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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MACGUIGAN (Canada): May I begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your assumption this year of the weighty office that you hold.

2. Foremost in my thoughts, as I again have the great honour of addressing this Assembly, are the enormous hopes that the world's peoples have had of this Organization. These hopes have constantly had to confront the grave problems and dangers that continue to threaten world peace and security and to divide the nations of the world. But I am also conscious of the accomplishments of the United Nations in the past 40 years in advancing some of our common aspirations. There is progress towards greater equity in economic opportunity. We have avoided generalized world conflict. Appalling wars have occurred, but they have been contained. The United Nations role in these achievements is especially significant when we consider the limitations that we, as Member States, have placed on its capacity to act.

3. I congratulate our Secretary-General on his own tireless efforts over the years. I wish particularly to place in review today the notion of the United Nations place in world affairs because I am very conscious of the fact that it is almost 20 years exactly since one of the Secretary-General's forerunners, the great Dag Hammarskjöld, was killed, in the service of world peace and of our Organization.

4. The sort of world problems that existed 20 years ago are a gauge for measuring how far we have come, if indeed we have come any distance at all, in our search for the truly better world that we were then after. A simple judgement is not easy. The world was dangerous then and it is dangerous now. But some of the dangers today are different than they were in 1961. It requires adaptation on the part of the States Members of the Organization to deal with them. We are entitled to ask whether it is not because of difficulties in adapting the Organization to change, as well as the restrictions that we have placed in

it, that the United Nations impact on world problems has not been greater.

5. Not all of today's problems are different. Sadly, some of the problems then are still with us today—white minority domination in South Africa, for example, and South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia, or the seemingly intractable problems of the Middle East. Others have appeared to work their way back into our preoccupations, such as features of East-West competition that for a time had receded from the forefront of our attention.

6. But, whatever the problems, there is a constant need to adapt to change. As I emphasized here at last year's session [*4th meeting*], change is natural and inevitable. Our greatest challenge is to adapt to that change, not to resist it.

7. Many of us here are meliorists, who hold that we can encourage change for the better and that the role of the Organization is central to the promotion of a better life for all the world's inhabitants. But even if we were not thus optimistic, we would still wish the United Nations to be effective in dealing with the problems that are within its mandate and in changing to cope with threats in the world today.

8. Dag Hammarskjöld died in 1961, along with other devoted members of the United Nations Secretariat, to whom I also pay homage, in an attempt to assist the progress of decolonization in Africa, to preserve the territorial integrity of a newly independent State and to resist the designs of countries and interests from there and elsewhere which, for reasons of self-interest or nostalgia, meant to subvert the changes which were taking place. I think that Hammarskjöld died with a vision of the United Nations peace-making and peace-keeping capability which was resisted then and which has been resisted since. But at least the process of political decolonization which seized our attention in those years has now been virtually completed. And, while I ask myself how many newly independent States enjoy today the sort of economic and political security and opportunity which they so bravely expected at the outset of their struggle for independence, it is perhaps illusory to tie their development to the notion of national independence. Self-determination, yes; but in 1981 we are much more deeply conscious of our global interdependence—the interdependence of States, of economies, of peoples and of dangers.

9. Economically, our interdependence is more authentically reciprocal. Twenty years ago the economic relationships between North and South were much more those of the classical form of colonial dependence. The idea that most industrialized countries of the world would by now be purchasing 30 and 40 per cent of their imported manufactured goods in developing countries would have

seemed far-fetched in 1961. Indeed, this interdependence in trade is an increasingly important feature of our view of international economic affairs. Its reflection in international decision-making is necessary. This, as well as our concern for equity in opportunity, helps to explain why Canada is a strong supporter of the need for a global negotiating process.

10. ⁹ There has been remarkable progress in the economic development of many developing countries since 1961. But still for many in the world the basic conditions of life are just as impoverished now as they were then. The apparent inability to aid these people in the dimensions required is an indictment we must accept. But, sadly, we must also accept that the economic expectations many held for the world in 1961, and for the industrialized countries in particular, were exaggerated. Were those years of unprecedented boom an aberration? Do we need to live now with diminished expectations for growth in the future? If so, it is our obligation to find ways to deal with world problems within the limits of a more stringent environment now than in 1961 and to redouble our efforts, with discipline and dedication, to direct our attentions to where they are really vitally needed.

11. Interdependence and its relationship to self-determination are a global political as well as economic reality. We are all neighbours, and strategically so. Twenty years ago the East-West strategic focus was mainly on Europe. Today the risk of confrontation between the super-Powers in areas normally considered to be part of the third world is also enhanced. There is a risk of aggravating problems already anguishing enough in terms of the turbulence and fragility of the conditions of underdevelopment and conflict indigenous to the regions in question. I call for a look backward to those contemporaries of Hammarskjöld who saw in non-alignment an opportunity for developing countries to concentrate on the problems before them without the threat of interference in their affairs from more powerful countries intent on diverting their assets to their own purposes. I say that true non-alignment is not only consistent with interdependence but more necessary because of it.

12. Is it possible that in the last 20 years the nature of East-West tension has changed because the Soviet Union is today a military super-Power with a capability of intervention which ranges far and wide? This capability can constitute a threat to world peace as well as to the non-alignment of countries as long as it is the instrument, in Afghanistan as well as in Kampuchea, of cynical *realpolitik*. Let us recognize that, if the strategic interests of great Powers are now in fact interdependent with events in the third world, then there is a need, above all, for great restraint on all our parts.

13. All these circumstances in 1981 call for a United Nations which is more meaningful and more relevant to global concerns and events, not less. As the challenges to all of us increase in complexity and urgency, the need for more sophisticated, flexible and responsive instruments to meet them grows apace. The problems of the rest of the century and beyond englobe the ecology and use of our land, our space and our seas, as well as the security of peoples and their rising expectation in a world concentrated through technology.

14. For instance, take the applications of nuclear technology. In 1961 most countries here were consoled by progress in negotiating a nuclear test-ban treaty. It looked then as if we were headed towards a halt in the arms race. It was a brief illusion. Today it is one of the most unequivocally disturbing features of international life, and indeed of our interdependence, that the dangers of nuclear war are now even greater. Nuclear proliferation threatens on two axes: the horizontal spread of nuclear weapons to previously non-nuclear-weapon States and the vertical amassing of even greater numbers of weapons by the super-Powers. I urge in the name of sanity that this danger be recognized and resisted.

15. We must enable the institutions of the United Nations to be more productive, not less, and we must encourage all countries to participate actively in the pursuit of solutions in these institutions. In doing so, we can demonstrate that we wish to make them relevant and productive for the general benefit, adapted to the shape of the world today. Many of my remaining remarks are directed to prospects for development in countries which were still colonies 20 years ago, and this reflects the interdependence of our interests and purposes today. But the political and economic problems of the world intersect and interact. It is important that the Organization adapt itself as well through greater sharing in the exercise of power and responsibility. Can we not ask ourselves if some of the notions of Dag Hammarskjöld with regard to a stronger United Nations in the interests of world peace and security cannot today be generally seen as more reasonable than they were 20 years ago? It is my view that they are certainly every bit as necessary.

16. Surely the continued occupation of Afghanistan by foreign military forces is an example of precisely the sort of threat to world peace and security which the United Nations was meant to prevent. The courage and determination of the resistance is an ennobling assertion of the human spirit against the machinery of military oppression, but the tragic facts reflect a basic fault in the notion of collective security. When a powerful country wishes to ignore United Nations decisions, it will feel free to do so unless its actions remain the object of continued international attention. The continued presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is an affront to the principles of the Organization.

17. I call on the Soviet Government to honour those principles and also the ideals of international conduct which the Soviet Union itself is pledged to follow. I ask that it respond positively to international efforts, including re-establishing a truly independent and non-aligned Government in Afghanistan, a Government which can reflect without outside interference the real will of the Afghan people.

[The speaker continued in French.]

18. As has been emphasized by the countries of the region, the situation in Kampuchea is also a threat to peace and security. A first attempt has been made to cope with the political problems that lie at the heart of the Kampuchean question, and we now know that a settlement should cover a cease-fire on the ground, the supervised withdrawal of foreign troops, the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision and the adoption of appropriate measures to ensure that those elections are not

disturbed by the armed factions in Kampuchea. Canada supports these proposals made at the International Conference on Kampuchea and contained in the Declaration of the Conference,¹ because they appear to provide the necessary guarantees for all the parties to the conflict. We also endorse the establishment by the Conference of an *ad hoc* committee² to study and apply the measures necessary to enable the proud Kampuchean people to decide on its own future. We urge the Members of this Organization to take this opportunity to resolve this tragic situation and to promote at long last a lasting peace in South East Asia.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

19. The self-determination sought for both Afghanistan and Kampuchea is one of the historic themes of the United Nations. It has been a central focus of the non-aligned movement, of which both Afghanistan and Kampuchea are members. It was also 20 years ago this month that the first meeting of the movement was held in Belgrade. I salute what the movement has done to advance the rights of newly emerging countries.

20. Today this ideal of self-determination is celebrated with the attainment of independence by Belize. This is an achievement for the United Nations in which Canada takes particular satisfaction as a long-time co-sponsor of United Nations resolutions on the subject. While Canada is disappointed that talks between the United Kingdom, Belize and Guatemala have not led to the resolution of all outstanding issues, we are encouraged that there is a real commitment on the part of all parties to the promotion of peace in the region, which must include a final agreement on Belize. We are confident that the Governments of Belize and Guatemala will settle the issues between them in a peaceful and durable manner.

21. But if the independence of Belize represents an event to celebrate, how depressing it is again to contemplate on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly the same issues affecting southern Africa that the United Nations has been pronouncing itself on for decades. I was speaking earlier of the dynamics of change in human affairs and of the futility of resisting the strength of human aspiration to self-determination. But in South Africa in 1981 resistance to change has increased. I have no doubt that justice will come for the victims of racism in South Africa, for the majority whose human dignity is abused in an affront to us all. I sympathize with the impatience of those who shudder at abiding any longer, for another generation, another decade or two, the oppression of *apartheid*. But I counsel wisdom in choosing methods of promoting the freedom of these people, for we must not let differences over tactics serve to weaken our unity in that purpose.

22. In Namibia, too, the intransigence of the South African Government remains the sole obstacle to a negotiated settlement. Our only goal is to enable the Namibian people to gain their independence at last and the right to a free and fair election in which all Namibians can take part under United Nations supervision. Canada supports unconditionally Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the United Nations plan which the Council has embraced by that resolution, and we have been active, particularly in the contact group and with African States, in pursuing that goal.

23. In the Middle East there is also conflict, and at its centre is the Arab-Israeli dispute, as old as the United Nations itself. We cannot afford further delay in moving towards a negotiated settlement to this generations-old conflict, a settlement in which all the interested parties must participate. Israelis and Palestinians have legitimate rights and concerns which must be taken into account. Israel's quest for security and recognized boundaries and the right to be fully accepted by its neighbours can be met only in a political, not a military, framework. The same holds true for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, including their right to a homeland within a clearly defined territory—the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

24. I therefore urge all the parties concerned to summon the vision and the will required to take decisions which are as necessary as they are difficult. Among the areas where progress is urgently needed, none is more pressing than measures to ensure that the Middle East will remain free of nuclear weapons.

25. Another early concern of the United Nations was the Korean peninsula. There too the Secretary-General is performing a useful good-offices role. We are encouraged by the recent initiatives of the Republic of Korea for dialogue and reconciliation without conditions and for the greater integration of the peninsula into the international community.

