

144. We extend our warm congratulations to the Republic of Vanuatu on its independence, to which we gave our support within the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and on its having become a full Member of the United Nations.

145. On 1 September of this year, the twentieth anniversary of the non-aligned movement was commemorated. Its vitality, continuity and fidelity to the cause of national liberation, peace, disarmament, anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, and anti-neo-colonialism, its struggle against racism, zionism and *apartheid* and its struggle for a just and equitable international economic order have provided the movement with a solid basis for unity and have enabled it to put its stamp of approval on the majority of the most important decisions taken by the Organization.

146. We reiterate our salute to the 20 years of existence of the movement. To those who would split or destroy it we say that they will fail, that they will find instead that the movement is a powerful instrument of solidarity for the countries of what is known as the third world.

147. We recall with sorrow that it has not been possible to put an end to the distressing conflict between Iraq and Iran. Cuba and its President, Fidel Castro, have endeavoured, since the first days of the war and even before its outbreak, to contribute to a peaceful, political, honourable and just solution. Recently, these efforts have been conducted jointly with other ministers of the non-aligned movement, and it is our firm determination to continue to persist in trying to bring about the desired solution to this conflict.

148. At this, the mid-point of the fourth decade in the life of the United Nations, when one might think about the triumphs achieved in the implementation of the Charter, as shown especially by the increase in the number of Members of the Organization, that is, the number of

countries that have gained their independence and sovereignty when one might think that an international order founded on the principles and purposes of the Charter would by now be given permanent shape, it must be pointed out that the United States Government has cast aside even minimal respect for the norms of peaceful co-existence and the desire for sovereignty of the majority of the States and has laid claim to unacceptable supremacy in all areas of international life, particularly military supremacy, which jeopardizes the carefully wrought structure of peace and international law created in the aftermath of the defeat of the Fascist and Nazi forces in the Second World War.

Mr. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

149. Mr. Reagan's Government is striving to impose its hegemony on the entire world and arrogantly claims a special place for the United States that would enable it to decide all questions posed in international relations in favour of United States imperialist interests and its transnational corporations. Not even Washington's closest allies escape ill treatment at the hands of the new United States administration, whose policies affect their economic situation and endanger their territories and peoples with no concern for the misgivings of the governments of those allies, nor for the protests or opinions of their populations.

150. The facts are irrefutable. The opinions of the majorities irritate the self-proclaimed champions of democracy. Those who arrogate for themselves the right to describe as terrorist the leaders of other countries and the prestigious national liberation movements apply terrorism with their military forces all over the world and place themselves beyond the pale of international legality.

151. With respect to the legal order to be established on the oceans and the importance of rapidly concluding an agreement as a step towards a new international economic order, after eight years of lengthy negotiations at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the international community has seen with bafflement and indignation how the new United States Administration has rejected the draft convention, ignoring the negotiations already concluded with the participation of the United States delegation and the commitments made, on the pretext of reviewing the text, thus unnecessarily prolonging the work of the Conference.

152. The participating States now recognize more clearly, in view of the arrogance and aggressiveness of the Government of the United States, as shown by the recent provocations against the sovereignty of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the immediate need for a convention on the sea—whether the United States is a party to it or not and even if everyone's aspirations to universality are not achieved—an agreement that would sanction internationally the rights proclaimed by many countries over their territorial waters and that would prevent incidents such as that of the Gulf of Sirte.

153. Recently, at the opening of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Havana, the President of the Council of State of Cuba, Fidel Castro, affirmed:

"The United States system is not Fascist, but I am firmly convinced that the group constituting the main core of the current United States Administration is Fascist; its thinking is Fascist; its arrogant rejection of every human rights policy is Fascist; its foreign policy is Fascist; its contempt for world peace is Fascist; its intransigent refusal to seek formulas for honourable co-existence among States is Fascist; its arrogance, its conceit, its arms build-up, its pursuit of military superiority at all costs, its relish of violence and domination, its methods of blackmail and terror; its alliance with Pinochet and with the most brutal régimes of this hemisphere, whose methods of repression, terror, torture and disappearances have taken the lives of tens of thousands of people, often without their relatives even knowing where their bodies lie; and its shameless alliance with South Africa and *apartheid* are clearly Fascist; its threatening language and its lies are Fascist. Never will I say that the people of the United States are Fascist, nor their legislative institutions, nor their press, nor their many creative social organizations, nor their strongly enduring, noble democratic conditions and love of freedom.

"Our hopes are founded on the conviction that fascism can succeed neither in the United States nor in the world, although it is true that at present a Fascist leadership has established itself in the United States over the structure of an imperialist bourgeois democracy; and this is extremely dangerous."

154. The results of the actions of the current United States Administration have already been felt in all their severity in southern Africa, in the Middle East and in the Caribbean, among other regions. Who can deny that South Africa dared to attack Angola because it is certain of support from the United States?

155. The visit of Under-Secretary Crocker to South Africa and the meeting between Reagan and Botha, which received such widespread publicity in the United States, as well as the statements rejecting the defence of human rights and the marked interest in making the Pretoria racists feel they are part of a strategic alliance with the United States, made it possible for them to step up their military and subversive actions against the front-line States and particularly against Angola and Mozambique.

156. Who can deny that the United States veto of the condemnation of the aggressors against Angola and of sanctions against them constitutes proof of its encouragement and support of the illegal and hateful *apartheid* régime? The aggression against Angola seeks to extend *apartheid's* frontiers. It is an aggression not only against Angola but against the whole of black Africa and especially against the countries of southern Africa. The racists must withdraw from southern Angola and stop their acts of hostility against the rest of the front-line States.

157. Israel is another fundamental link in the strategic alliance advocated by Washington. As in the case of Pretoria, the Zionist authorities felt that, with Reagan's accession to the White House, their finest hour had arrived and they decided to take advantage of it promptly. The Zionists' main objective is still the same: the genocide of the Palestinian people and its disappearance as a nation. The Nazi methods suffered yesterday by the Hebrew people

are employed today by Begin against the heroic Palestinian people.

158. We are certain that the heroic struggle being waged by the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, will be victorious and that nothing can prevent that people from establishing its own independent State in accordance with its inalienable rights.

159. The bombings of Lebanon, the aggression against the peaceful nuclear research centre in Iraq, a deed unprecedented in peacetime, the threats against the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan—events which have all taken place in the few short months since the inauguration of the new Yankee Administration—these are indications of the consequences of the strategic agreement recently concluded in Washington by Reagan and Begin, aimed at confirming the role of Israel as a pivot of Yankee world strategy.

160. In the Caribbean and Central America, the United States, in addition to using bacteriological methods against the population, the crops and the cattle in Cuba and giving the green light to the CIA to renew and step up its plots against the lives of the main leaders of the Cuban Revolution and its subversive and destabilizing actions, has intensified its interventionist and genocidal acts in El Salvador, arming and advising a terrorist Government that has murdered over 20,000 children of that noble and heroic people.

161. Through its vast propaganda machinery, Yankee imperialism, resorting systematically to the most brazen and shameless lies, accuses Cuba of being the cause of the instability in Central America. It is not Cuba but Yankee imperialism that has imposed and protected unpopular and obnoxious Governments whose only virtue has been to protect the system of economic exploitation of the peoples of the region. It is imperialism, with its direct or indirect military intervention through reactionary régimes, which must assume the responsibility for the absence of peace in Central America.

162. The Government of Cuba has publicly denied that some of the weapons delivered to it by the Soviet Union are being redistributed in Central America. It has affirmed that it is a lie to say that Cuba is supplying any other weapons or ammunition to the Salvadoran patriots and that there are or have been Cuban advisers in El Salvador. These are the facts and, as facts, they are irrefutable, which does not imply either a commitment or a moral judgement on the right to give military aid to the forces struggling in El Salvador against the junta, forces whose political representativeness has been recognized by France and Mexico and has just been proclaimed, by an overwhelming vote, by the countries participating in the 68th Inter-Parliamentary Conference.

163. What is not a lie and cannot be denied by the United States leaders is that military and police advisers from the Governments of the United States and Venezuela are training the genocidal forces of the Christian Democratic Junta of El Salvador; that the Salvadoran military is being taught the techniques of repression by Pinochet's Fascists in Chile; and that it is with Yankee helicopters, Yankee aircraft, Yankee weapons and Yankee bullets that the Salvadoran people are being murdered.

164. In a cry for justice based on the principles of international law and the interests of the nations and peoples of the world in search of peaceful solutions to the hotbeds of tension that poison the international atmosphere, the Governments of Mexico and France agreed to recognize the representativeness of the patriots of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Revolutionary Front, thus trying to reach a negotiated and political solution to this bloody drama. Showing its real interventionist intents and purposes, the United States reacted violently against the Franco-Mexican initiative and, using its allies in the Government of Venezuela, compelled these pseudo-democrats to join the worst tyrannies of the continent in a condemnatory statement. Pinochet, Stroessner, Herrera Campíns, all in the same bag, with Reagan leading them by the hand, are trying to obstruct the search for a negotiated and political settlement to the civil war in El Salvador.

165. We whole-heartedly hail Belize's accession to independence after a long struggle to thwart the annexationist intentions of the oppressors of the Guatemalan people and we are pleased to see that in a few hours, Belize will become a full Member of the United Nations.

166. In Puerto Rico the clamour for an end to that island's colonial status is increasing. The vast majority of the Puerto Rican political organizations, not only those seeking independence, demand that the General Assembly consider Puerto Rico's case at its thirty-seventh session, as was approved at the recently concluded session of the decolonization Committee. Cuba supports the right of this brother people to independence and is sure that, in the fulfilment of its obligations, the Assembly will not deny to the Puerto Rican people the right to have its tragic situation considered.

167. Cuba has always supported the legitimate aspiration of the Argentine people to see the Malvinas Islands come under their national sovereignty, as well as the just demand of the Bolivian people to have an outlet to the sea.

168. We also support the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

169. In Western Sahara, the Sahraoui people has through its heroism earned the respect and admiration of the whole world. We support its unshakable will to achieve self-determination and independence.

170. As a consequence of colonialism, Mayotte has been artificially withdrawn from Comorian sovereignty and Madagascar has not yet recovered its rights over the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India. We trust that the speediest solution can be found for these anachronistic situations.

171. Just as the self-determination of a people cannot be prevented, so a nation cannot be kept artificially divided. The presence in and virtual occupation of South Korea by the United States prevents peaceful reunification and the end of foreign interference in Korea. The Korean people has built a prosperous and happy country in the north under the leadership of its President, Kim Il Sung, and is imbued with the noblest ideals of reunification of the divided homeland.

172. Cuba supports the Government and the people of Panama in its struggle for the implementation of the agreements on the Canal and supports the Guatemalan people, which has risen up in arms against the cruel tyranny imposed on it since the United States intervention of 1954.

173. Cuba likewise supports the efforts of the people of Cyprus to preserve its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as a united and non-aligned republic.

174. In South-East Asia, we believe that only a negotiated solution can put an end to the existing tensions. Cuba has fully supported the proposals of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea to hold a regional conference for that purpose, with the participation of the other States of the region. At the same time, we emphasize our unswerving recognition of the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people: the People's Government of Kampuchea.

175. As Chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries, Cuba has lent its good offices—and today renews its willingness to continue to do so—in the search for a negotiated political solution to the situation in South-West Asia. Such a solution should, in our opinion, entail the end of intervention and interference in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, together with the necessary international guarantees, and the creation of conditions permitting the normalization of relations among all States in the area on the basis of the principles and purposes of non-alignment.

176. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will be held in 1982. We all remember that, at the time of the first special session, the heads of State of the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] met in Washington and, under pressure from the United States Government, proclaimed their readiness to increase their arsenals. This inauspicious sign allowed us to foresee that progress in the implementation of the decisions adopted by the tenth special session of the General Assembly would be meagre. Since then, the United States has continued to take steps to achieve military superiority, although it becomes clearer every day that its NATO partners are resisting this Yankee pressure for political and economic reasons.

177. The increase of war expenditures to unprecedented levels, the reduction of the budget for social expenses, applying the painful practice of less butter and more guns, the creation of rapid deployment forces, the decision to install 572 medium-range missiles in Europe, the production of the neutron bomb and of the MX missile system, the increase in the number of nuclear aircraft carriers and Trident submarines, the reactivation of large warships, all are actions which serve to unleash an arms race whose end is impossible to predict.

178. We are sure that the United States will try its utmost to prevent the convening of the forthcoming special session devoted to disarmament. Even if it is held, the prospects for United States co-operation and contribution to its success are dim.

