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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

Tribute to the memory of His Holiness Pope John Paul I

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sure I am speaking on behalf of the States represented in this Assembly in expressing sorrow at the unfortunate death of the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church, His Holiness John Paul I. I ask members of the General Assembly to stand and observe a minute's silence in honour of the memory of His Holiness.

The members of the General Assembly, observed a minute of silence.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

2. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):¹ It is with dismay that the delegation of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations has received word of the demise of His Holiness Pope John Paul I. Permit me to express my sincere condolences to the Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations.

3. Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election to your responsible office, and I extend to you and to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, best wishes for successful work. You will always find the representatives of the German Democratic Republic by your side when the purposes and principles of the United Nations are to be promoted.

4. Complicated and even contradictory international developments require both sober judgement and determined action. Never before have the chances of a lasting peace been so good. But at the same time the arms race is assuming unprecedented dimensions. Certain progress towards détente cannot be overlooked. Yet in the face of ever sharper attacks against their living together in peace

the peoples are concerned about whether détente can be pursued further and be made durable or whether there will be a return to the cold war. They rightly place high hopes in the United Nations, whose activities are committed to peace.

5. The German Democratic Republic has been a Member of the United Nations for five years now, and it has always considered the maintenance of world peace and the safeguarding of international security to be the crucial tasks. It is a reliable partner to all those who pursue the same goals and who work for the good of man.

6. Peaceful coexistence is the driving force of the United Nations, and universality is its special feature. Permit me to extend cordial congratulations to Solomon Islands on its admission as the one hundred and fiftieth State Member of the world Organization.

7. The United Nations can effectively fulfil the tasks entrusted to it if it commits all its authority to unrestricted observance of the principles enshrined in its Charter. Strict observance of the sovereignty of States, non-interference in their internal affairs and respect for their territorial integrity and their frontiers are indispensable, as are renunciation of force, arms limitation and disarmament, the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the safeguarding of the right of peoples to self-determination.

8. It is no accident that attempts are being made by the forces opposed to détente to undermine these very cornerstones of the peaceful living together of States and peoples. In view of this, the present session of the General Assembly cannot remain passive. It is, rather, called upon to match its practical action to its declarations of intent and to take vigorous steps to strengthen détente, to make world peace more secure and to ensure that the road towards a world without war and without colonial and racist oppression will not be abandoned but will be easier to follow.

9. In Europe, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference² has had a beneficial effect on the living together of States having different social systems. This living together develops as the Final Act meets with growing recognition and application as the code of peaceful relations among States. It is equally obvious that all attempts at interfering in the sovereign affairs of other States contrary to the agreed letter and spirit are bound to block the further progress of détente and, what is more, amount to a reckless gamble with the destinies of the peoples. We are prepared to work together with all those who sincerely endeavour not to change the existing situation unilaterally. However, the

¹ Mr. Fisher spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

² Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed in Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

delegation of the German Democratic Republic has reason, and not for the first time, categorically to reject the stereotyped attempts to the contrary, both presumptuous and dangerous, that have been renewed here.

10. It remains the declared objective of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to work towards a situation in Europe where peace is lastingly assured on the basis of the irrefutable realities of post-war development, where peaceful coexistence governs the life and conduct of States having different social systems and where the people of the German Democratic Republic can pursue its peaceful work of socialist construction free from outside interference or even threat. The States of Europe can and must agree upon a future in peace. Whoever continues to oppose that and to pursue unrealistic and adventurist designs jeopardizes the life of the peoples. Whoever is serious about co-operating in easing the international atmosphere, resolving common vital issues of our time and assuring peace and good-neighbourliness has ample opportunities to prove it by a sense of reality, goodwill and constructiveness, and, above all, by deeds.

11. This would be to the benefit of everyone. As is well known, in taking part in the work of the United Nations and in firmly adhering to its Charter, the German Democratic Republic is guided by this very endeavour.

12. An example of how peaceful coexistence can promote the fruitful co-operation of States is the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes. There have been joint research programmes among socialist States, as well as between socialist and capitalist States. Their results have benefited all. The German Democratic Republic is a member of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, and has been co-operating for many years in joint programmes among the socialist countries. It has now joined those countries whose citizens participate in manned space flights. Our people is proud of that, and grateful to the USSR, whose pioneering exploits have made it possible.

13. It is exactly 50 years now since the Kellogg-Briand pact³ was signed in Paris. In spite of all inadequacies inherent in that pact, the USSR acceded to it and was the first State to ratify it. It was the first time that an international treaty, which was open for accession to all States, proscribed war and prohibited it as a means to settle international disputes as an "instrument of national policy".

14. At that time, contrary to the hopes of the Soviet people and all other peoples, the pact could not prevent the outbreak of new wars and conflicts. The short-comings of the pact, such as the lack of disarmament measures and of sanctions to be imposed in case of breach of the peace and no provisions for the forces of peace to enforce the observance of peace, had disastrous consequences. Today, that pact should remind us—the States of the United Nations, whose founding was an essential result of historical lessons—of our commitment to peace.

³ General Treaty for Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy, signed at Paris on 27 August 1928. See League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (No. 2137), p. 59.

15. The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force would be highly significant for the security of the entire world and for stabilizing peace all over the world. The German Democratic Republic, a State situated at the boundary line between the world's two most powerful military alliances, takes a keen interest in such a treaty.

16. The cessation of the arms race and disarmament are the key issues of the world today. Awareness of that prevailed at the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session [*resolution S-10/2*] constitutes a solid platform for joint action. It sets standards for the attitude of States and for the activities of the United Nations.

17. A world disarmament conference as a result of which States would assume binding obligations would logically be the next appropriate step. It could be taken, given the good will of all. Regrettably, the situation is being complicated by the current spurred arms drive of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*]. And, the more dangerous and sophisticated the weapons become, the more difficult will it be to control and finally ban them.

18. Priority must be given to measures to curb the arms race where atomic and other weapons of mass destruction are concerned. It would be widely appreciated if the nuclear Powers were now to seek agreement on the prohibition of the manufacture and on the reduction of their stocks of nuclear weapons.

19. An extremely grave threat to the lives of human beings is the neutron bomb. The German Democratic Republic advocates the irrevocable prohibition of the manufacture and deployment of that offensive weapon. Its introduction would send the arms race spiralling up again, but would not substantially change the existing correlation of military forces.

20. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1968 [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] has been conducive to strengthening confidence among States. Also, it has considerably promoted international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We would wish all States to accede to that treaty. As a European State, the German Democratic Republic has an obvious interest in the early conclusion of the overdue arrangements subsidiary to the safeguards agreement between IAEA and the European Atomic Energy Community.

21. The German Democratic Republic is interested in lasting security. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Andrei Gromyko on 9 September submitted to the United Nations a draft international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States [*A/33/241, annex, addendum*]. The conclusion of such an international accord with a legally binding obligation not to use nuclear weapons against States which do not manufacture or acquire such weapons, or have them on their territories, would substantially reduce the risk of nuclear war and effectively enhance international security. Also, the draft Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace as proposed by the Polish People's Republic [*A/C.1/33/2, annex*] meets this concern and has our approval.

22. As a member of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, the German Democratic Republic has joined in the efforts to conclude a treaty on the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests. We have closely followed the negotiations between the USSR, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, and hope that they will soon be concluded successfully. However, this will certainly require the willingness of all nuclear-weapon States to assume the necessary obligations.

23. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the efforts of the Soviet Union in the negotiations with the United States to agree on effective measures for the limitation of strategic armaments. It is obvious that the early conclusion of such an agreement would be an encouragement for further moves towards the cessation of the arms race.

24. The course of the Vienna talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe has been unsatisfactory. With their recent compromise proposals—I stress the word “compromise”—the States signatories of the Warsaw Treaty have opened up new possibilities of achieving substantial progress at last. Regrettably, this spirit of accommodation has not so far met with a constructive response.

25. We have followed with concern the tensions persisting in the Middle East. Israel's aggression against Lebanon was bound to cause further aggravation. Current attempts to provide sham solutions by way of separate accords are playing with fire. As is generally known, the problems of the Middle East have a strong bearing on the international atmosphere. It is evident that this explosive hotbed of conflict can really be eliminated and that the long-hoped-for lasting peace can be brought to the peoples of the Middle East only if a solution is found which is based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and which guarantees the independence and security of all States and peoples in the area, including the Arab people of Palestine, which must have the right to self-determination in a State of its own. To achieve this, all parties concerned—not only the Soviet Union, other socialist States, Arab States, and the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—should make efforts for the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

26. Turning to the question of Cyprus, the peace and security of the Cypriot people require that this Mediterranean island must not be made into the marshalling ground of a military pact. It is only if the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that island Republic are respected and if there is no outside interference that the Cyprus conflict can be settled. We consider the convening of an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations to be the best way to achieve this.

