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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*):
Mr. President, may the first words spoken by the delegation of the Republic of Uruguay be words of congratulations and greetings to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, a distinguished Ecuadorian and, as such, a member of our Latin American family.

2. I am happy to emphasize Mr. Benites' outstanding personal and intellectual qualities, a certain guarantee that he will conduct our deliberations with wisdom. May I also be permitted, as a Uruguayan, to recall with sincere friendship for him and for his country, our sister nation, the valuable mission he discharged in my country as Ambassador of Ecuador, and also to recall the permanent ties that link him to Uruguay, which is a symbol of the relations between our two countries.

3. May I also extend a greeting to the representative of Poland, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, who guided the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly with dignity and great skill.

4. My country warmly welcomes the entry into the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This event constitutes a historic step along the road to peace and understanding. The Commonwealth of the Bahamas has now joined our Organization. We extend to it a cordial welcome to this forum and to the work of our Latin American regional group. Thus does the process towards full universality in the United Nations continue.

5. Each session of the General Assembly is an inevitable confrontation between the magnitude of our ideals and reality, which at times is difficult to mould to our hopes. This repeated and dramatic experience, however, is not interpreted by Uruguay as a sign of ultimate failure but rather as proof of the very nature of this complex task to which the answer is clear: we must multiply our efforts, confirm our commitment to the purposes of the Charter and work untiringly to achieve them.

6. Consistent with this view I wish, on behalf of my Government, to express our faith in the principles that gave life to our Organization and our permanent devotion to their promotion.

7. My country, to the extent of its possibilities, has contributed with perseverance and good faith to the building of a world governed by law. The observations we all make about the flaws and shortcomings of the system do not discourage us. Rather, such failings show, by their imperfections and through their consequences, the need for a legal order in force for all, a legal order that will link the community of nations, that will offer the climate of security necessary for effective political independence and economic and social development, that will offer essential guarantees to small nations and will remove the shadows of arbitrariness.

8. Very often the flaws in the law have been covered by the makeshift device of an *ad hoc* political arrangement applied to specific situations: barely to close the deepest gap and to staunch the most serious wounds resulting from that disruption. Although that is valuable, we must study the matter further and not only cure the disease but try to prevent it, not only treat those who are ill but try to improve their health and make them well. That is why I venture to suggest that this sporadic political arrangement be applied now in a permanent manner and on a priority basis to arrive at the true enforcement of international law. The more Utopian it appears, the more necessary it is to achieve it in order to discipline the chaotic reality, which is sometimes unjust and violent, and bring it into line with the law.

9. This effort, so vital for our Organization and, even, I would say, the very *raison d'être* of our Organization, must be included in the contemporary context which over the past 28 years has displayed certain definite characteristics. The birth of a number of new independent States throughout the world, the complex structure of relations between the great Powers, the multiplication of plans for political, economic and social organization in the different countries, the opening of prospects for a single mankind, however diverse it may be in its manifestations. At the same time, research and scientific reflection, the requirements of the

economy, and the progress of technology lead irrevocably to an interdependent world and, whether we like it or not, to a united world through an indestructible network of links and relations. It is in this perspective that our action takes place.

10. Many steps have been taken in our search for roads towards an integrating synthesis of this diversity without harming it. That must continue on the strength of the principle that we shall not dissolve what is different, but shall rather seek out the common points. In a word, this is the need to develop solidarity among peoples and to organize it, identifying and recognizing common interests in relation to universal questions.

11. Efforts along these lines are to be found in fields such as peace and security, natural resources, the human environment, health, communications, trade, finance, the strategy for development, and so many others. Here, despite natural discrepancies, little by little we see a progressive acceptance of principles and behaviour reflecting the consensus of the international community and representing, as it were, the common denominator of common interests. To apply development along these lines is to work for peace and solidarity.

12. The existence of this process of convergence, impelled by both ethical and philosophical needs, as also by material demands derived from the nature of things, does not, however, preclude the survival of anachronistic trends inserted in the process itself, which sometimes make use of it but which, more often, seek to impose some form of political domination or cover-up machinations designed to impose an ideology. In these trends and forms of conduct, the violence of the struggle for power suffered so long by mankind persists and overwhelms the small nations, through insidious infiltration of their institutions or the outbreak of terrorist cruelty or open aggression.

13. In the face of this, Uruguay reaffirms once again its respect for the various paths chosen by each of the members of this community to organize its political, economic and social life and structures. We recognize the important contribution made by different cultures to the common patrimony, enriching it through new perspectives in what has been called the "dialogue of civilizations".

14. For our part we are faithful to the pattern we have chosen and will continue to be so. Within the simplicity and modesty of our own customs, we proclaim with pride our fidelity to our own way of being, our national traditions, and the political, economic and social forms that we have freely established for ourselves. That is why, while we confirm our absolute respect for the choice of other nations, we demand equal respect for ourselves, not only in the shape of outer forms, but also in the very substance of international conduct.

15. Resolution 2625 (XXV) takes up these principles. I believe that its permanent and scrupulous observance is indispensable if we are to make possible international co-operation and even coexistence itself under international law. Only thus can the plurality of patterns that are merged in the different political societies cease to be a factor of divergence and tensions and become an enriching element for constructive world co-operation.

16. My country will give of its best in this undertaking to build up co-operation among nations, but at the same time will be watchful of its national individuality in the face of any possible intention, whether overt or covert, to subvert its character.

17. At the same time, together with observing these political rules, we must go deeply into world processes in many areas to prevent the very dynamics of such processes extended throughout the world from changing the characteristics of the small nations.

18. We maintain as a principle that the construction of world co-operation and technology shall not be based even involuntarily on the elimination of national idiosyncrasies. The challenge we confront, therefore, is twofold: to organize constructive co-operation in a multiple world, and to eliminate from that process any aspect of a policy of power, of influences, interventions, and *diktats*, in order that each country may be authentically free in an interdependent and united world.

19. In the light of these perspectives, Uruguay will advocate and live a united nationalism in keeping with its history and integrated with the present reality of the world, while being ready to participate in the building up of an international community marked by peace, justice and co-operation. When I say "united nationalism" I want strongly to affirm the values of the nationalism of my country, of its own peculiar forms and characteristics and to make a strong affirmation of the values that are our own, of our sovereign right to govern ourselves freely and to choose our own patterns of development and national solutions.

20. But, at the same time, when I speak of "united nationalism" I wish to express our indeclinable universal vocation and the feeling that we belong to a single mankind, to which we are integrated in spirit, within which we enjoy the same rights and obligations and to which we are united by our natural patterns, and associated by the interdependence of economies and technology.

21. Thus we wish to participate in the universal task and contribute to the effective establishment of solidarity. That is why we share and shall continue to share in a brotherly manner the common endeavours of the human species and will participate in the task of building a united and more co-operative world. We shall do so, however, with our own and unchangeable national personality.

22. I have drawn on these reflections concerning the philosophy behind the participation of Uruguay in the Organization in order to explain from this high rostrum the spirit that guides us in this solemn moment in history in which we open a new era of authentic national and popular development. These principles which we have chosen freely to guide our destiny are combined with those of the Charter; they are the manifestation of the creative will of our people; they represent the practical expression of a multiple world, and guarantee from the point of view of the international community our constructive desire to participate in the task of co-operation.

23. That is why, in renewing our expressions of adherence to the universal objectives of the Charter, we do so today

with the new vitality derived from a process of profound national affirmation and with an international vocation which is in keeping with our history.

24. We trust that militancy in solidarity represents the path to a better international community. But there is no doubt that this positive road cannot be followed to the end if when we begin it we do not simultaneously open up actions designed to face the main negative questions affecting world peace and security.

25. It will be difficult to build a renewed world in solidarity unless we are able to apply a similar spirit to our daily and immediate endeavours—if we cannot duly harmonize our short-term interests with the demands of those same interests considered from the long-term view.

26. With this criterion we shall approach consideration of the main items on the agenda.

27. One of the main questions before us is that of disarmament. In our condition as a peaceful country we have worked towards that goal, advocating that the conference on disarmament be open to all States. We regret the meagre results achieved. It is necessary for States to strengthen their will to make progress in this area. Undoubtedly, the permanent members of the Security Council have in their hands the possibility of creating appropriate conditions so that the international community may benefit in a climate of security from a policy of disarmament.