179. In June of this year, the People's National Assembly of Cuba expressed its strong and resolute support for the appeal made by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet

Union to all parliaments and peoples of the world concerning the critical international situation, aggravated as it has been by the dangerous increase in the arms race. It was reiterated in that decision that "peace is essential in the struggle for development, since the struggle for peace is tantamount to the struggle for development and implies the uprooting of the deep inequalities still extant as a result of colonial and neo-colonial domination, racial discrimination, racism, zionism and *apartheid*".

180. The non-aligned countries, who took the initiative to convene the forthcoming special session, will strive for the success of this new session of the Assembly. Cuba promises to contribute to that cause and hopes that that session will become a battleground for universal peace and the renewal of détente.

181. My delegation also supports the important proposal submitted to the Assembly by the Soviet Union on the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe through a solemn commitment by all States possessing nuclear weapons, and their leaders, not to be the first to use them in case of conflict.

182. I should like now to refer to one of the most transcendental problems confronting the world today, namely, the international economic situation.

183. Cuba has upheld and upholds the view that peace and development are indivisible elements of international relations. We can talk about peace, disarmament and international security; we can take action to limit arms or to ban certain weapons; but we will not really have attained an effective and lasting solution to the tensions, conflicts and contradictions that threaten the world until we find a way of guaranteeing the complete and permanent elimination of inequality among nations through the establishment of a new system of international relations, one that will allow the beginning of a just and equitable new international economic order.

184. The situation now facing the majority of the developing countries is not new; it has been progressively deteriorating for more than 20 years. However, now, in the middle of the greatest crisis that the capitalist system has suffered in the post-war period, that deterioration has become increasingly swift and far-reaching.

185. The international agencies, and in particular the ones belonging to the United Nations system, have outlined innumerable plans, adopted many resolutions and convened several conferences to deal with the problems of economic and social development. In all of them, the problems which afflict the countries of the so-called third world have been clearly identified, and in some of them measures have been suggested which, although they do not fully solve these problems, would certainly contribute to lessening their effects. However, in spite of the efforts made, these ideas and initiatives have not made it possible to advance towards a real restructuring of international relations.

186. Has this perhaps been because of the incapacity of the international organizations involved or the negligence of the developing countries, for whom the effective implementation of a new international economic order is a matter of life and death, or because of the shortage of resources at a global level which prevents the developed

countries from fulfilling their obligations to the developing countries? No, these have not been the causes of the failure of the international economic negotiations. This failure has stemmed and still stems from the narrow and intransigent policies and practices of a group of developed capitalist countries which, headed by the United States, persist in maintaining the privileges and bonuses they have enjoyed for centuries in their relations with the developing countries at the expense of the exploitation and poverty of the latter.

187. Never before in the history of mankind have the underdeveloped countries seen themselves submitted to such merciless exploitation and such a marked economic penetration as at the present time. The leaders of the developed capitalist countries have endeavoured to transfer to the developing countries the effects of the crisis generated by their own structures. The dependency of the developing countries on the economies of the western metropolises has increased to an unprecedented level, through the spiral of external debt, through the continued generation and exacerbation of unfair trade flows, through limiting the access of the third-world countries to the markets of the world and to the technology and the resources available to the capitalist West, through the preservation of unfair and disorderly international monetary relations, and through promoting in the economies of the countries of the developing world an increasing penetration by transnational corporations, which add iniquitous financial profits to practices and policies harmful to the sovereignty, stability and integrity of the countries in which they operate.

188. The policy followed by the Government of the United States clearly exemplifies what I have just stated. The high interest rates decreed by the Reagan Administration, besides being ineffective in solving the structural crisis of the American economy and harming even the western allies of the United States, impose a new and heavy burden on the underdeveloped countries, raising to unsuspected heights the already unbearable cost of servicing their colossal debts. Furthermore, the United States advocates as a policy a considerable increase of foreign private investments in the developing countries as a sort of magic wand to solve their economic problems.

189. Nothing could be further from the truth, as the following figures show: between 1970 and 1978, United States investments in the third world reached a total of \$8.7 billion, while in the same period the profits of that country from those investments were of the order of some \$39.7 billion, representing a profit of \$4.5 on each newly invested dollar.

190. These dollars, then, contribute nothing towards paying the debts of the countries of the developing world; they do nothing to help feed the hungry, cure the sick, educate the illiterate or give work to the unemployed. Their sole use is to fill the bottomless vaults of the transnational corporations and the Federal Government of the United States.

191. Is that the way to fight underdevelopment and all its consequences? No. Actually, that is an inverse transfer of resources, from the developing countries to the developed market economy countries, the effect of which is the ever-increasing enrichment of opulent societies and the increasingly abject poverty of the underdeveloped countries!

192. Thus, there are today in the developing world 570 million undernourished people, 800 million illiterate adults, 1.5 billion people with no access to medical care, 1.3 billion people with a yearly income of less than \$90, 1.7 billion with a life expectancy of less than 60 years, 1,030 million living in inadequate housing, 250 million children who do not attend any school and 1.1 billion unemployed. And this situation is not improving; it is deteriorating.

193. At the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, in October 1979 [31st meeting], Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, President of the Council of State and the Council Ministers of Cuba and Chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries, presented formulas to provide a solution to the unfair situation of the underdeveloped countries. In addition to the cancellation of the external debt of the least developed countries, he proposed the establishment of an additional fund of not less than \$300 billion, at 1977 real value, to be distributed from the first years in annual sums of not less than \$25 billion. This aid should be in the form of donations and long-term, low-interest soft credits, and other forms of participation.

194. The real implementation of this proposal would indeed represent—in spite of the self-seeking doubts of those who characterize it as unrealistic—benefits for the underdeveloped countries and a true contribution to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy, unsanitary conditions and other consequences of underdevelopment, which have been aggravated by the crises of the capitalist structures. However, in order to carry out a significant battle against underdevelopment, it is essential to have an international political climate governed by peace, détente and full respect for the security of all.

195. For these reasons we must oppose the arms race, the manufacture of neutron bombs, the deployment of the 572 medium-range missiles in Europe, the production of the MX missile systems at a cost of tens of billions of dollars, of new strategic bombers, of nuclear aircraft carriers, of Trident submarines, the reactivation of big warships from the Second World War, the investment of \$1,500,000,000,000, in military expenditures in the next five years, and the greatest arms race in history, as engineered by the United States.

196. These enormous military expenditures, which can only serve to aggravate the world economic crisis, will have negative repercussions on the living and working conditions of the working class and can only lead mankind to an unprecedented catastrophe.

197. The threat of war is real. It is no secret that the brazen, adventurist policy of the imperialist Government of the United States has pushed the world to the brink of the abyss.

198. As was stated by President Fidel Castro in his opening speech to the 68th Inter-Parliamentary Conference:

“We must face these real dangers serenely and courageously. We cannot afford to be pessimistic, for then the battle for peace would be lost beforehand. We cannot be cowardly, for then dignity as well as peace would be lost beforehand. We can and should preserve

peace without yielding an inch, backed by the mobilization of the peoples, including those of the United States, and by the immense power of world opinion and the universal conscience, as shown during Viet Nam's heroic struggle; by the current correlation of forces between socialism and imperialism, which the latter vainly seeks to tilt in its favour; by the people's capacity and determination to fight and resist any imperialist aggression; by international solidarity, which can and should be expressed in a thousand different new ways.”

199. Mr. PÉREZ LLORCA (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The time-honoured practice of congratulating the President of the General Assembly and expressing great satisfaction at his election is in this instance easy to do, for the Assembly is presided over by a most distinguished person, the representative of Iraq, a country with which Spain has enjoyed and continues to enjoy close relations.

200. I must also thank Mr. von Wechmar for the skill and effectiveness with which he conducted the business of the last session of the General Assembly, thanks to his personal attributes and those of his country.

201. My gratitude goes also to the Secretary-General, who directs the work of the Secretariat so skilfully, so appropriately and with such tenacity, giving it the necessary stimulus.

202. I wish too to welcome Vanuatu, a new Member whose admission will strengthen the universality of the Organization.

203. It is with satisfaction that we see that the State of Belize will soon join us. We share the most ancient historical roots with Belize, and we wish it in its independence a prosperous peace in union with its neighbours.

204. In order to establish the Spanish position before the Assembly I must base myself on two tenets of analysis and action. One is the unequivocal option of Spain in favour of a Euro-Western political concept, certain that the pluralistic democratic system, which is its ethical reference, has greater social flexibility and a greater capacity for adaptation to the needs and requirements of peoples. This is an indivisible process, both in the field of convictions and in the practical field of their internal and international institutionalization. The Spanish State is ready to accept the consequences thereof.

205. As I said last year, the form our democracy has chosen to take to exercise the right to defend the maintenance of international peace and security—as an inherently Spanish decision—does not allow of any interference without serious infringement of the fundamental rules of international law and the very principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

206. We are sure that the Members of the United Nations, with all of which we wish to have peaceful and cordial relations, will not attempt any interference—which would be intolerable—or any confused and baseless conjectures. Spain is not, nor does it wish to be, a threat to anyone. On the contrary, in any forum in which it participates it will maintain a constant position of striving for real peace.

207. The second tenet concerns credibility. In this regard Spain has in the United Nations shown undeniable consistency, as is easily verifiable. On the questions of the Middle East, Lebanon and Palestine, the Sahara, *apartheid*, Namibia, human rights, terrorism, the battle against racial discrimination and intolerance, peace-keeping operations, the crises of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the Cypriot conflict, and on matters of disarmament and development, the attitude of the Spanish democracy has remained constant.

208. In these difficult times, in which peace is precarious, Spain has responded from positions of principle, has entirely resisted the pressures coming from interested parties and has clung to an independent foreign policy conditional only upon the interests of the Spanish people and the desire for co-operation in establishing a more just and harmonious international order.

209. Special and immediate reference must be made to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which after 10 months has postponed its Madrid meeting until next October. Spain has a dual role as host and participant. As host, we are ready to receive the Conference in Madrid with the same satisfaction as before. As one of the 35 participating States, we shall redouble our efforts in favour of security and peace.

210. We must revive the political decision to negotiate and recommence meetings with a new impetus and a willingness to resolve the major problems of human rights, information and the military aspects of security.

211. The Madrid declaration must develop the principles of the Final Act of Helsinki and fulfil its ambitious objectives to improve the international climate, without illusions or complacency, which would be extremely dangerous. Thus shall we contribute to the revitalization in Europe of peace and security, which are constantly in question.

212. I already had occasion at the last session [4th meeting, para. 138] to say that through the Lisbon Declaration, adopted in April 1980,⁹ the Spanish and British Governments have taken an important step forward, however preliminary, towards resolving the conflict between Spain and the United Kingdom concerning the colonial situation of Gibraltar. I said then that we were dealing with a task that was not easy and events have borne that out, although it is important to maintain the convergence of political wills and to be ready to embark upon a path which may finally lead to settlement of the dispute, so that there will never again be any obstacle between Spain and the United Kingdom.

213. The United Nations has shown the path to follow, as is recognized in the joint Lisbon Declaration, which states that both parties have committed themselves to resolving the problem of Gibraltar in a spirit of friendship in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

214. Spain's relations with the peoples of Latin America are at a propitious stage. In the foreign policy of democratic Spain the close links of history, background and language are an element that strengthens our decision to find new means of drawing closer to the American continent and co-operating with its peoples. That relationship

is an essential feature of our foreign policy. It is not a policy that was adopted simply because there was no alternative, but a policy that was selected and given preference over all others.

215. We are at a stage when everybody has become aware of the duty to increase specific projects, establish machinery to make them effective and, to the common benefit, give new life to our ancient ties. We have to give new energy to this relationship, which has gone through periods of rhetorical inaction imposed by certain historical circumstances.

216. We can only regret that some Central American countries have suffered cruel afflictions in the social sphere. Those peoples have the solution in their own hands, and any interference can only complicate the internal situation, which is caused by necessary changes. Spain feels the tragedy of those brother peoples deeply, and it is as if it were ourselves who were undergoing it.

217. Spain reaffirms as one of the objectives of its present foreign policy its intention to multiply and diversify its relationship with African countries. Our attitude will be based, bilaterally and in the sphere of parliamentary diplomacy, on decisive support for efforts to put an end to colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and to co-operate, as far as we are able, in the socio-economic development of that neighbour continent.

218. Our geographical position places us in contact with the Arab coast of the Mediterranean and in a very close relationship with western Africa. We can see the reality of those two worlds without interference and we have justifiable hope that the Euro-Arab and Euro-African dialogue, in which we shall participate increasingly as time goes by, will bring about new forms of effective co-operation.