27. Peace and stable security demand not only the elimination of existing sources of conflict; it is also incumbent on the United Nations, as well as on each and every one of its Member States, to forestall new situations of conflict. The German Democratic Republic supports all appropriate ideas and proposals for guaranteeing security in

Asia. For this very reason it has been concerned to see recent developments in the Far East and in South-East Asia, where the peoples of Viet Nam and Laos again have to defend themselves against aggressive acts and outside interference.

28. The German Democratic Republic also supports the demand of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that all foreign troops, together with their weapons and equipment, be withdrawn immediately from South Korea so that the Koreans can settle their problems themselves.

29. International security and peaceful coexistence among States having different social systems are neither conceivable nor feasible without the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

30. We resolutely condemn the terrorism in South Africa and all attempts to maintain that bastion of colonialism and racism. The growing aggressiveness of the racist régimes calls for the strict enforcement of a total arms embargo. It is just as necessary to put an end to economic collaboration with the racist régime in South Africa.

31. As regards the people of Zimbabwe, the German Democratic Republic considers its right to self-determination to be legitimate. It opposes attempts aimed at perpetuating the domination of any colonizers whatsoever. It works consistently for the full independence of Namibia and unreserved respect for that country's territorial integrity.

32. The policy of the German Democratic Republic regarding the nationally liberated States is based on the principles of equal rights, respect for independence, and active solidarity.

33. Everybody can see that the same forces which extend comprehensive political, economic and military assistance to the racist régimes seek to recover lost sources of profit and raw materials in the African region. They stop neither at boycott and blackmail nor even at direct armed incursions.

34. I think I may say that in the course of this debate it has repeatedly been recalled that the actual attitude of States towards the racist régimes in southern Africa is another indication of who is serious about the implementation of human rights. By no means all of those who pretend to care about human rights have acceded to international instruments such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX)*], in force since 1969, or the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII)*], in force since 1976.

35. Man's most important right is the right to life in peace, free from Fascist, colonialist, racist or other forms of oppression.

36. In the German Democratic Republic, as well as in the other socialist countries, this decisive human right is implemented and established by law. The right to work,

equal rights for men and women, the right to education and leisure for everyone and the right to special protection of marriage and family are living, everyday reality. Social security and political codetermination form part of the very nature of socialism.

37. Some States have been claiming for some time that human rights are the supreme guideline of their policy. But this is just not the case. Their assertion is designed to conceal the fact that their system is based on the violation of human rights. For the same reason they claim the right to be the sole judges of right or wrong. That is neither new nor ingenious. Who would not know that this is to substantiate a "right" to intervention on what are alleged to be humanitarian grounds and to justify, for example, the creation of the post of a so-called United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. So far, this has always proved to be a mere pretext for suppressing the sovereign rights of other States and distracting attention from unresolved problems at home. Such a policy can only engender tensions and foment conflicts.

38. The criterion of credibility where human rights are concerned remains the situation at home rather than postulates addressed to other countries.

39. The socialist States have long since implemented what was laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 30 years ago. The United Nations has a definite responsibility to oppose in time and with determination the growing activities of old and new Nazi forces.

40. International economic relations based on equal rights and mutual benefit constitute an essential aspect of both peaceful coexistence and human rights. The German Democratic Republic works to ensure that the economic, scientific and technological co-operation of States takes account of the interests of all nations and, consequently, of the people. That requires the elimination of all forms of discrimination and exploitation in international economic relations and the immediate implementation of measures with a view to the restructuring of those relations on democratic lines.

41. The growing economic strength of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance demonstrates what can be achieved through fruitful co-operation, free from exploitation. It illustrates the merits of socialist planned economy. It, and it alone, makes possible a continuous and dynamic development, free from crises. Can this be better illustrated than by the conclusion of long-term programmes agreed among the States members of the Council? Moreover, socialist planned economy offers good prospects for the continuous expansion of relations with the developing countries. In the first six months of 1978 alone, the German Democratic Republic's exports to these States increased by over 30 per cent.

42. But it is only on the basis of peaceful coexistence that the international division of labour between States having different social systems can be developed further to mutual advantage and for the benefit of all concerned. It must be based on democratic principles. As long as this has not become everyday practice, the independence of the developing countries will always be in jeopardy. An increase

in the economic potential of the capitalist States does not automatically entail the prosperity of the developing countries.

Mr. Jamal (Qatar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

43. The German Democratic Republic shares the view expressed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of non-aligned States at their Conference in Belgrade in July that it is the legitimate right of the developing countries to claim financial and material compensation for all damages from those which practised colonialism and are practising neo-colonialism [see A/33/206, annex I, para. 195 (o)]. Work on a code of conduct to exclude the neo-colonialist practices of transnational corporations could certainly be completed within a very short time.

44. Greater attention must be given to attempts being made by influential capitalist circles to re-establish by means of modern technology the dependence of many developing countries at a different level. For this reason, a code of conduct to govern scientific and technological assistance to developing countries is urgently needed. The United Nations should also oppose the protectionist practices of certain capitalist countries. That should be a priority concern of the fifth session of UNCTAD.

45. The General Assembly at this session faces complex but rewarding tasks. May I express the hope that our joint efforts will yield results that are conducive to strengthening security and peace, to enhancing the progress of political détente by measures of military détente and to making it irreversible. Of course, this cannot be everything, but without this, everything would be in vain.

46. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic will actively contribute to the accomplishment of the difficult and challenging tasks before this session of the General Assembly.

47. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic would like to congratulate the Foreign Minister of Colombia upon his election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and sincerely wishes him every possible success in the fulfilment of his important task.

48. We should also like to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Mojsov, who so skilfully conducted the proceedings of the thirty-second regular session and also the three special sessions of the General Assembly.

49. Our delegation would also like to note the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, in strengthening the role of the United Nations in ensuring peace and security among peoples. Our delegation takes pleasure in congratulating the delegation of Solomon Islands upon its admission to membership in the United Nations and would like to wish the people and Government of that new State every possible success in strengthening their national independence and ensuring their economic and social progress.

50. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic holds the view that the salient feature of present develop-

ments in the world continues to be the steady growth of the might and influence of real socialism, and the consolidation of the positions of all progressive and revolutionary forces as well as the advancement of the cause of peace, national liberation and social progress of nations.

51. The economic, scientific and technical potentials of the States of the socialist community continue to show a dynamic increase. The liquidation of the colonial yoke has entered its final stage; the ranks of people's democratic States which have replaced colonial and feudal régimes in Africa and Asia are steadily growing. The last fascist régimes in Europe have collapsed and the basis of the dictatorial régimes in Latin America is being increasingly undermined.

52. As a result of the consistent and dynamic efforts of the countries of the socialist community and of all peace-loving forces of the world, the process of international détente continues to deepen and the principles of peaceful coexistence are being increasingly adhered to in relations among States, while the equitable and mutually advantageous co-operation of States in the political, economic and other fields is growing.

53. Millions of peoples in all countries are more actively engaged in the struggle for preventing the threat of a new world war, consolidating universal peace and security, and implementing effective measures of disarmament. All the foregoing open up a bright perspective for a peaceful future of mankind.

54. However, it would be an unforgivable mistake if one were to underestimate the threat which is posed by the growing collusion of the forces of imperialism and great Power chauvinism to the cause of peace and security of nations. The latest developments testify to the fact that here a great deal is being staked on reviving and employing the forces of revanchism and militarism.

55. This growing alliance of the most reactionary groupings is trying to liquidate détente and to revive the policy of "positions of strength". Moreover, its spearhead is directed against the world socialist community and the forces of national liberation and social progress. Therefore, these circles oppose everything progressive, just and reasonable in the world. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, while pointing out the existing danger, has no intention of exaggerating it. Possessing the necessary means to check aggressors, the world socialist system, jointly with all forces fighting for peace, national independence and social progress, is capable of forestalling a new world war and promoting the deepening and broadening of the positive changes which occur in the world.

56. The Mongolian People's Republic is of the view that today the struggle for the cessation of the arms race and the implementation of measures of genuine disarmament represents the core of international efforts aimed at the deepening of détente and at consolidating universal peace and security.

57. In order to preserve peace, a decisive rebuff should be administered first of all to the policy of the militant circles of NATO and other reactionary forces which, under such

artificial and false pretexts as the "Soviet threats" or the "protection of human rights", are escalating the arms race and trying to inflate a war hysteria.

58. The tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, showed convincingly that the overwhelming majority of States in the world consider disarmament, and in the first place nuclear disarmament, to be the most urgent task in contemporary life.

59. The special session gave new impetus to the struggle of the world community for disarmament, having outlined the basic principles of an approach to this complex problem, a programme framework and priorities for practical measures to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament.

60. Furthermore, the session showed the urgent need for convening a world conference that would adopt binding decisions on the cessation of the arms race and on disarmament, through the constructive and business-like participation of all States. A world disarmament conference able to take decisions based on the common will of all its participants to implement genuine measures of disarmament could serve as such a forum. In this context, the Mongolian delegation considers that the current session of the General Assembly should set up an organ which would deal with practical preparations for a world disarmament conference. As is known, there exists a consensus as regards the need for adequate preparation for such an important forum.