28. We also wish, with pleasure, to point to the opening in Helsinki of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as a valuable effort at relaxing tension. Similarly, we are happy to point to the progress towards peace made by the United States and the Soviet Union in their talks on the limitation of strategic armaments. Although we recognize the practical difficulties of the process, we insist on the need for it. The construction of new plans for co-operation throughout the world and prospects of a more just organization of the economy are delayed by the pressure of existing armaments.

29. Uruguay have mentioned its permanent desire for nuclear energy to become an instrument for a task of civilization. Hence, we have subscribed to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*see resolution 2373 (XXIII)*], and in this spirit we have given life to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), which, for the first time in history, establishes a denuclearized zone covering a surface of 8 million square kilometres with a population of about 200 million inhabitants. With this contribution by Latin America, one of its greatest contributions to peace, we claim today the support of all States which may become parties to that Treaty, and specially to its two additional protocols.

30. Moreover, I feel it opportune to recall here General Assembly resolution 2934 (XXVII), proposed last year by 14 Latin American countries and approved by a large majority, in which we reiterated, once again, the condemnation of all nuclear weapons tests. We believe that there is already a universal awareness of the need for

absolute prohibition, and we deplore the fact that the appeals made so far have not yet been heeded.

31. With regard to the painful question of the Middle East, Uruguay, which has no material or political interest except that of co-operating with the nations involved, hopes that steps will be taken soon and in an effective manner to alleviate tension first, and later to arrive at permanent formulas ensuring peace on the basis of law.

32. With a conciliatory outlook towards opposing views and a realistic view of just and balanced solutions, we come again this year to the General Assembly.

33. It is our desire—and we shall fight for this constantly—to support formulas that may bring us close to the objective. We hope that a more understanding climate will prevail. We hope that the effort of the international community will concentrate on the basic purpose of applying international law and that other aspects not directly connected with the question will be left out of the discussion.

34. Uruguay is happy to see the efforts made by the United Nations, as well as bilateral efforts, in the hope that both may lead to a final settlement and complement each other. Our delegation is prepared to co-operate, within the context of the Charter, towards a negotiated solution allowing for the establishment of peace in the area, fully in keeping with international law and with all other aspects of the problem.

35. As regards human rights our position is that we must accentuate the effective protection of these rights, whose recognition has been made general but whose application is still imperfect. For this reason we insist again on the creation of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, and we believe that this kind of mechanism can be instituted with the agreement of all our States, become a true promoter of peace and prepare the advent of a system based not only on a declaration of rights but on a legal statute governing, through the sentences of tribunals, the international protection organized by law.

36. There is no doubt that together with the instruments we have mentioned we must create an international climate that is in keeping with the peaceful coexistence of all States. In fact, it is well known that external factors which sometimes unlawfully affect internal affairs in many countries are hotbeds of imbalance and tension, change the structure of the coexistence within communities and thus create negative conditions for the preservation of human rights.

37. We have arrived at similar conclusions as to the need to strengthen international security. Since the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice over 50 years ago, Uruguay agreed unreservedly to take its problems to that high jurisdiction, and still maintains those principles today in the firm conviction that at this stage of the development of the international community perhaps the greatest shortcoming lies in our disregarding the essential part of any system of law, which is the judiciary.

38. Our submission to such a norm is the best way of living up to the principle of the legal equality of States, and

the day we see that jurisdiction consolidated and become an unconditional and automatic power we shall have finally created an authentic international order.

39. Faithful to these convictions, my Government hopes to solve international disputes with a clear bent towards peaceful solutions and reaffirms its allegiance to the tribunals of international justice.

40. My Government wishes to express, with regard to international terrorism, its decision to support, as it did in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism which finished its work a few weeks ago, the adoption of specific measure allowing for the prevention and condemnation of this growing mode of violence whose inhuman methods create a climate of insecurity and danger and provoke the loss of innocent lives.

41. We believe that no pretext can be invoked to delay this absolute obligation, and although the study of the ultimate causes of terrorism deserves analysis and reflection, we must avoid a situation in which any delay in energetically condemning and repressing these acts would be interpreted as a demonstration of weakness or of dangerous tolerance. This would encourage the perpetrators of such acts to continue them.

42. Ever since its inception, the United Nations has followed a clear policy designed to lead to decolonization and to combat the manifestations of racial segregation. Uruguay has lent, and will continue to lend, its militant support to this trend, which is why we must today deplore the persistence of such practices. We cannot say we have exhausted all peaceful means of solving these problems, and therefore we must multiply efforts to achieve constructive dialogue within the framework of the United Nations in order to speed up the process and avoid painful confrontations.

43. The economic and social growth of nations has frequently been conceived and practised as competition, as a pitiless struggle for better possibilities, which has led to a lack of morality in certain economic and trade practices, at the expense of the weaker developing nations. This has taken place due to the lack of balanced rules of conduct that would temper the rigours of confrontations that only impair justice. This situation has encouraged the concept of class struggle on the international level, among categories of countries.

44. My Government cannot go along with such a concept, nor can we accept the dialectics of hatred and opposition. We affirm, instead, the responsibility of all nations in the struggle for development and the establishment of more just trade relations. It is a common responsibility that flows from international solidarity and from the indivisible unity in present-day world economy. This is a responsibility that does not involve identical duties for each nation; rather, each must assume the contribution that each must give in order to ensure the public wealth. As Pope Paul VI declared in paragraph 86 (b) of *Gaudium et Spes*, "As for the advanced nations, they have a very heavy obligation to help the developing peoples. . .".

45. The developing countries themselves, however, must take a hand in their own evolution, for nothing can be effective unless it is the product of one's own efforts. Thus my Government attaches special importance to the establishment of international machinery and norms which will allow the efforts of the developing nations to burgeon freely. Each one must determine its own course and its own procedures and machinery. The international community will merely have to make sure that the common undertaking is based on justice. Hence Uruguay supported, during the meetings of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*], the Mexican initiative for a charter of economic rights and duties of States.

46. Today the atmosphere is conducive to an undertaking of the required profound changes in the international economy along those lines. But the monetary system has reached a critical moment where a revision is called for, and the needs and requirements of the developing nations must be heeded. In this respect, it is indispensable that the means of international payment should be such that development can be financed adequately, and that there be a monetary reordering that will take into account the interests of all nations, and not only one group of them. At the same time, in the financial field, the international community must recognize the very serious situation created by foreign debt on the less developed nations.

47. International finance cannot be used as a means to strangle the progress of the more backward nations, nor can it give exaggerated remuneration to the advanced nations. A policy of balance must be created that will ensure economic dynamism all over the world, in keeping with the diversity of situations and the degree of progress of each nation. Only thus will the requirements of solidarity be met.

48. The work of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [*GATT*] has formally begun in Tokyo, and the figures are extremely enlightening that have emerged: they show a loss being suffered by the developing countries, despite the fact that world trade as a whole has grown. This indicates that the greatest benefits flowing from that increase are concentrated in the most highly developed nations. We must therefore deduce that general non-discriminatory preferences have not produced the hoped-for effect, both because of the limitations those preferences imply as far as products, stability and quotas are concerned, and because of the failure on the part of some nations to put those policies into practice. By the same token, we must also point out the protectionist policies of certain developed countries towards their own agricultural production in sectors that are usually the main source of income for many of the more backward nations.

49. We would hope that this new series of GATT negotiations will produce operative results leading to a true opening up to our nations of a substantially increased participation in world trade. This requires a new ordering of trade patterns to include increased participation by the developing nations. We believe that GATT and UNCTAD must work together so that all nations may join in more dynamic international trade relations.

50. As Uruguay has reiterated elsewhere:

“The defence of permanent sovereignty over the natural resources of each nation meets one of the most obvious requirements of international justice and is in keeping with the efforts of the developing countries to shake off economic dependency and to raise the standards of living of their peoples.”

51. But together with trade and financial resources, fully exploited natural resources are just so many other fields where development can take place. The effective utilization of all these economic factors is the condition for progress. Therefore, the international community is in duty bound to regulate those processes with justice, and, considering the inequalities that exist among nations, to mobilize every possible effort to ensure that development is a true common undertaking.

52. That is why my Government attaches enormous importance to the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. I appreciate the value of all the efforts that have been made, but I must stress the need for obtaining more immediate practical results and a more prompt implementation of the principles that we recognize as underlying our own system. The peoples of the world are looking to our deliberations with the expectation of greater executive ability. Everywhere, we are confronted by a public opinion that is increasingly well-informed and, therefore, more critical, specific and demanding in its expectations. The challenge lies in activating the achieving capacity of our community and in thus turning into deeds our good intentions.