219. Because of our closeness to and our particular interest in anything that affects the Arab nation, we continue to attach special importance to the situation in the Maghreb. We hope that as soon as possible tension between brother countries will disappear and that there will be an understanding that will allow for the development of inter-Maghreb relations, which would benefit greatly the peace and prosperity of all.

220. We have never failed to avail ourselves of this opportunity in the United Nations to stress the concern and attention demanded by the question of Western Sahara. Our position has been characterized by unswerving firmness of principle and support for a solution based on an agreement accepted by all the parties, which should take into account the principles and recommendations put forward by international bodies, and in particular the expression of the will of the people.

221. The Spanish Government favoured the initiative taken by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in Nairobi, when he supported the idea of the referendum referred to in resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) [see A/36/534, annex II] and the implementation of recommendations made by the African Heads of State who are members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. That is a matter of capital importance which gives grounds for fresh hope with respect to finding a just solution by peaceful means, within the terms of recent com-

mitments entered into at the meetings of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

222. Our policy of co-operation acquires special importance with reference to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. Our action will always be guided by the principle of non-interference and by the desire to see Equatorial Guinea regain its rightful place in the regional context of the African community. We are prepared to strengthen our co-operation with the people of Equatorial Guinea and its Government to the extent that that Government freely desires. We feel that during this past year a broad network of co-operation has been put into effect and consolidated, which will give impetus, within the general framework of economic regeneration, to the national reconstruction of Equatorial Guinea.

223. The independence of Namibia is almost within reach. The Namibian people has a right to self-determination and immediate sovereignty over all its territory. The Spanish Government feels that only through the implementation without let or hindrance of the plan set forth in Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) can any progress be made on this matter. We must trust that the efforts being made at this very moment will lead to the resumption of the negotiating process and to Namibian independence.

224. Perseverance is necessary in these endeavours, and the South African Government must be required to desist from any further counterproductive delaying tactics and from its indescribable acts of intimidation. Incursions into bordering countries are acts of force, in violation of the basic rules of international law, and simply increase the danger of global confrontations.

225. In this regard, the work carried out by the United Nations Council for Namibia should be commended. During the visit of that council to Spain a few months ago, we were able to appreciate the similarity of our positions with respect to the past and the future of Namibia, in particular with regard to recognition of the legitimacy of the representation conferred by the United Nations on SWAPO in its struggle for freedom and independence.

226. With respect to *apartheid*, we must repeat our total rejection of the policy as a violation of human rights and, indeed, as an affront to man's reason. The existence of *apartheid* is a tragedy which is felt anew every day and it is a blight on all mankind.

227. Concerning this question and the tragic situation of refugees, Spain has taken part in two conferences organized jointly by the United Nations and the OAU; one, the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva, and the other, the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris. We believe that co-operation among international organizations is a productive means of international action. Such co-operation has proved effective in both cases, *apartheid* and assistance to African refugees.

228. With respect to the Middle East, almost everything possible has been said in the past 33 years. Today more than ever we are aware that this is not a knot that can be cut with a sword. Unfortunately, in the course of the past 12 months force has again been used, in disregard of reason.

229. In Lebanon the tension curve is reaching new heights. There are various factors in that country which set the zone alight and threaten the integrity and very existence of the country. In the Security Council, Spain exerted every effort in support of the establishment of a cease-fire, after which the position could be stabilized and an impetus given to national reconciliation, preserving the independence, national integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon under the authority of its legitimately established Government. The work of UNIFIL, to which I wish to pay a well-deserved tribute, must be extended and strengthened as much as necessary to make it more effective. It should be fully supported so that it may be respected by all the parties to the conflict.

230. It is necessary to put an end to armed actions which continually endanger an unstable truce. The Spanish Government, on learning of the attack carried out by the Israeli air force against the nuclear research facility in Iraq, issued a communiqué strongly condemning that inadmissible act of force, which was a serious violation of the basic rules of international law. The Security Council condemned that action in resolution 487 (1981), considering that Iraq has a right to proper compensation for damage which Israel has admitted causing. Spain hopes that Israel will carry out the obligations which it bears as a Member of the Organization under Article 25 of the Charter and will respect that resolution. Spain, as it said again in the Security Council, also recognizes the sovereign and inalienable right of all States—including Iraq—to establish technological and nuclear programmes for peaceful purposes.

231. The Spanish Government is still firmly convinced—and this conviction seems to have been shared by the States who attended the meeting in Venice in 1980 of the European Council of the European Communities—that the Middle East conflict cannot be understood or solved without the participation of the Palestinian people.

232. This year the situation has simply worsened, for peace cannot be envisaged as long as the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people are not recognized. The illegal settlements in the occupied territories continue, making any prospect of a solution difficult. A political negotiating machinery must be set up whereby Israel and the Palestinian people can both be represented and where they can mutually accept each other as valid negotiators. The legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as many General Assembly resolutions show, is the PLO.

233. An over-all agreement must be reached by which, based on the premise of the withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the enforcement of Palestinian national rights would be obtained through self-determination. That would allow all present and future States in the region to achieve peace within safe and recognized frontiers. Only within such a framework will it be possible to achieve the coexistence and co-operation we would all like to see as a tangible reality.

234. In this respect, as I have had occasion to point out, it is our view that the plan for a just and global peace, recently put forward by His Highness Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia,¹⁰ is a very positive contribution which must be given the consideration it deserves. These proposals are based on principles and criteria put forward in

the Organization on many occasions, and Spain has repeatedly supported them. As long as the political road is barred for the Palestinian people, we can never have peace.

235. As for Afghanistan, more than a year and a half ago Soviet aggression was perpetrated against the Afghan people, an act of aggression which has resulted in the loss of many lives, the destruction of the country and the inability of the inhabitants freely to choose their political structures. Almost two years after the invasion there is no glimmer of a solution to that foreign armed intervention, which we have repeatedly condemned. We therefore feel that international pressure in favour of Afghan liberation should be kept up.

236. We fully support the resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the need for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the re-establishment of Afghanistan as a country free from foreign domination, as the basis for a just solution that would make it possible for the Afghan people to recover their independence and freely decide their own future. In this respect, we support the resolutions of the Islamic Conference [A/36/421 and Corr.1, annex II], the proposals of the European Community¹¹ and the joint communiqué issued by the participants at the Ottawa Summit.¹² We also deplore the attitude of the Soviet Union towards those efforts by the international community, as well as the threat to peace and security in the region and indeed throughout the world represented by that attitude.

237. Kampuchea is another problem for which a solution seems no closer than it was last year. It is quite true that the International Conference on Kampuchea was held recently as requested by the General Assembly last year in resolution 35/6, and Spain took part in it. But it may also be noted that not every party to the dispute attended the Conference, nor was a joint plan to settle the problem agreed to. The Cambodian people are still victims of military occupation and violence. We will spare no effort to contribute to any valid solution, any approach allowing Kampuchea to be free and to live in peace and recognizing the sovereignty of its people, its independence and its territorial integrity.

Mr. Kittani (Iraq) resumed the Chair.

238. One of the basic factors on which peace throughout the world depends is respect for human rights. Since 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted, we have had a legal model which makes it possible to compare international conduct, and enough time has passed since then to set up additional machinery to safeguard such rights and to control any violations. Democratic Spain has signed and ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI), annex]. A few months ago, within a regional framework, we took yet another step and in the Council of Europe, made a statement of acceptance of the individual recourse provided for in article 25 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed in Rome on 4 November 1950.

239. We base ourselves on the principle that any violation of human rights by a State is a violation of the

rules of international conduct, that such violation is a cause of instability and international insecurity and that all such acts are to be condemned. All those premises are supplemented by the unavoidable demand for an objective appraisal and determination of violations of human rights. This is a viewpoint which does not allow of any blind spots. This is not an asymmetrical concept which can be applied in one continent and not another at will, or in order to take advantage of the distress of people whenever it can be used for some monstrous reason of State. Human rights are the basis and cement of the social harmony and peace of States, and global defence of those rights is the irrevocable gain of contemporary human culture, the importance of which is such that it makes it possible to define limits in respect of the internal sphere of the State.

240. Based on these convictions, Spanish democratic pluralism will require of itself and others the same scrupulous respect for human rights, convinced that the civilized survival of the human race demands it. Spain will support the establishment of machinery that will make it possible to control and, in the final analysis, prevent violations of human rights, without territorial or ideological selection or discrimination.

241. Terrorism, which is a violation of the right to life, is the most brutal violation of human rights. The terrorist act which shamefully deprives innocent people of their life or threatens the vital security of a community by bloodshed cannot be justified. The consequences for international order are clear: we cannot compromise with terrorists without endangering peace. No one can claim to be persecuted for political reasons—an allegation all too often made by the terrorist—if that person is free in a free political society. Wherever political change can be sought without risk through regular elections allowing free expression of every option, none can claim to be persecuted for political reasons. There are no political offenders in a real democracy: if it is a democracy they do not exist; if they exist it is not a democracy.

242. It is abnormal to impose by force a non-existent and brutal 'right' to kill and to seek protection outside one's borders, claiming that political freedom is needed when it already exists.

243. Spain, like so many other European countries, is suffering from terrorism and has a legitimate interest in fighting for its eradication. But it is not only a desire for selfish security that makes us consider that international action against terrorism is called for. Peace and international security are directly affected. We do not live alone and the instability of any one member can result in instability for others. We must consider, as we have proposed in the European region—both in the Council of Europe and in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe—concrete measures that will effectively express the solidarity of the democratic States against terrorism, racism and totalitarian ideologies.

244. In the spring of 1982 there will be a second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The decade of the 1980s has been declared, most appropriately at this time, the 'Second Disarmament Decade'. However, there is undoubtedly some feeling that too many words have been wasted on this subject. It is plain that the world is rearming and that the arms escalation is con-

tinuing. Fresh conflicts break out, fresh invasions and acts of aggression, which do not augur well for any reduction in the stockpiling and production of war material—far from it. Promises of disarmament are belied by statistics, and even public proposals for disarmament are merely a smokescreen for very different measures.

245. The Spanish Government is ready to help ensure that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will have real meaning and achieve results, opening the way to general and complete disarmament under effective international control, covering both nuclear and conventional weapons. It accordingly welcomes the American-Soviet talks announced today.

246. The definition of a new international economic order is based on an ethical requirement and a practical premise. A large-scale crisis cannot be avoided unless we help the disinherited of the earth and contribute to their full development. In this connection, the recently held United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy and the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries are joint endeavours designed to give new impetus to international solidarity.

247. I should like to mention the appeal made to the world and to the United Nations by 54 Nobel Prize winners, including a Spanish poet. That group of exceptional people called not only for compassion on the part of the rich world, but also for common sense in helping those on whom hunger and underdevelopment inflict real suffering, and who are the victims of international political and economic disorder. The United Nations cannot disregard this problem or postpone its solution to a future that many will not live to see unless proper measures are taken now. The Spanish Government undertakes to maintain a sustained effort to see to it that global negotiations, efforts to restructure the international economic order, and the North-South dialogue should go beyond both diatribe and rhetoric and overcome the dual obstacle of the desire for a miraculous utopia and the exaggerated realism of misconceived selfish interests.

248. We must say that a type of modernization consistent with the foreign policy of every industrial society organized as a pluralistic democracy requires the undertaking of international co-operation and the informing of national public opinion about the inevitability and collective benefit of international aid. The Spanish Government has given clear testimony of its position by radically increasing in 1981, within the limit of its resources, its co-operation with the least developed countries.

249. The Spanish Government is closely following, with some concern, the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea: closely, because the importance of that effort to codify and develop international law fully deserves such attention; with concern, because events that have occurred at the Conference this year may threaten its final success.

250. The Spanish Government has made great efforts at accommodation in the interests of a final consensus. I would not deny here that there are still a few articles of the draft convention as it stands now which we could not fully support, but we hope that a final negotiating effort will make it possible to achieve a text that will respect

State sovereignty and jurisdiction and that will realistically and effectively develop the universally accepted principle of the common heritage of mankind for the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

251. The Organization, which by reason of its universality of membership and functions accepts and deals with every conflict, has—as do its Members—a double duty: to fight for human freedom and to seek peace among peoples. It also has the obligation to propose solutions that are feasible today and to take action now.

252. We cannot afford to indulge in wishful thinking. I do believe, however, that a firm stand on questions of human rights, a reopening of the North-South dialogue and of disarmament negotiations, the success of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and a cleaning up of the many peripheral crises can all be achieved through political decisions that are within the realm of the possible.