61. What is required now is a demonstration of political will on the part of all, primarily on the part of the nuclear Powers, and a constructive and realistic approach towards the implementation of the provisions of the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly.

62. In that regard, it would be of the greatest importance to approach in an unprejudiced, business-like manner the proposals of the Soviet Union on practical measures for ending the arms race⁴ submitted to the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on 26 May of this year. Those proposals envisage a series of measures, presented in a most realistic and practical way, which should be agreed upon at the present and subsequent stages of the disarmament negotiations within a definite period of time. The implementation of these measures would decisively promote the cause of genuine disarmament and, above all, of nuclear disarmament.

63. To develop and make more concrete its proposals on practical measures to halt the arms race, the Soviet Union has come forward at this session with new initiatives for the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States [A/33/241] and to reach an agreement prohibiting the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present [*ibid.*, annex II].

64. These closely interrelated proposals fully meet, in the first place, the basic concerns of the non-nuclear States—

⁴ See document A/S-10/AC.1/4.

concerns that predominate in all documents pertaining to disarmament negotiations, including the Final Document of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In circumstances where the military-industrial complex and bellicose forces in the Western countries are accelerating the arms race and encouraging the development of new, sophisticated types of nuclear weapons, this initiative is of exceptional practical importance.

65. The implementation of the new Soviet proposals will, first and foremost, strengthen to a considerable extent the security of the overwhelming majority of States of the world and, at the same time, will contribute a great deal to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and lessening the danger of nuclear war.

66. Among practical measures designed to curb the arms race, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic continues to attach great importance to the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. A positive outcome of those talks would represent a turning-point in checking the missile and nuclear-arms race and would create favourable conditions for securing concrete results in other forums of disarmament negotiations too.

67. The Mongolian delegation associates itself with the view that the United States in its stand on this vital issue should overcome extraneous considerations of expediency and should, like the other party, be guided first of all by the larger interest of saving mankind from the danger of thermonuclear catastrophe and ensuring its peaceful future.

68. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the constructive proposal of the socialist countries at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which offers a fair and mutually acceptable basis for an essential agreement founded on the principle of equal security. Acceptance of that proposal by the Western countries participating in the talks would lead to the conclusion of an agreement which would be extremely important for diminishing the danger of military confrontation in this region of extremely high concentration of armed forces and armaments. Such an agreement would also make a most tangible material contribution to the strengthening and advancement of the spirit of the Helsinki Conference.

69. To prevent the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and the emergence of new types of them, it is necessary first of all to take effective measures for a comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests. The USSR proposal to reach agreement on a moratorium on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes along with a ban on all nuclear-weapon tests for a definite period opens up, in our view, the possibility of the early elaboration of the text of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

70. The Mongolian People's Republic, together with all peace-loving forces, resolutely opposes the attempts of the NATO hawks to produce nuclear neutron weapons and deploy them on the territory of Western European States. The world public demands that the United States accept

the proposal of the Soviet Union to reach agreement on the mutual renunciation of the production of this type of weapon, intended exclusively to annihilate man and other living beings.

71. This session of the General Assembly should earnestly recommend that the Committee on Disarmament begin without delay the elaboration of an agreement on the prohibition of the production of neutron weapons on the basis of the draft convention submitted by the socialist countries to that Committee.

72. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic favours the approach that, along with the elaboration of a general agreement on the prohibition of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, agreements should be concluded on the prohibition of specific types of such weapons. It is in this light that we deem it important to negotiate an agreement on the prohibition of radiological weapons.

73. The Mongolian delegation, taking note of the recent report on the status of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the question of the prohibition of chemical weapons, wishes to underline here the need for the earliest possible removal of this type of weapon of mass destruction from the arsenals of States.

74. The reduction of military budgets by States having large military potentials would be a practical and tangible measure. In this connexion, the proposal by the Soviet Union that agreement be reached on a reduction in absolute figures of the budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council deserves the most careful consideration.

75. The Mongolian People's Republic, like many other States, believes that the concluding of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations would consolidate confidence among States, diminish the risk of confrontations and conflicts, and thus create a favourable political atmosphere for making progress in disarmament matters.

76. For the Mongolian People's Republic, the conclusion of such a treaty—in addition to its significance of principle—now has immediate practical importance. As is well known, my country shares a common border with a country whose ruling circles are engaged in open preparation for war, and who consider it a "normal phenomenon" and are exerting crude pressure and open encroachment upon the national interests of other States.

77. Here, from this high rostrum, my delegation wishes to express the fraternal solidarity and full support of the Mongolian people and its Government to the Vietnamese people, which is defending with dignity the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of its country in the face of obvious pressure, provocation and aggressive incursions on the part of great-Power expansionists and their tools.

78. In view of the aforementioned circumstances, the question of the limitation of arms sales has acquired for us the same importance. We are entitled to disapprove in a most decisive manner the policies and activities of those

Governments which in one way or another are aiding and abetting the militarization of a country whose authorities are pursuing a hegemonistic policy towards our country and others.

79. In its foreign policy activities, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches great significance to the problem of strengthening peace and security on the Asian continent.

80. The urgent need to unite the efforts of all States of the continent for this vital purpose can be explained, first and foremost, by the fact that here on this vast continent, where more than one half of mankind lives, peoples continue to suffer from incessant armed conflicts, provoked by neo-colonialists and other forces of international reaction. Furthermore, in Asia there exist dangerous hotbeds of tension, fraught with the threat to universal peace and security. The situation there is aggravated, furthermore, by the recent increase in the collusive activities of imperialist, great-power, chauvinistic and militarist forces in Asia and the Far East.

81. In pursuance of its policy of principle, Mongolia has been steadily broadening its relations with other Asian countries and has been seeking to strengthen mutual understanding and co-operation with all nations for the sake of upholding peace and security on the continent.

82. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported all actions which promote the cause of peace, national independence and social progress, particularly on the Asian continent. The Mongolian people welcomed with enthusiasm the victory of the peoples of South-East Asia over the American aggressors, the emergence of a unified socialist Viet Nam and Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a result of the victory of the people's revolution in that country.

83. We attach great importance to continued normalization of relations among States of South-East and southern Asia and to the growing trend among Asian countries of adhering to the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with differing social systems and freeing themselves from the shackles of military alliances.

84. It is the considered view of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic that the most urgent task in the consolidation of peace and security on the Asian continent remains the elimination of the existing hotbeds of military tension and conflict.

85. The situation in the Middle East is becoming ever more explosive. The recent separate talks in Camp David under the aegis of the United States have once again clearly demonstrated the root-cause of the growing tension. The result of these talks has been rightly assessed by progressive Arab opinion as one further attempt to impose upon the Arab world a solution tailored to the expansionist designs of Israel and its patrons, a solution which is fraught with the danger of opening the way to military penetration by imperialist forces into that region for far-reaching strategic ends.

86. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic continues to hold the view that a just settlement of the Middle East problem can be achieved only through the concerted efforts of all interested parties on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and by ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to the creation of their own State, as well as preserving the security of all States in the area. The principal means for achieving such a comprehensive solution of this problem remains the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

87. The Mongolian People's Republic advocates strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its status of non-alignment. We continue to believe that an international conference on Cyprus to be held under the aegis of the United Nations in conformity with its decisions would be an important instrument for the speedy and effective solution of the Cyprus problem.

88. The situation in the Korean peninsula, whose southern part has become the bridge-head for aggressive encroachments by imperialist circles, is fraught with serious danger to peace and security not only in the Far East but in Asia as a whole.

89. Further efforts are needed for the speedy implementation of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in the south of Korea, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a permanent peace agreement [*resolution 3390 B (XXX)*].

90. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the proposals by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea designed to bring about the unification of Korea in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people and with the interests of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

91. In expressing its anxieties over the deterioration of the situation in Indo-China resulting from the schemes of the hegemonistic forces, the Mongolian delegation, like many others, maintains that that problem should be settled through peaceful means at the negotiating table, as has been proposed by the Vietnamese side.

92. The aggravation of the situation on the African continent caused by the intensification of the plotting of the leading Powers of NATO against national liberation forces and progressive States is giving rise to grave concern on the part of the world community.

93. Imperialist circles, together with the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, are doing everything possible in their power to preserve their positions on that continent so rich in natural resources, and for that sole purpose they will do anything, including resorting to collective military actions against the independent African States. All that is accompanied or, rather, is covered up by neo-colonialist manoeuvres.

94. The political strategy of the neo-colonialists is to undermine the unity of African States and to strike a blow at the progressive and democratic régimes of the continent.

95. The Mongolian people has always expressed its internationalist solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, socialist Ethiopia and other African progressive States which are defending with dignity their national independence and democratic achievements against the hostile activities of external and internal reaction. Our people also supports the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for national and social liberation and against racism and *apartheid*.

Mr. Liévano (Colombia) resumed the Chair.

