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ACC. 94/152

SEE SAFE I (1982) , fourth drawer, trip books
for additional one-briefing-book style
on the official visits to USSR, IRELAND,
and SCANDINAVIA in March/April 1983.

This book includes the stopover in Paris
for unofficial ACC meeting.



TO: The Secretary-General
A:

DATE: 23 March 1983

REFERENCE: _____

THROUGH:
S/C DE:

FROM: Jean Ripert
DE:

SUBJECT: Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned
OBJET: Countries, New Delhi, March 1983

I thought it might be useful to jot down a few thoughts as I look over the deliberations on economic issues in New Delhi. This is done without the benefit of discussions with the Chairman of the Non-Aligned and of the Group of 77 in New York. Some details are provided in footnotes which may be referred to only where necessary.

The overall move towards a somewhat more "moderate", less polemical, tone in the Non-Aligned Declaration is confirmed upon reading the Declaration. 1/ There are less of the accusatory and confrontational remarks that have characterized earlier declarations, although they are not completely absent as some press reports may have suggested.

The change of leadership to India can be said to reinforce this tendency. A relatively greater emphasis on economic issues and a closer coordination with the Group of 77 can be expected to ensue.

Five major elements in the Declaration should be emphasized:

i) Global Negotiations: The Non-Aligned countries' adherence, indeed insistence, on an early launching of Global Negotiations is clearly reaffirmed. 2/ Blame for the failure so far is squarely put on the United States without being named.

However, two important qualifications need to be made.

1/ Typical of this tone is the last sentence of the Declaration on "Collective Action for Global Prosperity": "It is their expectation that a reasoned statement of their case for recovery and restructuring of the world economy would encourage the developed countries to join with them in a genuine dialogue in the mutual interest."

2/ "The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries therefore, decided to make every effort to overcome the remaining hurdles to the launching of Global Negotiations with a view to commencing these negotiations without further delay."

Firstly, a certain flexibility in the process of Global Negotiations can be said now to have been injected. Under the initiative of the Algerians (who you will recall had inspired the concept of Global Negotiations in the first place), a two-stage approach is now proposed: a conference in early 1984 will start negotiations on "agreed areas" (presumably commodities, trade, aid) whereas the more "difficult areas" - energy, money and finance - will be subject to later negotiations probably 1985. 1/ Incidentally, the energy issue in the global context is not at all emphasized.

Secondly, the Non-Aligned have given a great deal of prominence to "immediate measures" to help developing countries (see below). It is incorrect to say that this is entirely new, but the present extremely difficult situation of a large number of developing countries, which is prominently described in the document in dramatic terms, has catapulted this particular issue to the forefront, at some expense to the Global Negotiations issue.

ii) The immediate measures comprise action in the fields of finance (quotas, SDRs, aid and debt relief), commodities (Common Fund and compensatory financing), trade (market access, protectionism), food and energy. UNCTAD VI is given a particular role in the implementing of many of these measures, but a strong plea to World Bank and IMF is also included.

These measures are closely tied to the need for global economic recovery in the same vein as your statement at the ECOSOC last year. Interdependence and mutuality of interest are greatly emphasized.

From a purely economic point of view though there can be no global recovery without the industrial countries also changing domestic policies. You had emphasized this point in your ECOSOC statement. The Non-Aligned, however, have fought shy of this particular point.

1/ "As a demonstration of their resolve to impart a fresh political impetus to Global Negotiations, the HSG decided to propose the convening of a conference within the United Nations to launch Global Negotiations in early 1984 by taking up in the first phase those issues on the formulation and allocation of which agreement would have been reached. During this first phase, parallel efforts should be made through a working group of the conference for expanding the Global Negotiations to include in the second phase other issues, particularly those affecting the structure of the international economic system and institutions."

iii) The Non-Aligned as part of "immediate measures" call for an international conference on money and finance for development. The issue is however not completely delinked from Global Negotiations. The focus in such a conference would be very much on the financial issue, including aid and debt, even though as you notice below, there is a reference to the need for "comprehensive reform".1/

iv) The immediate measures as part of a "programme of world economic recovery" are closely linked to UNCTAD VI which is given much prominence. The Belgrade Conference is looked upon as a major opportunity to make progress on measures of immediate concern to developing countries without however losing sight of more structural issues. The interaction between trade, money and finance is highlighted, and a call is made to strengthen aspects of UNCTAD's work which focus on such interrelationships.

The question that arises is the extent to which these "immediate measures" will dominate UNCTAD VI as against longer-term more structural issues, such as the monetary system and rules of international trade. As you know Mr. Corea is emphasizing all these elements in his preparations for UNCTAD VI.

v) There is a strong section on economic cooperation among developing countries. It is not clear if the Delhi meeting added anything concrete on this point compared to previous declarations, but politically it was a significant element especially in the light of difficulties in North/South negotiations. The developing countries obviously perceive the strategic importance of collective self-reliance in the present context.

In this connection, incidentally, we are giving full support to the Core of Assistants who help the Chairman of the Group of 77 in New York on cooperation matters.

1/ "The Heads of State or Government stressed the need for a comprehensive reform of the existing inequitable and outdated international monetary and financial system. To this end, they called for the convening of an international conference on money and finance for development, with universal participation, aimed at meeting effectively the development and other financing requirements of the international economy, particularly those of the developing countries, and the need for growth-oriented structural adjustments. This conference should not be regarded as a pre-condition for the launching of the Global Negotiations when they are launched. They called upon the developing countries to pursue this objective as a matter of urgency in all relevant forums for the early convening of the conference."

Where does all this leave the North/South dialogue?

The Ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 in Buenos Aires, 28 March - 9 April will give a clue to the overall political trends on these matters, and we will closely watch developments there.

It is clear, however, that the developing countries at the highest levels have decided to increase the pressure on the industrial countries to take action on both the short-term and the long-term problems, but particularly the short-term problems. They hope to accomplish this by showing a more accommodating attitude, as well as by the use of innovative techniques which rely more on persuasion than confrontation. The urgency of action is emphasized by the prominence given to UNCTAD VI. The response of the Western countries in Williamsburg meeting will be closely watched.

Mrs. Gandhi is given some flexibility in organizing how pressures are to be brought onto the North. One suggestion is that of sending teams of leaders to solicit support in key industrial capitals. The other is to meet at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly at a high level in New York.

The latter of the two suggestions comes from Mrs. Gandhi, and in my consultations with the Indian representative in New York I shall try to obtain a clearer idea of further developments on these lines.

In the meanwhile, what should be our attitude? In recent statements we have emphasized the need for immediate measures for developing countries as part of a global economic recovery programme, and the need for structural reforms through Global Negotiations. This stand is fully vindicated by the Non-Aligned. We should continue to do the best we can to support Mr. Corea's efforts for a successful Sixth Session of UNCTAD (I have suggested to him to meet with us in mid April after Buenos Aires).

For the moment, I am working on the possible content of an economic report by you, and I hope to suggest to you possible alternatives shortly.

TOAST POUR LE DINER OFFERT PAR SON EXCELLENCE, LE GENERAL
ANTONIO DOS SANTOS RAMALHO EANES, PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE
DU PORTUGAL - LISBONNE, LE 4. AVRIL 1984.

EXCELLENCE, MESDAMES, MESSIEURS,

PERMETTEZ-MOI TOUT D'ABORD DE VOUS REMERCIER, EXCELLENCE,
POUR CET AGRÉABLE DÎNER ET POUR LES PAROLES BIENVEILLANTES ET
ENCOURAGEANTES QUE VOUS VENEZ DE PRONONCER À MON ENDROIT.
COMME VOUS LE SAVEZ, DES LIENS FAMILIAUX ÉTROITS ME LIENT À
VOTRE PAYS ET CE SÉJOUR M'EST DONC PARTICULIÈREMENT AGRÉABLE.
JE TIENS À VOUS REMERCIER, EXCELLENCE, DE L'HOSPITALITÉ QUE VOUS
NOUS AVEZ RÉSERVÉE, À MA FEMME ET À MOI, ET À VOUS DIRE COMBIEN
J'AI APPRÉCIÉ DE POUVOIR PROCÉDER AVEC VOUS, TOUT À L'HEURE,

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À UN LARGE TOUR D'HORIZON DE LA SITUATION INTERNATIONALE.

À LA LUMIÈRE DE CET ENTRETIEN, J'AI PU CONSTATER, UNE FOIS
DE PLUS, QUE LES VUES DU PORTUGAL À L'ÉGARD DES PRINCIPAUX
PROBLÈMES ÉVOQUÉS, ÉTAIENT ÉTROITEMENT LIÉES AUX CONCEPTS DE SOLIDARITÉ
ET DE COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE, PARTICULIÈREMENT EN
CE QUI CONCERNE LE DIALOGUE NORD-SUD.

COMME L'A SI BIEN DÉCLARÉ VOTRE PREMIER MINISTRE LORS DE SON ALLOCUTION A LA 37ÈME SESSION DE L'ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE, LE PORTUGAL, "SOUTH OF THE NORTH" POUR REPRENDRE UNE EXPRESSION EN ANGLAIS DIFFICILEMENT TRANSDUISIBLE EN FRANÇAIS, EST À MI-CHEMIN QUELQUE PART ENTRE LE NORD ET LE SUD DU POINT DE VUE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE; EN EFFET, S'IL FAIT PARTIE DES PAYS DONATEURS (COMME IL L'A ENCORE RÉCEMMENT DÉMONTRÉ EN CONTRIBUANT GÉNÉREUSEMENT AU PROGRAMME ALIMENTAIRE MONDIAL) IL CONTINUE D'AVOIR BESOIN D'UNE CERTAINE ASSISTANCE POUR MENER À BIEN SON PROJET DE DÉVELOPPEMENT NATIONAL.

EXCELLENCE, ON VOIT ICI LE RÔLE QUE VOTRE PAYS PEUT JOUER AU SEIN DES ORGANISATIONS INTERNATIONALES: NON SEULEMENT DANS LE DOMAINE ÉCONOMIQUE ET HUMANITAIRE MAIS AUSSI DANS LE DOMAINE POLITIQUE PUISQUE L'EXPÉRIENCE QU'IL A ACQUISE EN AFRIQUE NOUS EST PRÉCIEUSE POUR TENTER DE RÉSOUDRE PACIFIQUEMENT DES PROBLÈMES, COMME CELUI DE LA NAMIBIE, QUI NOUS PRÉOCCUPENT GRAVEMENT,

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CE RÔLE, QUE LE PORTUGAL A RETROUVÉ AVEC SA VOCATION INTERNATIONALE, EST IMPORTANT, JE TIENS À LE SOULIGNER. LA COMMUNAUTÉ INTERNATIONALE ATTEND BEAUCOUP ET DE LA PART D'UN PAYS QUI A CONNU DE SI PROFONDS ET BÉNÉFIQUES CHANGEMENTS EN UN LAPS DE TEMPS SI COURT, JE NE PENSE PAS QUE NOUS SERONS DÉÇUS, CAR C'EST UNE TÂCHE À LA MESURE DU PEUPLE PORTUGAIS DONT LES RESSOURCES HUMAINES ET MORALES CONSTITUENT POUR LE MONDE UNE SOURCE INÉPUISABLE D'INSPIRATION.

C'EST SUR CETTE NOTE D'ESPOIR, EXCELLENCE, MESDAMES, MESSIEURS, QUE JE VOUDRAIS VOUS INVITER À LEVER VOTRE VERRE À L'AVENIR DU PORTUGAL, AU BONHEUR ET AU SUCCÈS DE SON PRÉSIDENT, LE GÉNÉRAL ANTÓNIO DOS SANTOS RAMALHO EANES.

TOAST POUR LE DEJEUNER OFFERT PAR SON EXCELLENCE, MONSIEUR
FRANCISCO PINTO BALSEMAO. PREMIER MINISTRE DU PORTUGAL
LISBONNE, LE 5 AVRIL 1983

MONSIEUR LE PREMIER MINISTRE, EXCELLENCES, MESDAMES, MESSIEURS,

JE VOUS REMERCIE SINCÈREMENT DE VOS AIMABLES PAROLES
AINSI QUE DE VOTRE CHALEUREUSE ET GÉNÉREUSE HOSPITALITÉ À
LAQUELLE MA FEMME ET MOI AVONS ÉTÉ EXTRÊMEMENT SENSIBLES.
COMME VOUS LE SAVEZ, DES LIENS ÉTROITS M'UNISSENT À
VOTRE BEAU PAYS QUE J'AI SOUVENT L'OCCASION DE VISITER
PUISQUE MA FILLE Y A TROUVÉ LE BONHEUR. SÉJOURNER AU PORTUGAL
EST DONC POUR MOI UN PLAISIR RENOUVELÉ DONT J'EN NE ME LASSE
PAS.

2/

À LA FAVEUR DE CES NOMBREUSES VISITES, J'AI PU APPRÉCIER,
MONSIEUR LE PREMIER MINISTRE, LES CHANGEMENTS PROFONDS QUE LE
PORTUGAL A CONNUS DURANT CES DERNIÈRES ANNÉES ET LES ÉNORMES
PROGRÈS QU'IL A ACCOMPLIS SUR LA VOIE DE LA DÉMOCRATIE.
COMME TANT D'AUTRES, J'AI ÉTÉ IMPRESSIONNÉ PAR LA COMPÉTENCE
ET L'ÉNERGIE AVEC LESQUELLES SES DIRIGEANTS ONT SU FAIRE
FACE AUX INNOMBRABLES PROBLÈMES QUE DE TELS CHANGEMENTS
ENTRAÎNAIENT ET J'AI PU ADMIRER LA RAPIDITÉ AVEC LAQUELLE LA
VIE DES PORTUGAIS S'EN EST TROUVÉE TRANSFORMÉE.

TOUT NATURELLEMENT, JE ME SUIS RÉJOUI DE CE QUE CETTE NOUVELLE OUVERTURE DU PORTUGAL SUR LE MONDE EXTÉRIEUR LUI PERMETTE DE REPRENDRE SA PLACE AU SEIN DE NOTRE ORGANISATION OÙ SA CONTRIBUTION EST APPRÉCIÉE DE TOUS. ON SE SOUVIENT, EN PARTICULIER, DE SA PARTICIPATION ACTIVE DANS LES DÉBATS DU CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ ET DE SES NOMBREUSES INITIATIVES DANS LE DOMAINE ÉCONOMIQUE EN TANT QUE MEMBRE DU CONSEIL ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIAL.

MAIS C'EST SURTOUT DANS LE CONTEXTE DES ACTIVITÉS DE NOTRE ORGANISATION SUR LE CONTINENT AFRICAIN QUE L'APPORT DU PORTUGAL NOUS EST PARTICULIÈREMENT PRÉCIEUX. IL EÛT ÉTÉ, EN EFFET, INFINIMENT DOMMAGE DE NE PAS PROFITER DES RELATIONS ÉTROITES QUE CE PAYS A SU GARDER SUR CE CONTINENT POUR TENTER DE TROUVER UNE SOLUTION AUX PROBLÈMES QUE CE DERNIER CONTINUE MALHEUREUSEMENT D'AFFRONTER.