253. We are at a dangerous stage. The United Nations, as the witness of our times, must bring all of us together so that it shall not be said of the coming year, in the words of that sombre verse of a contemporary Spanish poet, that “Wounded peace with its dead wings was again covering the world”.

254. Mr. ULLSTEN (Sweden): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. You bring to that office an uncommonly solid and variegated experience of work in and for the United Nations. I have every confidence that the Assembly will be most competently guided.

255. I wish also to join in the tributes paid by other speakers to the outstanding and tireless work of the President of the thirty-fifth session, Mr. von Wechmar.

256. Our thanks and appreciation go also to the Secretary-General for his tireless work in the service of the Organization and in the pursuit of solutions to many of the most intractable problems facing the international community.

257. Let me also welcome the most recent Member of the United Nations, Vanuatu. The admission of this new nation to the Organization brings us a step closer to the goal of complete decolonization and the United Nations ideal of universality.

258. Since the previous session of the General Assembly the international climate has deteriorated even further. Détente has, to an increasing extent, been replaced by distrust. Some features of the situation certainly remind us of the days of the cold war. Once again we see the foreign policy of the super-Powers being dominated by the fear that one adversary might gain, either directly or indirectly, an advantage over the other. Once again, they both seem inclined to view local conflicts and problems primarily in the light of the struggle for power between the two systems they represent. Once again they both seem to fear that the opponent is on the verge of acquiring military superiority. Both see the actions of the opposite side as threats to their own security. Neither sees its own actions as threats against the other side.

259. The struggle of the super-Powers to rectify the perceived imbalances in some areas, or to compensate for them by attempts to achieve superiority in others, leads to increased insecurity for all of us. By reason of their nuclear arsenals, the two super-Powers hold the fate of the entire world in their hands. Therefore, every State has the right to demand that the super-Powers maintain a stable pattern of contacts in order to avoid misunderstandings and over-reactions. We therefore welcome the fact that the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States are using the occasion of this session of the General Assembly to hold bilateral meetings.

260. However, we cannot rest content with the resumption of the necessary dialogue between the two super-Powers. We must call upon them to review and reconsider the course their global actions have taken, the most dangerous dimension of which is the nuclear arms race. The negotiations on theatre nuclear forces in Europe, which are now scheduled to begin later this year, should have been commenced long ago.

261. Four years have passed since the Soviet Union started deploying a new medium-range ballistic missile, the SS-20, and two years since NATO decided to install new medium-range nuclear missiles on West European soil. It is reported that more than 300 SS-20s have already been deployed and that at least two thirds of them may be targeted on Western Europe.

262. The recent decision of the United States to produce the neutron weapon constitutes a further dangerous escalation of the nuclear arms race between the super-Powers. It is therefore high time for the super-Powers to sit down at the negotiating table and agree on measures to restrain the arms race and reduce the risk of war. No category of weapons should be excluded from negotiations, but we urge the super-Powers in particular to resume in the near future their talks on limitations and reductions of strategic arms.

263. That demand is supported by a wave of popular protests in Western Europe against nuclear armaments. All slogans are not as unbiased as they may seem and some ideas put forward may be less realistic than others, but in general the protests against nuclear weapons must be seen as an expression of a genuine and legitimate concern about what people feel is the lunacy of the nuclear arms race and the incapacity of political leaders to do anything about it.

264. All human beings yearn for peace, no matter in what country they live. The fact that there is no freedom of expression in some countries should not diminish the importance of popular protests in countries where such freedom can be enjoyed. Nor should the fact that some devote more and more attention to planning for the eventuality of war prevent others from dedicating themselves to planning for peace. Every region and every country, no matter how small, has the right and the duty to interfere in international affairs for the sake of peace.

265. In the northern region of Europe the desire to uphold the vision of a more peaceful world has been reflected in the idea of establishing a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone. The active discussion on this idea can be seen as an expression of strong concern over the intensified nuclear arms race in Europe and as a demonstration

of the strong desire of the Nordic peoples to maintain the low level of tension in our part of the world.

266. My Government is in favour of exploring the possibilities of establishing a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone and the conditions under which such a zone could improve the already existing stable pattern of Nordic security. As the Nordic countries do not have nuclear weapons, such an improvement would, in the view of my Government, have to include concessions from the Soviet Union and the United States as regards nuclear weapons relevant to the Nordic region.

267. So far the United States has not been willing to consider a Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone.

268. The Soviet Union has suggested that it subscribes to the idea. It has also hinted that it could consider concessions relating to its own territory. However, what has been said so far has been more than vague. If we are to have a meaningful debate, further clarifications from the Soviet Union are necessary as to what concessions it has in mind.

269. World peace is not something to be discussed exclusively in closed sessions between the major Powers. All States should be given the possibility of making their voices heard on matters which relate to their security and to world peace. This is the idea behind the proposal to convene a conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe with the participation of the Soviet Union and the United States.

270. Many States—not least, neutral and non-aligned countries in Europe—are working hard towards this goal at the current follow-up meeting in Madrid of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

271. A conference on confidence-building and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, held in successive stages, could result in the adoption of new confidence-building and security-building measures as well as progress towards limitation of nuclear and conventional weapons. Concrete, practical results of a first stage of the conference would certainly be conducive to a situation where meaningful negotiations on disarmament proper in Europe could be initiated. The conference could thus also promote progress towards a military balance between the two alliances at substantially lower armament levels.

272. The super-Powers may have differing views on many of these and other issues discussed at the Madrid meeting, but they must not forget that the preservation of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is in their common interest. They must therefore mobilize the political will for the adjustments and compromises necessary for reaching a substantial and balanced result in Madrid covering all fields of the Final Act of Helsinki.

273. It is important that we develop the contents of the Final Act of Helsinki with new initiatives. It is just as important that we uphold respect for the principles already enshrined in that very Act. The Helsinki Act reaffirms the right of every State to territorial integrity, freedom and independence. Any interference in the internal affairs of another State, as well as any use or threat of

force, is a breach of the principles that direct co-operation between the States of Europe.

274. These solemnly worded principles also apply to Poland. During the last year we have witnessed a promising development towards the implementation of certain fundamental democratic rights in Poland. However, at the same time and with increasing concern, we have noted the open and brutal demands of the Soviet Union that the trends in Poland be turned back. We see no reason why an internal political process in Poland should cause its great-Power neighbour to make menacing statements. On the contrary, we see strong reasons why the Poles should be allowed to determine their own future without any foreign interference.

275. The Charter of the United Nations bestows no mandate on the great Powers to impose their will on smaller nations. On the contrary, the Charter confers greater responsibilities on the great Powers as guardians of international peace.

276. Regional conflicts throughout the world can easily escalate to a confrontation between the super-Powers and become a threat to world peace.

277. In southern Africa, the Pretoria régime, emboldened by the regional strategic concepts recently put forward by the United States, has escalated its attacks against its neighbours, Angola in particular, in flagrant violation of international law.

278. The internal developments in South Africa are also ominous. The vague talk of reforming the *apartheid* system has served only, as I see it, as an attempt to mislead the critics of *apartheid*. In reality, the system has remained as rigid as ever. The human degradation in which the majority of the country's population still has to live is surpassed only by the human, and indeed moral, degradation of the régime itself. But despite the efforts of the régime to silence trade unions, writers, students, churches and other civic groups, opposition is obviously stiffening. Events now taking place in the country could eventually lead to a violent show-down.

279. Every nation devoted to democratic ideals and human rights should strive for the abolition of the *apartheid* system. No democracy should support a system which violates the very idea of democracy itself. It is now high time that massive world opinion be reflected in firm demands that South Africa finally co-operate in implementing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). None of the five Western Powers with special responsibility for implementing this plan must through its own actions give Pretoria the impression that the demands that the South African régime end its illegal occupation of Namibia are not seriously meant.

280. In this process the Security Council must, as Sweden has repeatedly stated, be prepared to impose sanctions against South Africa. This may be the only language South Africa understands.

281. South-West Asia is another area where tension is reaching a dangerous level. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the war between Iran and Iraq, the terror and bloodshed in Iran, the conflict between Israel and the

Arabs, the increased American and Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean, the arms flow to that region, the social and political unrest, the economic and strategic importance of the Middle East and Gulf region—all these factors combine to make this part of the world a powder keg. What is needed in that region is not more violence, not more terror, not more bombing, not more violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, but more efforts for peace.

282. The Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan continues, however, in open contempt both of massive world opinion and of the Charter. The only results the Soviet troops have achieved are increased international tension and instability. Popular resistance to the invaders is as vigorous as ever and shows that a lasting solution of the Afghanistan problem can be found only when foreign interference has ceased.

283. In the Middle East two adversaries, Israel and the PLO, stand face to face. We urge them to recognize each other and start negotiating for peace. This is to say that the PLO must recognize Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. This is also to say that Israel must recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, including their right to establish, should they so wish, a State of their own, living in peace side by side with Israel. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), supplemented by an endorsement of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, remain the basis for a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem.

284. When Israel recently attacked Lebanon, causing many casualties among Palestinians as well as Lebanese, the United States took prompt and decisive diplomatic action and was able to contribute to a cease-fire. However precarious that cease-fire may be, it represents a welcome attempt to set in motion the difficult process of peace with the involvement of all the parties concerned.

285. We also welcome the fact that further steps have been taken in preparation for the final withdrawal in April 1982 of Israeli forces from the occupied areas of Sinai. A dismantling of the Israeli settlements on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip would be a constructive next step. Human rights in the occupied territories must be observed in a way that is compatible with Israel's tradition of democracy and the rule of law.

286. In the Middle East the price of inaction might be very high. The mere lack of initiatives for peace constitutes in itself a danger. If no progress is seen towards solving the crucial Palestinian question, bitterness and hostility will deepen and tension rise. In few other regions of the world is it therefore as important to maintain the momentum for peace through initiatives to implement the resolutions of the Security Council.

287. The war between Iran and Iraq has now lasted a whole year. Tens of thousands of people have been killed, and destruction is widespread. The economic development of both Iran and Iraq is being hindered by the continuation of the conflict. The efforts of the United Nations in sending the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Olof Palme, to help lead the parties onto a course of peaceful settlement have the whole-hearted support of the Swedish Government. The parties should explore every possibility for a negotiated settlement, based

on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, via an impartial third party.

288. In Indo-China, shattered by decades of war, peace is being sacrificed to the attempts of some States to gain regional power and to the strategic ambitions of the great Powers. The Swedish Government has given its support to United Nations efforts to find a political solution to the Kampuchean problem. We regret that Viet Nam did not choose to take part in the International Conference on Kampuchea, since a dialogue between the parties to the conflict could create a favourable political climate necessary for a solution. Every avenue should be explored for the bringing about of such a dialogue with the participation of all the parties concerned.

289. Both the Heng Samrin régime installed by Viet Nam and the earlier Pol Pot régime claim the right to rule over the people of Kampuchea. Sweden regards neither of these régimes as the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. An acceptable settlement of the conflict must include the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the restoration to the Kampuchean people of its right to self-determination. In our view, it is open to question whether the continued recognition of the Pol Pot régime by the United Nations is not an obstacle to a solution of the Kampuchean problem within the framework of the United Nations.

290. Few people have fought so hard and so long for self-determination as have the Vietnamese. It is a tragic irony that Viet Nam now seems unable to recognize that same fundamental right when it comes to the sorely afflicted people of Kampuchea.

291. Another nation urgently in need of peace is El Salvador. More than 20,000 people have been killed in the civil war raging in that unfortunate country. The opposition in El Salvador has declared that it is willing to negotiate in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Sweden has long advocated the idea of a negotiated settlement, and we note with satisfaction that this idea is gaining in international support. A negotiated settlement which establishes a cease-fire and a coalition Government in control of the army and the guerrilla forces would make peace and democracy possible.

Mr. Martynenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

292. The struggle in El Salvador is a struggle between a prevailing oligarchy and the demands of the people for greater justice. In the final analysis it is in this conflict that the democracies of the world have to choose sides.

293. El Salvador is not only a country with a high level of political violence. It is also one of the many poor nations of the world. Just as violent upheavals in many countries have their origins in deep economic and social injustices, so the widening gap between the rich and the poor countries may ultimately lead to international conflicts.

294. One fifth of mankind is living on the margin of existence, in hunger, unemployment and illness and without adequate shelter. This is intolerable from the point of view of human solidarity and, in the long run, incompatible with world peace and stability.