96. It is of overriding importance to secure the implementation of all the United Nations resolutions related to the liquidation of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, in particular the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

97. The most significant component part of the liberation movement at the present stage is the struggle of the developing countries for the elimination of the pernicious heritage of colonialism—economic backwardness, for strengthening their economic independence, and for the establishment of a new international economic order. The absence of any tangible progress at the so-called North-South dialogue as well as the complete stalemate in the work of the Committee which was set up to promote those negotiations, demonstrate once again the reluctance of the principal capitalistic Powers to meet the legitimate demands of the developing countries and their desire to retain unequal economic relations, inherited from the time of colonial domination.

98. The Mongolian People's Republic, which enjoys the benefits of socialist inter-State relations based on the principles of equality, mutual advantage and mutual assistance, understands well the legitimacy of the demand and struggle of the developing countries for the restructuring of their economic relations with the capitalist world on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage.

99. We should like to note that the introduction of far-reaching social and economic changes by the developing countries, including the development of the public sector in the national economy and the carrying out of agrarian reform with a view to creating a progressive basis for public production and distribution, could serve as an effective instrument for solving their economic and other complex problems. The fostering and expanding of economic co-operation between the developing countries and the socialist system of economy would serve as a sound basis for strengthening their national economies as well as for enhancing the effectiveness of the struggle for the establishment of a new and just system of economic relations on a world-wide scale.

100. The Mongolian People's Republic attaches great importance to activities of the United Nations designed to strengthen international security and co-operation. We advocate the enhancement of the role and effectiveness of

the United Nations in this field on the basis of strict observance and implementation of the provisions of its Charter.

101. We should like to express our hope that this session of the United Nations General Assembly will mark another important contribution in promoting the further consolidation and spread of the process of international détente and the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust among States.

102. In that connexion my delegation warmly commends the initiative by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic, which has submitted to this session a draft Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace.

103. In conclusion, I should like to assure representatives to this Assembly that the Mongolian delegation will spare no effort to contribute in every possible way to the success of the work of this session.

104. Mr. VANCE (United States of America): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election to this important office.

105. We all learned this morning with shock and sadness of the sudden death of Pope John Paul I. His passing deprives the world of a wise and compassionate leader whose brief ministry had already given promise of greatness.

106. A generation ago the United Nations was created by men and women who shared a vision. They saw the need in the wake of war to create stronger international institutions that could dampen the flames of conflict and life nations and people to a new level of material well-being; they saw the need to afford self-determination to millions; and they saw the need for the world community to take a compelling stand against repression, discrimination and the denial of the rights of man.

107. The men and women who gathered in San Francisco in 1945 raised their sights above the differences and divisions of the moment. They dared to see the world as it could be—a world where those who are hungry are fed; where those who are poor have escaped the degradation of poverty; where diplomacy among nations is a pervasive substitute for violence among nations; and where the resources of the world are used effectively and shared equitably.

108. In the years since, the record of the United Nations in working towards that vision has been one of accomplishment. It has played an indispensable part in the process of peaceful decolonization, in defusing tensions among nations through its peace-keeping missions, and in promoting genuine economic and social progress.

109. Today the Members of this body still share that common vision. And we understand far better than ever before our common destiny: that no nation acting alone can assure for its people peace and economic security; that the future of each of our nations depends upon the future of all of our nations.

110. Our challenge today is to summon the political will to act in concert towards the goals we share, to go beyond the rhetoric of interdependence and to begin to recognize its inescapable implications for the national interests of each of us.

111. We must build a new consensus on this proposition: that in this new era each nation must weigh more carefully than ever before its long-term interest in a healthy global community when making decisions about its immediate concerns. For only through co-operation and compromise in the short run can we assure our longer-term future.

112. On crucial issues, the coming months will present turning-points of incalculable importance. In negotiations on the Middle East, on southern Africa, on trade, on arms control and on many other pressing problems, genuine progress has been made. Without continued progress, the gains we have already made can be lost.

113. This point applies not to any single nation nor any group of nations but to every nation, including my own.

114. The resolution of dangerous regional disputes and progress in limiting weaponry must always be at the top of the immediate international agenda. I shall return to these issues later. But we cannot so concentrate our energies on the political diplomacy of international peace, essential as it is, that we discover too late that international inequities and poverty and injustice within nations make peace among nations impossible.

115. So let me concentrate my comments today on those issues that so centrally touch people's lives around the globe—economic security, the equitable development of the earth's resources and individual freedom.

116. Shared economic progress requires a global consensus on the benefits of co-operation among nations. Co-operation and compromise are often difficult. The economic problems we share require long-term efforts, but we are all constrained by domestic concerns which call for immediate attention; the problems we share are so widespread in their impact that solutions cannot be found by a single nation or group of nations; and these problems require more than general agreements. The application of substantial technical and financial resources is necessary. Debate over sterile texts will neither feed the hungry nor create new jobs for the unemployed. Only common action can be effective. And each must contribute if all are to benefit.

117. Only three or four years ago there was extraordinary tension between North and South. Each side was deeply suspicious of the other's motives. Each held sharply different perceptions of global needs and priorities. But these differences have been narrowed. From the seventh special session of the General Assembly through the fourth session of UNCTAD, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation and the meetings of this Assembly, and through other serious efforts in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and the economic summits, agreement has been achieved on several basic issues relating to a new international economic order.

118. We are agreed on the need to work towards the elimination of poverty in all countries. Concessional aid-flows have been increased. More attention is being devoted to food production. Satisfying basic economic needs is becoming a greater priority of the international community.

119. We are agreed on the urgent need to accelerate equitable non-inflationary growth. The round of multi-lateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT now proceeding at Geneva are in their final stages. We are discussing guidelines for international investment. Private capital flows are increasing. The facilities of IMF have been expanded, and discussions are under way to expand the facilities of the multilateral development banks.

120. We are agreed on the need to reduce economic instability and uncertainty. The IMF is playing a major role in providing balance-of-payments financing to those most severely affected by recent disruptions in the world economy. We are engaged in serious discussions on a variety of commodity arrangements, including a system of internationally co-ordinated national grain reserves.

121. And we are agreed on the need to facilitate smooth adjustment for workers and businesses that have borne the brunt of changing economic circumstances. The Bonn Economic Summit Conference this year made clear that we must intensify our efforts in this area.

122. Because we have come far, the road ahead will be even more challenging, for the most difficult issues remain. To maintain our progress, we should be guided by three fundamental principles in the North-South discussions over the coming months. First, every nation must resist the temptation to solve its own economic problems at the expense of others. We must fashion our domestic policies on the basis of global as well as national needs. Secondly, all nations which bear their fair share of responsibility should benefit from a healthy world economy. And, thirdly, all nations must enter international economic negotiations in a spirit of accommodation.

123. These principles will not by themselves solve the problems we face. But without their general acceptance, there can be no genuine progress. Adherence to them will prevent critical negotiations from turning into polarizing and self-defeating tests of will.

124. Let me discuss several major issues where the application of these principles can make the difference between success and failure.

125. First I shall speak of the "Committee of the Whole" that is, the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. One of our most recent collective efforts to address the economic challenges we share was the establishment of that Committee. The Committee has the potential to look at economic issues comprehensively and to identify longer-term priorities. The United States strongly supports that forum. At its meeting in May it made progress in identifying some important areas of agreement between the industrial and the developing countries. Substantive discussions in the Committee had an important impact on the Ministerial Meeting of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, held on 14 and

15 June, and on the Bonn Economic Summit Conference. We of course shared the disappointment of other representatives that a procedural impasse earlier this month interrupted the Committee's work.

126. Since the September meeting, we have carefully examined the statements made by others on this issue. We have noted in particular statements made by the Chairman to the Committee on 8 September and to the press on 11 September, and have taken into account subsequent consultations. It is now generally agreed that the Committee would not seek to provide specific solutions to problems outstanding in other bodies. Rather, it would achieve agreed conclusions on fundamental or crucial underlying issues, and only to the extent that all members agreed to decide on them.

127. We are satisfied that on the basis of these statements sufficient procedural agreement now exists to resume substantive work in the manner suggested by the Chairman at the end of the informal consultations on 6 September [see A/33/34, part two, annex A].

128. I turn now to the question of trade. The spirit which must guide our work in the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 applies as well to our policies on trade. The developing world is no longer on the periphery of world trade. Increasingly, growth in the developing countries is important to the health of the industrial countries.

129. Commitment to open trade, however, is extremely fragile. It is tempting for one nation to use trade restrictions to export its economic difficulties. It is often easy to avoid adjustments which are beneficial in the long run, but which in the short run present difficult problems for workers and for industry.

130. We must be concerned about rising protectionist pressures, but we should also recognize that world trade has expanded remarkably well in recent years. Despite a deep recession in the early 1970s, we not only avoided the trading wars of the 1930s, but we continued negotiations to liberalize and to improve the world trading system. Our ability to conclude these trade negotiations successfully this year is a critical test of our commitment to an open trading system. An agreement will stimulate production, it will provide jobs, and it will help reduce inflation.