26. The United Nations is also playing a valuable role in Cyprus, where peace-keeping and peace-making are proceeding in parallel under the Secretary-General's leadership. We hope that the approaches now being considered in negotiations between the two communities will lead to the just and lasting comprehensive settlement they both desire.

27. It is in Cyprus that the oldest and largest of Canada's present peace-keeping contingents is serving. Twenty-five years after the introduction of United Nations peace-keeping forces to world affairs, I see the Cyprus force as accomplishing an important role, encouraging us to believe in the notion of collective security through recourse to negotiation instead of conflict.

28. That is also the notion involved in our attempt to advance the rule of law at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. I should like to associate myself with the statement made by the Secretary-General at the opening of the tenth session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, on 9 March, when he said:

"Apart from the achievement of the specific objectives of this Conference, I attach the highest importance to the impact which its success may have in strengthening the role of the United Nations in finding viable solutions to great global issues."³

29. I wish to emphasize that the Conference is not merely an attempt to codify technical rules of law. It is a resource Conference; it is a food Conference; it is an environmental Conference; it is an energy Conference; it is a conservation Conference; it is an economic Conference; it is a maritime-boundary-delimitation Conference; it is a territorial-limitation and jurisdictional Conference; it is a transportation, communications and freedom-of-navigation Conference; it is a Conference which regulates all the

uses of the oceans by humanity. Most important it is a Conference which provides for the peaceful settlement of disputes concerning the oceans. It is, in other words, a Conference dedicated to the rule of law among nations.

30. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea ranks in importance with the San Francisco Conference founding the United Nations itself. It represents an extremely important element in the North-South dialogue. It has significant implications for peaceful East-West relations. It touches on the interests of every State great or small, rich or poor, coastal or land-locked. The achievement of a universal agreement on a Law of the Sea Convention is fundamental to world peace and security.

31. Of course, international peace and security, as well as development, freedom and life itself, will ultimately depend on whether we can successfully work towards arms control and disarmament. International security can be consistent with lower levels of armaments and expenditures. The coming special session on disarmament must point the way to more concrete progress than in recent years if credibility is to be maintained. Deliberations on disarmament at this session of the General Assembly can be of crucial importance in preparation. The remarkable consensus reached in 1978 needs reaffirmation and further direction.

32. It is true that the international climate is less favourable today. At the same time, we cannot ignore the growing impatience of the world's peoples with the lack of progress towards verifiable arms limitation and disarmament agreements. Our efforts on their behalf should take into account the situation as it is in covering realistic proposals which have some substantive chance to effect change. The Canadian Government recently reaffirmed the validity of the concept of the strategy of suffocation mentioned in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*]. Embracing that strategy are Canada's priorities on preparations for the second special session. They are: to encourage the continuation of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*]; to promote the attainment of a multilateral comprehensive test-ban treaty; to assist in the preparation of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on their destruction; to promote the evolution of an effective non-proliferation régime based on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; and to participate in negotiations to limit and reduce conventional forces. Canada is committed to breaking the pattern of madness which spiralling rearmament represents, and those priorities will guide our endeavours to fulfil this commitment.

33. I have spoken about the far-reaching quests for peace, self-determination and development. These are the forces by which pervasive change can be channelled in positive directions. They are as new as today and as old as humankind; constants amid change. They have found eloquent expression in the ideals of our Charter, and I urge our rededication to them.

34. But there is none so pervasive as the quest for human dignity for the individual and for his rights. That is why the United Nations enshrined in its Charter, as a primary objective, the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. There has been the development of several important

human rights instruments since, most notably the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the stewardship of the implementation of the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights there is the expert and responsible role of the Human Rights Committee. It is an example of the ability of the international community to promote internationally-recognized standards.

35. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is an equally significant covenant needing serious and expert review. There are areas in which international standards have yet to be established. We applaud the placing before this Assembly for adoption of a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief.⁴

36. But, while we welcome the continuing development of international human rights standards, we are deeply conscious that despite these the grossest abuses occur; the lives, freedom and integrity of innocent persons are constantly swept aside in the name of one cause, or power struggle, or another. If the United Nations provides relief unhesitatingly to the victims of natural disasters, how can we do less when the crises are man-made?

37. The United Nations has the means to respond. It can, for example, employ the good offices of the Secretary-General; it can provide for the urgent dispatch of a special rapporteur or a mission of enquiry. All that is needed is the will to act in providing protection for those individuals or groups whose situation has become perilous in situations of social breakdown.

38. On the subject of human rights and massive exodus, Canada welcomed the adoption of our proposal to appoint a special rapporteur. We trust that the experience of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan in that role will lead to the adoption of a report which provides insight into how the United Nations organizations and Member States can together prevent refugee situations from reaching existing proportions. We believe that report should provide an impartial basis for examining broader aspects of international refugee problems, including, for example, the proposed initiative by the Federal Republic of Germany regarding international guidelines for preventing massive flows of refugees.

39. Even in more tranquil situations, there is work to be done. This is the International Year of Disabled Persons, to promote the right of more than 500 million disabled people throughout the world to full participation and equality in a barrier-free world.

40. And there is the position of women in all countries and the need to improve their condition socially and politically and to promote the equality of women with men. An important step in this direction is the recent entry into force, on 3 September 1981, of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

41. Collective world concern for individual human rights and for organized efforts to promote the rights of women and the specifically disadvantaged are important recent phenomena. These issues are concerned with individuals, with the lives of people and groups of people,

and will continue to receive much attention in international forums.

42. At the level of nations, the emergence during the last 30 years of some 100 sovereign States must be counted as one of the most significant changes the world has ever seen. Dag Hammarskjöld was of course centrally involved in the process of assisting these new States to enter into the life of this institution. This was a period of birth and hope. But for many of those new States, perhaps for most, this hope was quickly tempered by the economic realities which faced them.

43. One reality which was evident immediately to the new States was that any economic interdependence which then applied was heavily skewed on the side of dependence and vulnerability for them. It was an asymmetrical relationship. The developing countries were acutely aware of this, but the developed world was not. That has now changed. I think that the change in perception on the part of developed countries towards the reality of global interdependence is of great significance, even a source of hope.

44. The growing realization that to an increasing extent our economic futures are linked can spur us towards solutions. The Brandt Report⁵ has, I think, contributed in this regard. In particular, there has been an increased awareness of the contribution of the developing countries to the over-all world economy. It is now projected that between 1980 and 1990 developing countries will account for more than a quarter of the increase in world trade. These statistics mask, of course, important differences among the various developing countries most involved as well as the relative impact of these changes on individual economies. But they indicate that developing countries are moving closer to the centre of the world economic stage.

45. Interdependence also has a price. It tends to make all nations more vulnerable to shocks from the outside and from forces beyond the control of national Governments. It is therefore of paramount importance that the international institutions which provide the frameworks for the international economic system function effectively. If they do not, if they become deadlocked and divided along bloc lines, or if they become hostage to narrow interests, then the international economy will suffer. In these circumstances, interdependence becomes a liability and all States suffer.

46. Inflation, high interest rates and sluggish growth pose real problems for the industrialized countries. The constraints on export growth and financing are mounting in the middle-income developing countries. It is, however, the low-income countries, particularly the least developed, which are the most vulnerable and whose prospects are the bleakest. Whether from oil shocks or high interest-rate shocks, they have suffered most.

47. The rising prices and diminishing supply of conventional petroleum reserves have had a major impact on all of us, but the impact of the two oil shocks of the 1970s has had a disproportionate effect on the developing countries, setting back the development plans of many of them. Canada agrees that a high priority in international action should be accorded to their energy needs. It is because energy is central to development that Canada supports the expansion of World Bank energy lending, in-

cluding lending through a new energy affiliate if this were eventually feasible, to assist developing countries in their energy programmes.

48. In Canada we have responded to this need by creating a new development assistance arm of our national oil company, Petro-Canada International, devoted to aiding oil-importing developing countries in the mobilization of their own energy resources, particularly hydrocarbons. Effort and imagination must also be used to seek out ways of assisting developing countries in non-petroleum sources of energy. The recent United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy was important in this respect, but represented a single step on a long and difficult road.

49. Just as Canada's economic structure and expertise favour development assistance in the energy area, so we also intend to make a major contribution to helping to improve agricultural production in developing countries. While international trade in food products has increased dramatically in recent decades, many nations which were previously self-sufficient in staple products, and even significant exporters of them, have become today reliant on food imports, particularly food grains. There is a real prospect of a food crisis in the 1980s and urgent international attention is needed on this problem.

50. I have spoken of energy and food—areas where Canada can make a unique contribution—but I would like also to say a few words about trade, for it is perhaps trade which, in the long run, offers the best promise of escape from the wheel of poverty for many countries.

51. Developing countries have seized important new opportunities to increase trade among themselves. But northern markets continue to be crucial, and future prospects for expanding North-South trade will depend to a large extent on the ability of industrial countries to develop effective adjustment strategies which can maintain a reasonable rate of economic growth employment. In fact, the relative significance of North-South trade has grown in recent years compared with trade just among the industrialized countries. Now, a number of the most advanced developing countries represent the potential trade partnerships of greatest opportunity for many developed countries. All countries will benefit from an open, universal international trading system, and Canada will continue to pursue this goal. This would be our focus at the new proposed ministerial meeting of GATT in 1982.

Mr. Kusumaatmadja (Indonesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

52. The export prospects of developing countries are also an increasingly important factor in the health of the international payments system and of international banking. For the foreseeable future, developing countries will continue to need substantial external finance, whether in the form of private investment, commercial loans or concessional loans and grants. While private banking continues to play a major role in recycling, the international financial institutions must be increasingly involved. We support renewed effort by IMF and the World Bank in this direction. But for many of the low-income countries, the ability to participate in the expansion of world trade is limited; so is their access to commercial credit. If poverty in those countries is to be attacked—and social justice

demands this—then greater amounts of concessional assistance must be directed to them. There is no way around this issue: development assistance is vital and urgently needed, and the world is not providing enough of it.

53. The recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held in Paris from 1 to 14 September 1981 was an important contribution to progress. Widespread consensus was achieved in the international community for the setting of objectives to be pursued by recipients and for the projections from donors of significant additional official development assistance in real terms during this decade. Taken together, these hold promise for advancing substantially the development of States most in need.

54. The Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries⁶ adopted in Paris not only set an important course for achieving progress with respect to the least developed countries but provides a guide for approaching vitally needed interaction between developed and developing countries on a range of subjects on the North-South agenda. Key portions of the Substantial New Programme of Action became known as the "Canadian Compromise". Canada was pleased to be associated with those vital conclusions because they demonstrated that constructive agreement can be reached on a subject of vital importance to the developing countries. In keeping with the role my country played in Paris, I urge that the momentum and techniques generated there be pursued during this session of the Assembly and during other international meetings addressing relations between developing and developed countries.

55. As a result of the Paris achievement, which Canada helped to create, and in the context of translating that achievement into concrete reality, I am pleased to announce today that Canada will devote 0.15 per cent of its gross national product as official development assistance to the least developed countries in the coming years.

56. This pledge is in the context of the announcement I made at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly on development last year [4th meeting] that Canada would reverse the trend of previous years and increase our official development assistance to ensure that we are soon at 0.5 per cent of gross national product as part of an effort to reach 0.7 per cent by the end of the decade. I am pleased that we have remained on that upward track.

57. I spoke earlier of the fact that interdependence means that international economic co-operation is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity without which interdependence becomes a liability.

58. We must look towards deeper global economic co-operation, yet solutions to world economic problems will not always be global. The progress made at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries in Caracas last May is a case in point. Relations with developing countries was the major focus of a number of high-level consultations among industrialized countries—in particular the June ministerial meeting of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and the Ottawa summit. I want to take this opportunity to report very briefly to the Assembly on the latter meeting.