295. The crying needs exist, not only because resources are limited or not fully used, but also because the resources available are expended in an unwise and unjust way. The sums that the world spends for military purposes exceed the total income of that half of mankind which lives in low-income countries. The per capita consumption of energy in the industrialized countries, one of the most vital world resources, is 120 times as high as in the least developed countries.

296. In a month's time a summit meeting on North-South questions will be held in Mexico. It is not intended to take the place of global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations, but Sweden hopes that the meeting will give the necessary political impetus to break the present deadlock and set the North-South dialogue in motion. We trust that it will identify so many areas of common interest that a global round of negotiations will be unanimously agreed upon and launched at this session of the General Assembly.

297. There are a few areas where mutual interests dictate joint discussions.

298. The first concerns food security. No question can be more vital than how to work out policies and measures that ensure sufficient food for all mankind. Such discussions must deal with short-term disaster measures as well as longer-term policies to stimulate food production on a sustainable basis.

299. Secondly, action concerning commodities, trade and industrialization is necessary. Growth in international trade is of mutual interest to developing and industrialized countries. Resistance to protectionism is therefore a necessity.

300. Thirdly, we know that a serious international disequilibrium exists, with pressing balance-of-payments problems for many countries. Concerted efforts are therefore needed which aim at curbing inflation and unemployment and at increasing the transfer of resources. The establishment of an energy affiliate attached to the World Bank would be an important and constructive measure.

301. Fourthly, and finally, the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy has recently stressed the necessity of expediting the transition from oil to alternative sources of energy. It also pointed to the risks of a too intensive exploitation of firewood and charcoal in developing countries. Continued stimulation of conservation and efficient use of all forms of energy are needed. Stable and predictable market developments are in the interest of all countries.

302. The idea of having a global round of negotiations is based on the knowledge that all countries, whether rich or poor, would benefit from international economic co-operation.

303. The demand is there. The developing countries have an enormous need for imported goods for the development of their resources and infrastructures. The human resources are there. Millions of people are unemployed in the member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. The capital is also there. Oil production has created a vast surplus of capital in search of a productive use.

304. What is lacking is the imagination and the political will to utilize the potentials available and to turn the problems into possibilities. This will can be mobilized only if we increase the awareness among political leaders and among the public that development co-operation is a matter of survival, not of charity, and that the North in the wider perspective is just as dependent on the South as the South is on the North. Solidarity between the two will mean better chances of survival for both.

305. In the present tense world climate it is more important than ever that we vigorously defend the principles of self-determination, territorial integrity, the non-use of force or the threat of force and respect for human rights. These principles are equally applicable to conditions in East and West, North and South. The rights of peoples or individuals must be protected whether they live in Afghanistan, El Salvador, Kampuchea, Namibia, Poland or any other country. We cannot accept the suppression of fundamental human rights or the erosion of the principle of self-determination in the name of any ideology or for the protection of any strategic interests.

306. In the nuclear age the risks involved in any great-Power conflict are immeasurable. That is why we must not let tension grow to a point where the process of escalation can no longer be controlled. That is why we demand a halt to the arms race between the super-Powers. That is why we urge the super-Powers to start spending for development instead of spending for destruction. That is why we urge the super-Powers to reconsider the course their actions have taken in Asia, the Middle East, southern Africa and Latin America. In many of these areas the present policies of the super-Powers combine to heighten the risks of war. In all those areas the principles of the Charter of the United Nations provide the guide-lines for peace.

307. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): On behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I wish to congratulate the Assembly on having Mr. Kittani as President of this session. His experience and profound knowledge of the United Nations system will give us invaluable guidance in our work.

308. The Government of the Netherlands wishes to extend a warm welcome to the new Member of the Organization, the Republic of Vanuatu. We are also looking forward to the forthcoming admission of Belize to membership. On behalf of the Kingdom, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands Antilles was present at the independence ceremonies.

309. The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is taking place in a political and economic context which challenges the purposes and principles the Organization has embodied over the past decades. There is cause for concern about the direction in which mankind seems to be moving. This session must summon the efforts of the whole international community to head off the dangers with which humanity is confronted.

310. After almost two years, the 1980s present themselves as a critical and dangerous decade for the survival of mankind. The global problems of the nuclear arms race, the deterioration of the environment, the ever-growing mass poverty and the lack of progress in the restructuring of the world economy, the alarming levels of un-

employment everywhere, the continued violations of human rights, the disrespect for the rule of law in international relations pose the question: in what direction is our world heading?

311. The international political climate has further deteriorated. The situations in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Kampuchea, Central America and southern Africa, in particular, show no sign of easing. Notwithstanding various serious efforts, little real momentum towards solutions has been generated.

312. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/36/1], the Secretary-General points to a disturbing weakening of the international co-operative effort and an erosion of the system of multilateral co-operation, as well as the dangers of unilateral action which inevitably evoke retaliatory measures. Centrifugal forces are at work within the international system. An increasing number of international consultations on various issues fails to produce concrete results. In some cases international negotiations, which could more fruitfully have been pursued within a recognized multilateral framework, take place outside this Organization, thus frustrating adequate representation of all parties.

313. The Government of the Netherlands wishes to reaffirm its feelings of responsibility as a Member of the Organization and its dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter. The system of international co-operation laid down in the Charter provides a framework for peaceful change, a framework for which there is no alternative. In our times, effective use of this instrument is essential.

314. The United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Secretary, Lord Carrington, has on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community [8th meeting] clearly set out the principles guiding their activities in the world today and their position on a number of issues. I want to add the following on behalf of the Government of the Netherlands.

315. Three issues are, in the eyes of the Netherlands Government, of critical importance. I am thinking of arms control and nuclear arms limitation, the combating of poverty in the developing world and the restructuring of the economic system, and the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights.

316. The single most dangerous threat to the survival of mankind is that of nuclear annihilation. Therefore, the quest for nuclear arms control should be vigorously pursued, regardless of the international climate. In a period of mounting tension, the rationale for arms control and disarmament should be even more apparent to all. By their very nature, the nuclear Powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, have a special responsibility. Within and outside the framework of NATO, the Netherlands Government aims at arms control, and in particular the reduction of the role of nuclear arms. It attaches the utmost importance to the forthcoming negotiations between the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union with a view to a mutual and substantial reduction of the level of armaments, in particular through the reduction and, if possible, elimination of certain types of long-range theatre nuclear weapons.

317. The Netherlands Government considers these negotiations, which will be pursued within the framework of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT], to be vitally important. This pertains also to the rest of the SALT process. Failure to achieve results in that process would lead to an unrestrained nuclear arms race. Such unrestrained vertical proliferation could increase the danger of a widening proliferation in a horizontal sense.

318. A viable non-proliferation régime is essential for the security and survival of us all. The threat of a steadily growing number of potential nuclear Powers calls for the speedy achievement of a consensus in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Therefore, the Netherlands Government will continue to work actively for an international plutonium storage system and for the improvement and strengthening of the safeguards régime of IAEA.

319. The Netherlands supports the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones where they are conducive to increased stability in the regions concerned. We voted for the resolutions on the establishment of such zones in the Middle East and South Asia last year [*resolutions 35/147 and 35/148, respectively*], and we shall do so again. We also recognize the need for a comprehensive test ban treaty and for security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States, a subject on which we have recently made a contribution in Geneva.

320. Finally, do not let us forget that there are non-nuclear armaments which are threatening as well, and which call for measures of control. Among these are chemical weapons, the use of which was outlawed long ago, but which should be made to disappear altogether as soon as possible. The preparation of a treaty on chemical weapons is, to my mind, one of the major tasks of the Committee on Disarmament.

321. The record of the United Nations in the vital field of disarmament over the past 35 years has been limited, but the international community and its constituent parts must persevere in their efforts. My Government pledges its active participation.

322. A comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict remains of critical importance to world peace. In its meeting at Venice last year, the European Council of the European Communities made clear the two principles on which such a settlement should be based¹³ and its preparedness to play a role in reaching such a settlement. Lord Carrington, on behalf of the European Community, has already set out our position in regard to this conflict. I should like to stress the urgency of reaching a negotiated and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East that is just and lasting, and that provides security for all States in the area. There can be no just and lasting peace without a solution to the Palestinian problem.

323. The continued and arduous search for a settlement in the Middle East suffered another setback as renewed and violent hostilities flared up once again in Lebanon, increasing even more the sufferings of the unhappy people in that country. The subsequent cease-fire arrangement, on the other hand, constituted a step forward and proved that moderation and the conciliation of all parties concerned were possible; a full-scale confrontation was avoided in the end.

324. We continue to believe that the territorial integrity of Lebanon constitutes a prerequisite for stability in the area. The peace-keeping activities of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon, which are of paramount importance for that country's integrity, and in which the Netherlands has been participating as a troop-contributing country over the last three years, continue to be hampered. I wish to reiterate our call on all parties concerned to enable UNIFIL to fulfil in safety its difficult and important mandate. We shall welcome and support any initiative in this regard. In view of the extremely difficult circumstances in which UNIFIL operates, I wish to express the high esteem of the Netherlands Government for the contingents of the United Nations and to express our deep sympathy to the Governments and peoples of Fiji, Ireland and Nigeria on the losses their contingents have suffered this year in the service of peace.

325. The continued Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and the lack of implementation of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly on the situation in that country give the Netherlands Government cause for concern. The violation of the rule of law with regard to the self-determination and sovereignty of a people cannot be condoned. We hope that the parties involved will accept the proposals made by the European Council to bring an end to foreign military intervention and to restore the independence and non-aligned status of that stricken country. It is, in the view of the Netherlands Government, the responsibility of the international community to work for a speedy and peaceful solution and for the alleviation of the suffering of the Afghan people within and outside the borders of their country.

326. The principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and of refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of any State are at the very basis of our existence as a civilized international community. These principles are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and they are valid all over the world. They are at least as relevant to the situation in Poland as they are to Afghanistan. They have been solemnly reconfirmed in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

327. Persistent violations of the rule of law also continue to be tragic features of the situation in southern Africa. Successive Governments of the Netherlands have fundamentally rejected the policy of *apartheid*. The refusal of the Government of South Africa to abide by United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* and Namibia makes further pressure, including economic measures, inevitable. My country has a positive attitude towards the use of economic instruments, taking into consideration the opinion of the international community. With due regard to its international obligations, the Netherlands Government is urgently looking for the most effective way to participate in the existing voluntary oil embargo against South Africa and to institute regulations concerning investment in South Africa and the limitation of certain imports from that country.

328. The Netherlands Government fully implements the arms embargo and discourages contacts with the South African authorities in the fields of culture, science and sport.

329. We will continue to render financial support, in particular, to the front-line States and we will work for an increase in international assistance to those States. Humanitarian assistance will be given to movements that oppose *apartheid* policies. Victims of *apartheid* policies, including political refugees, can count on our support.

330. A peaceful solution of the question of Namibia on the basis of self-determination remains an essential condition of peace in southern Africa. The continuous efforts by the Secretary-General, the group of five Western States and the front-line States in implementing the settlement proposal for Namibia approved by the Security Council by resolution 435 (1978) regrettably have not led to a solution. So far, South Africa's position, as demonstrated during the pre-implementation meeting of last January, has not permitted the achievement of this objective.

331. In recent weeks the situation in southern Africa has been further aggravated by the operations of the South African army inside the territory of Angola. The Netherlands Government condemns the military actions of the Government of South Africa, which violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

332. Change in southern Africa has long been on the agenda of the Assembly. The margins for peaceful change have steadily narrowed, while the forces of violent change are dangerously increasing. We shall have to do our utmost to make sure that the necessary changes come about while they can still be realized in a peaceful manner.

333. The Kingdom of the Netherlands follows closely the political, economic and social developments in Central America and the Caribbean.

334. Last December the General Assembly expressed its dismay about the climate of repression and violence prevailing in El Salvador and appealed for a cessation of violence and for the establishment of full respect for human rights in El Salvador [*resolution 35/192*]. This appeal has not been heeded. Human rights violations continue as before and are a matter of deep concern to the Government and people of the Netherlands. The people of El Salvador are entitled to determine their own future, free from outside interference, in a process of genuinely free elections. But as long as terrorism by paramilitary forces and other forms of violence continue, no free expression of the will of the people is possible.

335. It is our sincere hope that a comprehensive political settlement process will be initiated in which the representative political forces will participate. Such a settlement should lead to a new internal order creating the conditions for free elections, leading to the establishment of genuine democracy.