53. We admire with amazement the prodigies of science and technology; we recognize in their accomplishments positive conquests for our peoples. But at the same time, we must warn against the risk that surrounds this progress, which, at its furious pace, threatens to reduce the individual to a mere component part in a process that is measured only by its efficiency and economic benefit. This does not mean, of course, that we think that we must abjure the marvels of applied science; but it does bespeak the international community's need to recognize fully the existence of this question and to live up to its responsibilities in order to create a civilization that will be in keeping with the material needs of human welfare.

54. We are approaching the point, I believe, where we will have more firmly to direct our development strategy towards what must be the true destination of progress. This is the moment of truth, when we must inscribe in the very heart of the computer a single, supreme human objective and multiply it thus as the only purpose and target of our efforts.

55. With that prospect in mind, mere economic indicators can be deceptive as far as the facts of development are concerned, to the extent that they set aside the higher values of the spirit and the very quality of life, the type or condition of existence, and welfare in its widest sense. We aspire to an international community that will re-embrace these concepts and, even at the risk of shattering the clear-cut starkness of statistical tables, introduce the notion

of the quality of life, replacing growth and economic development with growth and human development—replacing it with net national welfare, as it has been called.

56. The subject of the environment is a true challenge to all countries, requiring a new effort on their part to co-ordinate their energies; and therefore we must all take an attitude consistent with protection of the atmosphere. My country has made specific efforts in this respect, but it is the industrial countries that have the greatest responsibility in this united effort. We can hardly consider that preservation of the environment can be at the expense of the development of the least developed countries, which are only now beginning, timidly, to take their first tottering steps on the industrial and technological scene.

57. The institutions and machinery of the law of the sea must be restructured in order to ensure a dynamic and effective harmonization of the interests involved. We must appropriately order their legal protection and achieve a correlative distribution of responsibilities flowing therefrom, and do so on the basis of international justice, peace and security.

58. The General Assembly responded to this need by creating the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, entrusting it with the task of preparing for a conference on the law of the sea.

59. But Uruguay is concerned over the fact that this work has not progressed as we had hoped or foreseen. Consequently, we deem it necessary that this General Assembly adopt the necessary decisions that will allow for a further preparatory stage to be undertaken so that we can be reasonably assured of positive results without necessarily postponing its convening unduly. Such a preparatory stage must, we believe, involve the widest participation of the States that will be attending the conference later.

60. Once again, before this Assembly, Uruguay wishes to reaffirm its decision to preserve its sovereignty over the 200 miles of its territorial sea. This is based on elementary reasons of justice and is in accord with the geographical, geological and ecological characteristics of our adjacent sea, and with our inalienable rights to promote the development of our economy and to safeguard the health and well-being of our population, without prejudice to the guarantees provided by the exercise of the rights of international communication. Up to the present we have co-operated with the greatest willingness in the search for an international consensus to safeguard all those rights, and we shall continue to do so.

61. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/9001/Add.1*], the Secretary-General raises the question of the very fate of the Organization and gives us observations and comments as a basis for a very constructive discussion on the matter.

62. My Government wishes now only to refer to some aspects of that and to refer to the beginning of this statement, when I defined the nature of Uruguay's participation in the Organization.

63. We are convinced that both political and philosophical beliefs with regard to the requirements of modern life strengthen the ties between nations. Those increased relations must obviously be administered in accordance with law. Certain basic principles must be safeguarded: independence, justice, solidarity and equality among States.

64. At the same time, modern law must give up those rigid criteria of a formal nature and must enter more deeply into this reality of relations among countries and consider the specific idiosyncracies of each. Thus the normative order will ensure the substantive validity of the principles as such and not merely their appearance. The organized international community will have to strengthen its capacity to achieve in order to transform declarations into deeds. But in the meantime we must link and tie our immediate and circumstantial interests to objective targets based on a true understanding of the community of interests.

65. At the same time, we must be ready to correct any possible mistake that power politics and ideological penetration may introduce in the development of international solidarity. If I may, I shall put it another way: we must create and maintain an atmosphere of political security that will guarantee the free development of the community.

66. These and other more concrete tasks, all equally urgent, are tasks that can be discussed in the United Nations as the most appropriate body. We believe that at the same time it may lead to the creation of the atmosphere we require for these transformations. They are linked in an extremely complex and complicated play of fields and planes, that calls for spiritual and material changes in order to create a new prospect for mankind: international solidarity without destroying national characteristics.

67. That is why we agree with the Secretary-General that we should create for our Organization the target of making it "a more reliable instrument of world order and co-operation, accepted and respected by all Governments and capable of safeguarding the common interests of mankind in a crowded world of increasingly interdependent but sovereign States" [A/9001/Add.1, p. 2]. Only thus will we be consistent with the responsibilities we have assumed.

AGENDA ITEM 84

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*)*

68. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker I should like to remind representatives that at the 2117th plenary meeting the General Assembly decided that four Members in arrears in the payment of their contributions because of circumstances beyond their control would be authorized to vote, in accordance with the second sentence of Article 19 of the Charter, during the period which was to elapse until their contributions actually reached the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General was requested to report to the General Assembly as soon as those contributions had been received,

and he was invited to report in any case by 26 September at the latest.

69. In documents A/9157/Add.1 and 2 the Secretary-General has indicated that three of the four Members have made the required payments, and in document A/9157/Add.3 the Secretary-General reports that the required payment from the Central African Republic has not yet been received.

70. Subsequent to the receipt of the communication from the Central African Republic contained in document A/9157/Add.3, an understanding on this matter in compliance with Article 19 of the Charter has been reached.

71. We shall, of course, inform the General Assembly of any new developments in this connexion.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

72. Mr. SIKIVOU (Fiji): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation may I, like the representatives who have preceded me at this podium during this session, express congratulations to you on your well-deserved elevation to the presidency of the General Assembly and pledge to you our whole-hearted support and co-operation.

73. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to the two German States and to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas on joining the United Nations. It is only three years since Fiji, immediately on attaining independence, joined this august body, but from our brief experience we are convinced that the United Nations will be able to discharge its responsibility under the Charter more effectively the more fully representative it is of all mankind.

74. As a small country, we are fully appreciative that the greatest virtue of this world forum is that, despite differences in size, wealth and political systems, all countries can come together freely to discuss and consult on a wide range of problems of common concern and to take appropriate measures to resolve them. We have also learned in the short time of our membership that the collective will and wisdom of this world forum can sometimes be frustrated by self-interest, national pride and other weaknesses among its members. With those weaknesses eliminated, the potential for success of this Organization is incalculable.

75. The demonstration by the United Nations of the advantages of diversity and co-operation is particularly important to Fiji because we have a multiracial society. We believe that differences in race, religion, language and custom can add richness and variety of texture to our composite society. All sections of our multiracial community are accordingly agreed that our future must lie in developing a relationship based on equality, mutual respect, tolerance and understanding. These values are enshrined in our Constitution.

76. Situated in the South Pacific, Fiji seems remote from the international scene. Indeed, we in the South Pacific have sometimes felt that ours is a neglected region of the

* Resumed from the 2117th meeting.

world. As world leaders travel to and fro on important missions, one does not hear of them visiting the South Pacific, although our problems are just as varied and as complex as those one may find anywhere. External events can and do have disturbing effects on race relations in Fiji. The expulsion of Asians across frontiers, armed conflicts involving Moslem and Hindu religious communities, and racial tensions in predominantly white communities—these threaten and undermine the success of our policy of multiracial harmony. You, Mr. President, and the representatives present this afternoon need not be reminded of the disruptive effects of the economy of a country such as mine of currency devaluation and revaluation decided on by others without consultation with and apparently without concern about other countries which are likely to be adversely affected. So interwoven are our interests and welfare in an ever-shrinking world that the need for devising and observing agreed international standards in all fields of human endeavour is absolutely vital.

77. It is, therefore, a matter of great importance to Fiji to look to this world body not only for sympathy and understanding of its problems but also for its determination to set, and to promote the universal observance of, certain practical standards for the benefit of the international community. Surely these standards must include freedom to decide one's destiny, racial equality and harmony, respect for international law and order and a greater realization of the fact that we are all, large and small, interdependent.

78. Yet it is a sad reflection on the state of world affairs today that, 25 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the dignity of man and basic human rights are still being denied in southern Africa. Political domination based on the perpetration of racial injustice and economic exploitation can only heighten tensions and instability in the area.