59. The Ottawa summit devoted considerable time to the issue of economic relations between developed and developing countries. In the communiqué the leaders agreed on a joint statement reflecting those discussions. They underlined an appreciation of the magnitude of the problems and a common readiness to help respond to them. Overall, the message to our developing country partners signalled the following: respect for independence and support for genuine non-alignment; commitment to co-operate in a spirit of mutual interest and interdependence; support for closer integration of developing countries into the international economic system, as well as support for their efforts to promote development within the framework of their own social values and traditions.

60. Moreover, we sought at this meeting to address the key problems of energy, food, trade and finance in a positive and constructive way. We pledged to maintain substantial and, in many cases, growing levels of official development assistance, the major portion of which will be directed to poorer countries. Of signal importance was our affirmation at this meeting of our willingness to participate in preparations for a process of global negotiations. It has been encouraging to me that both developed and developing countries have expressed their appreciation of the results of the Ottawa Summit.

61. Another important initiative in North-South relations this year will be the meeting of 22 Heads of State and Government of North and South to be held at Cancún. We hope that this meeting will foster understanding of the key North-South issues and give political impetus to their resolution in whatever forums may be appropriate. We do not see this meeting as a substitute for global negotiations. No non-universal forum can be. But we do see it as a catalyst for them. And while the nature of the North-South meeting precludes participation by all of the interested parties, we welcome the link with the United Nations as represented by the presence at Cancún of the Secretary-General.

62. While we admit the value of summits, however, universally determined multilateral agreements remain fundamental to our search for effective solutions to global problems. For this reason, a large degree of consensus has been reached on the launching of global negotiations. While admitting that compromise on all sides will be necessary in that process, I believe there is new willingness to face that challenge. Preparatory discussions will resume during this session, and I pledge Canada's determination to work for a successful outcome.

63. In Canada during the past year we have taken a number of steps to enable us to play a more active and constructive role in international co-operation in those vital areas. A Parliamentary task force on North-South relations submitted a major and invaluable report. It advocated strongly that Canada continue to play an active North-South role, based on the principles of mutual benefit and humanitarianism, and made a series of constructive recommendations relating to energy, finance, trade, food and development assistance. Our Government has been pleased with the broad support the report has received and with the increased public awareness fostered by the work of the task force.

64. Parallel to the work of the Parliamentary task force, and based on it, the Canadian Government also conducted

a review of North-South policy. We have affirmed a number of fundamental issues, including a recognition of interdependence, the need for harmonization of external and domestic policies which have an impact on developing countries, the need to employ a variety of instruments to meet the needs of developing countries and greater integration of the South in the international economic system.

[*The speaker continued in French.*]

65. We must as nations acknowledge the fact that our economic concerns, as well as many of our political, social and economic problems, are fundamentally international in nature. In an ever-changing world, the problem of the reconciliation of the fact of interdependence and the imperative need for self-determination is one of the greatest challenges facing political decision-makers. But our awareness of the complexities of interdependence and of its ramifications throughout all areas of national life must not lead us to despair, but rather to act. We must meet the challenge posed by the adaptation and development both of international institutional machinery and of our national ways of thinking to cope with those new realities and the need for change.

66. Whatever means are used, the institutional machinery is inadequate. What is crucial is the will of all countries to make those instruments effective. Governments, whatever their national policies, must have the courage to tackle the major international problems of our day. In order to do so, they must feel confident that only through international co-operation can security, stability and justice for the world be guaranteed.

67. Canadians have that confidence. We shall dedicate ourselves—here and wherever these problems are considered—to the quest for far-reaching international solutions which will affect the lives of every one of us.

68. Mr. HODOUL (Seychelles) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you and your country upon your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.

69. Both your diplomatic talents and your great knowledge of the workings of this institution enable us to look forward to a satisfactory outcome of our work. It does not seem to me superfluous to emphasize this, because this year again, to the great disappointment of many Member States which cherish peace and justice, we have seen the Organization's Security Council founder lamentably in its work because of its having been diverted from its objectives of peace by the abuse of the right of veto by certain permanent members.

70. That is why, faithful to its traditions, the General Assembly must continue to be a place of freedom and the privileged forum for the full and complete participation of all peoples in the affairs of the world. The fact that you, Sir, are in charge of our proceedings can only be a guarantee of that. My delegation, then, will consider it its duty to co-operate fully with you in the fulfilment of the important tasks entrusted to you.

71. We should like also to thank Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar for his competent leadership of the work of the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly which has just come to an end, and to express our gratitude to the Secretary-

General who for years has shown skill and devotion in the service of the Organization.

72. Finally, it is with a sense of great pleasure that my delegation congratulates the Republic of Vanuatu. The people of the Seychelles followed with attention and interest the struggle of that brother people of the Islands for its independence and for the protection of its territorial integrity. We were struck by its drive and tenacity, and now we cannot but be delighted at the presence of this young State in our Organization.

73. Last year when we spoke during the general debate [*6th meeting*], we considered a number of matters, both economic and political, which afflict and often paralyze countries, particularly our countries of the third world. This year we are in fact faced with those same matters, to which others have been added. Unfortunately, it seems that no major steps have been taken towards concrete solutions. Further, one cannot fail to note the disturbing nature of this situation: at a time when more and more meetings are being held throughout the world in the collective, sincere search for solutions to our many problems, we are witnessing a steady deterioration of international relations attributable to a clear lack of will on the part of certain Powers resolutely and calmly to confront the great problems of the day, that is, those concerning peace, security and development.

74. In their relations with others, certain Powers seem to have deliberately opted for the language of threats, provocation, and even aggression, in contempt of the most elementary principles of coexistence between States. They brandish in the face of the world their nuclear strike forces and their neutron bomb, and they parade their military arsenal at the very door of others as though this were not a tragic threat to security, peace or the lives of millions of people.

75. Despite that disturbing state of affairs, my delegation is pleased to make a statement during this debate precisely because we wish to underscore how important it is to oppose any behaviour based on domination and aggression in international relations, because we believe that the right to a better future is an imprescriptible right of all peoples without exception; and because we know that despite everything the forces of progress, throughout the world, continue to develop and bonds of solidarity to be forged with a view to building that future of justice, peace and well-being.

76. It is only normal that we should begin by turning to the question of decolonization. While it is independent, my country knows that its own progress is essentially linked to the disappearance of every form of colonial or neo-colonial relations between States. That is why it is seeking tirelessly to intensify its solidarity with all the brother peoples which are still fighting in the field against colonialism: the peoples of Namibia, Western Sahara, South Africa, Palestine, East Timor, Puerto Rico and others.

77. A year ago, for example, we were convinced that the peoples of Namibia and Western Sahara were on the point of gaining their independence, the occupying Powers having finally agreed to face the facts and release their grip over those Territories.

78. Unfortunately, we were disappointed, and we know why.

79. With respect, first of all, to Namibia, the ruling minority of Pretoria is bent on continuing its plunder of that Territory. It is also determined to continue to use it as a rampart and a base in its policy of supremacy in the region, so as to establish firmly its own oppressive and cruel régime in South Africa. And other Western countries, headed today by the United States, are equally determined to continue the exploitation of the Territory as well as its strategic use in their will to gain military supremacy at any cost.

80. From the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) in 1966 to the convening of the Security Council from 21 to 30 April 1981 on the question of Namibia, our Organization has tried everything without achieving the desired results. It has now declared itself by a great majority, during the emergency special session of the General Assembly, clearly in favour of the armed struggle being waged by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] against the Pretoria régime [resolution ES-8/2]. Towards this end, it has appealed to brother countries to provide material and military assistance to SWAPO and to the front-line countries on an urgent basis.

81. My delegation can only subscribe to this once again, in the hope that this last attempt will make it possible for Namibia to attain independence in keeping with the United Nations plan contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It goes without saying that any collective sanctions we agree to impose in concrete terms against the Pretoria régime can only accelerate the process of independence for Namibia.

82. With regard to Namibia, we cannot fail to mention the brother people of South Africa who, under the heroic leadership of the African National Congress, are also continuing their struggle against the same oppressive and barbaric colonial régime of Pretoria.

83. Once again, we condemn the blind policy of that régime which, on the pretext of protecting Christian civilization and through the practice of racism, *apartheid* and bantustanization, is perpetuating the exploitation of the labour force of the South African people by a minority closely linked to international capitalism whose interests it defends.

84. Since its assumption of power on 5 June 1977, the Government of President France Albert René has, within the limits of its modest capacities, taken concrete measures of reprisal against the Pretoria régime. In this context, my delegation calls for the strict implementation of Security Council resolutions 417 (1977) and 418 (1977), the latter of which calls for the immediate cessation of the provision to South Africa of arms and related *matériel* of all types and of any co-operation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons; as well as of General Assembly resolution 35/206 which, among other things, refers to the situation in South Africa, the imposition of comprehensive sanctions and an oil embargo, and the harmful role of transnational corporations.

85. The Pretoria régime manages to survive thanks to its relations not only with Israel but with many other States

Members of our Organization. We therefore realize that where those States are concerned all our resolutions remain a dead letter, and we find this regrettable.

86. However, it is comforting to note that the hard-working people of South Africa, albeit excessively exploited, constitute the sole historic strength of that country, and we continue to be convinced that, with the active solidarity of other brother peoples, they will triumph.

87. In this regard, we should like to congratulate the people of Angola and their Government, which have played a decisive role in support of the liberation movements of southern Africa, particularly SWAPO, at an immense cost in human life and material damage.

88. We regret that the Security Council has once again failed in its mission by refusing to condemn the South African aggression against Angola owing to the veto of the United States. We are also aware, however, that Angola needs, in addition to the moral support which the international community owes it, also material assistance. We hope that the United Nations will see to it that when a breach of the peace occurs, Angola will, within the framework of General Assembly resolution 377 (V), benefit as rapidly as possible from the material and military assistance of Member States. That assistance was called for at the emergency special session on Namibia and by the Heads of State of the front-line States meeting in Lagos on 11 September.

89. With regard to the Sahraoui people, we believe that during the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] held at Nairobi in June 1981, and at the most recent meeting of that Organization's Implementation Committee, Morocco agreed to the early holding of a free and general referendum in exercise of the right to self-determination in Western Sahara under the supervision of the OAU and the United Nations. My delegation welcomes this development and my country will continue to make its humble contribution to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that part of Africa, in keeping with OAU resolutions and with General Assembly resolutions 34/37 and 35/19.

90. In line with the goal of decolonization which we have set for ourselves is the question of Palestine, which has been before the General Assembly for many years and which concerns the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their "right of return and their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in Palestine". We detect a growing awareness of those rights at the international level. However, this awareness continues to be countered by Israel which, like its ally in Pretoria, defies international public opinion and the numerous resolutions of our Organization with impunity. Like South Africa and, needless to say, with its assistance, the Zionist entity, not satisfied with occupying Palestinian and Arab territories, including Jerusalem, has embarked upon acts of aggression against such neighbouring territories as Lebanon and Iraq designed to establish its own military supremacy in the area—acts of aggression to which we shall return in due course.

91. The General Assembly, at its thirty-fifth session [resolution 35/169 A], once again endorsed the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the In-

alienable Rights of the Palestinian People and called upon Israel to respect those rights. We all, alas, know the result. It is clear that in the case of Israel we are caught in the same toils as we are in the case of South Africa. In other words, because of the many kinds of complicity between zionism and *apartheid*, only collective enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of our Organization stand any chance of leading to a positive result.