NOUS NOUS FÉLICITONS, MONSIEUR LE PREMIER MINISTRE, DE
CETTE OUVERTURE, DE CETTE PARTICIPATION ACTIVE AU SEIN DES
ORGANISATIONS INTERNATIONALES. ET NOUS ESPÉRONS QUE LA VOIX
DU PORTUGAL, QUI N'A QUE TROP TARDÉ À SE FAIRE ENTENDRE DANS LE
CONCERT DES NATIONS, NE FERA QUE S'AMPLIFIER AU FIL DES
ANNÉES, POUR NOTRE PLUS GRAND PROFIT.

C'EST EN FORMANT DE TELS VOEUX QUE JE VOUS INVITE TOUS
À PORTER UN TOAST AU BONHEUR ET À LA PROSPÉRITÉ DU PORTUGAL
ET À LEVER VOTRE VERRE À LA SANTÉ DE SON PREMIER MINISTRE,
SON EXCELLENCE, MONSIEUR FRANCISCO PINTO BALSEMAO.

* * * * *

TOAST POUR LE DINER OFFERT PAR SON EXCELLENCE, MONSIEUR
VASCO FUTSCHER PEREIRA, MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES
DU PORTUGAL, LE 5 AVRIL 1983 A LISBONNE

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE, EXCELLENCES, MESDAMES, MESSIEURS,

JE VOUS REMERCIE DES PROPOS AIMABLES QUE VOUS AVEZ
EUS À MON ENDROIT. NOUS SOMMES TRÈS SENSIBLES, MA FEMME
ET MOI, À L'ACCUEIL CHALEUREUX QUE VOTRE BEAU PAYS NOUS
A RÉSERVÉ DURANT CE SÉJOUR HÉLAS TROP COURT, ET TENONS À
VOUS EXPRIMER NOTRE SINCÈRE GRATITUDE.

2/

EN UNE PÉRIODE OÙ NOUS DEVONS FAIRE FACE À DE GRAVES
TENSIONS, QUE CE SOIT DANS LE DOMAINE POLITIQUE OU ÉCONOMIQUE,
J'AI APPRÉCIÉ, MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE, QUE L'OCCASION M'AIT
ÉTÉ FOURNIE DE PROCÉDER AVEC VOTRE PRÉSIDENT, SON EXCELLENCE
LE GÉNÉRAL ANTÓNIO DOS SANTOS RAMALHO EANES, À UN ÉCHANGE
DE VUES APPROFONDI NON SEULEMENT SUR LES PROBLÈMES QUI
CONCERNENT DIRECTEMENT LE PORTUGAL ET LES NATIONS UNIES, MAIS
AUSSI SUR CEUX QUI RETIENNENT ACTUELLEMENT L'ATTENTION DE LA
COMMUNAUTÉ INTERNATIONALE.

DEPUIS 1974, DATE À LAQUELLE VOTRE PAYS S'EST
RÉSOLUMENT ENGAGÉ SUR LA VOIE ARDUE MAIS COMBIEN EXALTANTE DE
LA DÉMOCRATIE, LE PORTUGAL A REPRIS LA PLACE QUI LUI REVENAIT
AU SEIN DE NOTRE ORGANISATION ET A PU, AINSI, JOUER UN RÔLE
DE PREMIER PLAN DANS LE PROCESSUS DE DÉCOLONISATION QUI,
POUR EN ÊTRE LENT ET DIFFICILE, N'EN A PAS MOINS CONSTITUÉ
UNE ÉTAPE DÉCISIVE DANS LA VIE DES NATIONS UNIES.
VOTRE GÉNÉREUSE HOSPITALITÉ ME PERMET, CE SOIR, MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,
DE RÉITÉRER LA SATISFACTION QUE NOUS EN ÉPROUVONS AUX
NATIONS UNIES PUISQUE CETTE PARTICIPATION, NOUS L'APPELIONS DE
TOUS NOS VOEUX.

L'EXPÉRIENCE UNIQUE QUE VOTRE PAYS A ACQUISE EN AFRIQUE
NOUS EST PARTICULIÈREMENT PRÉCIEUSE ET NOUS NOUS FÉLICITONS
VIVEMENT DE POUVOIR DÉSORMAIS COMPTER SUR ELLE POUR TENTER
DE RÉSOUDRE LES PROBLÈMES AUXQUELS NOUS DEVONS ENCORE FAIRE
FACE DANS CETTE RÉGION PARTICULIÈREMENT SENSIBLE DU MONDE.

PARMI CES PROBLÈMES, CELUI DE LA NAMIBIE, COMME VOUS LE
SAVEZ, NOUS PRÉOCCUPE TOUT SPÉCIALEMENT. L'IMPASSE DANS LAQUELLE
NOUS NOUS TROUVONS ACTUELLEMENT ME SEMBLE DE PLUS EN PLUS
DANGEREUSE ET IL DEVIENT URGENT DE TROUVER
LES MOYENS D'EN SORTIR.

VOTRE PAYS, QUI JOUIT D'UNE EXCELLENTE RÉPUTATION EN AFRIQUE ET ENTRETIENT DE BONNES RELATIONS AVEC LE GOUVERNEMENT DE PRETORIA PEUT CERTAINEMENT JOUER UN RÔLE CRUCIAL DANS LA RECHERCHE D'UN RÉGLEMENT PACIFIQUE DE CE PROBLÈME. NE VIENT - IL PAS D'AILLEURS DE LE DÉMONTRER EN ACCUEILLANT SUR SON SOL LA CONFÉRENCE INTERNATIONALE DE SOLIDARITÉ AVEC LES ÉTATS DE PREMIÈRE LIGNE QUI, NOUS L'ESPÉRONS TOUS, PERMETTRA DE NOUS FAIRE AVANCER SUR CETTE VOIE?

C'EST SUR CETTE NOTE D'ESPOIR QUE JE VOUDRAIS CONCLURE EN INVITANT NOS HÔTES DE SOIR À PORTER UN TOAST À LA NOBLE VOIE DANS LAQUELLE S'EST ENGAGÉ LE PEUPLE PORTUGAIS ET EN VOUS ADRESSANT, MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE, MES VOEUX LES PLUS SINCÈRES DE BONHEUR ET DE PROSPÉRITÉ.

* * * * *

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE LUNCHEON TO BE HOSTED
BY THE TANAISTE* OF IRELAND - DUBLIN, 7 APRIL 1983

TANAISTE, MRS. SPRING,
EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

A VISIT TO IRELAND IS A MOST REFRESHING EXPERIENCE
AND I AM GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR KIND REMARKS AND THE WARM
HOSPITALITY YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS EXTENDED TO ME.

* TANAISTE (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER)

- 2 -

OVER THE YEARS SINCE IRELAND JOINED THE UNITED NATIONS,
IT HAS RIGHTLY PLAYED AN INFLUENTIAL AND RESPECTED ROLE
IN OUR ORGANIZATION'S AFFAIRS. THIS, I BELIEVE, STEMS
FROM IRELAND'S HISTORIC EXPERIENCE AND ITS COMMITMENT
TO PEACE, DISARMAMENT, JUSTICE BETWEEN STATES AND THE
PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

YOUR COUNTRY ARRIVED AT A POSITION OF NEUTRALITY AFTER TRAVERSING A LONG AND DIFFICULT ROAD. YOUR MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE AND YOUR STRUGGLE TO RECLAIM YOUR NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTITUTED ONE OF THIS CENTURY'S MOMENTOUS DEVELOPMENTS. IT PROVIDED INSPIRATION TO THE MOVEMENTS FOR DECOLONIZATION ELSEWHERE. WITH SUCH AN OUTLOOK AND BACKGROUND AND GIVEN THE GIFTED CHARACTER OF ITS PEOPLE, IRELAND HAS DEVELOPED AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION THAT HAS PROVED TO BE OF GREAT VALUE TO DELIBERATIONS AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

MAY I, MR. MINISTER, EXPRESS MY PROFOUND APPRECIATION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND FOR THE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS IT HAS MADE TO THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS. YOU HAVE SUPPLIED NOT ONLY TROOPS BUT ALSO FORCE COMMANDERS FOR THESE OPERATIONS AS IN THE CASE OF SOUTHERN LEBANON. BEING A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO PEACE-KEEPING BY THE UNITED NATIONS, IRELAND, I AM SURE, SHARES MY CONCERN THAT THESE OPERATIONS BE PROVIDED WITH THE FULL POLITICAL BACKING OF MEMBER STATES IF THEY ARE TO FULFIL THE MISSION ENTRUSTED TO THEM.

AS YOU ARE WELL AWARE, MR. MINISTER, THIS CONCERN IS PART OF MY DEEP ANXIETY ABOUT THE EROSION OF THE AUTHORITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. I REGARD IT TO BE AN OVERRIDING PRIORITY THAT MEMBER STATES SQUARELY FACE THE QUESTION HOW THE MACHINERY OF THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BE STRENGTHENED AND HOW THE PRESENT DANGEROUS TREND OF BYPASSING THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BE REVERSED. I AM MUCH ENCOURAGED BY IRELAND'S RESPONSE TO MY SUGGESTIONS, ^{THROUGH THE MOST DISTINGUISHED EFFORTS OF AMBASSADOR DARR,} THIS WAS APPARENT WHEN IRELAND AMONG OTHERS, SOUGHT TO HAVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADDRESS ITSELF URGENTLY TO THE ISSUES I RAISED AND WHEN IT SUPPORTED THE HOLDING OF A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL TO CONSIDER DEVELOPING NEW METHODS AND PROCEDURES FOR RESOLVING CONFLICTS. IRELAND ALSO ENDORSED MY SUGGESTIONS FOR GREATER USE OF THE RESOURCES OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THE ISSUES INVOLVED ARE COMPLEX, BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE ENDEAVOUR TO PUT REAL LIFE INTO THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY NEEDS TO BE SUSTAINED WITH ALL URGENCY. WHAT IT INVOLVES IS A PRACTICAL RECOMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO COMMEND THE STAND TAKEN BY IRELAND IN REGARD TO STRENGTHENING THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE ALL REALIZE THAT THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN PRESENT WORLD CONDITIONS IS FRAUGHT WITH GREAT DIFFICULTIES. MAY I, HOWEVER, ASSURE YOU THAT I PERSONALLY CONSIDER IT ONE OF THE THREE GREATEST URGENCIES FOR HUMAN SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. THE OTHER TWO ARE ARRESTING THE ARMS RACE AND BRINGING ABOUT EQUITY IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS SO THAT THE RESOURCES OF THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES CAN BECOME MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE.

THE SOLUTIONS OF ALL THESE ISSUES REQUIRE THAT WE RECAPTURE THE VISION WHICH PROMPTED THE FORMULATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. NONE OF US, OF COURSE, ENVISIONS QUICK SOLUTIONS TO ALL OUR PROBLEMS. BUT WHAT WE NEED ARE AT LEAST NEW BEGINNINGS IN A MORE HOPEFUL DIRECTION. IRELAND'S SUPPORT IN THIS ENDEAVOUR WILL ALWAYS REMAIN A SOURCE OF STRENGTH.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS: I WOULD NOW LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR. PETER BARRY, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND TO THE HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

* * * * *

TOAST BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT DINNER HOSTED BY
THE PRIME MINISTER OF ICELAND AND MRS. THORODDSEN
8 APRIL 1983

MR. PRIME MINISTER, MADAME THORODDSEN, EXCELLENCIES
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I GREATLY APPRECIATE THE KIND INVITATION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT,
MR. PRIME MINISTER, TO ME AND MY WIFE TO VISIT ICELAND.
YOUR WARM HOSPITALITY AND THE GENEROUS REMARKS
YOU HAVE JUST MADE HAVE DEEPEDED MY GRATITUDE.

2/

IT IS INDEED A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE IN THIS COUNTRY
AND I LOOK FORWARD TO THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH YOU
AND HIS EXCELLENCY THE FOREIGN MINISTER
WHICH WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TOMORROW. AS A COUNTRY,
ICELAND MAY BE SMALL IN SIZE, BUT THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY
OF ALL ITS MEMBERS IS A BASIC PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND THE EARNEST INVOLVEMENT OF ALL COUNTRIES
IN THE GREAT ISSUES OF PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT
A CONDITION OF ITS SUCCESS.

SIZE BY NO MEANS DETERMINES THE QUALITY OF A COUNTRY'S CONTRIBUTION NOR THE RESPECT IT ENJOYS IN THE WORLD ORGANIZATION. ON ITS PART, ICELAND HAS VOLUNTARILY MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO VARIOUS FUNDS AND PROGRAMMES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY PROFOUND APPRECIATION FOR THIS LOYAL SUPPORT.

IT ALSO GIVES ME A PARTICULAR SATISFACTION THAT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES, ICELAND HAS SOUGHT TO PROMOTE A STUDY OF WAYS AND MEANS FOR STRENGTHENING THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT AND RESOLVE SITUATIONS OF CONFLICT.

I NEED HARDLY STRESS THAT THE EROSION OF THE AUTHORITY AND STATUS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERGOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS BETRAYS A CRISIS WHICH PORTENDS INCALCULABLE PERIL FOR BOTH PEACE AND PROGRESS. A NUMBER OF CRISES IN RECENT YEARS HAVE TRAGICALLY UNDERLINED THE DANGERS OF BRUSHING ASIDE THE PROCESS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

IF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY IS TO BE AVERTED AND IF NATIONS ARE TO BE ASSURED OF A STABLE ORDER, THEN THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO REACTIVATING THE SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY ENVISAGED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

WHAT THIS MEANS IS NOT ONLY A RECOMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER BUT MAKING USE OF THE MACHINERY PROVIDED BY THE CHARTER, ESPECIALLY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT OF GRAVE REGIONAL SITUATIONS, THE BUILDING OF INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE AND THE REVERSING OF THE PRESENT DANGEROUS COURSE REFLECTED IN THE ARMS RACE -- ALL DEPEND ON A REVIVAL OF THE SPIRIT AND SENSE OF URGENCY WHICH, AFTER THE BITTER EXPERIENCE OF A WORLD WAR, PROMPTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS. I LOOK TO THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ICELAND FOR SUPPORT IN THIS EFFORT.

THE NORDIC COUNTRIES ARE ESPECIALLY QUALIFIED TO CONTRIBUTE THE VITALLY NECESSARY ELEMENT OF OBJECTIVITY AND IMPARTIAL ASSESSMENT TO THE SIZING UP OF THE WORLD'S BALANCE SHEET OF PEACE. THEIR STANDPOINT ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, IS EVIDENCE OF THEIR LUCID UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPERATIVES OF PEACE. THE UNITED NATIONS IS ENRICHED WHEN SUCH UNDERSTANDING IS BROUGHT TO BEAR ON ITS DISCUSSIONS.