336. We give our support to the recent resolution of the European Parliament, directly elected by the peoples of the European Community, calling for a settlement between the Government on the one hand and the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front on the other. The Netherlands Government feels that no effort should be spared to facilitate the rapprochement of the parties involved, with a view to ending the plight of the people of El Salvador.

337. A tragic example of the apparent powerlessness of the international community is the conflict in and around Kampuchea. The continuing human drama, with its disregard for both the sovereignty and integrity of a nation and the elementary human rights and freedom of the individual, is threatening peace and stability in the area. We regret the failure to implement last year's General Assembly resolution [*resolution 35/6*] and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea¹⁴ held last July. My Government feels that this Assembly should consider ways and means of ensuring their implementation. We continue to support the efforts of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] in this respect.

338. The United Nations has a central role to play in achieving the withdrawal of all foreign forces and a political solution aimed at allowing the Kampuchean people freely to decide upon their own future without outside interference. We admire the efforts of international and non-governmental organizations to alleviate the burden of the Kampuchean people.

339. I call upon all parties concerned fully to utilize the framework of the United Nations in seeking a lasting solution that would end this tragic conflict.

340. The promotion and encouragement of respect for and faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women are at the heart of the objectives of the Organization. As an organization of States, it has in essence been designed by its founding fathers as an organization of the peoples and for the peoples of the world. The same idea of solidarity with human beings everywhere constitutes a cornerstone of the foreign policy of the Netherlands. We are fully committed to the recognition of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the oppressed and the destitute in all parts of the world.

341. The promotion and protection of human rights is not the concern of Governments alone. Involvement of the people themselves has vital significance for the struggle for human rights. Many individuals play an invaluable role in this struggle, acting either on their own or in the framework of non-governmental organizations. In many cases such organizations have taken the lead in standing up for the victims of discrimination and repression. In my view, human rights activists and human rights non-governmental organizations are vanguards of human solidarity.

342. I want to pay a tribute here to those human rights activists in many countries who are being penalized and persecuted because of their exercise of rights that have been recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: freedom of expression and freedom of peaceful assembly and association, including the right to form trade unions. Such activists have fallen victim to publication bans, to dismissal from their jobs, to internal banishment and to loss of liberty, sometimes through political trials and sometimes without any trial, for instance, by confinement to psychiatric institutions. In several cases such activists have paid with their lives for their efforts in promoting respect for human rights.

343. Within the United Nations, the work to ensure the observance of basic standards of human dignity must be

carried on with vigour. In many places in the world such standards are still being trampled upon notwithstanding their explicit formulation in United Nations declarations and conventions. Several countries are afflicted with a rising tide of intolerance and group hatred, leading to the torture and physical liquidation of citizens who do not share the views of the ruling régime.

344. After the unanimous adoption in 1975 of the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment [*General Assembly resolution 3452(XXX), annex*], it is an affront to international solidarity that torture is still being practised today and that it is still being excused with references to exceptional circumstances, which are specifically excluded as grounds for justification in the Declaration.

345. In recent years the authorities of certain countries have turned to new methods of terror designed to help them evade their own responsibility. I am referring to the method of having political opponents simply assassinated by anonymous executioners and the method of having people abducted, equally anonymously, to secret places of detention. As to the second method, I hope that the excellent work of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances set up by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights will contribute to the stopping of that detestable practice.

346. From my own experience in the Commission I am convinced that that body still has many important contributions to make to the achievement of a more just and a more humane world. I note with satisfaction that next year the Commission will be able to give serious attention to the rights of indigenous peoples, whose position is increasingly being imperilled by the expanding needs of modern society.

347. During this session of the Assembly there will be an opportunity to discuss the draft optional protocol on the abolishment of capital punishment, submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany.¹⁵ My Government hopes that many delegations will be in a position to support that initiative.

348. We welcome the submission by the Economic and Social Council to the Assembly of a complete text of the draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion and Belief. Almost two decades have passed since the Assembly first asked for the elaboration of such a document. I urge the Assembly to adopt and proclaim that Declaration at the present session.¹⁶ The subject-matter of the Declaration is no less relevant today than it was 20 years ago. On the contrary, it may be even more relevant nowadays. It is my deep conviction that the Organization should combat religious intolerance and discrimination as vigorously as it has combated racial intolerance and discrimination.

349. The Netherlands Government attaches fundamental importance to the continued struggle against all forms of discrimination, and strongly supports the endeavours of the United Nations in this field. In particular we regard the recent entry into force of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [*General Assembly resolution 34/180, annex*] as a milestone in this struggle. It is widely felt in my country

that Governments have the responsibility to devise policies aimed at the prevention and elimination of discriminatory practices in society.

350. Political oppression, social discrimination and economic misery and exploitation are equally incompatible with intrinsic human dignity. The struggle for human rights therefore requires an integrated approach extending to social and economic as well as to civil and political relationships. In this context the discussions on the emerging concept of the right to development are of great importance. The Netherlands delegation is determined to participate in a constructive way in the further elaboration of this concept.

351. The progressive development of international law and its codification have always been among the important tasks of the General Assembly. Over the past years the foundation has been laid for the drafting of a comprehensive convention on the law of the sea, based on the concept of a common heritage of mankind as adopted by the Assembly at its twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*]. The tenth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has indicated that the overwhelming majority of the world community of nations feels that a generally acceptable régime of the seas is now within reach.

352. Such a convention, scheduled to be signed next year in Caracas, will constitute a monumental achievement. The centuries-old idea of the seas being open to all has been moulded to the modern-world reality of widely divergent capacities of States to benefit from this openness of the oceans and to the need to protect the oceans and their resources against indiscriminate use. Effective international co-operation with full regard for the special interests of developing countries is the key for the new régime of the seas as a shared resource of all countries. Next year the international community will basically have no alternative, for the law of the sea no longer has a "no-treaty" option.

353. In 1983 we shall commemorate the birth of my learned compatriot, Hugo Grotius, four centuries ago. He was one of the earliest advocates of the idea that the seas are the common heritage of mankind. I hope that the Convention on the Law of the Sea will be a reality when that commemoration takes place.

354. The staggering problems of mass poverty, hunger and unemployment facing the developing countries continue to command top priority on the international agenda. Over the past years, conditions have often deteriorated, particularly for the poorest countries. Recent conferences, such as the United Nations conferences on the least developed countries and on new and renewable sources of energy, have drawn the attention of the international community to specific problem areas and have indicated ways to approach the issues. Nevertheless, we, like others, are distressed by the over-all lack of concrete progress towards solutions for the problems facing the developing world.

355. We are concerned to see that it has not yet been possible to reach an agreement on the new round of global negotiations, notwithstanding the general recognition of the need for those negotiations and notwithstanding the admirable and tireless efforts of the distinguished

predecessor of Mr. Kittani, Mr. von Wechmar, who deserves our special gratitude. We hope that we shall soon be in a position to build on the foundation he has laid for us, and we are happy that Mr. Kittani has undertaken to continue the work in this field.

356. There seems to be a need for a bold, imaginative move to break through the present stalemate that by and large characterizes the North-South negotiations. Concerted international action is required. In that context we appreciate the proposal to convene the summit meeting at Cancún focused on the North-South relationship, as presented in the Brandt Commission's report.¹⁷ Such an unprecedented meeting can, and we hope will, provide the necessary impetus to unblock the North-South negotiating process and, through a common understanding on broad orientations, facilitate the substantial action that is so urgently needed.

357. It is evident that the areas of food, finance and energy, in particular, need immediate action.

358. As to the food issue, the overwhelming dimensions of present and foreseeable problems provide every reason to call for stepped-up efforts with regard to food production, food security and food aid. It is almost shameful to find ourselves squabbling over procedures and percentage shares when the urgency of the problem does not allow for further delay.

359. None of us will disagree that there is a necessity to address, in an alert and effective manner, the energy issues that confront us all. The interrelated problems of energy consumption, energy production and energy trade will figure dominantly in this and coming years. With so much to be gained all round by improving consumption patterns and increasing and diversifying supplies, it should be possible for us to step up efforts and agree on joint action.

360. An effective approach to energy problems will imply the mobilization of additional finances. In this connection I wish to reaffirm our interest in the establishment of an energy affiliate within the framework of the World Bank.

361. In the area of finance, I hardly need to restate the problem. We are all aware of the greatly increased need for financial transfers to meet acute balance-of-payments problems as well as longer-term development needs.

362. As an expression of the continued priority given to development co-operation, and in spite of important budgetary cuts in a number of fields, the Netherlands Government has committed itself to keeping its official aid at least at the same level. At present, approximately 1 per cent of our gross national product is spent on official development assistance.

363. We have noted recent statements stressing the importance of private flows. While we agree that private flows are crucial for many developing countries, I should like to emphasize that private flows do not and cannot lessen the need for increased public transfers, without which large areas and sectors will remain bypassed or neglected.

364. Our commitment to the needs of the developing countries must not falter. The question remains how best to approach the various North-South issues, to some of which I have just referred.

365. It is of the highest importance that the functional approach pursued in the appropriate specialized forums should be adhered to in a manner which offers the best chance for concrete and tangible results.

366. Given the world-wide and interrelated nature of the problems at stake, there is also a need for a process of negotiations that allows for an overview which provides for over-all objectives and ensures general guidance and progress within a specific timespan. The Netherlands is prepared to play an active role in such a process.

367. I have touched upon a number of vital problems with which the international community is faced. At the beginning of my statement I spoke of a dangerous decade. If we are to solve the numerous and formidable problems facing us, we must use the Organization fully and effectively. We must use it to attain the purposes and principles for which it was created, and enable it to fulfil its mission as an instrument for peaceful change. Then the United Nations will be able to take up the challenge of the 1980s to improve the co-operative and decision-making capacity of the international community, and to meet the needs of future generations.

368. Mr. ROLANDIS (Cyprus): This is the time of the year when New York is characterized by a festive atmosphere, caused by the numerous receptions, dinners and other gatherings which mark the commencement of the work of a new session of the General Assembly—thirty-third session, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth and so on. The higher figure each year indicates that we are getting further and further away from the calamities and tribulations of the Second World War. Unfortunately, it also indicates and reminds us that we are getting further away from the possibility of arresting and containing an undesirable vicious circle of events, which may take us back to where we started: the world war.

369. Sometimes one wonders what the reason is for the revelry and the festivities in New York each September. Do we celebrate in order to divert our attention from the fact that we have failed to make the Organization effective and consequently worthwhile? Do we celebrate because we no longer care about the fate of this mammoth entity which has been reduced to a cul-de-sac in which problems enter but never emerge because they are never resolved and settled?

370. In extending my warmest congratulations to Mr. Kittani and in expressing my deep satisfaction at his election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, I should like to refer to the wise and correct assessment in his opening statement:

"The General Assembly is not in need of new resolutions but rather a commitment to the resolutions it has already adopted and to the implementation of those resolutions by translating them into concrete actuality, thereby contributing to the principles and purposes of the United Nations". [1st meeting, para. 60.]

This session should rightly, therefore, be devoted to work, to implementation and follow-up, rather than to repetitious and lengthy statements and resolutions.

371. The remark I have cited, the substance of which is reflected in many reports of the Secretary-General as well, constitutes the quintessence of the very existence of the United Nations. Member States, and especially those which are small, weak and undefended, should have the opportunity to inscribe on the agenda not only their problems but also their hopes, their visions and their ambitions. As things are at the moment, they only inscribe their frustration and their scepticism about the future of the world.

372. On this score, a proposal made by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, for the holding of a special session of the General Assembly on the vital issue of the implementation of United Nations resolutions may be recalled and repeated.

373. As I stand at the rostrum of the General Assembly, I ask myself: are we really united in the causes we are supposed to cherish, promote and protect? Are we really united as far as social and economic justice, human rights, political independence and the principles of international behaviour are concerned? Are we united in our efforts to buttress plans for the upgrading and moral evolution of man? Or are we simply united in witnessing the predicament and misery of the human being, unable to halt the nosedive which man has taken in his national and international affairs and activities?

374. We are nearing the end of this year, with many of the world problems no nearer to a solution. New and ominous events have taken place and relations between East and West are ever strained, thus creating a bleak world outlook. The problems of the Middle East, Namibia, that of my own country and many others remain unresolved, despite the efforts of the international community through the Organization, and new acts of aggression and violations of the Charter of the United Nations have occurred in the past year. We are further confronted by the inability to make progress on the global disarmament and economic issues, while poverty and famine continue to ravage a large part of the world population.