79. The problems of race relations in southern Africa are complex and not easy to solve. It is my delegation's view that a solution based on dialogue and peaceful change can and should be found. In regard to United Nations work relating to southern Africa, my delegation urges that we do not lose patience in the pursuit of solutions by dialogue and other peaceful means. If the South Africans, the Portuguese and the illegal Smith régime appear to have hearts of stone, we would counsel patience, persistence and perseverance as against threats and the use of force. We would counsel that we watch for and exploit to the full any signs of readiness to talk, of softening of hearts and of the slightest change in known positions. In our view, it would be unproductive, and indeed highly dangerous, if we were to consider the use of force as the only means of achieving self-determination and independence in southern Africa. We believe that the United Nations has made and can continue to make a real contribution towards bringing about this beneficial change. It is, therefore, a matter of serious concern that some responsible Members—while declaring in this forum their support for the principles of the United Nations Charter and for the rights of self-determination and independence of dependent peoples, and their opposition to the policy of *apartheid*—have not in practice adhered to international measures designed to help the oppressed peoples in the area. They have in fact directly and indirectly encouraged

the very Governments the United Nations is trying to persuade to abide by internationally accepted principles which we are all pledged and charged by the Charter to pursue.

80. Another form of injustice which calls for urgent effective and concerted international action is the increasing incidence of acts of politically inspired terrorism against innocent individuals. We refer to the hijacking of commercial aircraft, kidnapping, the use of letter bombs and other such devices. Fiji will continue to support any internationally agreed preventive measures, and regards this as a matter of the highest priority for the United Nations. However, here again, measures to combat illegal terrorist activities and, indeed, to promote universal respect for international law and order will work only if all nations co-operate in observing them. The sense of urgency and the strong desire to rid the world of terrorist acts should not be permitted to be blunted by the supporters of their perpetrators.

81. Fiji has on numerous occasions voiced in this Assembly and in other international forums its strong opposition to the continuation of all nuclear-weapon tests in any environment, and in particular nuclear testing in the atmosphere in the South Pacific. With 300 scattered islands and with limited land resources, Fiji regards the sea and its resources as matters of vital importance in its efforts to improve the quality and standard of life of its people. It is for that reason that Fiji is seeking, at the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the recognition by the international community of the special needs and interests of mid-ocean archipelagic States. But it is for the same reason that the Government and people of Fiji have taken very seriously the resumption by France of atmospheric nuclear testing in the South Pacific.

82. We appreciate that the primary concern of a country must be to safeguard its national security against external aggression, but it must be equally recognized that we are all members of a world community and action taken by one member can impinge on the rights of others. It is, therefore, to be regretted that, as a responsible member of the international community, France has continued to conduct nuclear testing in the atmosphere at a point far removed from its own metropolitan territory, thus endangering the marine resources, health and lives of peoples of the South Pacific region.

83. The international community has shown its strong opposition to nuclear weapons and nuclear testing in numerous resolutions and various international treaties and in the recurring appearance on the agenda of the General Assembly of items dealing with disarmament and the creation of nuclear-free or peace zones. This year marks the tenth anniversary of the partial test-ban Treaty,¹ whose basic aim is to end the nuclear arms race and thus eliminate the need for nuclear weapons and their testing. Yet France has ignored the call of the international community for the halting of all atmospheric nuclear-weapon testing in the Pacific or elsewhere, and its call for all States that have not

¹ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

done so to adhere to the partial test-ban Treaty. It has chosen to disregard the terms of an interim injunction granted by the world Court.² At a time when the world community is actively concerned with the law of the sea, France has cordoned off a large area of the high seas far beyond the boundary of the territorial sea of its testing site. This is a dangerous encroachment of the long-standing principle of freedom of the high seas, and when States continue to show a total disregard for accepted international legal norms, it is the world community as a whole that suffers. Only last week, the South Pacific Conference, meeting in Guam, passed a strongly worded resolution in condemnation of these tests and all other nuclear tests. The Secretary-General of the South Pacific Commission was asked by the Conference to transmit the resolution to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the information of its Members.

84. It follows that Fiji will welcome the opportunity to discuss with our Pacific neighbours the proposal for a nuclear-free zone in the region as mentioned yesterday by the Prime Minister of New Zealand [2129th meeting].

85. I have already referred to the forthcoming Conference on the Law of the Sea. The issues to be discussed at that Conference are of immediate concern to my country, as indeed to other States, for the seas not only surround us but also join the component islands of Fiji into one nation. My country, as a member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, which is preparing the Conference, is very much aware of the complexity of the issues and the diversity of interests which have dogged the Committee's work. My delegation believes that the Conference can accomplish its complex and difficult task only if all interests groups decide to demonstrate a genuine willingness to resolve the intractable issues facing them. What is necessary on the part of all States is the political will to negotiate and a spirit of co-operation and mutual accommodation. What we look for is not only a sense of realism in the claims to national jurisdiction, but also a willingness on the part of the major maritime Powers to recognize the fact that a new law of the sea is evolving. In our view, the international community must choose to establish a new order of the oceans for the benefit of all, or else risk allowing the present situation to degenerate into a new area of tension, lawlessness and uncontrolled exploitation, from which only the more developed few will benefit.

86. What the Secretary-General has called the "new balance of prudence", accompanying the détente between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the United States and China, has raised hopes for a more peaceful world. The successful completion of the first phase of the strategic arms limitation talks, the launching of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and talks on force reductions in Europe, and the presence in our midst of the two German States—these have all borne witness to this new mood. The reduction of fears of survival is an objective which must continue to be pursued.

87. But what has the détente meant to the international community and to this world Organization in particular?

Military arms expenditures are still rising. Nuclear-weapon tests are still being conducted. The risk of miscalculation and misconception of motives and intentions remains a constant threat to a détente based on a precarious nuclear balance. Because of continuing disagreements among the nuclear Powers, general and complete disarmament has remained an unattainable objective. Real peace has not come to Viet-Nam despite the official cease-fire. American bombing in Cambodia has now ceased, but war continues in that country. The Middle East remains an area of acute tension, and for decades the inhabitants of the region have not known the normal living which it is their birthright to expect and to enjoy. Dialogue has been established between the two Koreas, but no real progress has been achieved in normalizing relations in order to achieve their peaceful reunification.

88. The recent agreement between India and Pakistan on the future of war prisoners has demonstrated to the world community that a lasting settlement can be brought about only by frank and peaceful dialogue between the parties directly involved. No one can benefit from armed conflicts or confrontations, whatever their outcome; we can all benefit from peace.

89. The United Nations was set up, according to its Charter, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It has, on many occasions, helped to reduce tension and risk in a conflict situation and to facilitate the re-establishment of dialogue. But because of continuing disagreements among the major Powers, the United Nations peace-keeping operations have been at best a voluntary exercise, and in fact there may perhaps have been situations where the parties concerned have considered a United Nations presence an excuse to avoid serious dialogue.

90. For countries like my own, the real détente must also embrace increased international co-operation in promoting economic and social development. The existence of widespread conditions of mass poverty, unemployment and underemployment, and of glaring inequalities of income both between and within countries is a potential source of tension in the world today. Permanent peace and stability can, therefore, be achieved only through a new sense of international commitment towards mutual assistance and co-operation.

91. In this connexion, my delegation would like to express the sincere gratitude of the Government and the people of Fiji for the prompt response of the international community, through this Organization and bilaterally, in providing assistance for hurricane and flood victims in Fiji late last year. This was a clear demonstration to us of a joint and deliberate commitment to assist the less fortunate sections of the international community.

92. The present session will be the occasion for the first biennial review of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which is geared specifically towards assisting the acceleration of social and economic development in the third world. In this regard, the Strategy lays particular emphasis on the need for increased transfer of resources through both development assistance and trade. But we would prefer to regard the creation of favourable trade conditions and trade itself

² *Nuclear Tests (Australia v. France), Interim Protection, Order of 22 June 1973, I.C.J. Reports 1973; p. 99.*

as the best form of aid; for it is only in increased trade that we can hope to realize our aims through our own efforts, without a sense of external obligation or a continuing heavy dependence on special assistance from outside.