MAY I ALSO EXPRESS MY DEEP APPRECIATION
OF THE CONCERN OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES WITH THE PROMOTION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS. I REGARD IT AS AN ISSUE
OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE NOT ONLY FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN DIGNITY
BUT ALSO FOR SOLIDIFYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE.
ICELAND INCLUDES AMONG THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS
"THE RIGHT" (I QUOTE) "OF EVERY HUMAN BEING
TO AN EQUITABLE SHARE IN THE WORLD'S RESOURCES".
THIS ARTICULATES A FAR-SIGHTED VISION
WHICH DESERVES TO BE EMULATED IN OTHER SOCIETIES.

I WOULD LIKE NOW TO PROPOSE A TOAST
TO THE HEALTH OF PRIME MINISTER GUNNAR THORODDSEN AND
MADAME THORODDSEN AND TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ICELAND.

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REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE LUNCHEON HOSTED BY
THE PRESIDENT OF ICELAND
9 APRIL 1983

MR. PRESIDENT, EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
FOR YOUR REMARKS AND THE WARM HOSPITALITY
WHICH MY WIFE AND I HAVE RECEIVED ON MY FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO ICELAND.

I HAVE HAD A VERY USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS
WITH THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE
FOREIGN MINISTER.

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WITH THAT AND THE MEETING WITH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
I SHALL CARRY FROM HERE A DEEP AND REFRESHING IMPRESSION
OF ICELAND'S COMMITMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS
AND ITS SINCERE CONCERN FOR THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS.

WE ARE GOING THROUGH ANXIOUS AND TESTING TIMES.
THE HOTBEDS OF TENSION WHICH EXIST IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD,
THE FREQUENT ERUPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT,
A RELENTLESS ARMS RACE AND A GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS --
ALL POINT TO THE FACT THAT THE WORLD COMMUNITY IS AT THE CROSSROADS.

EITHER WE REVERSE THE PRESENT DANGEROUS COURSE
OR WE PERMIT A SLIDE TO WHAT WILL BE A CATASTROPHE FOR ALL MANKIND.
THIS IS A FEARFUL SITUATION BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE
THAT IT WARRANTS PESSIMISM OR DESPAIR. WE POSSESS
BETTER MEANS OF SOLVING HUMANITY'S PROBLEMS
THAN THE WORLD EVER COMMANDED BEFORE AND
OUR INABILITY TO MAKE ADEQUATE USE OF THESE MEANS
IS NOT SOMETHING INHERENT IN THE HUMAN CONDITION.
I PLACE MY FAITH ON RATIONALITY AND THE HUMAN INSTINCT FOR SURVIVAL.

AND I MUST ADD THAT THIS FAITH IS MUCH STRENGTHENED
WHEN ONE COMES INTO CONTACT WITH THE NORDIC MIND,
WITH ITS CLARITY AND FREEDOM FROM BIAS.
I AM DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE OF THE SUPPORT OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES,
INCLUDING ICELAND, AND MY VISIT TO THIS COUNTRY
HAS REINFORCED MY CONFIDENCE OF IT.

EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

MAY I NOW INVITE YOU TO JOIN WITH ME IN A TOAST
TO THE HEALTH OF PRESIDENT VIGDIS FINNBOGADOTTIR
AND THE PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ICELAND

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TOAST BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT DINNER HOSTED BY
THE MAYOR OF REYKJAVIK, ICELAND
9 APRIL 1983

MR. MAYOR, EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR. MAYOR, FOR YOUR KIND REMARKS.
MY WIFE AND I ARE MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE WARM HOSPITALITY
WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE IN ICELAND.

YOUR CITY, MR. MAYOR, IS VERY MUCH THE HEART OF THE COUNTRY
AND THE HUB OF ITS INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS.

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THOUGH REYKJAVIK ATTAINED ITS IMPORTANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,
A VISIT TO THIS CITY BRINGS BACK TO ONE'S MIND
THE LANDING HERE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF ICELAND
ELEVEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO. THIS IN TURN RECALLS
THE ENERGY AND CREATIVITY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS
IN ESTABLISHING A REMARKABLE CENTRE OF CULTURE
WHOSE LASTING IMPORTANCE IS EVIDENT FROM THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE
OF THE SAGA PERIOD. ICELAND HAS ENRICHED THE CIVILIZATION OF EUROPE.
ITS STORY IS ONE OF REMARKABLE HUMAN ACHIEVEMENT
IN THE FACE OF SEVERE PHYSICAL TESTS. ITS HISTORY
HAS BEEN APTLY DESCRIBED AS A THOUSAND YEARS
STRUGGLE AGAINST ICE AND FIRE.

ANYONE WHO IS CONSCIOUS OF THIS HISTORY
FINDS IT ONLY NATURAL THAT ICELAND'S MOVEMENT
FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE DERIVED ITS INSPIRATION
LARGELY FROM THE TRADITIONS AND IDEAS OF THE GOLDEN AGE
OF THE SAGAS. THANKS TO IT,
ICELAND HAS DEVELOPED FROM AN ISOLATED POOR COUNTRY
INTO A PROSPEROUS MODERN COMMUNITY,
FULLY ENGAGED IN HUMANITY'S PURSUIT OF THE GOALS OF PEACE AND PROGRESS.
LET ME TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY SINCEREST WISHES
FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF REYKJAVIK AND THE PROSPERITY
OF THE PEOPLE OF ICELAND.

I PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF MR. DAVID ODDSSON,
THE MAYOR OF REYKJAVIK.

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REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND,
REYKJAVIK, ICELAND. 9 APRIL 1983

MR. RECTOR,

DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO SPEND A FEW MOMENTS HERE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND AND I THANK YOU, MR. RECTOR, FOR YOUR INVITATION. HAVING MYSELF SPENT ABOUT TEN YEARS IN ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENTS, I AM ALWAYS HAPPY TO FIND MYSELF IN THE INVIGORATING ATMOSPHERE OF UNIVERSITIES SUCH AS YOURS. YOURS, MOREOVER, IS THE PREMIER INSTITUTION OF LEARNING IN A COUNTRY AMONG WHOSE DISTINCTIONS IS A CONTINUOUS LITERARY ACTIVITY, EXTENDING OVER A THOUSAND YEARS. ICELAND HAS GIVEN THE GREAT GIFT OF POETRY TO THE WHOLE OF SCANDINAVIA. AND IN MORE MODERN DAYS I CANNOT BUT MENTION THE NAME OF YOUR GREAT WRITER HALLDOR LAXNESS, AMONG WHOSE WORKS I REMEMBER READING "THE BELLS OF ICELAND" - IF THAT IS THE CORRECT TRANSLATION - WITH THE GREATEST PLEASURE. WHAT IMPRESSES ME ESPECIALLY ABOUT THIS LITERARY TRADITION IS THE INFLUENCE IT HAS HAD ON THE POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND CULTURAL VALUES OF ICELANDERS.

THIS UNIVERSITY IS A MONUMENT TO THE HERITAGE OF
JON SIGUROSSON, THE LEADER OF ICELAND'S STRUGGLE FOR

INDEPENDENCE, WHO COMBINED IN HIMSELF THE QUALITIES OF BOTH A SCHOLAR AND A STATESMAN. IT IS, OF COURSE, A VERY RARE COMBINATION AND WILL PROBABLY ALWAYS REMAIN SO. HOWEVER, I FEEL THAT SOMETHING OF ITS SPIRIT, SOME CULTIVATION OF BOTH DETACHMENT AND AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN COLLECTIVE AFFAIRS, IS PARTICULARLY NEEDED IN OUR TIMES. THE AGE WE LIVE IN MAKES A SPECIAL CALL ON ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS TO FOSTER A BROAD UNDERSTANDING OF THE HUMAN SITUATION THROUGH OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS AND A COMPREHENSION OF THE DIVERSE URGES WHICH MOVE PEOPLES ACROSS THE GLOBE. IT IS UNIVERSITIES WHICH CAN BEST HELP TO OVERCOME THE BARRIER OF PAROCHIALISM TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE GLOBAL ISSUES OF TODAY.

THESE ISSUES, MY DEAR FRIENDS, ARE OF A COMPLEXITY WHICH WAS INCONCEIVABLE IN EARLIER AGES. THIS IS DUE TO THE WORKING OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS WHICH I DO NOT NEED TO ANALYSE HERE. IT IS PERHAPS ENOUGH TO MENTION ONE OR TWO FACTORS:

FIRST, WE FACE A WORLD OF GREAT DIVERSITY AND YET GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE. EVENTS IN ONE PART OF THE WORLD CAN HAVE AN UNSETTLING IMPACT ON LIFE IN OTHER REGIONS. THE ACTIONS WE TAKE OR OMIT TODAY CAN DIRECTLY AFFECT FUTURE GENERATIONS. YOU HAVE ONLY TO THINK OF THE SINGLE ISSUE OF THE ESCALATING ARMS RACE TO REALIZE THE MAGNITUDE OF RESPONSIBILITY ENTAILED BY PRESENT INTERNATIONAL POLICIES AND CONDUCT.

SECONDLY, WE CAN NO LONGER SEPARATE THE POLITICAL FROM THE ECONOMIC OR THE HUMANITARIAN AS NEATLY OR AS EASILY AS WAS PERMISSIBLE IN THE PAST. THERE IS NOW AN INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE SPHERES WHICH DID NOT EXIST TO A COMPARABLE DEGREE BEFORE. TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ISSUE OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS. CAN IT BE CONSIDERED A PURELY ECONOMIC ISSUE, TO BE RELEGATED TO SCRUTINY AND TREATMENT BY ECONOMIC EXPERTS? THE ANSWER IS 'NO' BECAUSE IT INVOLVES THE LIFE AND DESTINY OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND, THEREFORE, HAS A VITAL BEARING ON THE STABILITY OF THE WORLD ORDER. A WORLD OF ECONOMIC DISTRESS IS A WORLD IN POLITICAL DANGER. ANOTHER EXAMPLE THAT I WOULD CITE HERE IS THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HERE AGAIN IS A SUBJECT WHICH CANNOT BE CONSIDERED ONLY ON ONE PLANE, THE HUMANITARIAN ONE, BECAUSE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES HAVE CLEAR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES.

I AM GIVING THESE INSTANCES TO SUGGEST THE BREADTH OF UNDERSTANDING THAT WE NEED TO MUSTER IF WE ARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US. MOREOVER, IN THE CASE OF EACH OF THESE ISSUES, WE NEED TO CULTIVATE AN APPRECIATION OF CONCERNS OTHER THAN OUR OWN. I REGARD THIS AS THE VERY ESSENCE OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. MANY A PROBLEM REMAINS BOGGED DOWN IN FRUITLESS DISCUSSION BECAUSE ONE SIDE DOES NOT RECOGNISE THE FEARS AND ANXIETIES THAT DRIVE THE OTHER.

UNLESS WE GRASP THE ROOTS OF THE INSECURITY OF NATIONS, WHETHER IN THE REGIONAL OR IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT, OUR QUEST FOR SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS WILL REMAIN BUT A STORY OF STALEMATES.

THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION IS A TELLING DEMONSTRATION OF THIS TRUTH. THE MULTILATERAL APPROACH IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ENVISAGED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS WAS SPECIFICALLY CONCEIVED TO ENSURE THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES AND DISPUTES ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES AND A PERCEPTION OF THE COMMON INTEREST OF NATIONS IN THEIR HARMONIOUS CO-EXISTENCE. AN IMPARTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF SITUATIONS OF CONFLICT SHOULD INCLUDE AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS THAT DESERVE TO BE SATISFIED AND THE VERY REAL FEARS THAT NEED TO BE ASSUAGED. IN THE REALM OF PRACTICAL ACTION, SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING CAN BE AVAILABLE ONLY THROUGH A MULTILATERAL APPROACH. BUT WHEREVER WE LOOK -- WHETHER THE TORMENTED REGION OF THE MIDDLE EAST OR THE TROUBLED SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA OR THE DISQUIETING AREAS OF TENSION AND CONFLICT ELSEWHERE -- WE SEE PROBLEMS REMAINING UNRESOLVED BECAUSE THIS APPROACH IS NOT BEING FULLY APPLIED. THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE GLOBAL PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT AND OF THE NARROWING OF THE GRAVE ECONOMIC DISPARITY BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

AS YOU KNOW, BOTH THESE SUBJECTS HAVE BEEN AMONG THE FOREMOST PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. HOWEVER, WE HAVE YET TO MAKE A TANGIBLE ADVANCE TOWARDS ARRESTING THE ARMS RACE. NOR HAVE WE YET BEEN ABLE TO LAUNCH THE GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS FOR A STRUCTURAL REFORM IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. THE FACT THAT WE FACE STALEMATES ON ALL THESE ISSUES TESTIFIES TO A LACK OF CONFIDENCE, A DEPARTURE FROM THE SPIRIT OF THE CHARTER, AN UNWILLINGNESS TO GIVE PRIMACY TO HUMANITY'S COMMON INTEREST, WHICH HAVE CAUSED AN EROSION IN THE AUTHORITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

I HAVE MADE SUGGESTIONS ABOUT HOW THIS MOST DANGEROUS TREND COULD BE REVERSED. AS MY SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED BOTH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND HAVE ALSO BEEN REPORTED IN THE MEDIA, I SUPPOSE THEY ARE BROADLY KNOWN TO YOU. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE SOME THOUGHTS WITH YOU IN REGARD TO WHAT IS THE MOST PRONOUNCED SYMPTOM OF THE PRESENT MALAISE. I REFER TO THE ERUPTION OF CONFLICTS AND THE FREQUENT RESORT TO FORCE WHICH WE HAVE WITNESSED IN RECENT YEARS.

FIRST, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE REVIVE AND STRENGTHEN THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT, FORMULATED IN THE CHARTER, OF COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR PEACE AND SECURITY. THIS MEANS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH BEARS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS

REGARD SHOULD BE ENABLED TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN AN INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE EVEN BEFORE THE DISPUTE REACHES A POINT OF EXPLOSION. FOR THE COUNCIL TO REGAIN THIS ABILITY, ITS RECOMMENDATIONS OR DECISIONS NEED TO BE FULLY SUPPORTED BY ITS PERMANENT MEMBERS AND, FOR THIS PURPOSE, THESE MEMBERS NEED TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE WORKING RELATIONS BETWEEN THEMSELVES WITHIN THE COUNCIL, REGARDLESS OF THEIR BILATERAL DIFFICULTIES. MOREOVER, THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE COUNCIL MUST BE FOLLOWED UP WITH APPROPRIATE DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT AND ACTION BY ALL MEMBER STATES. THIS IS NOT ASKING FOR ANYTHING MORE THAN WHAT THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORIGINALLY AGREED TO DO UNDER ARTICLES 24 AND 25 OF THE CHARTER.