375. Beset by an atmosphere of poisoned East-West relations, the international community becomes all the more obligated to find ways for tangible progress towards solving the global issues and such regional conflicts, the persistence of which directly affects the maintenance of international peace and security.

376. The point is pertinently reflected in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, where it is stated:

"The setbacks to East-West relations and a number of unresolved regional conflicts are a dangerous combination. The main thrust of the efforts of the United Nations has therefore been devoted to attempts to resolve or to contain such conflicts." [A/36/1, sect. IV.]

377. In maintaining world peace and security, peace-keeping operations play a significant, indeed vital, role. Essential to peace-keeping is peace-making. Otherwise,

peace-keeping would become an end in itself and would perpetuate an unjust *status quo*. It would soothe the pain without curing the trauma. Necessary for effective peace-keeping and peace-making efforts is the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, if a situation is to be brought to a just and lasting settlement. In connection with the aforementioned, I wish to express once again the appreciation and gratitude of my Government to UNFICYP, as well as to the countries contributing to the peace-keeping operation, and repeat once again that we sincerely hope that these valuable and praiseworthy services will be necessary for the shortest possible period of time.

378. Posing a major threat to international peace and stability is the escalation of the arms race. The increased tension in East-West relations and the doctrines of balance of power and deterrence have triggered an unprecedented competition, the world over, for the acquisition of armaments. Our goal for achieving disarmament, and in particular nuclear disarmament, as set out in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, contained in resolution S-10/2, appears to be very far from realization. We cannot afford any more setbacks, and strenuous efforts should continue to ensure the cessation of the arms race, nuclear disarmament, a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and strict adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), annex].

379. Today, more than \$100 per annum for each and every living person are spent world-wide on armaments. That amount is equal to 50 per cent of the per capita income in many countries of the world. It is indeed paradoxical to have to spend 50 per cent of the amount needed to preserve life for life's destruction and extermination.

380. This year the United Nations and every non-aligned country are observing the twentieth anniversary of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade. We retain with gratitude fond memories of the founding fathers of the movement and their broad and all-embracing vision that has literally transformed the world scene and given a new dimension to international relations. Great names—such as Tito, Nehru, Nasser, our own Makarios and so many others—are identified with the noble ideals and principles of non-alignment, ideals and principles that account for the unprecedented growth of the movement, which now encompasses the great majority of the membership of the United Nations and plays a positive and constructive role in the quest for solutions to many of the problems of the world.

381. One of the major initiatives of the non-aligned movement has been in connection with the efforts for the transformation of the present unbalanced and unjust world economic system through the establishment of a new international economic order. In the absence of such an order, many millions will remain in abject poverty and the gap between the North and the South, between the "haves" and "have-nots", will become wider. The continuation of such an unacceptable situation constitutes yet another threat to world peace, stability and security. Despite the urgency involved, the launching of the global round of negotiations and the implementation of the new International Development Strategy have, regrettably, not materialized. None the less, we wish to commend the

constructive and persistent efforts of your predecessor, Mr. President, and express our earnest hope that, given the necessary political will on the part of all countries concerned and especially the developed ones, the task will be completed under your guidance. In this respect, we trust that the Cancún meeting will take decisive steps towards the launching of those negotiations.

382. Closely linked with the new international economic order is the establishment of the new world information and communication order, which in fact constitutes an integral part of the development strategy. The increasing awareness of the influence which news media can exert on the life and progress of peoples, coupled with existing and growing disparities among nations in this area, has led to demands, mainly by the non-aligned countries, for the establishment of the new information order which would provide and safeguard a free and balanced flow of information based, among other things, on diversity of sources and free access to information.

383. The Programme of Action adopted by consensus at Nairobi at the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy,¹⁸ though not living up to the developing countries' expectations, is an important first step that, given the necessary follow-up and faithful implementation, could lead to the beginning of the solution of one of the most acute problems facing the world today. Further broadening of co-operation and more effective utilization of existing sources, as well as the transfer of technology, are necessary prerequisites for the completion of the task, provided that adequate financing is also secured.

384. The recently concluded United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries has identified the need for concerted efforts and international co-operation in order to provide the urgently needed assistance to those countries, which would help alleviate their plight. Here, again, a lot more needs to be done.

385. The resumed tenth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva this year under the leadership of Mr. Koh, has somewhat mitigated the disappointment at not having a convention on the law of the sea in 1981 and, it is hoped, brings us closer to a convention in 1982. The Conference was thus able to achieve positive results on the outstanding issue of maritime boundary delimitation. It is earnestly hoped that the remaining issues will be satisfactorily resolved at the next session of the Conference.

386. The intensive and arduous efforts of the past 15 years should not be frustrated by the reopening of substantive and difficult issues which have already been negotiated and agreed to by all delegations to the Conference. Otherwise, we would be depriving mankind of one of its vital common heritages and jeopardizing efforts for a regulated and just régime for the seas.

387. The lack of any progress of substance at the Madrid follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is causing considerable apprehension. The Conference will reconvene next month, and Cyprus, together with all other participating countries—and particularly the neutral and non-aligned—will exert every effort to achieve a breakthrough and thus safeguard and promote an important process for détente,

co-operation and confidence-building in Europe and, by extension, throughout the world.

388. Among the most serious international problems, the perpetuation of which greatly threatens international peace and security, are the problems of the Middle East and Palestine. The position of my Government on these problems has been stated time and again before the Assembly as well as other international forums and can be summarized as follows:

389. It is our firm belief that the question of Palestine constitutes the core of the Middle East problem, and there can be no comprehensive, viable and just solution without taking into account the legitimate aspirations and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, the right of all refugees and displaced Palestinians to return to their ancestral homes and properties and their right to establish their own independent sovereign State in Palestine.

390. We recognize the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, whose active participation, on an equal footing, is indispensable in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East. Partial agreements, in their absence, in so far as they purport to solve this problem, are not valid.

391. Cyprus strongly adheres to the fundamental principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and can never be legitimized, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. We therefore believe that the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories is imperative and long overdue.

392. We deplore the continuing creation of faits accomplis, such as the annexation of Jerusalem, and the sustained policies of colonization through new settlements aiming at altering the legal status of the occupied territories and changing their demographic characteristics. We firmly believe that belligerency must come to an end and that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area must be recognized and respected, as should be the right of all States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

393. Cyprus deplores the grave developments that have recently taken place in Lebanon as a consequence of the Israeli acts of aggression against civilian targets in Beirut and southern Lebanon, which constitute a blatant violation of all norms of international law. Once again, we reaffirm our total commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and independence of Lebanon.

394. The Israeli air raid on the Iraqi nuclear installations constitutes yet another totally unjustified and unwarranted act of aggression directed against the sovereignty and independence of Iraq. The Government and people of Cyprus joined the international community in strongly condemning that gross and flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter, which has created additional dangers to peace in that sensitive area of the world.

395. The hostilities between Iran and Iraq, two neighbouring non-aligned countries, continue to cause anxiety, particularly to the members of the non-aligned movement. Cyprus, together with the rest of the world, expresses the earnest hope that sustained efforts, and particularly those

of the Foreign Ministers of Cuba, India, Zambia and the Head of the Political Department of the PLO, will soon bear fruits and the whole issue will be peacefully resolved. These were the considerations that prompted my Government to offer Cyprus as a venue for preparatory work connected with the aforesaid initiative of the non-aligned countries. I wish to reiterate that we shall continue to offer every facility, and shall spare no effort to assist in the quest for achieving a settlement.

396. Another issue which is causing grave concern is the situation in South-East Asia, which should be solved in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in such a way as to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries concerned. It is in this respect that we are encouraged by the progress, however limited to date, of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. We express the hope that his efforts will be crowned by complete success as soon as possible and that, similarly, the Kampuchean problem will also be resolved.

397. The situation in Namibia continues to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. The present impasse created by the constant provocation and arrogance with which South Africa flouts the decisions of the international community, coupled with the failure of the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa, leads to the escalation of an already explosive situation in the region.

398. I do not propose to reiterate the well-known position of my Government on the question of Namibia, as I did so only a few days ago at the sixth meeting of the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly. Suffice it for me to quote from the statement of the current chairman of the group of African States, Mr. Bedjaoui of Algeria, who said that that session was "a very special phase in the mobilization of the international community for the just cause of the Namibian people" and that the resolution adopted at that session served "to maintain the ever-growing momentum of our solidarity with the Namibian people's legitimate struggle for national liberation".

399. My country, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, was among the original sponsors of the resolution finally adopted [*resolution ES-8/2*] and will continue to associate itself fully with all United Nations efforts for the genuine independence of a united Namibia. We shall continue to oppose all efforts aimed at an internal settlement in Namibia and support the implementation of the United Nations plan, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), without any prevarication, qualification or modification. We shall similarly implement the provisions of the resolutions adopted at the ninth special session.

400. We strongly and vehemently condemn the large-scale incursions of South Africa into neighbouring front-line States, as manifested by the latest invasion of Angola, and wish to repeat our total support for SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people in their hard struggle for self-determination and independence.

401. Our commitment is equally strong concerning the final eradication of the abhorrent doctrine of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria régime. Cyprus strongly condemns the continuing terror and brutal repression in South Africa, a recent manifestation of which was the death sentences imposed on the three freedom fighters. These sentences emphasize once again the urgency of the problem and the necessity for speedy implementation of the United Nations resolutions on South Africa.

402. Concerning the question of Western Sahara, we welcome the constructive and dedicated efforts of the OAU to ensure a peaceful solution of this problem through the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of that Territory. The United Nations should play an active role in the implementation of the relevant decision of the OAU in order to ensure that the referendum is organized and conducted in the most proper, fair and impartial way.

403. In the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the United Nations can look back with pride to what has already been achieved, especially in the domain of the promulgation of binding international standards. Much more effort is still needed in the sphere of implementation, especially in cases of mass, flagrant and continuous violations of human rights coming in the wake of aggression from without or upheaval and oppression from within. That is why my delegation holds the firm view that what we need is not idealistic declarations alone; more important, and indeed more urgent, is the need to concentrate on ways and means for their effective and full implementation.

404. Determined and co-ordinated efforts are still needed, but let us not forget that human rights coincided with creation, that they fulfil the aspirations of individuals and that the tide of the quest for their implementation now sweeping the world cannot be stemmed by the prevarications or negative attitudes of individual Governments.

405. In rededicating ourselves to the defence of human rights let us all resolve to co-operate fully with international mechanisms of implementation that we have ourselves set up. In this connection, my delegation would like to commend and express its satisfaction at the work done by such human rights organs as the Commission on Human Rights, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Human Rights Committee.

406. We warmly welcome the admission of the Republic of Vanuatu and the accession to independence of Belize. Thus have additional steps been taken towards the achievement of universality by the United Nations and the elimination of colonialism.

407. The question of my country, Cyprus, is part of the long list of subjects on the agenda of the thirty-sixth session. The just and correct remedial actions contained in past resolutions of the Organization providing for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity, non-alignment and demilitarization of Cyprus, as well as for the withdrawal of foreign troops, the voluntary return of the refugees to their homes in safety and tracing and accounting for the fate of the missing persons, have unfortunately remained a dead letter, a dismal reminder of the fact that this international giant has the muscles of an in-

fant on its executive arms. The foreign occupation—and not just “the *coup* and subsequent events”—is still the cause of the political malaise which permeates the country.

408. The problem of Cyprus was not discussed in this forum last year. The Government of Cyprus, after extensive consultations with the Governments of the non-aligned countries and many other Governments, decided that this was the right course of action in the circumstances prevailing at that time. This year the question of Cyprus is inscribed on the agenda, while efforts, through negotiations, still continue. This time, however, there is an additional factor: the 12-month-long frustrating experience of the negotiations, during which the grip of the occupying forces has not loosened. Moreover, the situation was not improved in any substantive way by the Turkish Cypriot proposals of 5 August, which were minimal and inadequate.

409. The Turkish Cypriot leader has alleged that he has offered us the stars in his proposals. If he thinks that the stars are equal to 2.7 per cent of an occupied land, then certainly Mr. Denktas's notion of the universe must be erroneous.

410. In view of those factors, we shall insist on a full-scale discussion of the question of Cyprus, either during this session or at a resumed or other session later on, if developments necessitate such a course of action.

411. Since September last year the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Gobbi, have been at pains to ensure the achievement of some progress. Mr. Waldheim worked with dedication, and his work is commendable. The results, however, have been trivial compared to the efforts exerted. Despite this situation and despite the very poor progress hitherto, the Greek Cypriot side has expressed the will to continue the dialogue, and in this context it has presented further proposals which will facilitate the negotiating process.