93. Like many other developing countries, Fiji has a limited home market and its principal exports are two primary commodities, sugar and copra, which are subject to price fluctuations on the open market. Fiji is therefore heavily reliant on foreign trade as the source of essential foreign exchange. It is thus a matter of vital necessity to us that we find assured outlets and secure stable and remunerative prices for our primary exports. Additionally, because of the continuing deterioration in the terms of trade of commodity exports, it is of utmost importance that there should be some direct relationship between primary export prices and the price of goods for which they are traded. The study of some mechanism to provide this relativity should be a priority call upon the research agencies of this great Organization.

94. The current negotiations for the renewal of the international agreement and multilateral trade talks through GATT, and the forthcoming negotiation between the enlarged European Economic Community and the developing associate and associable countries, have a direct bearing on our efforts to improve the quality of life and the economic standards of our people. However, the success of these negotiations will depend ultimately on the attitude taken by the developed countries.

95. The International Development Strategy, to which we all subscribe, comes out clearly in favour of commodity agreements for assuring equitable and remunerative commodity prices. This is the type of aid we most need. We appreciate that where such agreements involve restricting domestic production—as with beet sugar in Europe—the fear of hardship and unemployment can give rise to powerful sectional opposition in the developed countries. This can be true also when other measures to improve the terms of trade of developing countries involve reducing protection on locally produced goods. But the developed countries have the necessary capital, technology and skill to diversify into alternative lines of production and thereby minimize any loss of employment opportunity. The developing countries have not, and must continue to rely heavily on the export of primary commodities and semi-processed agricultural goods.

96. The last decade has been a period of very rapid development in the South Pacific. Many Territories in the area have gained independence: first, Western Samoa and Nauru; then, Tonga and Fiji; and now Papua New Guinea will shortly achieve its independence. The Cook Islands are self-governing and Niue Island will achieve this status next year.

97. Concurrent with this development is the steady growth of a sense of Pacific consciousness among the countries and Territories in the region. It is not so much a birth as a rebirth or rediscovery of old links and ties temporarily broken by the division of the area into metropolitan spheres of influence. This growing spirit of co-operation has manifested itself both in the establishment of new regional institutions, like the University of the

South Pacific, and in changes within existing regional bodies, like the South Pacific Commission, whereby the Pacific island members now have a far greater say in controlling the organization, including its budget and work programme.

98. The most exciting recent development is the emergence of the South Pacific Forum, a grouping which grew spontaneously from within the region, bringing together Australia and New Zealand with the independent island countries of the South Pacific in a common endeavour to establish a new free and independent association based on better understanding and more effective co-operation. With this underlying notion the Forum has set up the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation to try to modify the existing pattern of economic relationships between countries in the region and those outside it.

99. These are trends which reveal an increasing awareness of common regional interests. They also show that countries in a region, despite wide disparities in their stages of economic development and differences in their ethnic composition, can come together in a partnership to promote the well-being of their peoples. But the essence of this regional relationship is that it is outward-looking.

100. We believe that peace, security and orderly economic and social progress can be brought about only by all States coming together and pooling their resources for the benefit of mankind. What this requires is not that States should surrender their sovereignty but that they should be outward-looking and that they should regard others on the basis of equality, mutual respect, tolerance and understanding.

101. What is required is that all the Member States should constantly bear in mind that this great Organization can achieve a great deal more in its international peace and security efforts, in economic and social development and in its other aims only if it has the full and continuous support of all its Members. Where we have failed or have not been effective is where this support has been lacking or inadequate. Thus the call to all Members which want a strong United Nations, more especially to the major Powers and the developed countries, is not only to criticize it for its shortcomings from outside but also to advise and empower their representatives within the Organization to remedy its weaknesses and to give the United Nations their wholehearted support which it so fully deserves.

102. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain): Mr. President, I wish to begin by expressing the gratification of the Government of the State of Bahrain at your election to preside over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are looking forward with hope to a successful session under your wise leadership. I should also like to pay a tribute to our former President, Mr. Trepczyński, for the manner in which he directed the work of the previous session. Also, I should like to welcome the presence at this session of the delegations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and the presence of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas as full-fledged Members of this Organization.

103. The present session of the General Assembly has witnessed major developments in the relations between the big Powers. This has been the culmination of a series of events which took place during the last two years and which heralds a new era of relaxation in international tension and co-operation among the big Powers.

104. The restitution of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations [*resolution 2758 (XXVI)*] has been one of the encouraging factors in the new international climate. Meanwhile, there are many serious pending problems which urgently need action. We should not neglect these questions simply because they are not of immediate interest to the big Powers. In the view of my country, colonialism, *apartheid* and poverty have a large impact on the future of international relations and will adversely influence the international climate unless we grapple with these persistent problems and find a speedy solution for them which is not based on expediency but which will be in conformity with the dictates of right and justice.

105. I shall start with the Middle East question which contains elements of all the evils I have just alluded to, namely, colonialism, racism and poverty.

106. It is not my intention to review the Middle East question with which Members are all familiar. The question is now so well known that the peace-loving peoples all over the world take every opportunity to express their support for the Palestinian people and their just cause and insist on the withdrawal of Israel from the territories it occupied in 1967.

107. In the beginning of this month, more than 70 nations and Heads of State met in Algeria for the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, representing more than half of the population of the world, and adopted a momentous resolution regarding this question. This resolution, which contains practical measures for settling this question, should serve as an incentive to our Organization for taking appropriate action to uphold the rule of law and restore to the victims of Israeli aggression their lawful rights. I shall quote the main provisions of this resolution, which now forms part of the Political Declaration of the Conference:

“In the Middle East, the situation continues to give rise to deep concern. Israel’s obstinate persistence in its policy of aggression, expansion and annexation, as well as its policy of oppression directed against the inhabitants of the territories occupied by force, is a challenge to the international community, the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a threat to international peace and security.

“Drawing renewed attention to the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, the Conference calls for immediate and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied territories, and pledges itself to assist Egypt, Syria and Jordan in liberating their occupied territories by every means.

“In this connexion, the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people is a basic prerequisite for the establishment of an equitable and lasting peace in the

area. The struggle of the Palestinian people to recover their usurped homeland is an integral part of the struggle of all people against colonialism and racial discrimination and for self-determination. Member countries of the Conference call upon all States, and in particular the United States of America, to abstain from providing Israel with arms, or any political, economic or financial support which may enable it to continue its aggressive and expansionist policy.

“... .

“The Conference gives its firm support to and expresses its solidarity with the Palestinian people in their sore trial and the heavy sacrifices it is making to recover its national dignity and entity.” [*A/9330 and Corr.1, paras. 28-30 and 32.*]

108. As long as the aggressive Zionist State is dispossessing the Palestinian people of their homeland and rights, and is illegally occupying territories of three Arab countries, the world will not witness peace, as this troubled situation could explode at any moment, exposing our civilization to the danger of devastation. Bahrain would like to see the United Nations playing its proper and effective role in world affairs and see the countries which hold in their hands the key to the solution of this dangerous situation take an active part in doing so rather than stand aloof as mere observers.

109. This year, the United Nations will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Bahrain is looking forward to participating in this celebration. Bahrain attaches great importance to safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedoms for all peoples. It is significant to note in this respect that the new Constitution of Bahrain, which was approved by the Constituent Assembly, upholds the rights of the citizens of Bahrain in civil, political and social affairs. The Constitution of Bahrain is a solid foundation for a democratic life supported by both the people and the Government of Bahrain. One of the aims of the Constitution is to maintain the dignity and worth of the people of Bahrain and lead them to an honourable and fruitful life.

110. This year a major step towards world peace has been achieved by the signature of the cease-fire agreements in Viet-Nam. Nations all over the world have shown their relief at the cease-fire in that part of the world. Nevertheless, the situation in Indo-China is still precarious and may threaten the stability of political and economic life in that area. Accordingly, we hope that all parties involved will work towards the ending of hostilities and armed confrontation.

111. It is true that it is not in the interest of nations that the arms race should continue at a time when millions of people are living in misery and poverty. Statistics indicate that some \$200,000 million a year are spent on military activities, while only half this amount is spent on economic and social development. The world has not yet forgotten the destruction inflicted on human civilization by the last two world wars. So long as the arms race is not curbed, the threat of another world war will remain with us. The United Nations, through the goodwill and determination of

its Members, can call a halt to the arms race and the production and stockpiling of destructive weapons. It is high time that the United Nations should play a more effective role in achieving general and complete disarmament and that Member States should meet their moral obligations towards the nations of the world, which are longing for peace and security.