SECOND, I HAVE URGED THAT WE SHOULD STRENGTHEN OUR RESOURCES OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY. TO THIS END, IF MEMBER STATES AGREE, I ENVISION A MORE SYSTEMATIC AND FORTHRIGHT ROLE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN BRINGING SITUATIONS OF POTENTIAL DANGER TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THIS IMPLIES MORE EFFICIENT PROCEDURES FOR SENDING GOOD OFFICES MISSIONS OR OBSERVERS AND MAKING THE PRESENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS FELT IN ORDER TO AVERT THREATS TO THE PEACE.

THIRD, I HAVE SUGGESTED A REFORM OF THE PROCEDURES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SO AS TO MAKE IT MORE A FORUM FOR NEGOTIATION AND AGREEMENT AND LESS A PLACE OF CONFRONTATION AND RHETORICAL DEBATE. I RECOGNISE, OF COURSE, THAT, AS THE UNITED NATIONS HAS ATTAINED UNIVERSAL REPRESENTATION AND HAS NOW A MEMBERSHIP OF 157 AS AGAINST THE ORIGINAL 51, IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT NATIONS HAVE A FULL AND FREE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, BRINGING BEFORE THE WORLD FORUM THEIR DIVERSE PERCEPTIONS AND ARTICULATING THE WHOLE RANGE OF THEIR INTERESTS AND CONCERNS. BUT DEBATE BECOMES HARMFUL WHEN IT TENDS TO HARDEN EXTREME POSITIONS AND THUS TO IMPEDE AGREEMENT. UNLESS DEBATE LEADS TO PURPOSEFUL ACTION, IT CAN CAUSE, AS IT DOES, A ^{PROVOCATION} ~~FATIGUE~~ AND DISILLUSIONMENT WHICH CAN FRUSTRATE THE QUEST FOR PEACE. WHAT WE NEED TO DEVELOP IS A PROGRESSIVELY BINDING SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE TIME HAS COME FOR MEMBER STATES TO RE-EXAMINE WHETHER THE PROCEDURES AND APPROACHES EMPLOYED SO FAR AT THE UNITED NATIONS SERVE THIS END AND, IF NOT, HOW THEY SHOULD BE IMPROVED.

THESE, MY DEAR FRIENDS, ARE SOME OF THE PRIME CHALLENGES FACED BY WORLD STATESMANSHIP. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS AGAIN THAT THE RESPONSE TO THEM IS NOT THE CONCERN OF GOVERNMENTS ALONE.

THE DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENTS ARE DETERMINED BY THE ATTITUDES OF THEIR PEOPLE, AND THESE ATTITUDES ARE GREATLY INFLUENCED BY THOSE WHO EXERCISE THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP OF SOCIETY. THE ORGANS OF PUBLIC OPINION, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE THOUGHTFUL CONCLUSIONS OF SCHOLARS CAN MAKE IT MUCH EASIER FOR GOVERNMENTS TO LOOK BEYOND SHORT-TERM INTERESTS, PERCEIVED IN NARROW NATIONAL CONTEXTS. AN OBLIGATION RESTS PARTICULARLY ON THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY IN THIS REGARD.

SO I REVERT TO WHAT I SAID AT THE BEGINNING OF MY REMARKS. THE UNIVERSITIES HAVE THE OBLIGATION TO SUPPLY KNOWLEDGE AND IMPARTIAL ASSESSMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND THE NORMS WHICH HAVE OBTAINED THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE ENTIRE WORLD COMMUNITY. IN FULFILLING THIS OBLIGATION, THEY HAVE TO REMAIN MINDFUL OF THE ROLE THEY PLAY IN SHAPING THE WORLD'S POLITICAL CULTURE. THEY CAN HELP STRENGTHEN THE VALUES AND COMMITMENTS OF PEACE.

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE DINNER HOSTED BY THE PRIME
MINISTER AND MADAME SCHLÜTER OF DENMARK - MONDAY, 11 APRIL 1983 -

MR. PRIME MINISTER,

MADAME SCHLÜTER,

EXCELLENCIES,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

YOU ARE VERY KIND IN YOUR REMARKS, MR. PRIME MINISTER, AND BOTH MY WIFE AND I DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR INVITATION AND THE GENEROUS HOSPITALITY WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE. I ALSO THANK YOU FOR THE REFRESHING AND USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS I HAD TODAY WITH YOU AND HIS EXCELLENCY, MR. UFFE ELLEMANN-JENSEN, THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

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IN COMING TO DENMARK, I AM CONSCIOUS THAT I AM VISITING A COUNTRY WHICH HAS GIVEN CONSISTENT SUPPORT TO THE UNITED NATIONS SINCE THE VERY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION. DENMARK'S PARTICIPATION IN A NUMBER OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS IS AN OUTSTANDING DEMONSTRATION OF THIS SUPPORT. I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY OF EXPRESSING THE PROFOUND GRATITUDE OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THIS ASSISTANCE. THE DANES WHO HAVE SERVED IN THESE PEACE-KEEPING FORCES HAVE BEEN SOLDIERS IN A VERY SPECIAL BRIGADE, CHARGED WITH A HISTORICALLY UNIQUE MISSION -- THE MISSION NOT OF FIGHTING WARS BUT OF CONTROLLING CONFLICTS.

EVEN AS WE ARE MEETING HERE, A DANISH BATTALION AND MILITARY POLICE COMPANY ARE SERVING WITH UNFICYP AND THERE ARE DANISH OBSERVERS IN UNTSO AND UNMOGIP. MAY I CONVEY THROUGH YOU, MR. PRIME MINISTER, MY WARMEST GREETINGS AND THANKS TO THESE MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES. THEY CAN BE PROUD OF THE GREAT SERVICE THEY ARE RENDERING TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

WE ARE ALL CONSCIOUS, MR. PRIME MINISTER, OF THE LIMITATIONS UNDER WHICH PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS ARE CONDUCTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

AS THEY ARE NEITHER EQUIPPED FOR, NOR CHARGED WITH, THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STOPPING MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, THEY CAN ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSE ONLY AS LONG AS THE PARTIES CONCERNED SHOW RESPECT FOR IT, AND RECOGNISE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED. IN A SITUATION WHERE THEIR MANDATE IS CHALLENGED, AS HAPPENED IN ONE CASE LAST YEAR, THEY NEED THE POLITICAL SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. I ATTACH VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS QUESTION AND I HAVE ASKED THE GOVERNMENTS OF MEMBER STATES TO GIVE SERIOUS ATTENTION TO THE MEANS OF STRENGTHENING THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY BASIS OF THESE OPERATIONS. PEACE-KEEPING BY THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN A MOST CONSTRUCTIVE INNOVATION FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO LOSE ITS EFFECTIVENESS AND CREDIBILITY. AS ONE OF THE COUNTRIES THAT HAS GREATLY HELPED TO SUSTAIN IT OVER THE YEARS, DENMARK, I AM SURE, WILL SUPPORT ACTION TO THIS END.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO MAKE A GRATEFUL REFERENCE HERE TO THE MANY SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS MADE VOLUNTARILY BY DENMARK TO THE VARIOUS PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE FACT THAT DENMARK IS THE EIGHTH LARGEST CONTRIBUTOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IS BUT ONE EXAMPLE OF THE GENEROSITY OF ITS COMMITMENT.

I AM HAPPY THAT SEVERAL IMPORTANT AGENCIES AND OFFICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ARE HEADED BY DISTINGUISHED DANISH CITIZENS. THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION AND THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF THE LEADERSHIP GIVEN TO THEM BY MY ESTEEMED COLLEAGUES, DR. H. MAHLER, MR. A. WIIN-NIELSEN AND MR. POUL HARTLING.

IN ADDITION TO ITS LOYAL SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DENMARK PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE NORDIC COUNTRIES.

I BELIEVE THAT, BY VIRTUE OF ITS VAST POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND WISDOM, EUROPE, INCLUDING THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, IS ESPECIALLY QUALIFIED TO MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE ENDEAVOUR OF CONSOLIDATING PEACE AND REMOVING THE CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND CONFLICT.

I DEEPLY APPRECIATE, MR. PRIME MINISTER, YOUR GOVERNMENT'S POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE SUGGESTIONS I MADE IN MY ANNUAL REPORT ABOUT STRENGTHENING THE MACHINERY OF PEACE UNDER THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

I AM SURE THAT THE PROPOSALS THAT YOU AND OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES MAY WISH TO MAKE IN THIS REGARD WILL RECEIVE RESPECTFUL CONSIDERATION AS THEY WILL BE PROMPTED BY THE IMPARTIAL AND FAR-SIGHTED CONCERN FOR PEACE WHICH IS A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE NORDIC GENIUS. THIS CONCERN IS EVIDENT FROM DENMARK'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO DISCUSSIONS AT THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE GREAT ISSUES OF OUR TIME. MAY I MENTION WITH APPRECIATION HERE DENMARK'S INITIATIVE ON THE QUESTION OF ARMS REDUCTION IN THE CONVENTIONAL FIELD AND OF INVESTIGATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

ALL THIS, MR. PRIME MINISTER, ILLUSTRATES THE DEPTH AND STRENGTH OF THE BONDS EXISTING BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND DENMARK. MY PRESENT VISIT HAS ADDED TO MY CONFIDENCE THAT THESE BONDS WILL CONTINUE AND GROW STRONGER IN THE COMING YEARS.

EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I WOULD NOW INVITE YOU TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR. POUL SCHLÜTER, THE PRIME MINISTER OF DENMARK, OF MADAME SCHLÜTER AND TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE OF DENMARK.

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE
COPENHAGEN CITY COUNCIL

MR. CHAIRMAN,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MY WIFE AND I ARE THANKFUL TO YOU FOR INVITING US TO THIS LUNCHEON. YOU HAVE ADDED TO THE IMMENSE PLEASURE WHICH OUR VISIT TO COPENHAGEN HAS GIVEN US. I HAD KNOWN OF DANISH HOSPITALITY BUT I FIND THAT, IN CHARM AND WARMTH, IT EVEN EXCEEDS ITS REPUTATION.

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THIS GREAT CITY ENJOYS FAME ALL OVER THE WORLD FOR ITS BEAUTY, ITS DISTINCTIVE AMBIENCE AND THE SPIRIT OF ITS PEOPLE. AS ITS HISTORY EXTENDS OVER A THOUSAND YEARS, IT HAS KNOWN WARS, THE VISITATION OF NATURAL CALAMITIES AND GREAT FLUCTUATIONS IN ITS FORTUNES. BUT THE STATUS IT HAS ATTAINED IN THE MODERN WORLD IS A MONUMENT TO ITS ENERGY AND ITS ATTACHMENT TO FREEDOM AND PEACE. TO ITS VISITORS, COPENHAGEN IS AS MUCH A PROVIDER OF COMFORT AS, FOR ITS CITIZENS, IT IS RIGHTLY A CAUSE OF PRIDE.

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MAY I EXTEND MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU,
MR. CHAIRMAN, AND TO YOUR COLLEAGUES FOR THE EFFICIENCY
AND CARE WITH WHICH YOU MANAGE THE AFFAIRS OF THIS METROPOLIS.
THE CONDITIONS OF OUR AGE IMPOSE STRAINS ON LARGE CITIES
LIKE YOURS. IN FACING THEM, YOU HAVE TO ENSURE THAT
COPENHAGEN REMAINS TRUE TO ITS CHARACTER.

I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF
MR. KNUD-ERIK ZIIRSEN AND HIS COLLEAGUES AND TO THE PROSPERITY
OF THE PEOPLE OF COPENHAGEN.

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE MEETING OF THE UNITED
NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF DENMARK - 12 APRIL 1983

MR. CHAIRMAN,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR. CHAIRMAN, FOR YOUR REMARKS.
MY VISIT TO THIS COUNTRY HAS BEEN A MOST REFRESHING EXPERIENCE
FOR ME AND I AM GLAD THAT IT INCLUDES A MEETING WITH THE
MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF DENMARK.

- 2 -

YOUR COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT TO THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF STRENGTH FOR THE ORGANIZATION.
AT DINNER LAST NIGHT WITH HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRIME MINISTER
AND AGAIN AT LUNCHEON TODAY WITH HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN,
I HAD THE OCCASION TO REFER IN SOME DETAIL TO DENMARK'S GREAT
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS. I AM SURE
THAT THIS POLICY OF CONSISTENT SUPPORT FOR OUR ORGANIZATION'S
ENDEAVOURS HAS THE FULL BACKING OF THE PEOPLE OF DENMARK.
THIS, I FEEL, FLOWS NATURALLY FROM THE ATTACHMENT TO PEACE,
THE URGE TO HELP IN THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS, THE ANXIETY
TO REMOVE THE CAUSES OF WAR, THE CONCERN WITH THE CONDITIONS
OF THE DISADVANTAGED MAJORITY OF MANKIND AND THE BELIEF IN
HUMAN SOLIDARITY WHICH MOULD THE OUTLOOK OF THE PEOPLE OF DENMARK
IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

MY FRIENDS: POPULAR SUPPORT FOR WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS STRIVES TO ACHIEVE IS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION OF THE SUCCESS OF ITS EFFORTS. HOWEVER, I RECOGNIZE THAT THERE EXISTS A MEASURE OF APATHY IN THE PUBLIC MIND DUE TO SOME DISILLUSIONMENT ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ORGANIZATION. I SUPPOSE THAT PEOPLE LIKE YOU WHO ARE ACTIVE IN HELPING TO MAINTAIN SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS ARE OCCASIONALLY EXPOSED TO DOUBTS ON THIS ACCOUNT. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT WE OURSELVES WHO WORK IN THE ORGANIZATION HAVE NO WISH TO EVADE THE DISTURBING QUESTION WHETHER THE UNITED NATIONS IS FULLY DISCHARGING ITS MANDATE. FOR MYSELF, I HAVE URGED A FRANK AND HONEST APPRAISAL OF THE WORLD'S BALANCE SHEET OF PEACE. I HAVE ASKED MEMBER STATES TO CONSIDER THE CAUSES OF THE EROSION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF REMOVING THEM.

IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE WITNESSED A MOUNTING TREND WHICH IS OF INCALCULABLE DANGER FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER -- THE TREND TO BYPASS THE UNITED NATIONS, TO BRUSH ASIDE ITS RECOMMENDATIONS, TO IMPOSE A SOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES THROUGH UNILATERAL ACTION, TO RESORT TO FORCE, TO IGNORE THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF OTHERS AND TO PRESENT THE WORLD WITH FAITS ACCOMPLIS

WE ARE ALSO WITNESSES TO THE PERPETUAL ESCALATION OF THE ARMS RACE. THIS GOES ON RELENTLESSLY EVEN THOUGH IT IS RECOGNIZED ON ALL SIDES THAT IT HAS BECOME A CAUSE OF INSECURITY AND THAT THE WORLD CANNOT AFFORD TO SQUANDER ITS RESOURCES ON THIS SENSELESS DRIVE. ALSO, THE GREAT QUESTION OF NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS NOT BEING AS COMPREHENSIVELY ADDRESSED AS IT DESERVES TO BE. THE ISSUE INVOLVED IS NOT THAT OF TAKING AWAY FROM THE RICH IN ORDER TO GIVE TO THE POOR. WHAT THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE WORLD ECONOMY WOULD AIM TO ACHIEVE IS THAT THE RESOURCES OF THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BECOME MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF ALL.

THE PRESENT IS A MOST TESTING PERIOD, CRITICAL FOR THE WORLD'S FUTURE. AS WE REALIZE THE GRAVITY OF THE ISSUES CONFRONTING US AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF INACTION ON THEM, IT IS ONLY NATURAL FOR US TO ASK WHY THE UNITED NATIONS FAILS TO RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE AND WHY THESE PROBLEMS REMAIN UNSOLVED. THIS IS PRECISELY THE QUESTION THAT I WOULD WISH ALL SUPPORTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ASK -- AND ASK PERSISTENTLY. OF COURSE, IT NEEDS TO BE ASKED NOT WITH IMPATIENCE, CERTAINLY NOT WITH CYNICISM, BUT TO ELICIT A CONSTRUCTIVE ANSWER.

THAT ANSWER WILL SHOW THAT, FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TO FULFIL ITS PURPOSES, IT NEEDS THE UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF ITS MEMBER STATES. MOREOVER, THIS SUPPORT SHOULD NOT BE MERELY VERBAL BUT INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING UP OF THE DECISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS BY APPROPRIATE DIPLOMATIC ACTION. GOVERNMENTS SHOULD ALSO MAKE USE OF THE UNITED NATIONS NOT AS A PLACE FOR RHETORICAL DEBATE BUT AS A FORUM FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THE WORKING OUT OF CONCRETE AGREEMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

THIS IMPLIES A REORIENTATION OF OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE UNITED NATIONS BASED ON A RECOMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF ITS CHARTER. GOVERNMENTS WILL CO-OPERATE IN THIS EFFORT IF THEY ARE ENCOURAGED TO DO SO BY THEIR DOMESTIC OPINION. AND IT IS FOR ASSOCIATIONS LIKE YOURS IN ALL COUNTRIES TO PROVIDE THIS ENCOURAGEMENT.

I BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN VASTLY CHANGE FOR THE BETTER THE CLIMATE AND CHARACTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IN YOUR CAMPAIGN TOWARDS THIS END, YOU CAN BASE YOUR STAND NOT ONLY ON THE MORAL VALIDITY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER BUT ALSO ON THE VERY PRAGMATIC PROPOSITION THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF A FULLY EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTALITY FOR PEACE, THE WORLD WILL LAPSE INTO ANARCHY, THREATENING HUMAN SURVIVAL ITSELF.

THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD HAVE AN ENORMOUS STAKE IN THE WORKING AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS STAKE IS NOT LESSENER BY THE FAILURES OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT CONFLICTS. AS THE OCCURRENCE OF CRIME WOULD NOT JUSTIFY THE ABOLITION OF THE POLICE FORCE, SO THE ERUPTION OF WARS AND THE PERSISTENCE OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES DOES NOT ARGUE FOR WITHDRAWING INTEREST AND SUPPORT FROM THE WORLD ORGANIZATION. ON THE CONTRARY, IT DEMANDS A STRENGTHENING OF ITS MACHINERY.

FOR THIS DEMAND TO BE FULFILLED, THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD HAVE TO RECALL BOTH THE NECESSITY AND THE VISION WHICH ORIGINALLY PROMPTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS. WE DESPERATELY NEED THAT VISION TO ASSURE A HAPPIER FUTURE FOR ALL MANKIND.

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT A LUNCHEON TO BE GIVEN BY
THE MAYOR OF HELSINKI
14 APRIL 1983

MR. MAYOR, MADAME ILASKIVI, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR REMARKS AND BOTH MY WIFE AND I
GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR HOSPITALITY.
THIS IS OUR FIRST DAY IN HELSINKI ON OUR PRESENT VISIT
AND WE ARE ALREADY DEEPLY MOVED BY THE WARMTH AND GENEROSITY
OF THE WELCOME WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE.

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IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR US TO BE IN HELSINKI.
I RECALL THAT THIS CITY HOSTED THE IMPORTANT CONFERENCE
ON EUROPEAN SECURITY AND HAS LENT ITS NAME
TO THE ACCORD WHICH WAS ACHIEVED THERE. GOING FURTHER BACK,
I THINK OF HELSINKI'S EXPERIENCE DURING THE THREE AND HALF CENTURIES
OF ITS EXISTENCE. MANY A TIME,
IT HAS SUFFERED THE DESTRUCTION AND HORRORS OF WAR.
I, THEREFORE, LOOK UPON ITS PRESENT DEVELOPMENT
AS A MONUMENT TO WHAT THE HUMAN SPIRIT CAN ACHIEVE
IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF PEACE.

IT IS PEACE THAT HAS GIVEN ITS MODERN CHARACTER TO HELSINKI
AND IT IS PEACE THAT CAN ASSURE THE FLOWERING
OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE GENIUS OF HUMANITY
AT THE GREAT CENTRES OF CIVILIZATION IN ALL CONTINENTS.
ON MY VISITS TO THESE CENTRES,
THE THOUGHT THAT OCCUPIES MY MIND
IS THAT OF HUMANITY'S DESPERATE NEED FOR A JUST AND STABLE PEACE
WHICH ALONE CAN GIVE A GUARANTEE FOR CONTINUED PROGRESS.

MR. MAYOR, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY
TO COMMEND YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES' EFFORTS
TO ASSURE THE DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE OF THIS CITY.
YOU HAVE EVERY CAUSE TO BE PROUD
OF ITS EXPANSION AND GROWING IMPORTANCE.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS: MAY I NOW PROPOSE A TOAST
TO THE HEALTH OF MAYOR ILASKIVI AND MADAME ILASKIVI
AND TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE OF HELSINKI.

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REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE FINNISH POLICY ASSOCIATION
IN FINLANDIA HOUSE ON 14 APRIL 1983

MR. CHAIRMAN,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU THIS EVENING
IN THESE BEAUTIFUL SURROUNDINGS. IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE
TO SPEAK IN THIS CHAMBER MUSIC HALL IN A HOUSE BEARING THE NAME
FINLANDIA WITHOUT IMAGINING SOMEWHERE IN THE BACKGROUND
THE MELODIES OF JAN SIBELIUS. IT WOULD BE FORTUNATE,
INDEED, IF THE WORLD SITUATION WERE AS HARMONIOUS AS HIS MUSIC.
REALITY, AS WE KNOW, IS OTHERWISE. I PARTICULARLY WELCOME
THE OPPORTUNITY FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
OF FINLAND AND WITH SIMILAR ASSOCIATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.
I BELIEVE THAT THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE GLOBAL SITUATION REQUIRES
PARTICIPATION AND STUDY BY PRIVATE CITIZENS AS NEVER BEFORE.
THE PERSISTENT DEADLY REGIONAL CONFLICTS, THE STILL-GROWING
STOCKPILES OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, AND THE
PRECARIOUS AND UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY MUST
SURELY GIVE RISE TO THE BROADEST CONCERN. THERE MUST BE
A GREATER COMMITMENT OF GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES TO CO-OPERATE,
DESPITE DIFFERENCES AND DISTRUST, TO THE EXTENT NECESSARY TO
MEET THESE COMMON CHALLENGES.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IN THE FACE OF THIS PRESENT CRITICAL INTERNATIONAL SITUATION,
I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TO YOU BRIEFLY ABOUT AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE
- THE PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

I HAVE CHOSEN THIS TOPIC FOR THREE REASONS:

FIRST, BECAUSE THE CONCEPT HAS RECENTLY COME UNDER CHALLENGE;

SECONDLY, BECAUSE FINLAND HAS BEEN A MAJOR SOURCE OF TROOPS,
LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT FOR PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS;

THIRDLY, AND, PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, BECAUSE THESE OPERATIONS,
DESPITE LIMITATIONS WHICH WE WILL DISCUSS, ILLUSTRATE THE VALUE
AND THE FEASIBILITY OF WELDING ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER INTO
A FORCE FOR PEACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

PEACE-KEEPING IS WIDELY AND RIGHTLY REGARDED AS ONE OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL INNOVATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. BUT THE LIMITS OF PEACE-KEEPING WHICH WERE MADE EVIDENT IN LEBANON LAST SUMMER, HAVE NOT BEEN WIDELY UNDERSTOOD. THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCES - THE SOLDIERS IN BLUE HELMETS - ARE NOT THE MILITARY FORCE FORESEEN UNDER THE CHARTER TO BE USED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND PREVENTING AGGRESSION. THIS TYPE OF MILITARY FORCE HAS NEVER BEEN ESTABLISHED BECAUSE AGREEMENT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS ON HOW SUCH A FORCE SHOULD BE STRUCTURED OR UNDER PRECISELY WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES IT MIGHT BE USED. THUS THE COUNCIL HAS BEEN LEFT WITHOUT THE PRINCIPAL MEANS OF ENFORCEMENT FORESEEN IN THE CHARTER.

PEACE-KEEPING FORCES ARE QUITE DIFFERENT. IT HAS BEEN REMARKED THAT PEACE-KEEPING, LIKE MANY GREAT INVENTIONS, CAME ABOUT ALMOST BY ACCIDENT. IT STARTED WITH A UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMISSION ON THE BALKANS WHICH IN 1947 WAS INVESTIGATING THE SITUATION IN NORHTERN GREECE. THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WERE MOSTLY DIPLOMATIC AND THEY DISCOVERED THAT IT WAS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO FORM A MEASURED JUDGEMENT OF WHAT WAS ACTUALLY HAPPENING IN A LARGE-SCALE GUERILLA WAR WITHOUT EXPERT MILITARY OBSERVATION. SO THEY CO-OPTED THEIR MILITARY ATTACHES FROM THE EMBASSIES IN ATHENS TO ASSESS THE SITUATION AT FIRST HAND. VERY SHORTLY THEREAFTER TWO OFFICIAL MILITARY OBSERVER MISSIONS WERE ESTABLISHED, ONE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN CONNEXION WITH THE TRUCE ACHIEVED IN THE 1948 WAR AND THE OTHER IN THE KASHMIR TO MONITOR THE CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA. AT THE TIME OF THE 1956 SUEZ WAR THE CONCEPT WAS BROADENED

TO INCLUDE SOLDIERS WHO WOULD BE DEPLOYED BETWEEN THE ENEMY LINES AND MONITOR THE ARMISTICE. SINCE THEN PEACE-KEEPING FORCES HAVE BEEN USED IN THE CONGO, THE YEMEN, LEBANON, INDONESIA, CYPRUS, FOR A SECOND TIME IN THE SINAI, ON THE SYRIAN GOLAN HEIGHTS AND NOW IN BOTH SOUTHERN LEBANON AND IN BEIRUT IN THE FORM OF 50 MILITARY OBSERVERS.

WHILE THE MANDATES FOR THE VARIOUS OPERATIONS HAVE VARIED, IT IS ALWAYS TRUE THAT PEACE-KEEPING FORCES ARE STATIONED WITH THE CONSENT OF THE PARTIES. THEY ARE DEPLOYED IN AREAS WHERE CONFLICT HAS OCCURRED, OR MAY BREAK OUT, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCOURAGING RECOURSE TO VIOLENCE WHILE A SOLUTION TO THE CAUSE OF CONFLICT IS SOUGHT THROUGH DIPLOMATIC MEANS. THE UNITED NATIONS SOLDIERS CARRY ONLY LIGHT ARMS, THE USE OF WHICH IS RESTRICTED TO SELF-DEFENSE OR DEFENSE OF POSITIONS THE TROOPS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO OCCUPY. PEACE-KEEPING FORCES ARE NOT EQUIPPED, NOR DO THEY HAVE THE NUMBERS, TO STOP A MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENT, AS OCCURRED WHEN ISRAELI FORCES MOVED INTO LEBANON IN STRENGTH. THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCES CAN ACHIEVE THE DESIRED OBJECTIVE ONLY AS LONG AS THE PARTIES CONCERNED RESPECT THEIR PURPOSE AND THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED.

IN THE CASE OF THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCES WHICH ARE
AND IN WHICH FINLAND NOW TAKES PART,
IN SOUTHERN LEBANON WHICH WE CALL UNIFIL THE MANDATE
ESTABLISHED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN 1978 WAS QUITE SPECIAL.
THEY WERE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO OBSERVE THE WITHDRAWAL
OF ISRAELI FORCES WHO WERE AT THAT TIME IN LEBANON.
THIS WAS DONE SUCCESSFULLY. THEY WERE ALSO TO CONTROL
THE MOVEMENT OF ARMED PERSONNEL WITHIN A SPECIFIED AREA
OF OPERATION, ENCOURAGE TRANQUILITY IN THE AREA AND FACILITATE
THE RESTORATION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT.
UNIFIL'S ACCESS TO A SMALL PART OF THIS AREA DIRECTLY
BORDERING ISRAEL WAS PREVENTED BY THE OPPOSITION OF LOCAL
MILITIA LED BY A FORMER LEBANESE ARMY OFFICER AND
SUPPORTED BY ISRAEL. WITHIN THE REST OF THE AREA,
THIS UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, IN WHICH SOLDIERS
FROM 13 COUNTRIES HAVE PARTICIPATED, WAS REMARKABLY
SUCCESSFUL PRIOR TO THE ISRAELI INVASION IN FULFILLING
ITS MANDATE.

CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN EXCEPTIONALLY DIFFICULT. EIGHTY-NINE MEN HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES WHILE ON DUTY WITH THE FORCE. BY BRAVE, TENACIOUS AND OBJECTIVE SERVICE UNIFIL WAS LARGELY SUCCESSFUL IN PREVENTING ARMED INFILTRATION THROUGH THE AREA. NO WEAPONS WERE EMPLACED THERE CAPABLE OF HITTING TARGETS IN ISRAEL. LEBANESE ARMY PERSONNEL WERE ABLE TO ASSUME SECURITY FUNCTIONS ALONGSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS AND ECONOMIC AND MUNICIPAL STABILITY IMPROVED NOTABLY. THE UNIFIL OPERATIONS HAVE INEVITABLY BEEN SEVERELY AFFECTED BY THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF SOUTHERN LEBANON. NEVERTHELESS THE PRESENCE OF UNIFIL, WHICH HAS BEEN PROLONGED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT THE REQUEST OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT, HAS BROUGHT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE AREA AND A HIGHER DEGREE OF PERSONAL SECURITY THAN IS PRESENT IN THE NEIGHBOURING COMMUNITIES. WE ARE AWAITING THE OUTCOME OF CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS TO SEE WHAT USEFUL ROLE UNIFIL WILL PLAY IN THE FUTURE.