412. In his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General, in referring to Cyprus, says:

“To take advantage of this situation, I and my Special Representative may find it necessary to make special efforts and present some new ideas, as appropriate, to sustain the momentum of the negotiating process. I hope that any such moves on my part will be accepted in the spirit in which they are offered, as tools of the negotiating process for the purpose of facilitating progress towards an agreed solution. It bears repeating that continued delay in this effort only serves to consolidate the *status quo*, which both parties have found to be unsatisfactory.” [A/36/1, sect. IV.]

413. We are at the moment meticulously considering the possible initiative just mentioned. We trust that any proposed action of the Secretary-General will be based on his good offices mandate, and they must be within the framework of the United Nations resolutions relevant to the question of Cyprus and the high-level agreements between President Makarios and Mr. Denktas and President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktas which were concluded in the Secretary-General's presence and under his auspices.¹⁹ We are viewing this new development with the seriousness it deserves and we shall not hesitate to express to the Secre-

tary-General our well-considered opinion as soon as possible in the course of the next few weeks.

414. Cyprus is one of the small countries of the world, but its wish and will to contribute towards the solution of problems is enormous. We may be physically maimed but we are mentally and morally unbent and unflappable. We believe that, with hard work, perseverance, goodwill, fairness of mind and devotion to principles, not only small countries like ours but the whole world may find the way to more promising and prosperous days.

415. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. Before giving them the floor, I should like to remind them that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and 5 minutes for the second. Delegations will speak from their seats.

416. Mr. ZAMBRANO VELASCO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Unfortunately, the rules of the General Assembly allow only 10 minutes for the right of reply. Hence, I shall mention only the main issues, referring representatives to the text I shall request the President's permission to have distributed.

417. It is with great regret that I am obliged to address the General Assembly in exercise of the right of reply on behalf of Venezuela because of references made by the Prime Minister of Guyana in his statement about my country. I say with great regret because Venezuela's foreign policy is based on solidarity and co-operation among the countries of the third world and, in particular, among the nations of Latin America, as was stated before the Assembly by our President, Mr. Luis Herrera Campíns [*5th meeting*].

418. The intent of the references made to Venezuela is to present our country as expansionist and interventionist, as one seeking to take advantage of those who are weaker. Internal repression may mean that the people of Guyana can be kept in ignorance of the facts, but other countries can and must be made familiar with the historical and legal bases on which Venezuela's position rests.

419. Our dispute with Guyana does not derive from litigations between the Spanish and British Empires. Its cause is to be found in the plundering by the British of a poor, defenceless Venezuela bled white by the enormous undertaking of liberating the continent.

420. Until the Napoleonic wars, Great Britain had no possessions on the South American sub-continent. When Napoleon invaded Holland, the Dutch king and queen took refuge in England and the latter took under its protection the Dutch colonies of the New World, among them Dutch Guiana. At that time, the western limit of that colony was the Essequibo River. Once Napoleon was overthrown and Holland had returned to normal, when the time had come to return its colonies to its ally, England, in a move very typical of its imperial era, decided to keep the western part of Dutch Guiana—the settlements of Berbice and Demerara.

421. From the time the British Empire reached South America, the plunder of Venezuelan territory began, al-

though Venezuela had proclaimed its independence and was fighting to consolidate it. Year by year, almost day by day, Great Britain extended its incursions and its claims west of the Essequibo until, towards the end of the century, the Orinoco and Caroní Rivers, in the very heart of our country, were in danger. At that point, through an agreement between Great Britain and the United States, Venezuela was obliged to submit to the cynical farce of a travesty of arranged arbitration with neither Venezuelan judges nor lawyers, under threat that if it did not do so the British advance into our territory would continue indefinitely. Thus, it was sought to give a grotesque semblance of legality to the plundering of one sixth of our national territory.

422. In no way do we seek to blame the young nation of Guyana for these events. Those who seized our country's territory were the very same who enslaved and then ruthlessly exploited, under the colonial régime, the ancestors of the Guyanese of today. Hence Venezuela, following a line of conduct which some might deem naive—but one of which we Venezuelans are proud—did not allow its just claim to serve as an excuse for hampering or deferring Guyana's independence. We accepted and promoted the freedom of our neighbours without selfishness and without prior conditions.

423. On the contrary, in 1966 we negotiated and signed the Geneva Agreement^a to resolve the dispute with Guyana, inherited from Great Britain, by peaceful and civilized means. Under that Agreement, the signatory countries were solemnly committed to seeking satisfactory solutions for a practical settlement of the dispute.

424. This is the core of the matter: Guyana and Venezuela, freely and without pressure or threats, entered into an obligation to seek satisfactory solutions for a practical settlement of the territorial dispute between them.

425. Unfortunately, the present Government of Guyana has shown a tendency to accept the infamies of the past. Venezuela's attempts at dialogue met with a wall of intransigence, and the stated policy of the Government of Guyana is at all costs to make the *de facto* situation in the territories under dispute such that any settlement is impeded or rendered impossible. The unbelievable horror of the Jonestown massacre showed the world the evil results of that policy.

426. We Venezuelans are aware of the serious and growing economic and social difficulties afflicting the young nation of Guyana. In so far as our modest means allow, we have tried to offer our co-operation. None the less, we believe that any attempt to distract the attention of public opinion from immediate real problems and towards outside, non-existent threats must be resisted.

427. Venezuela is not asking friendly countries for any support that would mean taking sides against Guyana, because we are aware that territorial issues cannot be properly resolved through the interference of other States in matters not within their competence. Venezuela seeks only understanding and study, the more thorough the better, of the territorial problem between our country and Guyana.

428. I clearly condemn the actions and statements of the Government of Guyana as designed to seek international

support or to publicize alleged or non-existent backing, or to create enmity towards Venezuela. I condemn such activities as machinations designed to see Venezuela fall into the trap of an ill-considered reaction.

429. The arrogant, disobliging, provocative and even insulting attitudes displayed by personages from the present Government of Guyana towards Venezuela are only to be understood as their attempt to seek excuses not to carry out their contractual obligation to negotiate satisfactory solutions for a practical settlement of the dispute.

430. I admit that we are, for economic, demographic, military and other reasons, in a stronger position than Guyana. I am aware that the responsibility for the defence and security of a growing country means better equipping our armed forces. But I emphatically deny that Venezuela harbours any aggressive intentions towards Guyana.

431. Venezuela wishes above all to win the battle of peace and brotherhood with Guyana, because we are inevitably neighbours and because, to a great extent, we are children of the same American history. Thousands of Venezuelans are descendants of people from beyond the Essequibo. Francisco Isnardi, secretary and drafter of our Act of Independence, had, prior to coming to Caracas, been the owner of land in the Demerara region. Army doctors in colonial Stabroek, now Georgetown, came to the Orinoco before and during our wars of independence. But above all, thousands of slaves from Demerara gained freedom by fleeing to the Orinoco Strait, to enrich the complex of races that go to make up today's Venezuelans. First and foremost, however, we have our Amerindian ancestors in common.

432. Let me repeat and assure you that Venezuela wishes to win the battle of peace, because it is within peace and understanding that is to be found the goal of achieving a satisfactory solution for a practical settlement of the dispute.

433. Therefore I wish to conclude this statement about Guyana with an appeal for friendship to the Government of Guyana, so that in sincerity and with good faith it will fulfil its responsibilities under the Geneva Agreement of 1966 and so that the Guyanese and Venezuelan peoples together, in a spirit of responsibility and good-neighbourly relations, can finally eradicate the unfortunate vestiges of the crimes of colonialism of which we were both victims.

434. With reference to Cuba, we are exercising our right of reply because of the Foreign Minister's rhetoric. The delegation of a country with such mortgaged sovereignty as Cuba cannot have anything to say about a democratic, sovereign, fully independent and free State such as Venezuela.

435. Fidel Castro's dictatorial régime finances, directs, trains and supports all the adventurism in Central America, South America and the Caribbean and, as the instrument of a super-Power's policy, also takes part in actions in other parts of the world.

436. The Assembly heard the statement of Luis Herrera Campíns, a president who is aware of the sovereignty of his country. The President of Venezuela talks with his own voice. Unfortunately, Cuba cannot say as much.

437. The present Constitution of Cuba, adopted under the tyranny of Castro, is the only Constitution in the entire Latin American region that pays the vassal's tribute to a super-Power. President Castro takes part, led by the hand by the aggressors, in the sad chorus of those who support the invasion of non-aligned countries such as Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Castro's tyranny undertakes military adventures in many parts of the third world.

438. My country itself suffered in the 1960s from military aggression on the part of Cuba. We beat it militarily and otherwise. It was the first resounding defeat for Cuban military interventionism. Cuba also supports terrorism.

439. I have the greatest affection for the people of Cuba, but we condemn the Cuban executioners.

440. Today, the voice of the executioner speaks for Cuba, not the voice of José Martí.

441. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I appeal to representatives speaking in exercise of the right of reply to abide by the 10-minute rule.

442. Mr. GOULDING (United Kingdom): In his statement in the general debate yesterday afternoon the Foreign Minister of Honduras [10th meeting] stated, with reference to the Heads of Agreement signed by the United Kingdom, Guatemala and Belize last March, that the group of islands known as the Cayos Zapotillos belonged to Honduras. My delegation has been instructed to state that the United Kingdom does not accept that claim. The United Kingdom had no doubt of its sovereignty over the Cayos Zapotillos as part of the territory of Belize up to the date of Belize's independence. On the granting of independence to Belize on 21 September this year—which we note with pleasure has been welcomed by the Government of Honduras—sovereignty over the Cayos Zapotillos passed to the State of Belize. In the view of the British Government, the Heads of Agreement, including the paragraph that envisages that Guatemala should be given certain rights of use and enjoyment of the Cayos Zapotillos, represent a satisfactory basis for a settlement of the dispute between Belize and Guatemala.

443. Before the independence of Belize, the British Government made this position clear to the Government of Honduras and also expressed the hope that it would be possible for Belize and Honduras to reach a mutually acceptable understanding on the matter.

444. The statement I have just made has been made after consultation with the Government of Belize.

445. On a separate question, I should like to state that my delegation looks forward to studying at leisure the transcript of the interesting statement just made in exercise of the right of reply by the representative of Venezuela, in order to discover whether there are any points in it on which my delegation would like to exercise its right of reply at some later date.

446. Mr. CASTRO ARAÚJO (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Soviet Union's puppet in the Caribbean made a public statement here this afternoon that Cuba had the right to give military assistance to the groups of terrorists and guerrillas who are trying—in

vain—to destabilize the Government of El Salvador. Therefore, in exercise of that right, it is solely responsible for the bloodshed that this violent Cuban military aid has caused in my country, as it has caused bloodshed and continues to do so in many developing countries. Cuba is solely responsible for the violent events which are now occurring and which will occur in Central America.

447. Respect for the principle of non-intervention is a victory for the Americas which dates back more than 50 years. Unfortunately, the Government of Cuba lost it more than 20 years ago, because all its orders come directly from the Soviet Union.

448. The large majority of Latin American countries support the Government of El Salvador, maintaining the traditional principle of non-interference in the internal or external affairs of other States.

449. It is ridiculous for the most ferocious tyranny known to Latin America, where human rights have no place and where the people have no possibility of self-expression, to set itself up as a defender of so-called freedom when its unavowed designs on democracy are well known.

450. The statement made this afternoon by the Government of Sweden indicates a crass ignorance of the problem in El Salvador, offering frank support to guerrilla and terrorist movements which cause all the violence, which all honest Salvadorians are determined to end by democratic and peaceful means.

451. We should like to remind Sweden that underdevelopment is not confined to El Salvador and neither are the causes of internal discontent. We are aware that there is a need for structural change, and in this regard we have begun the most radical internal changes, which will lead to democracy, justice and general well-being in El Salvador.

452. It is regrettable that people uninformed about the El Salvador question should make irresponsible judgments and thereby support Marxism and intervention.

453. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): My delegation has listened carefully—or tried to do so—to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela speaking in exercise of the right of reply.

454. We have received the documentation which the delegation of Venezuela was kind enough to make available to members of the Assembly. I should have liked to reply this evening to the presentation made by the Minister, but on account of the detailed and voluminous nature of this documentation I would at this stage merely reserve my right to exercise my right of reply at a later stage in the proceedings of the Assembly.

455. Mr. MARTÍNEZ URDANETA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I simply want to inform the President on my country's behalf that we reserve the right to speak in exercise of the right of reply should Guyana do so.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.