112. The Indian Ocean is a vital area for the many nations who want it to be a zone of peace. The United Nations has declared that the Indian Ocean is a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] and should not be used as an arena for military activities which endanger the political and economic stability of the littoral and hinterland States. Bahrain, which declared its approval of this principle, appeals to all other nations to do the same and to refrain from jeopardizing the peace and stability of this area. Also, we believe that the Gulf area should also remain free from big-Power rivalries and foreign intervention.

113. Another aspect of global unrest is the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. The United Nations has in the past spared no effort to combat these policies and practices through the resolutions that were adopted year after year. Nevertheless, these efforts have been in vain, mainly because those who carry out such practices persist in their wrong-doing and turn a deaf ear to all voices that condemn them. Moreover, these racist régimes are able to adhere to their vicious policies because of the moral and material support they receive from some other industrially advanced countries. The latter claim to be among those who laid the foundation of human rights, while at the same time they support racist régimes which suppress the indigenous populations and deny them their fundamental freedoms and inalienable human rights.

114. Colonialism and *apartheid* are crimes against humanity and can no longer be condoned. The international community must compel colonial and racist régimes to give up these odious practices.

115. The liberation movements in Africa are legitimate causes that must be supported and encouraged. Every nation on this earth has the right to self-determination, which, if denied, can be achieved through armed struggle. Bahrain confirms its support for the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

116. In 1970, the United Nations initiated the Second United Nations Development Decade with a view to achieving the target of raising the national income of developing countries by 6 per cent. In order to achieve this objective there must be international co-operation, and in this respect the developed countries can help a great deal. Nobody can deny that the developing countries are primarily responsible for their own development. However, this should not prevent the developed countries from helping to improve the standard of living in the developing countries. The offer of technical assistance and the provision of financial aid can diminish the wide gap between the poor and the rich countries.

117. The increasing problems of the environment are placing a new challenge before those who are endeavouring

to find solutions to combat them. No State whatsoever is immune from the problems of pollution of the environment. The United Nations has initiated an environmental programme and has set up a secretariat entrusted with the duty of following up the programme. It is hoped that all nations will co-operate amongst themselves and with the various international organizations in the struggle to combat the problems of pollution.

118. Now that we are meeting in this grand Assembly to discuss the matters included in our agenda, which may exceed 100 items in number, we should look back on the work of our Organization to see whether it has achieved its aims and purposes, particularly the maintenance of international peace and security.

119. The United Nations has been exceptionally ineffective in maintaining international peace and security. To take one significant example, our Organization succeeded in repelling the aggression committed by Israel during the Suez war in 1956, while it has so far been unable to compel Israel to renounce the fruits of its aggression in 1967.

120. It is our fervent hope that the lessons of the past will be heeded and that the General Assembly will take effective measures to maintain and promote the aims and purposes of the United Nations. Meanwhile, I would take this opportunity to reiterate my country's firm support of the principles and ideals of the Charter and to proclaim its co-operation with the Secretary-General, who needs our help and whole-hearted assistance in the noble cause he is working for.

121. Mr. VAZQUEZ-CARRIZOSA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to greet the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who this year made an extremely important and fruitful visit to Latin America when the Security Council held its meetings in Panama. His words on that memorable occasion³ were heard with immense satisfaction since they bespoke the intention of the United Nations to deal with the political and economic problems of the developing countries. During his stay in the capital of my own country, we expressed our thanks to him personally.

122. With the very deepest feelings of sincere friendship, I should like to congratulate the President of this session of the General Assembly, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who has for so many years outstandingly and effectively represented in this Organization a nation friendly to Colombia. We are truly gratified by this well-earned election, which honours a Latin American personality and a country with an admirable international tradition. Our President, who knows the United Nations well, will at all times be the impartial leader of our debates.

123. In this introduction to my statement, may I refer to a great Colombian who died this morning, Eduardo Zuleta Angel, an eminent jurist who, in 1946, presided over the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. He played

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, 1695th meeting.*

an important part in the drafting of the Charter in San Francisco. For my country and for the world Organization, this is an irreparable loss, which we mourn deeply.

124. I must also speak with sadness of the death of two other important personalities, the President of Chile, Salvador Allende, and the poet of America, Pablo Neruda. Allende was a leader with whom we were linked by friendship, and Neruda was an intellectual of great international standing.

125. History is a constant process of correction and innovation, and no one today will challenge the fact that we stand on the threshold of a new era in international relations which bears the sign of a spiritual, political and economic convergence of continents.

126. Thanks to the extraordinary means of social communication provided by scientific and technical progress, countries feel more closely united precisely because they are more directly connected. Intercontinental distances have been shrunk by supersonic planes, and images are projected from one end of the world to the other in fractions of a second. This same inner inspection of the earth and its latent wealth is being pressed forward from a space laboratory with a meticulous precision undreamed of by scientists 20 years ago.

127. Globalism—that trend towards universal convergence—leaves far behind the stances and the alliances of the period following the Second World War, when we saw taking root the bipolar system of power distribution of the world, with its sequel of grim and intense rivalries between the great Powers that headed the two confronting camps, the United States and the Soviet Union. In fact, occasions were not lacking when that very confrontation spelled a dangerous approach to the edge where an atomic holocaust could take place, and there were times when the United Nations itself was felt to be unreal.

128. Armageddon in the twentieth century would be brought about by the two opposing blocs resorting to their respective atomic arsenals. But, fortunately, for mankind, that terrifying apocalyptic spectre has been dissipated by the emergence of a new period, one of an interrelationship among differing political and ideological systems, an interweaving of the great Powers, and an arrival at joint agreements for their mutual benefit in the economic field and in trade.

129. Beyond the policy of confrontation and the bipolar system lies a period of globalism, a system truly planetary in its dimensions and political, economic and social scope. But without being carried away by optimism we can assert that this new era of world co-operation is characterized by the following features: first, wide international co-operation among all countries; secondly, peace—as the target of international policy and action—more deeply felt and more ardently won; thirdly, the end of colonialism and the repudiation of racial discriminations as outmoded institutions not in keeping with the dignity of the subjected peoples; fourthly, international law as the equally global concept of international relations and the reflection of a gamut of concerns going from the good behaviour of States

to the problems of outer space, the sea-bed and the ecology of continents and fifthly, economic and social justice as the necessary premise for the new ordering of international trade, the international distribution of labour and the monetary system.

130. Thus the assumption of membership in the United Nations by so many new States of Africa and Asia that have achieved their independence is a clear index of that universality that imbues our debates. Gradually a multipolar system has been developing that allows for the distribution of international competences among a larger number of sovereign States and replaces the erstwhile division of the international order among confronting blocs. And the symptoms of globalism multiply. The problems of the sea-bed, the ocean floor and outer space are discussed. Ecology has made its debut among the list of contemporary issues. Over 130 nations now participate in our work and technological and industrial progress is not confined to a single continent but has moved to the Far East—to Japan, whose rebirth is so gratifying to us.

131. The presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has revitalized our Organization by the addition of a nation that is among the most densely populated in the world, while the admission to our midst of the two Germanys and of a newly-created American State, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas—which we welcome with such pleasure—puts an effective end to a history of rivalries and animosities and is a decisive step towards international rapprochement.

132. Without denying that these positive results have been obtained by dint of a direct understanding among the great Powers—primarily the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China—we wonder whether we are not at present witnessing a return to the formulas of the balance of power that were so typical of European international politics of the nineteenth century and the days of Prince Metternich.

133. Our concern lies not in the existence of a system of balances and counterbalances among the great Powers—or in the fact that such a system ushers in an era of useful trade and financial exchanges; for we cannot deny the meaning of history based on what we have called “ideological pluralism”, namely, the coexistence of different systems within the framework of international co-operation and mutual respect for the sovereignty and self-determination of peoples.

134. We merely point out that that very balance of power is achieved by agreements concluded on the fringe of the United Nations and is creating a special system of relations among a privileged group of States—a group that is governed by principles and goals that differ from those of the United Nations. The division of the world into great power blocs on the one hand and the rest of the nations on the other is a fact of contemporary life but it nevertheless shatters international solidarity.

135. This might well be the appropriate moment to state that never before has the need—and perhaps the urgency—been more clearly seen of setting in effective motion the machinery and the processes of the United Nations.

136. The United Nations is the immense arena for the convergence of all peoples of the earth. The Charter of the world Organization not only possesses specific juridical values embodied in a series of commitments on the part of all its Members to abide by certain obligations and enjoy certain rights; it not only represents the duty of resorting to juridical processes in the settlement of international disputes, but it also carries an effective political value.