92. As in the past, my country will continue to demonstrate its unswerving solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, in its heroic struggle against the aggressor and invader.

93. With regard to East Timor, both the General Assembly and the Security Council have already spoken out on the subject of the military intervention by Indonesian armed forces and have called—so far, unfortunately, in vain—for the prompt withdrawal of those forces in order to enable the people of that territory freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence in keeping with General Assembly resolution 3485 (XXX) and Security Council resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976).

94. It should be emphasized that the Assembly is determined to pursue its efforts to promote the independence of East Timor by keeping the question on its agenda until the people of Timor, under the leadership of FRETILIN,⁷ have succeeded in achieving their independence and building their own future in peace and security.

95. Belize is on the threshold of national sovereignty—a fact which we welcome. We understand that the question of Puerto Rico is to be discussed in the Assembly. Thus the Organization is gradually dealing with all these little islands of colonialism which are scattered about the world.

96. However, as they steadily lose their colonial dominion in the world, certain great Powers are now acting not only against the independence of individual countries and setting up neo-colonial structures in them, but are taking action against whole regions by introducing military installations there in order to impose their political will and economic domination on the countries of those regions. They have been doing so in the Indian Ocean, the Middle East, the Caribbean, the South Atlantic and South-East Asia.

97. First, a word about the situation in the Indian Ocean. As long ago as 1964, the people of the Seychelles, through Mr. France Albert René, then President of the Party struggling for the independence of the Seychelles, called upon the great Powers not to extend their rivalries to our waters. And in 1971 the General Assembly proclaimed the Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

98. Today, however, 85 foreign warships and nuclear submarines are patrolling the waters of that ocean. Their military presence has virtually doubled compared with the preceding year. Diego García will soon be receiving B-52 bombers. That island, as you know, having been emptied of its population—most of whom are still living in hovels, without employment—by the colonial Government of the day, has now become the major strategic nu-

clear air and naval base and a crucial means of intervention in the region. The Simonstown base in South Africa is being modernized with the technical assistance of Western Powers. The great Powers have also acquired the right to use air and naval facilities in certain coastal countries of the region. All this is a threat to the peace and security of the coastal States, especially as the Government of one super-Power has been adopting an increasingly provocative attitude in its relations with other States.

99. The General Assembly, at its thirty-fourth session [resolution 34/80 B], had decided to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo in 1981 with a view to implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The Special Committee on the Indian Ocean was asked to carry out preparatory work for the convening of the conference. But while we have been able to convene other international conferences, the one on the Indian Ocean has not yet been held, and it is rather unlikely that it will be held this year. We are disappointed to note that the report of the Secretary-General says nothing about the question of the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean.

100. There has been no lack of manoeuvres to sabotage the conference. It has been argued that there was a need to wait until there was a “harmonization of positions” before convening it, but that is merely a ploy. As I have already said, the interests to be defended in the region cannot be the same for the coastal States as for the great Powers, which, in the final analysis, are interested only in the exploitation of our wealth—our raw materials, our commercial potential and energy resources—and in the export of their policy of confrontation between military blocs. So what “harmonization of positions” can there be?

101. My delegation reiterates that there is an urgent need to convene that conference in order to attain the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, by demanding the dismantling of military installations and the withdrawal of foreign forces. As for the “harmonization of positions”, it can only be the result of a long process following the conference, rather than preceding it. My delegation would also like to reiterate the appeal addressed by the President of the Republic of Seychelles to the Governments of the coastal States: “It is imperative that we speak out forcefully and raise our voices against this escalation which is becoming increasingly deplorable and dangerous.”

102. It goes without saying that once again we demand the return of the island of Diego García to Mauritian sovereignty and the removal of foreign troops.

103. As for the legal status of Mayotte and the Malagasy Islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India, we understand that the new French Government is prepared to co-operate fully with a view to incorporating those islands, respectively, into the Comoros and the Malagasy Republic.

104. Respect by the great Powers for the territorial integrity of the countries of the Indian Ocean and for the rights of all peoples to their independent policies, and the cessation of the trading off of technical and financial assistance against the right to use military facilities in the

coastal countries, are major requirements for the process of demilitarizing the Indian Ocean.

105. In the Middle East as in the Mediterranean, imperialism and its agent, zionism, are pursuing this same policy of military supremacy by creating there a situation of continuing aggression with a view to achieving economic and political control over the region. Examples are the recent provocative military manoeuvres of the United States naval forces off the Libyan coast; the assassination plans; Israel's continual acts of aggression against Lebanese and other Arab territory, as well as its establishment of settlements, its attacks against UNIFIL, and, more recently still, last June its attack on and long-premeditated destruction of the Tamuz nuclear facility in Iraq.

106. The United Nations has repeatedly condemned these various acts of aggression, which form part of one and the same plan for the destabilization of the progressive forces of the region. The Security Council has condemned these acts clearly; after taking note of the pertinent resolution of the IAEA, the Council made it clear in resolution 487 (1981) that the attack on the Tamuz facility was a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international conduct. It recognized that Iraq was entitled to compensation from Israel. Already at its thirty-fourth session the General Assembly requested all Member States to take all necessary measures to prevent the transfer to Israel of fissionable material and nuclear technology which could be used for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The Assembly also called upon Israel to submit all its nuclear facilities to inspection by IAEA [resolution 34/89].

107. In the opinion of my delegation, the implementation of that resolution is crucial and we hope that during the thirty-sixth session the General Assembly will take other measures which it deems appropriate in order to put an end to this bellicose policy on the part of Israel.

108. It goes without saying that, having taken note of the letters of Mr. Abdulati Al-Obeidi, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the General People's Committee of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, addressed to the Security Council on the subject of the provocative military manoeuvres and threats against the Libyan people, its leaders and its territory, my delegation calls upon our Organization to adopt a clear position after studying the relevant facts.

109. It is becoming the practice to call the Libyan régime a terrorist one; whereas, in fact Libya is one of the few countries which has given unqualified assistance to the liberation movements of the African continent and most recently has contributed to the restoration of peace in a brother African country at the request of the legitimate Government of that country. That is why we reaffirm that any global condemnation of Libya and all threats against it are unjustifiable and unjustified, and we cannot but reject them.

110. In parallel with the intensification of the military presence of the foreign Powers in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean, in the South Atlantic, the Port of Walvis Bay, allegedly annexed by Pretoria, has been transformed into a common base for the Pretoria régime and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. This is hardly likely to bring about an atmosphere of détente and is one more

link in the strategy of destabilization and threats on the part of the great Powers regarding countries whose policies are deemed sometimes to be too independent. Some countries, both African and South American, then find themselves threatened.

111. The sphere of destabilization extends also to the Caribbean, where the Government of Grenada and that of Cuba find themselves permanently threatened by outside sources. In this respect, a letter from the Prime Minister of Grenada, Mr. Maurice Bishop, addressed to the Secretary-General has been brought to our attention. We firmly denounce these external manoeuvres aimed at overthrowing a Government which is deemed "unfavourable" and we hope that action will be taken on Mr. Bishop's letter.

112. The question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia has been included in the agenda of this session. We note, however, that while positive action has been taken by the countries of Indo-China in order to establish peace in the region based on mutual recognition, equality among States and respect for their sovereignty, and while in the People's Republic of Kampuchea the people, having regained their security, are reconstructing their country, which was devastated by the former régime of Pol Pot, manoeuvres are continuing in the face of all this to maintain a state of insecurity in the region at the expense of peoples which have already suffered too much.

113. This year there was an international conference on the subject of Kampuchea at which a decision was taken to set up an *ad hoc* committee to deal with the situation in the country. But by what right was that done, and for what purpose?

114. Elections have taken place in that country and a legitimate Government has been elected to deal with both internal affairs and foreign relations. The relations of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with the State of Viet Nam are a matter of concern only to the peoples and Governments of those two countries.

115. My country, the Republic of Seychelles, cannot accept that this Organization should be used for purposes contrary to the spirit of its Charter. The Vietnamese Government has extended a guarantee that it will withdraw its forces from Kampuchea as soon as Kampuchea asks it to do so. The exercise of sovereignty on the part of those two countries should therefore be respected. My delegation sees no valid reason why this Assembly should again take up this question of the so-called situation in Kampuchea. On the other hand, we regret that the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea continue to be excluded from this Assembly, whereas an ousted and, in its day, murderous régime, condemned by international public opinion, is still sitting here. We demand that justice be done to the people of Kampuchea and to the Government of President Heng Samrin, which has been legitimately elected.

116. In that same region, we wish to welcome the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at promoting the peaceful reunification of Korea, which only recently were accorded international support at the Algiers meeting on that subject in March. Here again, it is high time to put an end to manoeuvres and foreign

interference so that this people will be able to build its own future in peace and security.

117. Lastly, and still within the context of the struggle of peoples to protect their independence and build their own future, my delegation wishes to extend to the Salvadorian people and its political organization, the alliance between the Frente de Liberación Nacional Farabundo Martí and the Frente Democrático Revolucionario, its complete solidarity. In this connection we welcome the Franco-Mexican statement,⁸ which points out that it is for the Salvadorian people alone, under the guidance of its political organization, to find a just and lasting settlement of the critical situation existing in the country, and to do so without foreign interference.

118. My delegation endorses this declaration and very much hopes that it will serve as a guide in the relations of our Organization and our States with that country.

119. We wish to conclude this second part of our statement by referring to item 39 of the agenda, which provides for a second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1982, following a decision taken at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly [resolution 33/71 H].

120. Clearly, the struggle against military escalation in certain regions is closely linked with the policy of disarmament at the international level in its most salient aspects: for example, the cost of armaments, which has now risen to more than \$500 billion annually, and a possible rechanneling of those financial and technical resources to the cause of peace and development; the state of insecurity which fosters the arms race; the impact of the arms trade on the economies of the third world countries; the economic importance of the military-industrial complex for the developed countries; and, lastly, the nature of the weapons themselves.

121. Therefore, we can but give our fullest support to the holding of the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament.

122. I have dwelt at length on the need to protect political independence and to develop new international relations in order to emphasize that both can be achieved only within the framework of economic independence and a new form of relations in this sphere.

123. The economy has always been our primary battleground. When in the course of history people began to revolt they did so primarily against poverty, insecurity and injustice, but they quickly realized that it was impossible to fight those scourges without the power to take political decisions. They fought for that power, and once independence had been partially achieved, the economic battle resumed its full intensity. But for us, the countries of the third world, it is a difficult battle to win, for the simple reason that the former colonizing countries, which are now developed, industrialized countries, have done nothing so far but to perpetuate between the economies of the north and of the south relations based on exploitation and subjugation.

124. For years we have tried to bring about a dialogue between the north in order to change this situation in the interests of all. We have called for control over our raw

materials and for a transfer of technology which would allow us to process them ourselves. We have demanded more justice in trade, a profound reshaping of the international monetary system and better terms for financial aid for development—but to no avail. For the time being our appeal remains unheeded.

125. Indeed, on the contrary, some northern countries, now headed by the United States, are getting together to continue to extract the maximum advantage from the current economic and monetary disorder. We noted this again during the most recent session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and in connection with the opening of global negotiations on a new international economic order.

126. However, those negotiations are still necessary. The conditions that led the United Nations to take the matter up in 1974 have not improved. We therefore call upon the Organization to pursue its efforts so that negotiations can begin as soon as possible and lead to concrete results.