131. Beyond our efforts to expand trade, the United States will fulfil our commitment to assist developing nations through differential measures, including, where appropriate, special and more favourable treatment. We, in turn, expect those developing countries which can do so to contribute to trade liberalization by improving access to their markets. Improved access will not only benefit the industrial countries; it will be even more important to many developing countries.

132. Finally, we believe that in trade, as elsewhere, the developing countries should have a voice in determining the policies which affect them. We have encouraged their full involvement in the Geneva multilateral trade negotiations. We urge developing countries, especially those which play a large role in international trade, to participate actively in

GATT and in the agreements that result from the Geneva negotiations so that their interests are fully represented.

133. I turn now to the question of commodities. An essential element of trade for most developing nations is their export of basic commodities. At the fourth session of UNCTAD we agreed to intensify our collective effort to address commodity problems. Progress has not always been as fast as we all would like, but this has generally reflected the technical complexity of commodity issues rather than the lack of political will or good faith. We will continue to work for stabilization agreements and other measures that strengthen commodity markets.

134. Let me affirm that we believe a soundly designed common fund could play a useful role in alleviating commodity problems. A well-structured fund will provide economic benefits to participating countries. We also recognize that the establishment of a fund is of major political importance to the general North-South dialogue.

135. We will co-operate with others to bring the common fund negotiations to a successful conclusion. Recent consultations have identified a convergence of views on some issues. All agree that a fund could play a useful role in reducing the over-all financial costs of supporting buffer stocks, which effectively stabilize prices.

136. In addition, there is a growing recognition of the importance of encouraging improved productivity and more effective marketing of many commodities. A separate "second window" of the common fund, based on voluntary contributions and operating under agreed guidelines, might be an appropriate mechanism. We are prepared to negotiate flexibly on this issue, as on others, if there is a similar approach on all sides.

137. While progress has been made on some issues, important differences still remain. Movement on all sides of the conference table will be necessary. But we are convinced that with mutual accommodation a workable agreement can be achieved.

138. As with trade, increased resource flows to the developing world must be part of an international system of shared responsibility.

139. We ought not to think of resource transfers as a sacrifice for donors or a unilateral benefit for recipients. They are an economic investment in the future of all countries. They will contribute to global economic growth, greater trade and enhanced prosperity for us all.

140. My country is committed to increasing our contributions to both multilateral and bilateral development efforts. We have done so in the past year: our multilateral commitments increased by 31 per cent and our bilateral programme expanded by 20 per cent. And, because we are determined that United States aid funds will be used effectively, we will concentrate our efforts in countries where programmes are aimed most directly at meeting the essential needs of their people.

141. The United States believes strongly that a key objective of foreign assistance should be to help meet basic

human needs. We recognize that nations will have different development priorities in approaching this goal. Whether emphasis is on enhancing the productivity of the poor, increasing food production, improving health or expanding industry which creates jobs, the critical ingredient in every nation is to have all its citizens—men and women—as active participants in and beneficiaries of their nation's growth.

142. Finally, we recognize the debt problems that many of the least developed countries face. We will soon have authority from our Congress for retroactive adjustment of certain aid terms which would permit us to help those most in need.

143. As we work together to promote economic development, we must also ensure an equitable sharing of the world's resources. Four issues demand our immediate attention. Our first urgent priority is ensuring adequate food and stable agricultural prices for all people. Four years have now passed since the World Food Conference, where we agreed on measures we must take for the future.⁵ But despite our efforts the fundamental problems remain: food production is hardly keeping pace with the growth in population; food deficits in many countries are increasing; and negotiations on grain reserves have dragged on without success. We believe progress must be made.

144. The United States has created a 9-million-ton farmer-held grain reserve. We have proposed to our Congress the establishment of an international emergency wheat reserve of 6 million tons to provide food for emergency needs in developing countries. We intend to maintain our food aid level at a fair share of the target set at the World Food Conference.

145. We will continue to support the activities of international organizations devoted to food production such as the International Fund for Agricultural Development. And we intend to make food aid a more effective tool in support of development.

146. I propose that this Assembly review the world food situation to identify the current obstacles to progress and to restore a sense of urgency in meeting mankind's most basic need. We must not be lulled by good weather and plentiful harvests. Another tragedy is inevitable unless we act now.

147. Secondly, we must act now to develop new energy resources so that we may avoid a harsh transition to the time when fossil fuels will no longer be plentiful. This task has several dimensions.

148. There must be an expansion of oil and gas production, and we need to improve our conservation of these energy resources, especially in my country, the United States. The World Bank has expanded its lending to help developing countries increase their fossil fuel supplies. We welcome this, and we also encourage the regional development banks to assist.

149. The development of nuclear energy will also be central to the future of many countries. We hope the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation will provide a consensus on nuclear technologies free from the serious risk of nuclear-weapon proliferation. My Government supports the development of safeguardable nuclear power, including assured nuclear fuel supplies. The developing nations should, of course, participate in the design and management of the institutions which form the basis of an international nuclear energy régime.

150. Priority attention must be given to the development of renewable energy resources. Many technologies already exist for harnessing solar, wind and geothermal power. All of us can benefit from these technologies, but a special effort should be made to meet the needs of the poorer countries.

151. Two opportunities now exist for the United Nations to continue to play an important role. The United States supports the proposed United Nations conference on new and renewable sources of energy.⁶ Such a conference could result in a more co-ordinated United Nations energy effort and clearer priorities. It could also provide up-to-date information on renewable energy technology, and examine the role of the private sector in energy development. UNDP might also expand its efforts to help nations assess their own renewable energy possibilities, finance the testing of new technologies and provide training and technical assistance for effective energy management.

152. The United States is willing to contribute to a major global effort to develop new energy resources. We will intensify our assistance programmes in this area. We will increase domestic research, which can benefit all nations. And we will expand co-operative energy programmes from which we, too, stand to benefit.

153. Thirdly, we must strive to conclude successfully the negotiations on the law of the sea. At stake is whether that vast expanse of the globe will be an arena of conflict or of co-operation. Considerable progress has been made on a number of issues in these negotiations. These achievements have been obscured, however, by continued stalemate over sea-bed mining. The basis for an equitable solution already exists and is widely accepted. It permits all sides to benefit fully from sea-bed mining, with private firms as well as an international enterprise being allowed to mine on a competitive basis. A mutually acceptable solution is imperative, and it is, we believe, possible. Time is running out for reaching an agreed solution. Without it, sea-bed mining will inevitably take place, but in the absence of an international agreed framework. That would be less satisfactory than a widely supported international régime.

154. Fourthly, and finally, there is the critical question of how best to harness technology and science for the benefit of mankind. We hope that the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, to be held next year in Vienna, will focus attention on how all countries can contribute their knowledge to global development. It will be particularly important to find ways for developing nations to enhance their capacity to generate,

⁵ See *Report of the World Food Conference, Rome, 5-16 November 1974*, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.3).

⁶ See Economic and Social Council resolution 1978/61.

select and apply technology for their own development priorities. We will contribute to the work of the Conference, and we hope to benefit from it.

155. Furthermore, to help mobilize the technical talents and knowledge of our nation on behalf of the development of others, we intend to establish during the coming year a new foundation for international technical co-operation.

156. The ultimate purpose of all our policies is the enhancement of human dignity. The rights to food, to shelter, to a decent education, to adequate health—the rights which lie at the heart of our approach to economic issues—are hollow without political and civil freedoms: freedom from torture and government mistreatment, freedom to worship, to travel and to speak without fear, freedom to participate in the affairs of one's Government. There is no incompatibility among economic, political and civil rights; no choice that must be made among them. They reinforce one another.

157. We commemorate in this Assembly the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Dag Hammarskjöld described the Declaration as a living document. We have a continuing obligation to keep that document alive in our own nations. And as Members of the United Nations we must strengthen the international machinery that serves to promote the full range of human rights, including political and economic rights.

158. We have made significant progress in the past year. Concern for human rights is more central to international discourse today than ever before. But more needs to be done. This Assembly should review the activities of the various United Nations human rights institutions. We must resolve in this Assembly to make torture alien to the experience of every nation and to conclude an international agreement to outlaw it. We need to ensure that we are doing all we can to end conditions which are tantamount to genocide. And we must ask what more each of us can do to ensure the vitality of the Universal Declaration, to provide amnesty to prisoners of conscience, to ensure due process for all and to advance social justice and equity for our people.

159. In addition, the plight of one group of individuals, refugees, demands our special compassion. We urge all nations to increase their support for the vital humanitarian work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

160. The refugee problem is not confined to any single region. In Africa alone, some 2 million individuals are now outside their native lands. We must do more to offer them sustenance, security and a realistic hope of resettlement or return to their homelands.

161. In South-East Asia hundreds of new refugees from Indo-China appear daily, some risking their lives to cross borders, others challenging the sea in every form of vessel. We urgently need greater efforts to provide them with sanctuary. We hope that the High Commissioner will consider convening an international conference in the very near future to seek humane solutions to the desperate plight of these refugees.