137. The Charter of the United Nations must always be interpreted juridically and politically. It contains as much of law as it does of politics. It is far from being a mere collection of guiding principles and procedures; it also contains a variety of compromise formulas for the adoption of new attitudes in keeping with the circumstances of history that is passing through what one Latin American author has termed "the commonplace of revolution".

138. The Charter of the United Nations and its principal organs—the Security Council and the General Assembly—must be resorted to constantly in the shaping of the framework for international relations. The very play of balances among the great Powers must have the purpose of ensuring the improved functioning of the United Nations.

139. Globalism, internationalism, United Nations: surely these are synonyms. Exclusivism, political separatism, the forgetting of the developing countries: surely these are contradictions of the history we are now living. Prince Metternich ought not to be revived; he should be surpassed.

140. In fact, our day calls for the closest association among all continents, among all peoples, among all races.

141. The primary condition for the new order of peace to become a reality lies in the overriding need for the non-proliferation of nuclear arms. Along these lines, Latin America pointed the way with the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco on the prohibition of nuclear weapons in the hemisphere, as did the United Nations in 1968, when the General Assembly adopted the important measure of recommending to States the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. That Treaty and the Moscow Treaty of 1963 which prohibits all nuclear tests in the atmosphere or in any environment that might cause radioactive contamination were the first steps taken along the road to general and complete disarmament precisely for the purpose of strengthening the new world order. The so-called test-ban Treaty—though it be limited in scope—is nevertheless the indispensable prelude to the creation of what U Thant referred to in 1963 as a better awareness of the need at least to limit the manufacture of devices for mass destruction.

142. It is for those reasons that this year Colombia repeated its protests against the atomic tests carried out in the Mururoa Atoll in the Pacific Ocean. We did so standing together with the members of the Andean Pact, namely, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. We did so because, apart from the knowledge of the dangerous effects on the ecology of the seas and oceans of such tests, there was the matter of principle dictating that we take up the international work of disarmament without delay.

143. The 1967 report of a group of consultant experts, in response to General Assembly resolution 2162 A (XXI) of 5 December 1966 on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons and on the implications for States of the acquisition and further development of these weapons, set forth among other conclusions that an atmospheric explosion of a device at a height of less than 100,000 feet produces an energy discharge of 50 per cent—heat radiation of 35 per cent, and radioactive discharge of 15 per cent.⁴ One third of these radiations is produced within the first minute of the explosion, and the radioactive effects are carried by the atmosphere over great distances.

144. In the case at issue there was also a formal judgement handed down by the International Court of Justice at the request of Australia and New Zealand, and our deepest hope is to see the highest court of the United Nations fully respected by the Member States when it intervenes in matters of peace. There can be no other way of establishing an order of law in the world but by seeking the non-proliferation of atomic arms.

145. We are deeply convinced of the primacy of international law and of the fundamental role of the International Court of Justice as the authorized interpreter of the commitments assumed by States Members of the United Nations.

146. The report of the Group of Consultant Experts on the Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and Military Expenditure,⁵ nominated by the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 2667 (XXV) of the 1970 session of the General Assembly, contains statistics of the problem that are truly alarming.

147. By the end of the decade of the 1970s the level of total arms expenditure rose beyond \$200,000 million a year, and, as the experts point out, those military expenditures were two and a half times greater than the entire amount allocated by Governments to health programmes, one and a half times greater than the amount devoted to education, and 30 times greater than the total of the official economic assistance given by the developed countries to the developing nations.⁶

148. Mankind must think carefully whether this colossal squandering of wealth is justified or not. The large-scale manufacture of multiple independent re-entry vehicles has been perfected. These can be launched against a number of targets simultaneously and can, in one launching, wipe out antiballistic missiles. So, therefore, we ask ourselves, how far will this frenzied race of man towards his own destruction take us? For the developing countries a modern supersonic fighter-plane represents 10 times the cost of the machine 10 years ago and requires a far more highly sophisticated and complex control system than that used until 1945.

⁴ See *Effects of the Possible Use of Nuclear Weapons and the Security and Economic Implications for States of the Acquisition and Further Development of these Weapons* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.IX.1), p. 39.

⁵ *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.IX.16).

⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 24.

149. The same can be safely said of the other modern weaponry. It is true that part of that expenditure is laid out for scientific research, but it is no less obvious that a greater transfer of resources for the improvement of the health, education and nutritional possibilities of mankind would help to dispel the demographic problems that seem insoluble today. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade called for a 6 per cent rate of growth and an increase in domestic savings to reach the 20 per cent level by 1980. Yet how can these levels be reached if the arms race continues in the world?

150. Therefore, the Second United Nations Development Decade hinges on disarmament. In resolution 2930 (XXVII) the General Assembly invited the Governments of all States to continue efforts to create conditions conducive to the holding of a world disarmament conference and to that end created a Special Committee to prepare for that conference, and included Colombia in its membership.

151. We have always held the opinion that disarmament should be achieved not only within the concept of universality that underlies our Organization, but also bearing in mind regional circumstances and what we might term the "defence balance" of each of our continents. Conditions in Latin America are not identical with those in Europe, or Africa, or Asia. Each of those regions is beset by needs that are well known to the experts in arms types and face logistic conditions on which the concept of continental defence must rest.

152. We would therefore presume that, just as a Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe would inevitably tend to create a balance of forces between those countries that have adhered to the system of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the States signatories of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, signed at Warsaw in 1955—the Warsaw Pact—so, too, the States of other regions—in particular those of Latin America and Africa—which have their own regional organizations could also establish in the United Nations specific plans governing the defence and arms balance in their respective areas. We advocate a regional approach to disarmament.

153. Thus we would see the regional groups playing a decisive role in the preparation of the forthcoming world disarmament conference. Otherwise, that conference might suffer the same unfortunate and uncertain fate of so many earlier efforts—made without a regional approach—to solve the problems that may effect over 130 States possessing different economic and political systems, and lying in different latitudes.

154. In the inter-American regional organization, Colombia has put forth these same ideas in order to avoid unnecessary military expenditures in Latin America and help to accelerate economic and social development.

155. We are happy to agree with the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the fact that the necessity for international co-operation has never been so urgent, but we ask ourselves what are the main functions that this Organization should therefore be called upon to perform.

156. Starting from the assumption that world-wide confrontations have been set aside thanks to the solid progress achieved in rapprochement by the great Powers, there are still in existence the "peripheral conflicts", or, if you prefer, local wars. The Viet-Nameese experience must be studied in order to avoid the failure of the peace-keeping mission of this international Organization if it stands immutable, with the rigidity of a statue, when, in some part of the world, wide-scale military operations are taking place or when mass destruction of towns and human beings is taking place, simply because such a war has not legally been declared.

157. The fiction that conflicts do not exist if they have not been formally declared or if the outmoded diplomatic niceties of the announcement of the outbreak of hostilities have not been fulfilled seems to overlook the shocking fact of the existence of the victims of the sophisticated weapons that are used in combat in a well-known demographic area. We must agree that the United Nations should play a pacifying role in undeclared wars as well as in those legally recognized as existing.

158. There is, furthermore, the fact that wars of today inevitably end at the negotiating table, given the inability of the combatants to destroy one another. War, therefore, merely postpones the solution to problems instead of settling them.

159. The procedures for international conciliation in the United Nations must therefore be made more supple and the part played by the Security Council or the General Assembly more persevering.

160. The new global concept of international affairs was very obviously demonstrated by the special meetings of the Security Council held in Panama at the beginning of this year. It was a most heartening experience for us to see such a high political organ of the United Nations dwelling more directly on the problems of the Western Hemisphere and hearing the opinions of the Latin American nations at first-hand.

161. Speaking for my own country, I was able to draw attention to some problems occurring specifically in our continent, problems which condition the maintenance of peace there. The persistence of under-development and the existence of large masses of the population outside the main current of development cannot be corrected except by vast plans for industrial development and for improving the economic and social infrastructure. This calls for an increase in our capacity to export and to generate a potential wealth that can be distributed among the less fortunate in the form of salaries and educational, health and housing assistance.

162. The major problem besetting Latin America is under-development. The population of our countries literally flocks to the cities in search of better living and working opportunities, and there is no chance of grappling with what has been termed the "revolution of rising expectations" of the third world, unless there is a new international division of trade and unless more favourable access is opened up to the exports from those countries. At the same time, it is imperative to admit that the developing countries

have the right to regain the resources previously granted to others in colonial contracts, as one way of exercising their sovereignty.