127. In this respect we shall follow attentively the development of the position of the European Economic Community on this matter, just as we shall follow with interest the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development which will be held at Cancún in October. It is none the less true that the North-South dialogue will make progress only under the pressure of South-South co-operation. We welcome the positions adopted by the non-aligned movement and the OAU in this respect. Such co-operation between developing countries will enable us to devise our own models for development and will make us, as a group, more autonomous in our dealings with the North, thereby increasing our negotiating power in the North-South dialogue, a dialogue that we should like to see become more authentic.

128. I must admit, however, that, without wishing to sink into pessimism, my delegation is anxious about the prospects for the future. The richest and most powerful among us stubbornly refuse to consider revising the foundations of a system that has made it possible for them to become rich at the expense of the poorest and weakest.

129. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the unequivocal dedication of the Republic of the Seychelles to the ideals of our Organization and its full willingness to contribute to the attainment of the Organization's prime objective—the promotion of peace and the development of peoples for the greater good of mankind.

130. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am pleased to express the cordial congratulations of the delegation of Peru to our President on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His election is a well-deserved tribute to him and to his standing as an experienced diplomat and internationalist.

131. I also wish to express my delegation's appreciation to his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, of the Federal Republic of Germany, who carried out the delicate functions of President with undeniable brilliance both within and outside this hall.

132. Peru wishes to extend a welcome to the Republic of Vanuatu. Because of its location in the Pacific Ocean,

it is very close to our interests, and we welcome it to the United Nations in the conviction that it will contribute effectively to the work of the Organization.

133. It is a special satisfaction for me to speak to this Assembly as Belize attains independence. I extend my warmest congratulations to that new State in Latin America.

134. I wish also to express the admiration and appreciation of the Government of Peru to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who for 10 years has rendered distinguished service to the cause of peace by his personal efforts, with diplomatic skill that deserves a tribute from our Organization.

135. The gathering here each year of representatives from all the States Members of the Organization gives us an opportunity to take stock of the international situation and, which is even more important, to realize our responsibilities with regard to the preservation of peace and the attainment of prosperity for all our peoples.

136. Over the past year two realities have emerged with increased clarity on the international scene. On the one hand, the gradual expansion of universal ideopolitical tendencies has given rise to a lively reaction and produced a new clash between different concepts of the way to achieve the well-being of the community. Thus international tension has increased and the competition for military supremacy has aggravated and deepened our fears and concerns.

137. On the other hand, the manner in which the countries of the third world have asserted their positions at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has in many instances convinced others of the justice of their views, which were at first unacceptable to the industrialized nations. This is clear demonstration of the enormous potential of the developing countries if they can stand together and apply their goodwill to co-ordination and action.

138. This example gives a glimmer of hope in the still slow progress towards the attainment of a new international order. However, we believe that that is not the only historical task falling on the developing countries. There is now a growing realization that our demands to the developed countries do not reflect enmity or mean confrontation; it is also true that, in the struggle for world hegemony, to which we have alluded, there is no reason why the developing countries need take sides in this struggle, which we had thought two decades ago was a thing of the past.

139. This force which we are beginning to appreciate and which has been brought about by the convergence of the developing countries could well have a historic destiny here at the United Nations, that of preventing a suicidal conflagration and becoming the prime guarantor of peace.

140. The active promotion of peaceful coexistence is the great undertaking of the third world at the present time.

141. We reported in the previous session of the Assembly [5th meeting] on the meaning and importance of the assumption of the constitutional presidency by Mr. Fer-

nando Belaunde Terry. We said that we had undertaken a solemn commitment to preserve freedom, respect human rights and work relentlessly for the building of a truly just society.

142. Now that the first year of that Government has passed we can quote with legitimate satisfaction what the President of Peru has said: "Today in Peru the Constitution prevails, the law rules and freedom reigns in the entire Republic."

143. New laws covering the agriculture, livestock, petroleum and mines are giving renewed vigour to the exploitation of the natural resources of Peru. The creation of the bank for the procurement of building and housing materials and the institution of social mortgages, with subsidized interest rates, have given creative momentum to a vast housing plan which at the present time, counting units under construction and those already completed, covers more than 10,000 housing units at moderate rents.

144. An energetic beginning has been made on lengthening roads, repairing stretches of highway and building new roads along the Pan-American highway on the coast and along the mountains and adjacent forest areas—all of which has made it possible for the growing Peruvian population to establish new settlements with a view to the proper utilization of the national territory.

145. The cumulative effect of the people's co-operation and voluntary work by the communities, with the technical advice of the State, which is internationally considered to be the most efficient way of using intermediate technology, is already bearing fruit among the most remote and the poorest peoples, thanks to the 150 provincial centres.

146. We are carrying out this immense task while making every effort to improve the economy, which is still affected by the crisis we are facing and by the current world recession and inflation.

147. We promised freedom of expression and we have altered the situation which we found and kept our word. Today in Peru national newspapers, television channels and radio stations have all been put in the hands of their rightful owners, thus giving the Peruvian people the right to the free interplay of opinions and ideas.

148. We promised genuine municipal elections, and on 23 November 1980 such elections were held throughout the country.

149. We know full well that to live in freedom and complete democracy is no easy undertaking. But what can enhance the prestige of a Government and the majority political party sustaining it more than respect for the representation and the criticism of all the political sectors of the country without exception? That is what is happening today in our country.

150. Full respect for human rights and a sincere attempt to achieve social justice and progress are the best safeguards against any attempt to promote violence and social chaos. They are also the best guarantees of the stability of the democratic system which today, fortunately, has been established thanks to the express will of the Peruvian people.

151. Peru's foreign policy is founded on consistent adherence to and respect for the principles on which international legal order rests. Our policy is pursued in harmony with our position in the South American continent and our desire to promote co-operation and integration in the Andean, Amazonian and Pacific subregions, with our wish to establish links with all countries at the regional, hemispheric and intercontinental levels; it is in keeping with our status as developing countries bound together with all the countries of the third world, and in line with our status as an authentically independent non-aligned country.

152. We are pleased that we have achieved the best possible relations with all neighbouring countries, which guarantees not only fraternal links but also the effective attainment of our common objectives, namely, co-operation for development with respect for our national sovereignties.

153. The task of promoting integration, which has been set forth in the Constitution of the State, has been vigorously assumed by the Government of Peru. We have contributed to a thorough analysis of the Cartagena Agreement and to making the various positions more realistic, thus paving the way for the revival of the most ambitious joint effort thus far to realize Bolívar's desire for integration.

154. We are pleased that, in accordance with the strict time-table for the carrying out of those tasks, early in September a meeting of the Commission of the Cartagena Agreement was held in Bogotá at which the Ministers of Industry and Integration took fruitful decisions.

155. During this meeting effective steps were taken to carry out the Treaty for Amazonian Co-operation, and early this month in Lima the first technical meeting took place with the participation of all member States. That was a preliminary step before the forthcoming meeting of the Council on the Amazon.

156. Aware that without physical links any efforts at economic integration are purely utopian, in the Organization of American States we emphasized the need to begin serious work to link the waterbasins of the Orinoco, the Amazon and the Plata. It is indeed heartening to note that, now our proposal having been favourably received, the first technical meeting for analysis and study of this most important continental project will be held in October 1981 in Lima, under the auspices of our regional organization.

157. In his report on the work of the United Nations, the Secretary-General has mentioned the happy outcome of a border incident between Peru and Ecuador [A/36/1, sect. IV]. In the early months of this year, Peru was forced, in defence of its sovereignty and integrity, to repel foreign military forces that had penetrated its territory.

158. That situation was, however, resolved through the valuable intervention of the countries guaranteeing the Peruvian-Ecuadorian Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Frontiers of Rio de Janeiro and its complementary documents, still in force, which Peru and Ecuador solemnly signed in 1942.

159. We should like to reiterate our appreciation to the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States of America which, in their letter of 23 February 1981,⁹ informed the President of the Security Council of the Declaration that had been produced at the Nineteenth Meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States, stating that they had assumed and would continue to assume their responsibilities as countries guaranteeing the Rio de Janeiro Protocol of 1942.

160. Within the framework of this legal instrument, Peru remains willing to cease placing of landmarks over the remaining 78 kilometre length of the common frontier of the Cordillera del Condor.

161. Over the past few years we have been concerned about the growing social unrest in Central America and the Caribbean, which is an expression of the problems and difficulties in achieving sustained development. The magnitude of those unfortunate confrontations has served to draw the attention of the international community to the region.

162. Although there is an awareness of the need and the desire to co-operate in efforts to promote socio-economic development in the area, there has been a lack of specific machinery and a lack of co-ordination in efforts to achieve those objectives.

163. We have noted that in spite of their willingness many Latin American countries that are technologically advanced and have the necessary human resources have not been able to transfer their experience and potentials to Central America and the Caribbean, because of the weakness of the economies of the donor and recipient countries, which stands in the way of the speedy and easy utilization of those resources. Consequently, now that many countries are anxious to establish what has been called a "mini-Marshall Plan" for the area, Peru proposes a plan to support horizontal co-operation and establishment of a trust fund for that purpose.

164. My Government would like to express its fraternal concern over the situation existing in the Republic of El Salvador. At the same time we express our hope that there will be a speedy settlement, and appeal for strict observance of the principle of non-intervention in a problem whose political and democratic settlement is strictly a matter for the people of El Salvador without any foreign interference, direct or indirect.

165. Peru shares with other peoples of America, Africa, Asia and Oceania a common concern: development. The third world is an unavoidable reality in the great international discussions of our time. We have not yet found the path to a speedy and just development. But our countries continue to absorb, without a reciprocal balance, one third or more of the exports of the industrialized countries and we contribute 40 per cent or more to the profits that those countries obtain from their investments. It is difficult for us to obtain fair terms of trade, but the statistics show that for the 1980-1990 decade we shall contribute nearly 30 per cent of the increase in world production. It should come as no surprise, then, that the countries of the third world are making a major effort to identify their common problems. Nor is it surprising that there has

been a desire to reformulate international relations in such a way as to encompass all the nations of the world.

Mr. Kittani (Iraq) resumed the Chair.

166. Nevertheless, the continuation of protectionist policies in many industrialized countries, the problem of the decline in the prices of raw materials caused by forces quite beyond the control of the producing countries, the resistance to the transfer of financial resources to the developing countries, the postponement of demands for a new international economic order, the deterioration in the terms of trade, the defence of sovereignty and maritime jurisdiction are problems common to the entire developing world and must be the basis of a joint effort to overcome these problems. We need more than just a statement of the problems; we need determination to do away with whatever divides us and to affirm our areas of agreement.

167. It is encouraging that the report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues⁵ recognizes facts and underscores the prospects of the world today and tomorrow, and that it puts forward a body of solutions which, if strictly carried out, will make the North-South dialogue fruitful and might very well point the way towards the just world that we all aspire to. Peru is confident that a spirit of solidarity and a sense of balance will prevail at the meeting to be held shortly in Cancún, Mexico, with the participation of a limited number of Heads of State or Government of North and South. As the future of the international order is at issue, other summit meetings must be envisaged where those who are not participating on this occasion will be able to state their views.

168. We view with interest the meeting that the Latin American Economic System [SELA] has scheduled for this year, to co-ordinate Latin American positions and to make effective our dialogue with the United States, in an effort to bring about better understanding in our hemisphere.

169. We consider that development should be the common heritage of mankind, the inalienable right of our peoples, and we believe also that peace and security should not be the privilege of any group of nations. In order to ensure this right to peace and international security, to ensure that it is enjoyed by one and all, the non-aligned movement arose, and inspired by the conviction that it is through the association of all these countries, respecting the national sovereignty of all countries and rejecting any form of discrimination, that peace can be preserved without the need for nations to form blocs with one or another of the great world Powers.