I HAVE DESCRIBED THE OPERATIONS OF UNIFIL IN ORDER TO ILLUSTRATE BOTH WHAT A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE CAN DO AND WHAT IT CANNOT. IN THE END PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE PRESENCE OF A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IS THE SYMBOL THAT IT REPRESENTS - THE SYMBOL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON PATROL FOR PEACE. BUT A SYMBOL CANNOT REPEL AN INVASION IF THE SYMBOL IS NOT RESPECTED BY ONE OR MORE OF THE PARTIES TO A CONFLICT. IN THIS SENSE WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN SOUTHERN LEBANON CAN HAVE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CONCEPT OF PEACE-KEEPING. I AM CONVINCED THAT UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING IS FAR TOO VALUABLE A FACTOR IN THE CONTROL OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS TO ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN. FOR THIS REASON, IN REPORTING TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY LAST SEPTEMBER I ASKED MEMBER GOVERNMENTS TO GIVE SERIOUS ATTENTION TO MEANS OF STRENGTHENING THE POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY BASIS OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS AND OF UNDERPINNING THEM WITH THE DESIRABLE DEGREE OF POLITICAL SUPPORT. THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN INCREASING THEIR MILITARY CAPACITY. IT IS NOT CONCEIVABLE THAT A UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE WOULD EVER BE SUFFICIENTLY ARMED OR APPROPRIATELY TRAINED TO WITHSTAND THE ADVANCE OF ~~20,000~~ ^{TENS OF THOUSANDS OF} HEAVILY ARMED AND MECHANIZED FORCES. OTHER MEANS COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT, INCLUDING SOME FORM OF GUARANTEES FOR COLLECTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL SUPPORTING ACTION BY MEMBER STATES IN THE EVENT THE MANDATE OF A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IS CHALLENGED.

THERE HAS BEEN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT WHICH CAN HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS.

IN THE RECENT PAST, TWO INTERNATIONAL FORCES HAVE BEEN SET UP OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS TO PERFORM ESSENTIALLY PEACE-KEEPING FUNCTIONS, ONE IN THE SINAI AND ONE IN BEIRUT.

ONE OF THESE WAS ESTABLISHED BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO A UNITED NATIONS OPERATION; THE OTHER BECAUSE OF PREFERENCE OUTSIDE THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR A NON-UNITED NATIONS FORCE. LET ME MAKE CLEAR THAT I DO NOT OPPOSE NON-UNITED NATIONS ACTION WHICH CAN ASSIST IN RESTORING PEACE IN THIS TROUBLED REGION. IN BEIRUT, I MIGHT ADD,

THERE IS EXCELLENT CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL FORCE AND THE FIFTY UNITED NATIONS MILITARY OBSERVERS WHO HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED THERE IN ACCORDANCE WITH A RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FORCES OUTSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS SUGGESTS AN INCAPACITY ON THE PART OF THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH IN THE CASE OF

PEACE-KEEPING IS NOT JUSTIFIED. THERE CAN, AS A RESULT, BE A FURTHER WEAKENING OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS AN INSTRUMENTALITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AT A TIME

WHEN THIS AUTHORITY IS SORELY NEEDED. MOREOVER IT IS CLEAR THAT MULTI-NATIONAL FORCES HAVE CERTAIN POLITICAL & STRUCTURAL LIMITATIONS WHICH UNITED NATIONS FORCES ARE IMMUNE.

OVER THE LONG RUN, I AM CONVINCED THAT PEACE-KEEPING BY THE UNITED NATIONS HAS IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES. IT SPREADS RESPONSIBILITY; IT PROVIDES A UNITED INTERNATIONAL COMMAND AND NORMALLY HAS BEHIND IT THE SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE SECURITY COUNCIL AND, BY EXTRAPOLATION, THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS. UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING ALSO SERVES TO LIMIT THE INTRUSION OF EXTRA-REGIONAL DIFFERENCES INTO THE PEACE-KEEPING PROCESS. I BELIEVE THOSE ADVANTAGES ARE RECOGNIZED. THERE IS STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE UTILIZATION OF UNIFIL AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE NEXT PHASE IN THE NORMALIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN LEBANON.

PEACE-KEEPING BY THE UNITED NATIONS QUITE LITERALLY
WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE TROOPS PROVIDED BY MEMBER STATES.
I WISH TO ACKNOWLEDGE ON THIS OCCASION THE CONSISTENCY WITH
WHICH FINLAND HAS RESPONDED TO PEACE-KEEPING NEEDS.
FINNISH SOLDIERS EVEN NOW ARE DOING BRAVE SERVICE FOR
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN KASHMIR AND CYPRUS.
HERE I WOULD LIKE TO PAY A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO THE VERY DISTINGUISHED
CONTRIBUTION MADE BY GENERAL ~~SIILASVUO~~^{SIILASVUO}, WHO HAS SERVED AS
CHIEF OF STAFF OF UNTSO, COMMANDER OF THE UN EMERGENCY FORCE
AND LASTLY AS CO-ORDINATOR OF ALL THE UN PEACE-KEEPING FORCES
IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FINNISH SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
HAS, OF COURSE, NOT BEEN LIMITED TO PEACE-KEEPING.
ITS PARTICIPATION IN UNITED NATIONS PROGRAMMES HAS BEEN
COMPREHENSIVE. THE SUGGESTIONS THAT I HAVE MADE FOR
STRENGTHENING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
HAVE RECEIVED STRONG ENDORSEMENT FROM THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT.
ONE OF THESE SUGGESTIONS WAS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL
SHOULD MEET AT THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL TO CONSIDER THE
PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE INABILITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
TO MEET EFFECTIVELY THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE MAINTENANCE
OF PEACE ACCORDED TO IT UNDER THE CHARTER. IT IS INTERESTING
FOR ME TO NOTE THAT THE ONLY MEETING OF THE COUNCIL UNTIL NOW
AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL WAS HELD IN 1970 AT THE INITIATIVE
OF FINLAND, THROUGH ITS THEN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE,
W. A. X. JACOBSEN

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE AGAIN TO THANK YOU FOR
AFFORDING ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE WITH YOU THIS EVENING
IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF SUCH WARM FRIENDSHIP AND HOSPITALITY.
I HAVE SPOKEN EARLIER OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AUTHORITY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS AN INSTRUMENTALITY OF PEACE.
IT IS THE UNDERSTANDING AND COMMITMENT OF YOU HERE IN FINLAND
AND OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD
THAT CAN DO MUCH TO ENHANCE THIS AUTHORITY AS A DECISIVE FORCE
IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

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REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE DINNER HOSTED BY
THE PRIME MINISTER OF FINLAND
14 APRIL 1983

MR. PRIME MINISTER, MADAME SORSA, EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

YOU ARE MOST KIND IN YOUR REMARKS, MR. PRIME MINISTER,
AND BOTH MY WIFE AND I DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR INVITATION
AND THE GENEROUS WELCOME WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE.

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DURING THE YEARS THAT FINLAND
HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
IT HAS EARNED A POSITION OF GREAT RESPECT IN THE WORLD ORGANIZATION.
I CONSIDER THIS AS A NATURAL RESULT
NOT ONLY OF FINLAND'S VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ORGANIZATION'S WORK
BUT ALSO OF THE MANY INITIATIVES IT HAS TAKEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS
TO PROMOTE THE CAUSES OF PEACE, DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.
HAVING ESTABLISHED FOR ITSELF A RECOGNISED POLICY OF ACTIVE NEUTRALITY,
FINLAND HAS SET AN EXAMPLE OF HOW THAT POLICY
CAN BE USED AS AN ASSET IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE.

I WOULD LIKE TO RECALL HERE THAT,
AT THE LAST SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
YOUR DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED THE OPINION
THAT NEUTRAL STATES HAD A SPECIAL OBLIGATION
TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. THE OBLIGATION,
HE SAID, WAS TO CONDUCT THEMSELVES WITH OBJECTIVITY
IN ORDER TO RETAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL SIDES
AND THUS THE ABILITY TO PERFORM SUCH SERVICES
AS MAY BE REQUIRED IN THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

MR. PRIME MINISTER: I FEEL THAT NO PRAISE IS TOO GREAT
FOR SUCH AN ENLIGHTENED ATTITUDE. OWING TO THIS QUALITY OF CONCERN,
SOME OF THE INITIATIVES TAKEN BY FINLAND HAVE, IN THEIR OWN WAY,
PROVED HISTORIC. IT WAS AT FINLAND'S SUGGESTION
THAT IN 1970 THE SECURITY COUNCIL HELD ITS FIRST PERIODIC MEETING
AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. EVEN THOUGH SUCH MEETINGS
WERE PROVIDED FOR IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
NO MOVE HAD BEEN MADE PREVIOUSLY,
NOR HAS ONE BEEN MADE SINCE, FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROVISION.

AGAIN, ON THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA, SOME IMPORTANT DECISIONS SUCH AS OBTAINING THE ADVISORY OPINION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND THE SETTING UP OF THE UN FUND AND THE NATIONHOOD PROGRAMME FOR NAMIBIA OWED THEIR ORIGIN TO FINNISH PROPOSALS. YOU HAVE MADE NAMIBIA A MAJOR RECIPIENT OF YOUR BILATERAL DEVELOPMENT AID. I AM ALSO GRATIFIED THAT YOU ARE WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE A PEACE-KEEPING BATTALION, SHOULD THAT BE NECESSARY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN PLAN REGARDING NAMIBIA.

YOUR CONCERN WITH THE VERY IMPORTANT PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT HAS BEEN MOST CONSTRUCTIVE. AS WE ALL REALIZE, THE ISSUES INVOLVED ARE VERY COMPLEX AND PROPOSALS HAVE TO OBTAIN THE CONSENSUS OF ALL CONCERNED TO ENSURE A PRACTICAL ADVANCE TOWARDS THE ACCEPTED GOAL. HOWEVER, THE KEKKONEN PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORDIC NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FORCE ZONE AND THE IDEA OF UNDERTAKING A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY ON SUCH ZONES HAVE OCCASIONED MUCH REFLECTION ON WAYS TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AND MAKE POSSIBLE THE ACHIEVMENT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS.

MOREOVER, FINLAND HAS MADE GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. YOUR SOLDIERS ARE CURRENTLY SERVING IN VARIOUS OPERATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS AND KASHMIR. MAY I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY THROUGH YOU, MR. PRIME MINISTER, MY WARMEST GREETINGS TO THESE MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES. THEIR SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE IS A MOST CONVINCING DEMONSTRATION OF FINLAND'S LOYALTY TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND WILLINGNESS TO GIVE IT ASSISTANCE WHERE SUCH ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED MOST.

ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED NATIONS, I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS PROFOUND GRATITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND FOR THIS CONSISTENT SUPPORT.

I AM GREATLY IMPRESSED, MR. PRIME MINISTER, BY YOUR GOVERNMENT'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE DISTURBING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION FACING US AT PRESENT. THIS IMPRESSION WAS FURTHER REINFORCED BY THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WHICH WE HAD TODAY. I FEEL THAT, APART FROM DURABLE SETTLEMENTS OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS, THERE ARE THREE PRIORITIES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: TO RESTORE THE CREDIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO MAKE A TANGIBLE BEGINNING TOWARDS ARMS REDUCTION AND TO REFORM INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD-WIDE ECONOMIC GROWTH.

AS YOU ARE AWARE, I HAVE DRAWN THE ATTENTION OF ALL MEMBER STATES TO THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE WHICH HAS GREATLY DIMINISHED THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO PREVENT CONFLICTS AND RESOLVE THEM WHEN THEY ERUPT. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE NEED TO THINK THROUGH WITH GREAT CARE THE QUESTION OF EMPLOYING SUCH METHODS AND APPROACHES AT THE UNITED NATIONS AS WOULD MAKE IT A VIABLE INSTRUMENT FOR SERIOUS DECISIONS, BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE NORDIC COUNTRIES WILL GIVE THE MOST EARNEST ATTENTION TO MY SUGGESTIONS AND ASSIST IN THE GREAT EFFORT TO MAKE THE UNITED NATIONS MORE RESPONSIVE TO ITS STATED AIMS.

AMONG THE SUGGESTIONS I HAVE MADE THERE IS ONE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO FINLAND, AS A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS IS TO GIVE SERIOUS ATTENTION TO MEANS OF STRENGTHENING THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY BASIS OF THESE OPERATIONS AND UNDERPINNING THEM WITH THE KIND OF SUPPORT THEY NEED IN THE EVENT OF THEIR MANDATE BEING CHALLENGED.

I WOULD LIKE TO CONCLUDE THESE REMARKS, MR. PRIME MINISTER, BY AGAIN EXPRESSING MY WARMEST THANKS TO YOU FOR ALL THAT FINLAND HAS DONE IN THE CAUSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE BONDS BETWEEN US ARE STRONG AND DEEPLY FELT
AND I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THEY WILL BECOME STRONGER
IN THE COMING YEARS,

EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF HIS EXCELLENCY,
MR. KALEVI SORSA AND OF MADAME SORSA
AND TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE OF FINLAND.

* * * * *

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE LUNCHEON TO BE HOSTED
BY THE PRESIDENT OF FINLAND
15 APRIL 1983

MR. PRESIDENT, MADAME KOIVISTO, EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I DEEPLY APPRECIATE, MR. PRESIDENT,
YOUR KIND REMARKS AND BOTH MY WIFE AND I ARE BEHOLDEN
TO YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR THE HOSPITALITY WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING IN FINLAND, MR. PRESIDENT,
IS A SPECIAL ONE FOR ME. HERE I FIND MYSELF IN COUNTRY
WHICH HAS GIVEN MOST IMPRESSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS
OF ITS CONCERN FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.
AS A RESULT, THE VOICE OF FINLAND IS LISTENED TO
WITH GREAT RESPECT AT THE WORLD ORGANIZATION.
BY ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ORGANIZATION'S WORK,
BY THE IDEAS IT HAS PRESENTED AND THE INITIATIVES
IT HAS TAKEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS,
FINLAND HAS SHOWN WITH CONSIDERABLE ABILITY
THAT A POLICY OF NEUTRALITY DOES NOT MEAN A POLICY OF ISOLATION
FROM GREAT GLOBAL CONCERNS.