163. Peace, therefore, is not the outcome of certain diplomatic protocols, but rather the result of a better economic balance between continents, and of a meeting of the aspirations for social justice that move our countries. Political peace itself is a precarious tool at best, unless it is accompanied by economic and social peace. In other words, international security must be assessed in economic and social terms.

164. But peace also depends on the solution that may be found to other problems that affect a region. So Colombia very sincerely endorsed the plea of other Latin American republics for a solution to the question of Panamanian sovereignty in the Panama Canal Zone. Nothing could be more just than that that country be allowed to put an end to a system that bisects its territory into two separate areas divided by a belt of water and land governed by another nation.

165. The Republic of Panama brought its problem directly to the United Nations because, procedurally, it was hamstrung in the inter-American regional organization, and the Security Council showed itself capable of entertaining the concern of peoples within the new global concept of international affairs.

166. Because of the trend towards globalism, we are witnessing a crisis in the regional organizations and in the way in which they were conceived after the Second World War as a means of dealing with the problems of the cold war and the conflicts arising out of the Power-bloc confrontations.

167. Security treaties, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of 1949 and the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance among the socialist countries—the Warsaw Pact of 1955—were designed as defensive alliances to cope with problems arising out of the cold war; but they have been left standing as isolated bodies, and now call for readjustments in the light of new situations flowing from European co-operation—not to mention the Middle-Eastern and Far-Eastern security alliances that have been dissolved by circumstances. In our own inter-American system, the inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance⁷ includes far wider aspects, but aside from that instrument the economic problems that we face cannot be solved by our regional organization.

168. The future of such organs—and particularly that of the inter-American organization—will depend on the way they decide to or can adapt to the new circumstances of a world in evolution, in which wide political agreements are sought outside ideologies and where it is nonsense for the cold war to have ended between the great Powers but to continue in Latin America, where the vestiges of the period of confrontation are carefully nurtured.

169. In some aspects Latin America has entered the twentieth century and in others it has remained in the

nineteenth. We now require a new continental policy for our Hemisphere, one based on United Nations principles for co-operation and relations among States that will permit each people to seek its own development and greater social justice, without interference of any sort.

170. First of all, each State must be entitled to establish relations with any other. International law, as practised in the world today, recognizes that freedom as inherent in sovereignty and as part of the concept of mutual and full respect for the independent personality of each State. Sooner or later this principle will have to prevail in the Western Hemisphere if we wish to restore friendship among the peoples of the region and be consistent with the notion of ideological plurality.

171. Secondly, in the future we will have to avoid a recurrence of certain interferences that have taken place in recent years and that have been in the nature of reprisals on the part of large corporations against certain countries. The credit of international agencies cannot be made to depend on restrictions derived from claims by private interests against a country, but must be open to the developing countries according to their capacity and ability. Intervention, in any of its forms and manifestations, is contrary to the very spirit of the day.

172. Finally, Colombia is concerned over the basic aspect—the fate of human rights in the Hemisphere and in the world and the guarantees that must surround the dignity of the human person. We witness with sorrow the existence of certain situations in which the principles that we felt to be deeply embedded in contemporary civilization are entirely eradicated.

173. Colombia is proud of its democratic lineage and reiterates its faith in the rule of law and of public liberties as a permanent system of coexistence based on equality and respect for all ideologies within the framework of the republican order.

174. It is easy, therefore, for us to advocate the doctrine of ideological pluralism which Colombia has championed successfully in the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. That rule of law which we apply to the individual citizen we have endeavoured to extend to every nation, so long as the latter, in turn, is willing to comply with, and accept, law and justice as norms governing the conduct of States.

175. We are defenders of this doctrine in so far as we believe in universality for international relations and the application of the principles of the self-determination of peoples and of non-intervention. But pluralism to us does not mean yielding our own national way of life, or forgetting our own democratic tradition, or even disregarding human rights elsewhere in the world. To us, it means mutual tolerance for the diversity of ideological systems and political régimes.

176. This pluralism, resting four-square on international coexistence, and based on clear legal principles, is professed by Colombia as a theory derived from our own national history. It also takes into account the image of a world governed by criteria of tolerance and respect among

⁷ Signed at Rio de Janeiro on 2 September 1947.

nations. Territorial sovereignty and the political independence of States are the foundations of ideological pluralism.

177. It is a doctrine that looks to the future, and not to the hatreds of the past.

178. The general economic situation is not satisfactory. The world is afflicted with a supply crisis. Furthermore, there is the grave uncertainty felt by the developing countries over the growing imbalance in the terms of trade. However, development plans presuppose the knowledge of the future pattern of world trade and of the monetary system.

179. The forthcoming trade and currency negotiations, to take place over the next few months, will be crucial to peace. We find ourselves at a point where the development gap has widened between the wealthy and the poor countries and is aggravated by the technological gap between the same groups. To a certain extent, the agreements among the great Powers tend to create a circle of privileged nations that act outside the confines of international conferences.

180. The creation of economic blocs has been a very different approach to world economy and one that was not dreamed of in 1944, when the ground was prepared for the monetary system, or even two years later, when world trade was organized. Freedom of trade has disappeared, as also has the concept of set parity, two principles that were then voiced as guidelines for economics, and we are daily moving deeper into a world bisected into the group of industrialized nations and that of the poverty zones of the third world.

181. Latin America has drawn a lesson from these events in order to strengthen its co-operation and encourage its dynamic and important efforts such as the Andean Agreement for Subregional Integration.

182. A very eager desire is expressed among the developing countries to be able to participate effectively in the resources of the sea adjacent to their coasts. Thus, new principles of the law of the sea are being elaborated such as that of the "patrimonial sea", which Colombia, together with other countries of Latin America, has defended. We are gratified to see that that initiative has won the support of other important countries, since it allows the establishment of the rights of the coastal State over an economic zone located beyond the 12-mile territorial sea, while respecting the notion of freedom of navigation and overflight and freedom to lay cables or submarine pipelines or to carry out scientific investigation under the control of the coastal State.

183. The great Powers must grant this equitable distribution of the ichthyological resources so as to allow the needs of the coastal populations to be satisfied. We have no doubt that the law of the sea evolves subject to obvious economic needs, in the same way as it did when for years it reflected the imperialisms and colonialisms of eras we believe obsolete. But the economic zone of the coastal State must then be the great and new principle of a truly universal law of the sea, one that will be the outcome of the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

184. I do not wish to overlook two burning issues of the present day. The unification of the two Republics of Korea will be a further contribution to the pacification of the Far East, and their admission to membership in the United Nations will doubtless help to extend the universality of our Organization.

185. The as yet uncertain atmosphere in the Middle East leads us to make an appeal for reconciliation and peace. Colombia has always believed that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains the basis for a just and lasting peace, and any action by the United Nations leading to peace must be predicated upon it. However, we do feel that it would be helpful to enhance the powers of Mr. Gunnar Jarring of Sweden as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Middle East, in order to encourage agreement among the States concerned in accordance with the terms of that resolution.

186. Our participation in the United Nations and the remarks we have made on the problems that appear in other parts of the world reflect Colombia's intention to seek an international order governed by law and built on justice. International life must daily become more imbued with the rules of law that must themselves be the expression of the universal agreement of peoples. Contrary to the case of the last century, the world today is no longer an inchoate mass that can be shaped and commanded from a few influential capitals. The premises that allowed colonialism and the distribution of spheres of influence have today disappeared.

187. Yet at present international problems are even more complicated because to the old matters of conciliation and peaceful means of settling international disputes must now be added the new problems besetting the world community, which have to do with the fate of mankind, its right to life, the protection of economic security and the preservation of the environment. We might safely say that man and all men are the main subject for international organizations such as the United Nations—organizations that hope to influence conditions of peace and security in the world.

188. Peace must thus depend on an over-all preservation of human life and a larger investment of the resources made available to the wealthy countries when no longer used for armaments. Peace is a single problem of anguished and, generally speaking, impoverished mankind. In that vast field the United Nations has an agenda of infinite scope. The regional organizations are in a critical situation since they are unable to deal with the disquiet of a world knitted tighter together by means of communication, technology and science and by the solidarity that today exists among all nations.

189. We could not guarantee that those desires will all be fulfilled entirely without conflicts or suffering. But we can make an appeal to men of all races and say that it is the widest programme and the most urgent to which generations can aspire.

190. For the time being, the United Nations is the greatest political hope of mankind.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.