170. This year we are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the non-aligned movement, and I am pleased to stress our contribution to the co-ordination of efforts of the developing countries which have strengthened our position in the struggle to establish a new world order. It is important to preserve the very essence of non-alignment, based on no commitment to either of the great world Powers.

171. The present Government of Peru, which, from the Peruvian past, has inherited traditions of justice and work and has made them the nucleus of a new ideology, is particularly well endowed to pursue an independent, sov-

ereign foreign policy while at the same time making full use of anything positive that is applicable to our national realities which can be found in the various policies pursued in today's world.

172. In the search for a new order, the developing countries have been aware that they cannot achieve immediate results in their dialogue with the industrialized countries, and they have realized that full use must be made of their own present and potential economies. For that reason, the Group of 77, which encompasses at the present time more than 127 developing countries, put forward the idea of what it calls "South-South co-operation", and this year the programme for economic co-operation among developing countries [see A/36/333] was approved at its most recent meeting at Caraballeda, Venezuela. In a concrete and consistent way it contains distinct sectoral objectives in the financial, monetary, commercial, food, raw material, energy and technological areas—now at various levels of development.

173. It should be mentioned here that horizontal co-operation should not be seen as a substitute for global economic co-operation between the developing countries and the industrialized countries.

174. The Government of Peru appreciates the true dimension of the efforts that are needed, and it wishes to participate in the solution of international problems. We have promoted global negotiations within the United Nations as the best way to achieve, by negotiation and not through confrontation, a restructuring of the present unjust international economic order, lowering the rising level of world tension and forging a truly safe world for everyone.

175. Peru has been active in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has been meeting since the end of 1973 and which in August completed its tenth session, at Geneva. In so doing, we have done nothing more than protect the higher national interests of our country, a mining country of the first order, which, in the future, with many other countries, could see the prices of its raw materials and minerals affected if in the future the free unilateral exploitation of the sea-bed by the highly industrialized countries and their transnational enterprises is permitted. That would violate the principle that the sea-bed and its resources are the common heritage of mankind.

176. We are pleased by the fact that at the last meeting the unofficial text of the draft Convention¹⁰ became official, that the argument for 200 miles which was so tenaciously defended has finally achieved its official confirmation, the headquarters of the International Seabed Authority and of the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea have been established and consensus has been reached on the difficult task of the delimitation of the economic zones and continental shelves between States with adjacent and opposing coastlines.

177. As we have already stated, these achievements demonstrate that the States of the third world are united in their determination to prevent any changes in substantive aspects of the draft Convention. This is also a desire shared by the great majority of the developed countries that participated in the Conference.

178. It is our firm hope that when the Government of the United States reviews its position on the draft convention it will reach conclusions similar to those that made it possible for its earlier negotiators to work within the Conference. This would mean an honouring of commitments negotiated by consensus among the other countries participating in the Conference. It would indeed be regrettable if the international law of the sea were to be undermined, for it is inevitable that it be established as the sole guarantee against chaos, confrontation and unlawful activities by any State.

179. One of the most important events of the foreign policy of Peru this year has been Peru's accession to the Antarctic Treaty, signed in Washington on 1 December 1959. The Government of Peru considers that, given the special geographical position of our country, we have a direct and substantial interest in the Antarctic region and consequently, on the basis of the principle of the legal equality of all the signatories, we shall strive hard in the search for a general and final statute for that area in which equal consideration will be given to the interests of all the States involved.

180. My country deems it opportune to mention the important step taken by the United Nations in promoting the Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, which has permitted the drawing up of the Nairobi Programme of Action on the development and utilization of those sources of energy.¹¹ In addition, we believe that in order to consolidate the progress that has been made it will be necessary to bring about a real transfer of financial and technological resources from the developed countries to the developing countries with a view to the utilization of those new sources of energy.

181. The Government of Peru views with apprehension the close relationship between the tense international situation and the deadlock in the disarmament process. The deterioration of the latter has been dangerously aggravated by an escalation in the arms race on a world-wide level which involves primarily those nations that have the largest arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons. In this connection, Peru is particularly concerned over the fact that an appreciation of the universal importance of peace tends to be diluted in theoretical and binding formulations, if not in misunderstandings which lead to failure, and that the institutionalized efforts of the United Nations run the risk of becoming bureaucratized when they are not legitimized by the political will of Governments.

182. In keeping with our traditional positions, Peru will continue to work in every way possible for general and complete disarmament.

183. Our Organization, through its work on the constant and difficult task of promoting a world order in which each individual and each nation can enjoy without any encumbrance, limitations or threats the elementary rights to freedom, security, development and well-being, is the appropriate framework for the consideration of any matter that may have to do with the defence of human rights.

184. Two decades ago, Peru ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and we are a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol. Regionally, we have ratified the

American Convention on Human Rights, known as the "Pact of San José, Costa Rica". We have also signed other international instruments the purpose of which is to protect human rights.

185. Peru, in keeping with its demonstrated humanistic calling, today reiterates its devotion to those principles and rights as well as its determination to contribute to the promotion of the essential dignity of the human person and the development and well-being of society in a framework of freedom, social justice and full respect for the basic rights of the individual.

186. This historic position of principle, set forth in the new Political Charter of the State of Peru, has been and will be zealously respected by the Government of President Belaúnde Terry.

187. We reject as inhumane and contrary to the march of history the system of *apartheid* which prevails in South Africa. Peru is a country which is proud of its multiracial ancestry, and we cannot allow the establishment of discriminatory differences of any kind. This is set forth in one of the articles of the Peruvian Constitution.

188. Peru once again denounces the unlawful occupation of the territory of Namibia, in flagrant violation of the express injunctions of the United Nations and of the advisory opinion of 21 June 1971 of the International Court of Justice.¹² We reaffirm here the unconditional support of my Government for the self-determination of the Namibian people, their inalienable right to independence, respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity and their right to their natural resources.

189. Peru reaffirms its devotion to peace and its full and total support for the principle banning the use of force in the settlement of disputes, which is the fundamental guiding principle of its foreign policy. Disputes must be settled by the peaceful means set forth in the international instruments to which the parties are bound, for respect for the obligations arising from treaties, as enshrined in the Charter, is the indisputable foundation on which contemporary international relations are built. Thus, Peru will co-operate in the adoption of any international instrument which bans once and for all the use of force in relations among States.

190. It is therefore regrettable that situations of tension persist between Iraq and Iran, in Cyprus, in Kampuchea and in Afghanistan. My delegation considers that every effort must be made in this Assembly and in the Security Council to put an end soon to those situations. At the same time, we give full backing to the Secretary-General in his efforts to find negotiated political formulas which would contribute to their solution, whether by mandate of the Council or on his own initiative within the framework of his prerogatives.

191. My delegation cannot fail to indicate its rejection of the recent invasion of Angola by foreign troops, which not only is an attack on the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, but which furthermore contributes to an increase in the threat to international peace and security.

192. We express our serious concern over the deterioration in the situation in the Middle East. We condemn the

aggression and the use of force in recent events both in Lebanon and in Iraq; they violate the standards of peaceful coexistence and the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

193. It is urgent that the General Assembly find valid procedures and machinery which would bring this painful conflict to a satisfactory solution, bearing in mind the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the secure existence of all the concerned States and parties in the region and all valid efforts to achieve peace and understanding.

194. Peru considers that it is the obligation of the Assembly to tackle the task of making the provisions of the Charter of the Organization more effective. To that end, we believe that the decision-making machinery of the United Nations must be revitalized to make it more effective, especially in the case of the Security Council. It is discouraging to note the abuse of the exceptional privileges of certain countries in the Organization. It is therefore our urgent and inescapable obligation to resolve this serious situation.

195. In my country, the Head of State has appealed to all political parties and all sectors of national activity to join together, without setting aside their own convictions, "in their humble homes—with all their unfulfilled yearnings, in the squalor of their urban and rural slums, in their decaying schools, to take the decision to overcome their afflictions".

196. He called for a great united effort: for national brotherhood.

197. At this time of tension and trial for the international community, I think that it behoves us too to think deeply. There should be an appeal to the conscience of all nations to join together—making use of only what is positive in progress and science—to solve mankind's problems.

198. For its part, my country, at this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, calls for world brotherhood.

199. Mr. DHANABALAN (Singapore): Sir, I should like first of all to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. You have spent almost a quarter of a century in this Organization, as a representative of your Government and as an official of the United Nations Secretariat. You have an enviable reputation among your colleagues. They regard you as a person of high intelligence, of great ability and of unquestionable integrity, and there is no doubt that you will lead this session with fairness and efficiency.

200. I should also like to pay a brief tribute to your immediate predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany. He presided over the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly with efficiency, fairness and punctuality.

201. It also gives me great pleasure to welcome a fellow-member of the Commonwealth, Vanuatu, as the 155th Member of this Organization.

202. Today, another country, Belize, gains independence, and I look forward to welcoming it also to this Organization.

203. This session of the General Assembly is the thirty-sixth since the United Nations was founded. This Organization was born out of revulsion against the horrors of the Second World War. It was with high hopes that the first 51 Members met in San Francisco to inaugurate this body. Since then we have been able for 36 years to avoid a world war, but world peace has evaded us. The cost of resort to force against each other and the fear of a nuclear holocaust have kept the super-Powers from being locked in a direct war. The recourse to war by them seems less likely. Among the industrialized countries, the perceived margin of safety seems to have increased as their fears of attack by one another have receded. Yet the fact remains that local wars and proxy wars have been raging everywhere since the end of the Second World War. What we are really going through are times of troubled peace.

204. Students of the subject tell us that since the end of the Second World War there have been more than 100 wars and military actions between nations. Millions have died in these conflicts and, in fact, more have died in conflicts since 1945 than in the Second World War. Many more have been maimed and made homeless. Millions have been dispossessed and have been living as refugees, becoming endemic problems to host countries. Those who are victims of these conflicts and others who are cynics may well ask whether the United Nations has been of any use at all. To those of us who think that it has, the more pertinent question is, perhaps, what would have been the experience of the world without the United Nations.

205. There are many of us who feel that the United Nations, in order to be an effective security organization, must be able to intervene in conflicts on the side of the victim against the aggressor. We wish that the United Nations could be a supranational body with the capacity to impose peace. This assumes that the great Powers that are Members of this Organization will act in unity and out of a common perception when faced with matters of war and peace. This, in fact, was the underlying assumption behind the founding of this Organization—that the co-operation of the great Powers would make collective action possible. Our experience, sadly, is that this has not materialized. Collective action has not been possible except in a few and rare instances.

206. From a number of great Powers at the founding of the United Nations, we have today two super-Powers. Every conflict involving any two or more nations is seen either as an opportunity to advance the interest of one super-Power or as a danger to the interest of the other super-Power. The United Nations, where the super-Powers are supposed to co-operate in collective action to ensure peace, has instead become a cockpit of rivalry between them. They use the United Nations to further their interest in whatever way possible.

207. Thus the United Nations has not been able to act directly to bring about peace in armed conflicts except, as I said, in rare instances. Are we therefore wasting our time here? Is this just a charade on stage with no bearing on real events? I do not believe so, because if we did so believe, most of us would not be here.

208. Most of us here are small nations. Ninety-seven of us have a population of less than 10 million, and 90 of us have a gross national product of less than \$US 10 billion. Unfortunately, many of the conflicts in the world involve us, the small nations.