162. We propose that consideration also be given at a later date to a general conference on the world-wide refugee problem.

163. Let me now turn to international peace-keeping. Too often the anguish of the uprooted is grim testimony to our collective failure to achieve international peace. War and strife are the enemies of the fundamental rights I have discussed. Today my Government and many of those assembled here are actively pursuing the path of peace in troubled areas of the world.

164. The accords achieved at Camp David⁷ offer hope that at long last a turning-point has been reached in the Middle East. The agreements achieved between Egypt and Israel, with active American participation, constitute a framework for a comprehensive peace settlement. Much remains to be done in the ensuing stages of negotiations, but a major step has been taken in resolving the difficult issues that lie at the heart of 30 years of Arab-Israeli hostility. As negotiations are pursued on the basis of the Camp David framework a dynamic process will be set in motion that can profoundly change attitudes on the issues that remain to be resolved. That process will significantly advance legitimate Arab objectives while protecting Israel's security. It is our hope that the Members of this body will lend their full support to the task of building a just and lasting peace upon this framework.

165. In his address before Congress on 18 September President Carter reviewed the main elements of the Camp David agreements. As the President said, our historic position on settlements in occupied territory has remained constant. As he further said, no peace agreement will be either just or secure if it does not resolve the problem of the Palestinians in the broadest sense. We believe that the Palestinian people must be assured that they and their descendants can live with dignity and freedom and have the opportunity for economic fulfilment and political expression. The Camp David accords state that the negotiated solution must recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

166. The Camp David accords make a solid start towards achieving these goals for the Palestinians in real terms. In the West Bank and Gaza, the framework provides that Israeli occupation shall end and a self-governing authority shall be instituted. This can be achieved within a few months. Thus, for the first time the Palestinians have the prospect of governing themselves within the framework that has been agreed.

167. The Camp David framework also gives the Palestinians a vital role in shaping their destiny by recognizing them as participants in all aspects of the negotiations that determine their future. The Palestinians will participate in the negotiations to set up their self-governing authority, in those to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and in those leading to a Jordan-Israel peace treaty. Finally, the agreement on the final status of the West Bank

⁷ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978. See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, vol. 14, No. 38, pp. 1523-1528.

and Gaza will be submitted to a vote of representatives of the inhabitants for either ratification or rejection. These steps set in motion a political process of the utmost importance to all Palestinians.

168. The Camp David accords concentrate on the means by which self-government can be established for the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza, but there was also clear recognition by all three leaders at Camp David that the problem of the Palestinians living outside these areas must also be addressed. We recognize that this problem has political as well as humanitarian dimensions which must be resolved as an integral part of a durable peace settlement. When the Camp David accords call for the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects, they acknowledge and embrace that central fact. As the political institutions of self-government take shape in the West Bank and Gaza through negotiations among the parties, the relationship between those institutions and the Palestinians living outside the area should be defined, including the question of admission of Palestinian refugees to the West Bank and Gaza.

169. The framework provides for the establishment of a committee to decide on the modalities of admission to the West Bank and Gaza of persons displaced in the 1967 war. For the first time the parties to the conflict, Egypt and Israel, have agreed to work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent resolution of the refugee problem.

170. As President Carter stated in his address to Congress, the United States is irrevocably committed to bringing about a satisfactory solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees. We will play an active role in the resolution of this problem. A solution must reflect the relevant United Nations resolutions relating to the refugees. We urge the international community to support Egypt and Israel in establishing procedures urgently to address this issue in all its aspects. And the international community should contribute to a programme to promote economic development in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as to assist those refugees residing elsewhere.

171. We are determined to achieve a fair and just settlement of the Middle East question in all its parts, and we hope the Palestinian people will seize this historic opportunity. It is our hope that the people of the Middle East will agree that it is imperative to begin the negotiating process now and not to stand still until every last issue is resolved. We urge the other interested parties to join the negotiations without delay.

172. As the Middle East peace process moves forward, it is vital to maintain the effectiveness of the United Nations peace-keeping role there. It is critical that the mandates of the United Nations Peace-keeping Forces in the Golan Heights [UNDOF] and Sinai [UNEF] be renewed this fall. Those Forces have thus far helped all sides avoid renewed hostilities; they must now remain to help achieve a stable peace.

173. Let me briefly review several other regional disputes of major importance.

174. In Lebanon, the fighting and tragic loss of life continue. UNIFIL in southern Lebanon has done much to stabilize the situation in that part of the country, and we call on all to support this effort to help reassert Lebanese authority. Elsewhere in Lebanon confrontation and tensions continue at a high pitch. President Carter made clear in his address to the joint session of Congress following the Camp David summit meetings, and again yesterday, his determination to spare no effort to assist in finding a solution to the Lebanese tragedy. As the President said yesterday, it is time for us to take joint action to call a conference of those who are involved and to try to reach some solution. It may involve a new charter for Lebanon.

175. In Namibia the world community faces a fundamental challenge. I will be commenting on this more fully this afternoon in the Security Council.⁸ Let me simply say now that the United States is determined to see Namibia achieve independence in accordance with the contact group proposal⁹ and Security Council resolution 431 (1978). We call upon South Africa to co-operate fully with the United Nations so that this critical opportunity for a peaceful settlement will not be lost.

176. In Rhodesia, time may be running out for the possibilities of diplomacy. But we will continue to work with the United Kingdom Government, the Governments in the region and the parties to seek a negotiated solution. We condemn the murder of innocent civilians as a matter of both conscience and reason. The prospects for peace in Rhodesia will diminish if violence increases.

177. On Cyprus, an opportunity now exists to help the two communities narrow their differences and achieve a just and lasting solution to this long-standing problem. The United Nations has done a commendable job of nurturing an atmosphere which should now make possible productive intercommunal negotiations. To grasp this opportunity, we would welcome and actively support a renewed effort by Secretary-General Waldheim to help the parties reach agreement on a sovereign, bicommunal, non-aligned federal Republic of Cyprus which would meet the concerns of the people of Cyprus.

178. In this Hemisphere, we must respond to the agony of those caught up in the violence and bloodshed of Nicaragua. We and several countries in Latin America have offered to assist in the mediation of Nicaragua's internal crisis. It is our hope and expectation that all parties concerned will accept these offers and agree to a fair mediation process in which all can have confidence. Only a democratic solution in Nicaragua—not repression or violence—can lead to an enduring stability and to true peace.

179. As we work together to find peaceful resolutions to the most dangerous regional disputes, we must also seek in this Assembly to strengthen the United Nations peace-keeping capability.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, 2687th meeting.*

⁹ *Ibid., Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.*

180. And while this Organization works to limit violence among nations, we must not lose sight of the havoc wreaked by those who perpetrate terrorist acts on innocent persons. No single nation, acting alone, can deal adequately with this serious problem. Collective action is essential.

181. We are beginning to make some progress. Last year the General Assembly adopted a significant resolution on aircraft hijacking [*resolution 32/8*]. The Joint Statement on International Terrorism adopted on 17 July 1978 at the Bonn Economic Summit Conference¹⁰ produced a much needed agreement on the harbouring of hijackers. We strongly urge all nations to subscribe to this Statement.

182. The pursuit of peace and security must go beyond resolving conflicts and preventing violence. The security of all is enhanced if nations limit the weapons of war through mutually negotiated arms control agreements.

183. We are engaged with the Soviet Union and other nations in a broad range of arms control negotiations.

184. The conclusion of a strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union is a fundamental goal of the United States. We hope that we may conclude an agreement as a result of the second series of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks before the end of this year.

185. The United States hopes that early progress can be made in concluding a comprehensive agreement to end the testing of nuclear weapons.

186. Increased efforts are critically needed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. It is important to prepare fully for the 1980 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; to continue to make progress in the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation; and to recognize one of the important achievements of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament: the decision by several nuclear Powers to pledge, under specific circumstances, to refrain from use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States. We suggest that the Security Council take note of these pledges.

187. The United States will also work to ensure compliance with the call in the Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action of the special session on disarmament [*see resolution S-10/2, sects. II and III*] for restraint in the transfer of conventional arms. We are actively discussing with the Soviet Union how our two nations might encourage restraint in consistency with the legitimate right to self-defence and international obligations. We are encouraged by the new initiatives already being taken to promote restraint on a regional basis in Latin America and we stand ready to support similar efforts by countries in other regions.

188. In conclusion, let me emphasize that on all the issues I have addressed today what we share is greater than how we differ. We share the same small planet. We share human

aspirations—for better lives, for greater opportunity, for freedom and security. And because we share a common destiny, we are compelled to resolve our differences.

189. If we focus on these common interests, we can begin to find the common ground for global progress. We can, as Jean Monnet said, “put our problems on one side of the table and all of us on the other”.

190. The measure of our progress will not be whether we achieve all our goals in this generation, for that will surely not be possible. It is whether we can now summon the will to move forward together so that our children may benefit from our efforts and our vision.

191. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As the representative of a deeply Catholic country I wish to express here before the world community our astonishment and our grief at the death of His Holiness Pope John Paul I. His goodness and generosity of heart had assured us of a pontificate devoted to the humble people of this world, who clamour for their social and human redemption.

192. Mr. President, Venezuela, a country which admires you, joins all Latin Americans in expressing our justifiable satisfaction at seeing you presiding over our debates. As one of the best biographers of Simón Bolívar and a great historian of the struggles of our people, you will, we know, lend a sympathetic ear to the utterances of the spokesmen of the third world, since we have in you, as President of the General Assembly, someone who understands us, pays heed to us and shares our ideas and concerns. You are an honour to your country, Colombia; you are an honour to Latin America; you are an honour to the General Assembly.

193. The bleak picture of risks and dangers presented by the world scene a year ago, far from fading, has acquired even more disquieting features since the holding of the last regular session of the General Assembly. By and large, the minimum indispensable conditions which, through tangible advances in matters of common interest, would have enabled us to arrive at encouraging conclusions in relation to the present international situation have not been forthcoming.

194. The military and economic Powers have not shown the necessary readiness to undertake the important changes which would ensure harmonious coexistence among peoples. Their policies of domination and exploitation, which persistently hinder progress towards more heartening prospects of a better world for the whole of mankind, remain unchanged.

195. The disappointing results of meetings held in the past year on a number of topics have cast a shadow of gloom over political and economic relations between industrialized and developing countries. Nor can it be said that there has been any improvement in the confidence between North and South.

196. As political and ideological disputes between the great Powers have become more acute; new hotbeds of armed conflict have emerged in other regions of the world. Contrary to the aspiration of peoples to a world order in

¹⁰ See “International Terrorism: Joint Statement, July 17, 1978”, *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 29, pp. 1308-1309.

which nations, weak and powerful alike, govern their relations and tackle common problems with the full participation of all, the competition between the great Powers for spheres of influence continues unabated.

197. In the light of all these facts, which cause us disappointment and anguish, the principles and purposes of the United Nations, which inspire the third world's resolute and unyielding struggle to establish an order of peace and justice in the international community, acquire greater significance. Venezuela has faith in the United Nations. That faith was reaffirmed by President Carlos Andrés Pérez's presence in the General Assembly hall in 1976, when he said:

“Latin America, within the third world, understands and accepts that it is in this Organization . . . that the weak countries, the small countries, the countries without a history of colonialism and those freed from colonialism can fulfil themselves, give up the passive contemplation of world problems, in the determination to take part in the decisions that now and in the future will determine the course of international justice.”¹¹

198. We believe that we can, within our Organization and under its auspices, bring extreme positions closer together and resolve those conflicts which hinder the attainment of peace and justice. Despite the lack of understanding and the intransigence of a few, we should be able to develop a sense of human solidarity. With tenacity and perseverance we could achieve all of these aims through concerted action in the political, social and economic spheres.

199. The Secretary-General rightly points out in his report on the work of the Organization that when we consider current world events we see that the United Nations, however imperfect or at times ineffective it may be, has become an increasingly imperative necessity, and that:

“Used properly . . . the United Nations can be the instrument for overcoming much of the sense of mistrust and insecurity which makes so many international problems insoluble”. [See A/33/1, sect. I.]

200. It seems to me that as we begin our deliberations this year we should keep in mind one fundamental point. If we transfer our attention for one moment from the realm of contemporary politics to the field of history we shall see that, over and beyond immediate conflicts and problems of greater or lesser gravity, the times we live in are imbued with a sense of renewal and progress. Broadly speaking, since 1945 the world has presented features and trends comparable to those which characterized Western and central Europe from the end of the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Like that period in history, ours is an era of transition. Today, as then, man's productive capacity and his mastery over nature are growing at a staggering pace and rapidly changing man's vision of the universe and of his own destiny.

201. Today, as at the dawn of the modern European era, emerging nations are asserting their sovereignty and opposing traditional imperialist ambitions. New generations, on

the strength of intelligence and ability, rise up from the core of the people and challenge the traditional élites founded on inherited privilege. Though initially extreme and dogmatic, innovative ideologies gradually adjust to new realities and coexist constructively with many other schools of thought. Despite many negative reactions, the action of history as a whole creates a world of greater justice and freedom for nations and individuals alike.

202. Venezuela, as an emerging nation, is basically optimistic, and we believe that the difficulties, struggles and sufferings of the present should be viewed within the optimistic concept of mankind's history.

203. It is in that spirit that the Government of President Pérez has oriented its international policy and has given Venezuela's resolute support to all efforts and actions designed to change the present international order and establish bases for genuine co-operation among all States.

204. This policy, which reflects an irrevocable determination to fight for international justice, is characterized by Venezuela's militant solidarity with the other countries of the Group of 77, with whose aims and objectives we fully identify ourselves. We are convinced of the effectiveness of and the need for joint action in this age of stubborn opposition to domination and exploitation. Only through solidarity will the countries of the third world achieve their common aspirations of justice and equity.

205. Ours is a real and effective solidarity, consistent with the deep-rooted democratic feelings of all Venezuelans. We have strengthened that solidarity by our participation in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, an important negotiating instrument which should serve as a stimulus to the developing world to create similar organizations to ensure the legitimate protection of their resources.

206. We have used the financial revenues produced by our petroleum—a non-renewable resource squandered for many years by the large consumer societies—to promote Venezuela's development and to endow our economy with a sound and firm basis. But at the same time, we have contributed, to the extent of our abilities, to the development of other third-world countries, either through international financial institutions or through different kinds of multilateral and bilateral co-operation programmes. That sincere and open co-operation has had no other purpose than that of expressing our sense of solidarity with those countries.

207. Our foreign policy is indissolubly linked to our domestic policy. The effective exercise of representative democracy has injected vigour and dynamism into our international policy, which, in turn, has been based on the same principles of justice which have guided and inspired the present Government's actions to ensure full and sovereign enjoyment of our resources, while promoting the integral development of our country and our people's well-being.

208. We are, however, well aware of the fact that our countries cannot advance their development programmes until the bases for a new international economic order are established. That new order should enhance the value of

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 67th meeting, para. 9.

our raw materials and our labour, placing them on a footing of equality with the labour, the manufactured goods and the technology of the industrialized countries. It is at the level of international relations that the real battle for our right to development is being waged.

209. The world economic situation, however, and the state of North-South negotiations are very disquieting. Signs of deterioration have appeared in both fields. As in the case of North-South relations, there is reason to fear that the world economy, rather than overcoming the present difficulties, may well deteriorate still further. It is illusory to think that merely by recourse to short-term measures the problems besetting the world today can be overcome and the uncertainties and malaise, which are growing constantly more acute, can be dispelled.

210. What is happening in the exchange market with the main reserve currency is the most revealing symptom of the profound ills afflicting the world economy. It is no longer a question of identifying the causes of the steadily worsening monetary instability of the last 10 years. What we must do is act with a sense of urgency and tackle the problem at its roots. Attempts have, in fact, been made, by exporting inflation and unemployment, to solve the crisis through a process of adjustments behind the backs and at the expense of the developing countries.

211. This is happening at a time when there is a growing awareness of the fact that action designed effectively to resolve the problems of the third-world countries, by providing them with greater external purchasing power, is the best way to stimulate demand and, therefore, employment in the industrialized countries. This is also the way to give positive and deliberate impetus to the interdependence which clearly conditions economic relations between States. Until such time as we act in conformity with these postulates, we shall not have begun to break out of the present stagnation.

212. To achieve this, we must be paid a fair price for our raw materials, and our products should be given better access to the industrialized countries' markets, thus clearing the way for our own industrialization process, which should benefit from the transfer of technology on reasonable terms. In this connexion, the resumption of the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the conferences on technology are of particular significance.

213. Notwithstanding the fact that the great majority of Governments of the industrialized countries concur in this analysis of the situation, the North-South dialogue is at a standstill in the main forums. At the beginning of this month of September, the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, was compelled to adjourn its work owing to the refusal of at least one important industrialized country to negotiate in a constructive spirit.

214. Dialogue for the sake of dialogue is as harmful and frustrating as no dialogue at all. The solidarity evinced by the developing countries in the Committee demonstrated quite clearly that dialogue has a *raison d'être* only in so far as real negotiations are carried out and concrete results are

achieved. In short, to us dialogue is synonymous with negotiation, and only thus can we organize the interdependence of nations on a just and rational basis. This historic objective, which should be the logical aspiration of all, appears to be belied by the short-term measures that are being taken.

215. The continuation of this inconsistency can only lead to chaos. We cannot continue to take as a pretext for not changing existing structures the fact that the economic situation is unfavourable. Would it be sensible to think that the developing countries will stand idly by and let the industrialized countries settle as they wish the problems that affect us as much as they affect them? Or has the world economic situation deteriorated to such a point that a concerted solution by the international community is no longer possible and each country must fend for itself? It is reasonable to believe that we have reached such a point.