ON THE CONTRARY, BY ENLISTING THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL SIDES,
SUCH A POLICY ENHANCES A COUNTRY'S ABILITY
TO RENDER DISINTERESTED SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

I WOULD LIKE TO ASSURE YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
OF THE SENTIMENTS OF PROFOUND GRATITUDE TOWARDS FINLAND
AT THE UNITED NATIONS FOR ALL THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS DONE
TO HELP STRENGTHEN PEACE, PROMOTE JUSTICE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
AND MAKE FIRM THE FOUNDATIONS OF PROGRESS AROUND THE WORLD.
YOUR SOLDIERS ARE SERVING IN THE CAUSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
IN THE MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS AND KASHMIR.

IN DO SOING, THEY ARE DISCHARGING A MISSION UNIQUE TO SOLDIERS IN HISTORY
BY BEING A MAJOR SUPPORTER OF THE PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS
OF THE UNITED NATIONS, FINLAND HAS RENDERED SERVICE
OF INESTIMABLE VALUE TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.
AS THESE OPERATIONS REPRESENT A MOST NECESSARY INGREDIENT
OF CONFLICT CONTROL, IT SEEMS TO ME TO BE IMPORTANT
THAT THE IDEA BEHIND THEM SHOULD BE FULLY SUSTAINED.
IN THIS REGARD, I MAY MENTION MY ANXIETY FOR STRENGTHENING
THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY BASIS OF THESE OPERATIONS
TO SAFEGUARD THEM FROM A CHALLENGE TO THEIR MANDATE.

THIS ANXIETY IS PART OF MY DEEP CONCERN
ABOUT THE PRESENT DANGEROUS TREND IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS --
THE TREND TO BYPASS THE UNITED NATIONS,
TO BRUSH ASIDE ITS DECISIONS OR RECOMMENDATIONS
AND MAKE LITTLE USE OF ITS RESOURCES FOR PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY.
THERE APPEARS TO BE NO HOPE OF REVERSING THIS TREND
UNLESS ALL MEMBER STATES EMBARK ON A COMMON EFFORT
TO RECOMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER
OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO DEMONSTRATE THIS RECOMMITMENT
BY MAKING BETTER AND MORE CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF THE MACHINERY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND STRENGTHENING THAT MACHINERY.

THIS IS A PRIME CHALLENGE FOR THE WORLD'S STATESMANSHIP.
A SUITABLE RESPONSE TO IT ACCORDS WITH THE COMMON INTEREST
OF ALL NATIONS. I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE EXTENSIVE COMMENTS EVOKED
BY MY SUGGESTIONS IN THIS CONTEXT. HOWEVER,
NONE OF US CAN FEEL SATISFIED UNTIL WE SEE A TANGIBLE CHANGE
FOR THE BETTER IN THE CURRENT APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.
I AM SURE THAT, BY VIRTUE OF ITS ABILITY AND INFLUENCE,
FINLAND WILL CONTRIBUTE MOST USEFULLY TO THE EFFORT
TO BRING ABOUT THIS CHANGE.

AFTER MEETING WITH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
AND AFTER THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS I HAD WITH YOUR PRIME MINISTER,
I WILL BE LEAVING FINLAND WITH A REFRESHED CONFIDENCE
IN ITS DEEPLY FELT AND ENLIGHTENED COMMITMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO INVITE YOU TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST
TO THE HEALTH OF HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT MAUNO KOIVISTO
AND MADAME KOIVISTO AND TO THE CONTINUED PROGRESS
AND PROSPERITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND.

* * * * *

TOAST BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO
THE MAYOR OF TURKU,
16 APRIL 1983

MR. MAYOR, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS,

I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR THE VERY WARM WELCOME
YOU HAVE EXTENDED TO MY WIFE AND ME IN THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY.
IT HAS BEEN A GREAT PRIVILEGE TO SEE THE MANY MONUMENTS
WHICH MARK THE LONG HISTORY OF THIS REGION.
HERE GEOGRAPHY, COMMERCE AND POLITICS
HAVE BROUGHT TOGETHER TWO KINDRED BUT DIFFERENT PEOPLES.

2/

FROM THIS DIVERSITY HAS COME CULTURAL RICHNESS
AND A DEEPENING OF THE TIES THAT UNITE THE NORDIC PEOPLES
IN SO MANY COMMON CAUSES.

I AM AWARE, IN SAYING THIS, THAT THE ÅLAND ISLANDS*
NOT FAR OFF THE COAST FROM TURKU WERE THE SOURCE OF SERIOUS FRICTION
BETWEEN SWEDEN AND FINLAND WHEN FINLAND FIRST GAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE.
THE CLASSIC ELEMENTS OF CONFLICT WERE PRESENT
WITH BOTH COUNTRIES CLAIMING SOVEREIGNTY AND THE ISLANDERS,
THEMSELVES, DEVOTED TO THEIR ANCIENT STATUS AS A PROVINCE OF SWEDEN.

* PRONOUNCED 'OHLAND ISLANDS'. THE FINNISH NAME IS AHVENANMAA.

IT IS NOW MORE THAN SIXTY YEARS SINCE THIS PROBLEM WAS SOLVED
THROUGH A DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.
BUT STILL TODAY THE SOLUTION ACHIEVED THEN
STANDS AS A PERSUASIVE EXAMPLE OF THE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED
FROM THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES
THROUGH THE RESPONSIBLE WORLD ORGANIZATION.

I CAN TELL YOU THAT LAST YEAR WHEN WE WERE SEEKING
TO BRING A PEACEFUL END TO THE FALKLANDS/MALVINAS CONFLICT
IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC WE STUDIED CAREFULLY THE ÅLAND ISLAND SOLUTION
UNDER WHICH FINLAND RETAINED SOVEREIGNTY,
THE ISLANDERS GAINED A HIGH DEGREE OF AUTONOMY,
PROTECTION OF THE SWEDISH LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE WERE GUARANTEED AND THE ISLANDS WERE NEUTRALIZED.

THE PASSING YEARS HAVE CONFIRMED THE WISDOM OF FINLAND AND SWEDEN
IN ACCEPTING THE AUTHORITY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
AND THE ADVANTAGE TO BE GAINED FROM THE EXISTENCE
OF AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

MR. MAYOR, MY DEAR FRIENDS,

THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TODAY
HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY VESTED 60 YEARS AGO IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

THE LEAGUE SHOWED WHAT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE ÅLAND ISLANDS,
IN THE SAAR AND IN OTHER AREAS OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT.
IN THE END, HOWEVER, IT FAILED TO KEEP THE PEACE
BECAUSE THE MEMBER STATES WERE UNWILLING TO PLACE THE COMMON REQUIREMENTS
OF PEACE ABOVE NATIONAL INTERESTS AS THEY SAW THEM.
THEY FAILED TO ACT COLLECTIVELY WHEN COLLECTIVE MEASURES WERE REQUIRED.
WE DARE NOT ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN AGAIN. THE CAPACITY
AND AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
TO BRING ABOUT THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES
MUST BE ENHANCED.

PERHAPS ONE WAY OF ENCOURAGING THIS WOULD BE TO BRING
MORE WORLD LEADERS TO THESE PEACEFUL SHORES
TO SEE WHAT AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION CAN ACCOMPLISH.
I AM SURE THAT THEY WOULD BE AS IMPRESSED AS MY WIFE AND MYSELF
BY THE FRIENDSHIP THAT NOW SPANS WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN HOSTILE WATERS.

MR. MAYOR,

MAY I AGAIN THANK YOU FOR THE GREAT COURTESY
THAT HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO US BY THIS CITY,

I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO YOUR HEALTH
AND TO THE CONTINUED PROSPERITY OF YOUR CITIZENS
AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

* * * * *

TOAST BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO MR. ERIK KRÖNMARK, GOVERNOR
OF KALMAR PROVINCE (LÄN) ON 17 APRIL 1983

GOVERNOR KRÖNMARK,
DISTINGUISHED GUESTS,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR THE WARM WELCOME AND THE SPECIAL SWEDISH HOSPITALITY THAT HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO MY WIFE AND TO ME TODAY IN THIS HISTORIC CITY. WE HAVE GREATLY ENJOYED LEARNING MORE OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE PROVINCE. AT THE ORREFORS FACTORY WE WERE ABLE TO SEE A MARVELLOUS EXAMPLE OF THE TECHNICAL SKILL AND ARTISTRY FOR WHICH SWEDEN IS RENOWNED AROUND THE WORLD. SUCH BEAUTY CREATED BY HUMAN HANDS ADDS A JOYFUL DIMENSION TO THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE. WE ARE TRULY GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE WITH YOU.

- 2 -

KALMAR IS KNOWN AS THE BIRTHPLACE OF NORDIC UNITY. IT IS TRUE THAT THE UNION FOUNDED HERE IN THE 14TH CENTURY DID NOT SURVIVE. BUT IN THE ENSUING CENTURIES A COMMUNALITY OF ASPIRATIONS AND OF CONCERNS HAS GIVEN RISE TO A CLOSE AND HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE NORDIC COUNTRIES. HAVING LONG AGO ACHIEVED PEACE AMONG THEMSELVES THEY ARE JOINED IN A COMMON SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD, IN COMMON EFFORT TO REDUCE THE BURDEN AND DANGERS OF ARMS, IN COMMON PLANNING TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS. DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS IS CHARACTERISTIC OF EACH OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES. THIS, FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, IS A PARTICULARLY FORTUNATE FORM OF UNION.

- 3 -

IN THE FACE OF THE CONFLICTS AND UNRESOLVED DISPUTES THAT PRESENTLY BRING DEATH, DESTRUCTION AND A PROFLIGATE WASTE OF HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES TO OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD, ONE IS ESPECIALLY CONSCIOUS IN KALMAR OF THE BENEFITS WHICH COUNTRIES OF A REGION CAN GAIN THROUGH THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES, THROUGH HARMONIZATION OF POLICIES AND THROUGH MUTUAL ECONOMIC ENDEAVOUR. THIS, I BELIEVE, IS THE SPIRIT REPRESENTED TODAY BY KALMAR.

IN THIS SPIRIT, I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO YOUR HEALTH, GOVERNOR KRONMARK, AND TO THE PROSPECT THAT OTHER REGIONS WILL ENJOY THE PEACE THAT NOW SPANS THE NORDIC LANDS.

* * * * *

TOAST BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE PRIME MINISTER
OF SWEDEN AT GOVERNMENT DINNER
17 APRIL 1983

MR. PRIME MINISTER, EXCELLENCIES, DEAR FRIENDS,

IT IS A VERY SPECIAL PLEASURE TO BE HERE AS A GUEST THIS EVENING.
IT IS RARE, INDEED, TO HAVE THE HONOUR AND SATISFACTION
OF DINING WITH A PRIME MINISTER AND AN ESTEEMED ASSOCIATE
IN THE SAME PERSON. AS AN ASSOCIATE,
OLOF PALME HAS BROUGHT GREAT WISDOM AND ENERGY
TO THE EFFORT TO END THE WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ.
AS PRIME MINISTER HE BRINGS THE GIFTS OF LEADERSHIP,
WISDOM AND VAST KNOWLEDGE TO THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT.

2/

THERE CAN BE NO CONFLICT OF INTEREST
BETWEEN THE SERVICE WHICH HE GENEROUSLY PERFORMS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
AND HIS POSITION AS PRIME MINISTER.
FOR HIS SERVICE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
IS IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND THAT, I KNOW,
REPRESENTS THE HIGHEST OBJECTIVE OF THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT.
I SEE THE WARM WELCOME WHICH YOU, MR. PRIME MINISTER,
HAVE EXTENDED TO ME AND TO MY WIFE
NOT ONLY AS A REFLECTION OF YOUR FRIENDSHIP
AND THE GENEROUS HOSPITALITY OF YOUR COUNTRY
BUT ALSO OF THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE WHICH THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT
AND THE SWEDISH PEOPLE HAVE TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED
TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE SWEDISH COMMITMENT TO THE WORLD ORGANIZATION
HAS BEEN GIVEN CONCRETE FORM IN SWEDEN'S CONSTRUCTIVE PARTICIPATION
IN ALMOST EVERY ASPECT OF UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITIES.

SWEDEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNITED NATIONS VOLUNTARY PROGRAMMES
FOR DEVELOPMENT AND FOR SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVES
ARE AMONG THE VERY HIGHEST ON A PER CAPITA BASIS.

NO COUNTRY HAS BEEN MORE RESPONSIVE
IN PROVIDING FORCES FOR UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS.

WERE I TO MENTION ALL OF THE SWEDES WHO HAVE DONE, OR ARE DOING,
WORK OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE IN THE ORGANIZATION,

WE WOULD BE HERE UNTIL MORNING'S EARLY HOURS.

LET ME SIMPLY SAY THAT SWEDEN IS ENTITLED TO TAKE GREAT PRIDE
IN THE HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES THAT IT HAS PROVIDED
TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO MAKE THE WORLD MORE PROSPEROUS,
MORE JUST AND MORE PEACEFUL.

I AM AWARE THAT AT PRESENT IN SWEDEN
THERE IS CONCERN OVER THE EROSION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
IN THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

GIVEN THE CENTRAL ROLE WHICH SWEDEN HAS ACCORDED THE UNITED NATIONS IN ITS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THIS CONCERN IS UNDERSTANDABLE. INDEED, IT IS NECESSARY. I BELIEVE VERY DEEPLY THAT UNLESS THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO BRING ABOUT THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES IS SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED, NAKED MILITARY STRENGTH WILL INCREASINGLY DETERMINE THE COURSE OF EVENTS. THE SMALLER AND POORER COUNTRIES WILL BE LEFT WITHOUT DEFENCE AND THE MORE WEALTHY WILL BE AFFLICTED WITH THE UNACCEPTABLE COST AND PERIL OF AN ENDLESS ARMS RACE IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF FEAR.

IT IS ENCOURAGING TO ME THAT SWEDEN IS WORKING WITH THE OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES TO FORMULATE PROPOSALS ON STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS CAPACITY TO ELIMINATE THREATS TO PEACE. THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY ISSUES WHICH YOU CHAIRED, MR. PRIME MINISTER, HAS PUT FORWARD SUGGESTIONS OF MUCH RELEVANCE IN THIS CONTEXT. THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE PRESENTLY ENGAGED IN SERIOUS CONSULTATIONS ON HOW THE COUNCIL'S EFFECTIVENESS CAN BE ENHANCED. THIS IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE SINCE IT IS GOVERNMENTS WHICH MUST MAKE BASIC POLICY DECISIONS.

THERE MUST BE A WILLINGNESS TO RELY ON THE COUNCIL TO ACT
IN THE COLLECTIVE INTEREST OF WORLD COMMUNITY.
AND TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT
OR TO END ARMED CONFLICT. I RECOGNIZE THAT SUCH DECISIONS
WILL BE DIFFICULT. IF THE COUNCIL IS TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS
OF THE PRESENT INSECURE WORLD, MEMBER STATES,
ESPECIALLY THE MOST POWERFUL, MUST DO TWO THINGS:
DESPITE PROFOUND BI-LATERAL DIFFERENCES, THEY MUST CO-OPERATE
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
WHEN REGIONAL PEACE IS THREATENED; AND THEY MUST PLACE THEIR POWER
AND INFLUENCES BEHIND DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL
TO ENSURE THAT THE DECISIONS WILL BE RESPECTED.