209. For us, the United Nations offers the most effective forum in which to highlight our problems of peace, to bring pressure to bear on militant nations and to work towards a solution in a conflict. It is in the United Nations and through its numerous organs that our diplomats and officials deal directly with one another. Through this process we have become more sensitive to each other's concerns. As others have said, our agenda now goes beyond mere questions of security and territory. We are concerned with problems of energy, environment, population, resources and even our seas. We the small nations need the United Nations all the more to protect our interests, and it is to our advantage to use and develop the United Nations machinery. We have to search for new and more effective ways to mobilize and express the view of those who are exercised by a problem.

210. It is for that reason that small nations have, from time to time, resorted to this Organization to solve their problems, be it the Middle East problem or problems in Africa, Afghanistan or Cambodia. For instance, on the Kampuchean problem, the overwhelming majority of United Nations Members have felt sufficiently strongly about it to call for an International Conference on Kampuchea. The attendance at that Conference confirmed the continuing concern of the international community with this problem. The Conference's Declaration and resolution provide a reasonable framework for a solution to the problem.

211. I believe that the United Nations has played and can play a role in matters of war and peace. The decisions in the United Nations and the moral pressure of the collective stand of the majority of the Members here can help ensure not only that an aggressor nation pays a high price, but that it is denied the fruits of its conquest. When the protagonists in a conflict and the super-Powers or other outside Powers indirectly involved in the conflict find that the price of their action is high, they can be led to see that it is in their interest to bring the conflict to an end. Through the United Nations, a face-saving way out of the problem can be provided. These are vital roles that the United Nations can play.

212. With the "one State, one vote" norm, the United Nations has made it easier for us, the small countries, to link our strength and to exert the moral pressure that United Nations Members can collectively bring to bear upon a recalcitrant Member that pursues an expansionist policy.

213. Nations, like men, are interdependent. They are members of a community. They desire a place in the community of nations which will bring co-operation, respect and even approbation. Through the United Nations, we can deny a nation a place if it transgresses the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to which it subscribes. The United Nations may be unable to take armed action collectively, but by the decisions and principled positions that we take here we can impress on potential aggressors that the use of military force in resolving disagreements or expressing disapproval is unacceptable.

214. The resolutions that we pass here with regard to such matters may at first glance appear to be mere words. But they can influence real events. Apart from denying a recalcitrant Member an honourable place among nations, the opinion of the United Nations, embodied in its resolutions, creates the moral ambience for others to resist the actions of the aggressor nation. In such cases, it gives those who take up arms against a violator the right to do so. It also provides justification for others among the world community to help the victims resist the aggressor with aid of one kind or another. The opinion of the United Nations fortifies and encourages both those who directly resist and those who help in the resistance.

215. Moral support and assistance to those who sustain the resistance against an aggressor does help, for it not only gives strength to the victim but also provides sustained international pressure on the aggressor. Over time, the aggressor will have to find a face-saving way out of the situation.

216. We who gather here annually, therefore, can play an important role in the peace process by our pronouncements on issues, provided those pronouncements are credible and based on fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. If we trade support for issues without regard for principles or allow the interests of big Powers to determine our position, we will lose all credibility.

217. On two of the questions which have engaged the General Assembly for the last two years—Cambodia and Afghanistan—nearly two thirds of the Members have been unequivocal in their stand. In both cases, the majority of United Nations Members have taken the position they have because they have been able to see clearly that there has been armed invasion and occupation of small nations by other, larger, nations, with either direct or indirect participation of a permanent member of the Security Council of this Organization. It is a delusion to think that two thirds of the Members here are acting at the behest of other Powers. The justification has been offered that foreign forces were invited by the victims, but these have been shown to be spurious.

218. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who find themselves in the dock in the United Nations today on these two issues dismiss the resolutions of the United Nations against them as irrelevant and of no consequence. Yet, the records will show that those who dismiss the resolutions tried to win the approval of this Assembly for their actions in Cambodia and Afghanistan. Having failed to win the support of this Assembly, they now dismiss the resolutions as of no consequence. It is perhaps forgivable when a new member of this Organization expresses his belief that United Nations resolutions can be ignored. But it gives reason for concern when a permanent member of the Security Council urges Members of this body to ignore its pronouncements and recommendations as enshrined in various resolutions. It becomes a matter of even greater concern when a large country and leader of the non-aligned movement is publicly on record as saying that: "These overwhelming majorities mean nothing. We have had so many overwhelming majorities... These votes do not mean anything."

219. For the past two years, the majority of us have not been taken in by such gratuitous advice. On the other

hand, we have adopted resolutions which have in fact condemned Viet Nam for actions which are in breach of United Nations principles. Similarly, in Afghanistan, the invasion and occupation of a small non-aligned nation by a super-Power stands condemned in this Assembly.

220. The debate and resolutions in the Assembly have over the past two years demonstrated to patriotic Cambodians and Afghans that they are not alone and that they have not been forgotten by the world community. The United Nations has by its pronouncements given the moral basis and encouragement for others to help these patriots.

221. We, therefore, in this Assembly must continue to focus attention on these and similar problems, such as the South African occupation of Namibia and the South African incursion into Angola. And we have to focus attention not only in the General Assembly, but also through special conferences, like the International Conference on Kampuchea.

222. We the Member States should not, therefore, hesitate to mobilize ourselves to condemn any violation of principles of the Charter of the United Nations. At the same time, a way out of the problem must be offered. It is the least we as a body can do to encourage those who courageously resist aggression and strive to preserve their national independence and uphold the principles of the Charter.

223. Mr. GONÇALVES PEREIRA (Portugal):* Sir, I should like to begin by extending to you my warmest words of congratulation on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is with profound satisfaction that we once again see serving the international community someone whose human qualities and vast experience as politician and diplomat guarantee that we shall reach positive results during this session.

224. I am very pleased to see this high office occupied by the representative of a friendly Arab nation with which we share so many historical and traditional links—and specially from Iraq, whose relations with Portugal have been marked by a close and fruitful co-operation that we wish to maintain and develop.

225. I should also like to express our sincere esteem and gratitude to Mr. von Wechmar for his constant and devoted efforts in favour of peace and justice and for the untiring and commendable manner in which he dedicated himself to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We have the highest respect for his excellent contribution to the good conduct of our work last year.

226. Finally, I wish to address a special word of greeting and gratitude to the Secretary-General, who recently greatly honoured our country with an official visit. His clear vision of the international community, his human and diplomatic qualities, and the competent and devoted way in which he guides the work of the Organization are all worthy of our highest praise.

227. We welcome the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Vanuatu and we extend to its Government and people our sincere congratulations. We also express the hope that soon we may see amongst us Belize, which we warmly welcome today on its independence. These are most encouraging signs that step by step we are approaching one of the highest goals of the United Nations—universality.

228. The General Assembly has gathered once again to avail itself of the diligence and efforts of its Members to analyse and debate the grave issues facing the world which, for the major part, call for an urgent solution. Notwithstanding their best efforts, it is not an easy task to find new solutions, to follow up and reinforce those already advocated and to remove the obstacles in the path of peace and progress.

229. Profound changes in the international system have been brought about by the cumulative effects of diverse factors. The agenda of the General Assembly has been broadened beyond the traditional themes of security and the balance of power to include matters of increasing complexity which pose a continuing challenge to the Governments of all the countries here represented. However, like the speakers who preceded me and those who will follow, I am certain that we, the Members of this distinguished Organization, will do our utmost to find the proper solutions.

230. The continuing situation in Afghanistan, where a Soviet intervention persists in open violation of the Charter and in defiance of the condemnation of international public opinion and of the Assembly, constitutes clear evidence of a policy of expansion and of the ensuing risks to stability and international détente. Convinced that the present situation is not evolving favourably, and aware of the risk it represents to the geostrategical balance of power and to peace, the Portuguese Government has clearly and consistently condemned the persistence of a situation that is both politically and juridically unacceptable.

231. In this spirit, my delegation wishes to express its full support for the recent plan of the European Council meeting at Luxembourg on 29 and 30 June¹³ for the convening of an international conference within the framework of the diplomatic efforts initiated by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

232. The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese armed forces have also been condemned by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the Organization, including my own country. Portugal considers that a solution to this problem must be based on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Kampuchea. We further consider that the International Conference convened earlier this year by the United Nations constituted an important step towards the peaceful solution of this conflict.

233. In view of such situations as these, the fundamental question confronting the General Assembly is to decide whether the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*] and the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating

*Mr. Gonçalves Pereira spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

States included in the Final Act of Helsinki of 1 August 1975 actually derive from a will to organize the world in a more peaceful and humane manner, or whether they represent smokescreens hiding contradictory aspirations, mental reservations or subjective interpretations. Were this to be the case, we would all be co-operating on the basis of a false and therefore dangerous construction, built on quicksand and made only of misunderstandings and empty words.

234. These fundamental questions have been and still are under discussion in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe meeting in Madrid. New proposals and criticisms presented there must not be seen as contrary to détente, but in their proper context of review and positive appraisal. What cannot be admitted is a concept of détente that allows it to exist simultaneously as an instrument of co-operation and struggle in all fields, to suit each party's interests at any given moment. If détente is a necessity of international life, the practice of reciprocity is essential to it.

235. Furthermore, good faith is required if détente is to lead to co-operation in all fields and to the elimination, or at least the easing of tensions. This is, we believe, the correct position, one which has guided our participation in this important meeting within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We still hope that such an approach will prevail and that substantial results will be achieved.

236. Finally, the principles of détente must also be observed and respected in the relations between countries with basically similar political and social systems. In fact, there is no sense in confining respect for the principles of détente, peace, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States to relations between countries with different systems. Moreover, we think that drastic action against them will inevitably lead to developments difficult to control and therefore capable of generating the most dangerous reactions.

237. It has often been stated here that the degree of technological development in the field of armaments has rendered obsolete the classic geographical theories of defence. We all know that the security that resulted from distance and natural frontiers is today to a certain extent greatly reduced, if not nullified. The sole reality is that the capability for mutual destruction exists.

238. Considering, from this perspective, the destabilizing changes that have taken place during the last several years in the military balance between East and West, it seems appropriate for me to underline the fact that NATO, of which Portugal is an active and committed member, consider the stability of the military balance to be an important and timely contribution to general security and peace.

239. This is also the primary objective of arms control, the aim of which is to attain a balance of power at a minimal level of armaments, especially nuclear armaments, without loss of security. The decision taken by the members of NATO on 12 December 1979¹⁴ served that purpose. In this sense, my country strongly supports the important negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union which are due to open before the end of this

year and for which my country will express its support where necessary.

240. In the field of disarmament, nuclear weapons, because of their awesome power of destruction, should receive special attention, as was decided by consensus at the tenth special session of this Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*]. The ban on all nuclear weapon testing, subject to effective international inspection and accepted by all parties concerned, would be a significant contribution. It would also be desirable to have the nuclear Powers agree on a common formula of guarantees to strengthen the security of States that do not possess nuclear weapons, thus responding to the legitimate concern frequently expressed in this Assembly. However, our concern with nuclear weapons should not mask the fact that the power of the militarily more important States results from the combination of their nuclear and conventional arsenals. Negotiating efforts in the field of nuclear disarmament should not serve as a pretext for the international community to refuse a parallel effort in the field of conventional weapons.

241. It is our hope that the second special session on disarmament will allow us collectively to review the achievements in the field of disarmament in the light of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, whose validity remains intact. We hope its conclusions will help the negotiations and assure them of significant progress in this field.

242. I should now like to mention some of the problems that contribute to the worsening of regional tensions and jeopardize the United Nations principles and capacity for effective intervention. The question of Namibia, where South Africa persists in maintaining an illegal situation, thus preventing the Namibian people from exercising their right to self-determination, has led to attacks on Angolan territory that are to be condemned. Almost three years have elapsed since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), yet, notwithstanding the constant diplomatic initiatives of the Secretary-General and of the "contact group", with the support of the front-line States, the legitimate hopes for a final settlement have not yet been fulfilled.