216. Nor can we allow ourselves to be carried away by futuristic speculations made by the most sophisticated computers. The creativity of the human mind has not been used in a complete and consistent manner. We need proof of leadership, that is to say, of vision and courage. We need full participation by all interests within countries and among countries.

217. On balance, there has been no progress towards the goals of the new international economic order. Sometimes we have the impression that there still prevails among some Governments the idea that the old order is favourable to the industrialized countries while the new order would be detrimental to them. In truth, the old order cannot be salvaged, nor is it possible to build a new order that is not based on the interests of every one of the countries belonging to the international community. Furthermore, it would appear to be only natural that it should be those who are most injured by the existing situation that should derive the most advantages from a change to a new order and therefore should most strongly advocate its coming into being.

218. The Government of Venezuela has always followed with the greatest interest the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and has done everything it could to contribute to the success of the deliberations of that Conference.

219. We believe that progress has been made in the furtherance of the mandate given to the Conference by the General Assembly. Indeed, many of the articles of the integrated informal negotiating text¹² have the support of a large majority. However, there still remain some areas of disagreement which have been and should continue to be the subject of negotiation.

220. We view with the utmost concern the intention of the United States and other industrialized States to take unilateral measures with respect to the international zone of the sea-bed and its resources. We believe that we have moved forward in our negotiations and that unilateral measures would definitely affect any future understanding.

¹² See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

221. It is obvious that that Conference has entered a very delicate phase of its work and that there must be careful planning of its future work so as to prevent stagnation, which might be discouraging and even jeopardize the results achieved so far. Accordingly we have supported the recommendation that the goal of the next session of the Conference, which will be its eighth, to be held in March and April 1979, should be the conclusion of informal negotiations and the revision and formal adoption of a text to be used as an official draft convention; and that, if that is done, another session should be held next year so as to consider, in accordance with the rules of procedure, this draft convention and any formal amendments which may be submitted by States participating in the Conference. If these objectives are attained, the Conference could meet in Caracas to conclude its work on an appropriate date in 1980.

222. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, was of particular importance because it was the first session exclusively devoted to that subject. However, it was not free from contradictions and paradoxes such as have characterized all meetings on disarmament. The compromise Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] which was adopted after arduous consultations, and in regard to which several countries made reservations, does not reflect the aspirations of the vast majority of States. Once again there was clear evidence of the reluctance of the nuclear Powers to give even an indication of their readiness to pronounce themselves without reservation in favour of specific and effective disarmament measures in the nuclear field. Clearly, the great Powers, which are permanently in dispute because of strategic rivalries and competition for domination, united on that occasion, as they always do in disarmament forums, to torpedo any initiative which might even remotely imply a commitment to act resolutely in favour of nuclear disarmament.

223. On the other hand, while the General Assembly was meeting in New York, in Washington the leaders of States members of a military alliance were meeting with the intention of strengthening their armed forces in Europe because another alliance had weapon superiority there. Later we witnessed a parade of those same leaders in the United Nations speaking about "disarmament" in the general debate. Situations such as these created an atmosphere which further diminished any hope of making progress in the Assembly's efforts.

224. Although disarmament may seem to be a quixotic undertaking, we cannot permit ourselves to be overcome by scepticism and discouragement. We would not wish to abandon the hope that, before it is tragically too late, common sense and good judgement will prevail among the nuclear Powers and that they will correct the course they have been irrationally following so far. Here I wish to reiterate Venezuela's willingness to participate actively in every multilateral forum where disarmament matters are discussed. It is in this spirit and with this determination that we shall act in the new disarmament negotiating body.

225. As a developing country of the third world, we are also concerned over the proliferation of conventional weapons, which unjustifiably diverts vital resources from development and removes opportunities for people to live

lives of dignity in keeping with their right to economic and social well-being. This has been a major concern of my Government, and we have advocated the adoption of measures to achieve an arms limitation in Latin America.

226. We must strive to attain that objective, not only in order to devote more resources to the development of our peoples, but also to put an end to the lucrative profits extracted by arms dealers, who do not hesitate to foster conflicts and disputes among nations.

227. On the initiative of Venezuela, the Foreign Ministers of eight Latin American countries ratified the Declaration of Ayacucho on 22 June this year.¹³ We reaffirmed the principles of the Declaration regarding arms limitations and the need to redouble our efforts to bring about conditions conducive to the effective limitation of weapons in Latin America. A few weeks ago 20 countries, including my own, attended an informal meeting on conventional weapons in Mexico. A significant aspect of that meeting was the general recognition of the desirability of establishing a system of consultation among the Latin American countries to co-ordinate initiatives which might facilitate the achievement of tangible results in arms limitation. We shall continue to explore the best way of carrying out ideas such as this one. It is to be hoped that all the Latin American countries will participate in such a dialogue, since only the assistance and effective support of all can ensure effective results. We hope that similar initiatives will be taken also in other regions of the world.

228. One of the outstanding characteristics of our time is the defence and promotion of human rights, their recognition and their full exercise. The United Nations came into being among the embers of the world struggle against Nazi fascism and all it represented: the violation of political freedoms and economic and social rights, racism, intolerance and incitement to hatred among peoples. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man were adopted 30 years ago. We cannot believe that those texts are a dead letter. The basis of Venezuela's international policy is the total defence of human rights. Our policy is not one of mere convenience; nor is it a fantasy. Our policy is a reflection of our deep convictions, which we do not apply with discrimination or to serve ulterior purposes.

229. We resolutely support the peoples of Africa who are struggling for their independence and who for over 500 years have been denied their most elementary rights. We are in favour of a rational solution for Zimbabwe, without any conditions imposed by the racist minority, and we are resolutely in favour of the independence of Namibia and shall accordingly support all United Nations initiatives in that country.

230. The resistance of South Africa, the centre for every policy of racial discrimination and violence in Africa, and its refusal to implement Security Council resolutions cause us grave concern.

231. Latin America is now confronted by a serious dilemma: namely, whether or not to remain indifferent in the face of an unprecedented tragic event in its history.

¹³ See document A/S-10/AC.1/34, annex.

232. The Nicaraguan drama began to unfold almost half a century ago when Augusto César Sandino died at the hands of the first Somoza. Repression torture and death have for the following 45 years filled the pages of the history of that country, where one Somoza succeeds and inherits from another Somoza.

233. Beginning with the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a scholar and politician, every inch of Nicaraguan soil has been covered in blood. We in Latin America have never seen anything like it before. The Archbishop of Managua has implored the world to prevent somehow the massacre of his people, to stop the annihilation and genocide of one of the bravest, most admirable and resolute people in Latin America.

234. An anguished cry for help reaches us from the ruins of the devastated cities of Matagalpa, León, Rivas, Estelí, Chinandega and Masaya.

235. United States television has offered us the most tragic testimony of that civil strife. It has shown us how Catholic churches were destroyed and how old and sacred images were machine-gunned; the press tells us how the dead are buried in the streets or the corpses incinerated and thrown into common graves. And United States television has revealed another no less tragic aspect of those events—the recruitment of mercenaries in Albuquerque, New Mexico, to go and fight in Nicaragua. The fury of destruction unleashed against the defenceless civilian Nicaraguan population, which has taken no part in the fighting or the rebellion, cannot under any circumstances be the work of Nicaraguans. An operation of annihilation is being carried out in Nicaragua and in the name of the Venezuelan people I speak out before this Assembly against those tragic events.

236. The Venezuelan people have taken the obvious stand, a position of denunciation and close solidarity with the great people of Nicaragua.

237. As was stated before this Assembly by President Rodrigo Carazo of Costa Rica [*11th meeting*], peace in the region has been and continues to be threatened. While there may be a regional body that could or would decide to look on with indifference, the international community cannot do so. We must help the people of Nicaragua; we must respond to the anguished cries of mothers searching in vain for their sons buried or incinerated where they were shot down. Thousands of Nicaraguans are emigrating from their country to escape death. More than 25,000 have sought asylum in neighbouring countries. We believe that the United Nations has a commitment to those people.

238. That is the tragedy that has shaken our part of the world. Indifference would make us all liable to condemnation.

239. The Heads of State of Colombia and Venezuela have addressed themselves, to you, Sir, as President of the General Assembly, denouncing this serious situation. Although the text of their communication is already an official document of this Assembly, I shall conclude my statement by reading out one of its paragraphs:

“In denouncing the tragic and dramatic situation of vast segments of the population of Nicaragua, whose essential rights are being violated, we respect the principle of non-intervention, which is by no means incompatible with the task of internationally safeguarding human rights which the United Nations is required to perform, as is the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, there being no objection to simultaneous action by these two bodies since the United Nations is not required to consider the political case submitted to the jurisdiction of the regional organization but to take action in defence of human rights which, as we understand it, is an inescapable obligation of the agencies responsible for ensuring full respect for those rights.” [*See A/33/275, annex.*]

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.