243. The recent invasion of Angola's territory—unjustifiable on any grounds, and undermining the principles of international law that should govern us all—is a negative result of a latent confrontation that must urgently be solved through political means.

244. The events in southern Angola represent an evident sign of the risks created by the present situation, resulting in heavy sacrifices for the sovereign State of Angola, with which we renew our solidarity. We should not forget, either, the attack perpetrated on Mozambique last January, which we equally reject.

245. My country has supported Namibia's independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and trusts the diplomatic efforts that the "contact group" has been conducting within its framework. This support we reiterate today, convinced that new delays or unacceptable intransigence may lead to a grave confrontation in southern Africa, with dire repercussions on international stability.

246. Another source of tension that has been debated here for several years, without the concrete results that the security of the international community would demand, is the question of the Middle East. This is a question of particular and universal importance, in view of the high values and interests at stake and of all its inherent risks. Portugal has clearly expressed its standpoint, defending the establishment of a climate of conciliation and mutual respect that would put an end to the present growing armed confrontations and consolidate an essential spirit of negotiation. My Government has thus stressed the responsibility of the international community in contributing to a global solution that would lead to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, and to the dismantling of the settlements established since then. We have supported the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, with all its consequences, and of their return. We have defended the right to full security and sovereignty within safe and recognized boundaries of all countries in the area, including Israel. We have called for an end to the unacceptable violations of the territorial integrity of Lebanon. We have condemned the Israeli attack on Iraq's nuclear installations, for it constituted a grave violation of the sovereignty of Iraq and of the principle of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

247. On the other hand, my country has stressed the urgent need for a mutual effort towards an understanding between Israel and the PLO, based on a mutual recognition that would take into account unquestionable political realities and help create a peaceful future for the area. To this end, it is legitimate to hope that the Government of Tel Aviv may draw from the martyred history of the Jewish people such human understanding as will permit it to break the present circle of intransigence, recognizing that the Palestinian people cannot be denied the political, national and social rights that have made possible the existence and consolidation of the State of Israel itself.

248. It is in this context that Portugal supports the diplomatic initiatives—particularly the efforts made by the EEC—that, hopefully, will substitute for the present confrontation an indispensable dialogue of peace and co-operation. Likewise, the recent plan advanced by Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia represents a significant political step that should be given the attention that it deserves.

249. Still within the existing sources of international tension that are gloomily pictured in our agenda, we should acknowledge with hope that progress has been achieved under the auspices of the OAU on the problem of the self-determination of Western Sahara. We salute the spirit of negotiation resulting in the exploration of avenues leading towards a democratic solution and an equitable conciliation of the legitimate interests of the parties concerned.

250. As is known, Portugal's adherence as quickly as possible to the European Communities, to which my Government remains deeply committed, reflects the profound political, economic, social and cultural realities that identify us with the countries members of those Communities. This goal is in keeping with the legitimate aspirations of the Portuguese people and constitutes one of the main priorities of my Government within the framework of its global policy and its external action.

251. Portugal faces as a challenge the important tasks resulting from its adherence. They will no doubt bring about significant changes and improvements in the economic and social structure of our country. We share the model of a democratic and free society existing in the Communities, just as we equally share the spirit of solidarity characterizing its actions not only in its geographical region but also on a world-wide basis.

252. In a broader field, we view with concern that the efforts being made to diminish the profound disparities between developed and developing countries are not achieving the desired results. This is the result mainly of the present economic crisis, which impedes the availability of additional resources for development.

253. Because of its intermediate state of economic development, Portugal is in a position to understand the difficulties facing both sides. We attach importance to all initiatives aimed at overcoming the present crisis. We believe that all countries should contribute to these initiatives, regardless of their own level of development or economic and social systems. That is the only way to keep the North-South dialogue alive and to contribute to the timely launching of the global negotiations, which have given rise to so many hopes in the international community. It is in that spirit that Portugal has actively participated in several meetings and conferences of the United Nations, more particularly the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy and the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. We support the basic idea of the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development which will be held at Cancún, and we hope that this meeting will bear positive results and a better understanding between countries with larger dimensions and consequently commitments, and those which have suffered more because of their lack of resources.

254. We share the view that there are two main problems which stand out in the complex of development: energy and food. Interlinked and complementary, these two issues, which are indeed important to the international community as a whole, to a large extent determine the possibilities of overcoming the stage of underdevelopment. In fact, more than two thirds of mankind are afflicted with a scarcity of food and energy jeopardizing all efforts towards development. Because of the world-wide crisis in energy products and the acute world food and agricultural situation causing the depletion of grain reserves and the consequent price increases, the importing countries, in addition to endangering gravely their balance of payments, must allocate to these consumer products resources that are vital to support the structural changes capable of allowing them to make progress on the path to development.

255. My country has historic relations with a group of nations occupying extensive areas of what is traditionally called the third world. Together with the leaders of these nations, we have embarked upon broader co-operation, co-operation which hitherto has been mainly bilateral. Our growing and untiring efforts are aimed at diversifying this co-operation which we intend to intensify with the third-world countries and the specialized agencies. Thus we hope to overcome a situation representing an obstacle to progress, one which is an insult to human dignity.

256. We believe that the gradual elimination of international tension and divisions among nations is closely linked to the universal promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Human rights must be considered as an integral part of a global dimension required for all activities we pursue in our search for justice, security and development, as well as for a fruitful dialogue between the acting partners of the international community.

257. As we have already mentioned, this is a particularly important aspect of the present world situation. Serious violations of individual rights are still occurring, and there are still situations where human dignity is ignored. The right of peoples to self-determination and independence is viewed with contempt. The territorial integrity of sovereign States and their right to decide freely on their own system of government are blatantly disregarded. Thus the foundations of democratic society and international relations are being jeopardized. Since these are the basic principles guiding this Organization's work, we as Member States are bound to respect, abide by and promote them.

258. This is a field where the United Nations, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, has the responsibility to promote and protect human rights and to provide an opportunity for dialogue and co-operation among its Member States with the most diverse systems and historical and social conditions. It is our view that such a task can be fulfilled only through enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations system, whose capabilities to intervene should also be strengthened. That is the position we have been advocating particularly during the past three years in the Commission on Human Rights, of which we have had the privilege of being a member.

259. The Portuguese Government attaches the highest importance to the observance of these principles, which are enshrined in clear and decisive terms in our Constitution and integrated in the day-to-day practice of the Portuguese people. We have stated as much in the report on the implementation of the rights protected by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights presented by Portugal to the last session of the Commission on Human Rights.¹⁵

260. We wish to reiterate the importance we attach to civil and political rights, which are the very foundation of our own historical reality. Even though we recognize that the effective enjoyment of such rights calls for the improvement of the present economic, social and cultural conditions, we cannot agree that the search for such improvement should take precedence over the guarantee of what we consider to be the fundamental rights inherent in human dignity, which, above all, we must protect at any cost.

261. However, we think it is far more important to ensure effective and increasingly wide protection of all rights than to form a hierarchy of various types of rights. Let us remain hopeful that those rights will be implemented. This is a field in which a primary role must be played by the international community and in which the United Nations has a special responsibility.

262. Still regarding the protection of the rights of peoples, I must mention that one problem persists which is a

reminder of our common incapacity to make the principles of the Charter and international law prevail in the practice of nations. I am referring to East Timor. Year after year appeals and condemnations have been repeated here concerning a situation that is condemned by legal and moral standards and prevents the people of Timor from freely exercising their right to self-determination.

263. Conscious of our responsibility in defending the future of that people, to which we are historically bound, and concerned with the difficult conditions and the serious problems facing East Timor, my Government has shown an availability for dialogue—reflected in some detail in the report of the Secretariat itself¹⁶—that until now has unfortunately not met with an adequate response. In spite of the difficulties of the problem, Portugal will continue seeking to develop and exhaust all diplomatic efforts that will protect the national rights and the identity of the people of Timor in accordance with the spirit of the Charter.

264. The resolution of this problem lies within the responsibility of the United Nations. However, Portugal, having no territorial claims whatsoever to East Timor, acknowledges its responsibilities in helping to find solutions by consent that are in keeping with the right of self-determination.

265. Many and grave are the problems demanding an urgent solution that are faced by the international community. Without the goodwill of peoples in the struggle against misery, hunger and war, the ingenuity of man and the potential of States will continue to be misdirected towards the perpetuation of conflicts, and thus the progress and well-being of mankind will be set aside. We trust that common sense will prevail and that the world of tomorrow will see the conflagrations that now afflict mankind progressively diminish.

266. It is our profound belief that the United Nations will play an important role in this fundamental harmonization of efforts.

267. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of Ecuador has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

268. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Foreign Minister of Peru has seen fit in this Assembly today to refer to the territorial problem confronting Ecuador and Peru with regard to the important reference to it in the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as follows: ". . . the Governments of Ecuador and Peru decided to engage in negotiations after a series of armed skirmishes early this year. By their positive attitude these Governments were able to arrest an escalation of hostilities". [A/36/1, sect. IV.]

269. The last incident with Ecuador to which Peru referred took place in January of this year, and in due course my Foreign Office informed the United Nations Security Council of it in a letter dated 1 February 1981¹⁷ in which we indicated the aggression suffered by Ecuador on 22 January in the region of Cordillera del Cóndor. It is hardly possible to refer to the presence of Ecuadorian forces in another territory when the boundaries of the area in question are undefined because of the geographical error of the absence of any *divortium aquarum* or line

dividing the waters of the River Zamora and the River Santiago, of which the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro, to which the representative of Peru has referred, makes mention.

270. Ecuador welcomed the appeal of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States that both countries should abstain from any resort to force and should make the greatest possible efforts to eliminate tensions by peaceful means.

271. In a later note addressed to the Security Council on 5 February,¹⁸ Ecuador informed it of the resolution adopted unanimously at the Nineteenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States dated 4 February, which took note with satisfaction of the announcement by the two Governments of a cease-fire, urged both countries to demobilize and stressed the solemn commitment of both countries to re-establish and consolidate the peace and avoid any act that might endanger that peace, and to make every effort to overcome the present difficulties. All this Ecuador has continued to do in accordance with its vocation and its mission as a peace-loving State that respects international law.

272. Ecuador firmly maintains its faith in the principles of international law and in the peaceful settlement of disputes and controversies, and trusts in the usefulness and the responsibility of international organizations to ensure the rule of justice. Thus Ecuador is ready for constructive, open and cordial dialogue with Peru in order to find a worthy solution that will put an end to this problem once and for all.

273. The Constitutional President of Ecuador, Mr. Osvaldo Hurtado, in August last stated to the National Congress that "Ecuador has sought ceaselessly and by every

means its essential aim of a peaceful and just solution to the frontier problem with Peru".

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea*, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

² *Ibid.*, annex II, resolution 1 (I).

³ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XV, 142nd plenary meeting.

⁴ Later adopted as resolution 36/55.

⁵ *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

⁶ A/CONF.104/22 and Corr.2 and 3, part one, sect. A.

⁷ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14659, annex.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Supplement for January, February and March 1981, document S/14384.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XV, document A/CONF.62/L.78.

¹¹ See *United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

¹² *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.

¹³ See *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No. 6, 1981, vol. 14, para. 1.1.13.

¹⁴ See NATO Information Service, *Texts of Final Communiqués*, vol. II, p. 118.

¹⁵ CCPR/C/6/Add.6.

¹⁶ See A/AC.109/663, para. 15.

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981*, document S/14353.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, document S/14363.