MR. PRIME MINISTER,

I WOULD LIKE TO STATE MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE SUPPORT
WHICH YOU HAVE EXPRESSED THIS EVENING FOR MY EFFORTS
AS SECRETARY-GENERAL. I LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING
THE MANY CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS IN DETAIL
WITH YOU AND WITH OTHER SWEDISH LEADERS DURING MY VISIT.
SWEDISH INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT
ARE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE.
BUT SWEDEN'S FOREIGN POLICY AS A WHOLE AND YOUR INFLUENCE
AS A WORLD STATESMAN ARE IMPORTANT FACTORS
IN PROGRESS TOWARDS THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

I WOULD LIKE NOW TO PROPOSE A TOAST
TO THE HEALTH OF PRIME MINISTER PALME
WHOM I AM HONOURED TO CALL A FRIEND.

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SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT
ON 19 APRIL 1983

MR. SPEAKER,
EXCELLENCIES,
DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR AND PRIVILEGE TO HAVE THE
OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT.
THIS HOUSE EMBODIES THE ^(THE INTERNATIONAL CONSCIENCE) POLITICAL FREEDOM AND ^(THE) SOCIAL
ADVANCEMENT OF THIS REMARKABLE COUNTRY. I WOULD LIKE
TO EXPRESS TO YOU, THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
SWEDISH PEOPLE, MY PROFOUND ADMIRATION FOR SWEDEN'S ABILITY
TO ACHIEVE AN UNPARALLELED LEVEL OF WELL-BEING FOR ALL OF
ITS CITIZENS AND FOR ITS WILLINGNESS AT THE SAME TIME
TO SHARE GENEROUSLY ITS RICHES AND ITS SKILLS WITH LESS
FORTUNATE LANDS. SWEDEN IS A STRONG COUNTRY WHOSE DEDICATION
TO PEACE IS UNQUESTIONED. IT IS AN ADVANCED COUNTRY
WHOSE COMMITMENT TO MEETING GLOBAL ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND
HUMANITARIAN NEEDS IS LONG PROVEN.

THIS DEDICATION AND THIS COMMITMENT HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY REFLECTED IN THE SUPPORT AND STRONG LEADERSHIP WHICH SWEDEN HAS LENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS. DAG HAMMARSKJOLD WILL ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED FOR THE MORAL FORCE, THE COMPASSION AND THE DIPLOMATIC SKILL WITH WHICH HE SUCCESSFULLY HANDLED GRAVE WORD ^Y CRISES. I LOOK TO HAMMARSKJOLD'S CONDUCT OF THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR INSPIRATION AND GUIDANCE. YOUR DISTINGUISHED SPEAKER, INGEMUND BENGTTSSON, WAS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE ENVIRONMENT, A MEETING WHOSE INFLUENCE IS STILL FELT TODAY. OLOF PALME, THE PRIME MINISTER OF SWEDEN, CONTINUES TO SERVE THE UNITED NATIONS AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR IRAN AND IRAQ IN THE INTEREST OF BRINGING TO AN END THE TRAGIC WAR BETWEEN THOSE COUNTRIES. OTHER SWEDES OF GREAT ABILITY ARE LEADING THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, THE DEPARTMENT FOR DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS IN THE SECRETARIAT, THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES AND OCCUPY OTHER IMPORTANT POSTS. SWEDISH SOLDIERS HAVE DONE SERVICE FOR PEACE IN THE CONGO, THE SINAI, YEMEN, CYPRUS, KASHMIR AND LEBANON SINCE THE UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISORY ORGANIZATION WAS ESTABLISHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN 1948. IT WAS IN THAT YEAR THAT COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE LOST HIS LIFE IN A BRAVE EFFORT TO BRING PEACE TO THAT TROUBLED AREA. LATER ANOTHER OUTSTANDING SWEDE, GUNNAR JARRING, DEMONSTRATED HIS GREAT DIPLOMATIC SKILL AND HIS COMMITMENT TO PEACE IN CONNEXION WITH THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN OVER KASHMIR AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

IT IS NOW 35 YEARS SINCE COUNT BERNADOTTE WAS ASSASSINATED, AND 10 YEARS SINCE GUNNAR JARRING'S MISSION AS UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST ~~CAME TO AN END~~. I WOULD LIKE ON THIS OCCASION TO STRESS HOW URGENT IT IS FOR WORLD SECURITY THAT THE NOBLE WORK OF BERNADOTTE AND JARRING BE BROUGHT TO FRUITION IN A COMPREHENSIVE MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. THEIR DEDICATED CONTRIBUTION LIKE THE GREAT WORK OF DAG HAMMARSKJOLD AND THE FAITHFUL SERVICE OF SWEDES IN THE ORGANIZATION AND SWEDISH PEACE-KEEPING SOLDIERS IN THE FIELD ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CONTRIBUTION WHICH SWEDEN HAS MADE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE AND GLOBAL WELL-BEING.

^{DEAR}
MY FRIENDS,

AS WE ALL KNOW, THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ESTABLISHES AS THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF THE ORGANIZATION THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. WITH GREAT FORESIGHT, THE DRAFTERS OF THE CHARTER PERCEIVED THAT IN AN INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, PEACE WOULD REQUIRE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN SOLVING INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF AN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN CHARACTER AS WELL AS RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES. IT IS TO THE GREAT CREDIT OF THE UNITED NATIONS THAT IN THE BREADTH OF ITS ACTIVITIES THE ORGANIZATION HAS SOUGHT TO DEAL WITH ALL OF THESE COMPONENTS OF PEACE. THERE IS A FREQUENT TENDENCY TO OVERLOOK THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ORGANIZATION IN THIS REGARD.

THE FACT IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN HIGHLY EFFECTIVE IN FACILITATING THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS, BASED ON THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAS PROGRESSED WITH THE IMPORTANT ASSISTANCE OF UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES AND PROGRAMMES. THE RIGHTS THAT ARE INHERENT IN EXISTENCE AS A HUMAN BEING HAVE BEEN MORE SPECIFICALLY DEFINED IN INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS AND ARE CERTAINLY MORE WIDELY UNDERSTOOD THAN EVER BEFORE IN HISTORY. PROGRESS IN ALL THESE AREAS HAS BEEN INADEQUATE BUT IT HAS OCCURRED AND BEEN PROMOTED AND AIDED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. THE WORLD IS A BETTER PLACE AS A RESULT.

BUT I REGRET TO SAY, IT IS NOT A SAFER PLACE. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY REMAINS AS PRECARIOUS AS IN THE PAST, PERHAPS EVEN MORE SO. THIS SEEMS TO ME TO STEM IMPORTANTLY FROM THE FACT THAT NO SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD TWO OF THE OBJECTIVES DEFINED IN THE CHARTER AS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE. THE FIRST IS THE UTILIZATION OF EFFECTIVE COLLECTIVE MEASURES FOR THE PREVENTION AND REMOVAL OF THREATS TO THE PEACE; AND THE SECOND IS THE REGULATION OF ARMS. I WOULD LIKE TODAY TO ADDRESS THESE TWO SUBJECTS, ARMS AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY UNDER THE CHARTER AS CRITICAL ELEMENTS IN THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE MOST FATEFUL QUESTION WHICH GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES FACE TODAY IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARMS AND SECURITY. GOVERNMENTS TRADITIONALLY ACCEPT PROVISION FOR THE SECURITY OF THEIR CITIZENS AS THEIR FIRST RESPONSIBILITY. THERE CAN BE LITTLE QUESTION THAT THIS REPRESENTS THE OVERWHELMING DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE. UNTIL NOW GOVERNMENTS FOR THE MOST PART HAVE RELIED ON MILITARY STRENGTH TO PROVIDE SUCH SECURITY. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF UNHAPPY DEVELOPMENTS IN PAST HISTORY WHICH SUGGEST THAT TO DO OTHERWISE CAN HAVE EXTREMELY ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES. YET IN ACCEPTING THE LEGITIMACY OF DEFENCE, ONE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT AT A CERTAIN POINT THE ACQUISITION OF ARMS CAN PRODUCE THE VERY OPPOSITE OF SECURITY BY STIMULATING SUSPICION, COMPETITION AND FEAR. IN ADDITION, IT RESULTS IN MASSIVE DIVERSION OF THE WORLD'S RESOURCES, ENTIRELY CONTRARY TO THE ADMONITION CONTAINED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THIS, IN TURN, HAS A DESTRUCTIVE EFFECT ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, WHICH IN ITSELF IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

IT IS, I THINK, NOT PRODUCTIVE TO DEPLORE THIS SITUATION WITHOUT FACING - AND SEEKING TO ANSWER - THE QUESTION OF ALTERNATIVES. GIVEN THE LEGITIMATE REQUIREMENT IN A WORLD OF SOVEREIGN STATES FOR NATIONAL SECURITY, BY WHAT MEANS CAN IT BE RELIABLY OBTAINED OTHER THAN ARMS? THE ANSWER SHOULD BE THE UNITED NATIONS.

MEMBER STATES HAVE CONFERRED ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND HAVE AGREED, UNDER THE CHARTER, THAT IN CARRYING OUT THIS RESPONSIBILITY THE COUNCIL ACTS ON THEIR BEHALF. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COUNCIL IS THUS, IN PRINCIPLE, TO TAKE MEASURES TO PRESERVE PEACE ON BEHALF OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION. THIS ASSUMES THAT THE COUNCIL MEMBERS CAN AND WILL ACT TOGETHER IN THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. THE SPECIAL STATUS OF THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS WAS ACCORDED IN RECOGNITION OF THE GREAT RESPONSIBILITY THAT THEY BEAR, BECAUSE OF THEIR POWER AND INFLUENCE, FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEPENDS HEAVILY ON THEIR WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO CO-OPERATE IN DEALING WITH POTENTIAL OR EXISTING CONFLICT. IT IS EVIDENT TO ALL THAT THIS HAS NOT BEEN PRESENT IN SUFFICIENT MEASURE. I DO NOT NEED TO LIST THE CONFLICTS WHICH PERSIST TODAY IN WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS TAKEN NO ACTION OR IN WHICH THE ACTION TAKEN HAS BEEN INEFFECTIVE. THE EAST-WEST DIVISION, WHICH IS DIRECTLY REFLECTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, HAS JEOPARDIZED THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF THE CHARTER. THE MEASURES PROVIDED IN THE CHARTER TO KEEP THE PEACE, SUCH AS THE USE BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF MILITARY FORCE, HAVE PROVEN IMPRACTICAL BECAUSE OF THE DIVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH MEASURES, MEMBER STATES HAVE CHOSEN ON OCCASION TO IGNORE DECISIONS OF THE COUNCIL.

UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IS IT REALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT GOVERNMENTS WILL BE WILLING TO RELY LESS ON ARMS AND MORE ON THE UNITED NATIONS FOR SECURITY? I THINK WE MUST HONESTLY ANSWER IN THE NEGATIVE. THUS WE COME TO THE CENTRAL ENIGMA WITH WHICH WE ARE TODAY CONFRONTED. PRIMARY RELIANCE ON ARMS FOR SECURITY HAS PRODUCED A GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT OF INSECURITY. AT THE SAME TIME THE INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTALITY CREATED TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY HAS PROVEN INSUFFICIENTLY EFFECTIVE TO REDUCE RELIANCE ON MILITARY STRENGTH.

I DO NOT SAY THIS IN DESPAIR, BUT RATHER IN THE BELIEF THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURE AND SERIOUSNESS OF AN ILLNESS BEFORE A CURE CAN BE PRESCRIBED AND ACCEPTED. I THINK THERE SHOULD BE NO MISTAKE THAT THE MALADY WHICH NOW AFFLICTS THE INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE IS SEVERE, AND GIVEN THE AWESOME SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, POTENTIALLY FATAL. BUT I AM PROFOUNDLY CONVINCED THAT IMPROVEMENT IS POSSIBLE. WE NEED THE SPUR OF VISION, THE DUAL VISION OF THE IMMEASUREABLE CATASTROPHE THAT COULD BEFALL US AND OF A PRODUCTIVE AND EQUITABLE WORLD WHICH LIES WITHIN THE HUMAN POTENTIAL. IT IS THIS DUAL VISION, I BELIEVE, THAT HAS PROMPTED GREATER PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN DISARMAMENT ISSUES. IT IS THIS VISION WHICH CAN AND MUST ENCOURAGE RECOGNITION OF THE SURPASSING IMPORTANCE OF INTERESTS WHICH ARE COMMON TO THE MAJOR POWERS IN THE EAST AND THE WEST AND TO THE SMALLER POWERS AS WELL. I AM CONVINCED THAT THESE COMMON INTERESTS CAN PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH A MORE SECURE INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURE OF RELATIONS CAN BE BUILT.

TO MY MIND, THE FIRST ALL ENCOMPASSING INTEREST SHARED IN EQUAL MEASURE BY ALL COUNTRIES AND ALL PEOPLES IS SURVIVAL. IT IS THE NUCLEAR POWERS THAT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO BRING AN END TO LIFE AND CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT. BUT IT COULD WELL BE DEVELOPMENTS IN PERIPHERAL AREAS THAT COULD INITIATE A CHAIN OF EVENTS LEADING ULTIMATELY TO NUCLEAR EXCHANGE. THUS EVERY COUNTRY HAS AN INTEREST - AND THE SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY - TO AVOID ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT LEAD DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TO NUCLEAR WAR. ONE OF THE MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT WHEN IT WAS FOUNDED WAS TO LESSEN THE LIKELIHOOD OF EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION. TO THE EXTENT THAT THIS IS ACHIEVED IT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE NON-ALIGNED AND THE MAJOR POWERS.

ALMOST AS EVIDENT IT SEEMS TO ME IS THE INTEREST SHARED BY EAST AND WEST AND NORTH AND SOUTH IN A REDUCTION IN ARMS. IT IS NOT TO BE EXPECTED THAT GOVERNMENTS WILL RELINGUISH ARMS AS A MAJOR COMPONENT IN NATIONAL DEFENCE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. BUT THIS REALITY IN NO WAY NEGATES THE INTEREST WHICH THEY SHARE IN AGREED REDUCTIONS IN ARMS. THIS CAN ACTUALLY ENHANCE SECURITY RATHER THAN THE CONTRARY. IT IS PARTICULARLY RELEVANT IN THE AREA OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES CAN CERTAINLY BE PRESERVED WITH FEWER RATHER THAN MORE OF THESE WEAPONS WHICH POSE THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE SURVIVAL OF MANKIND. THIS WOULD BE TO THE CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGE OF THESE COUNTRIES AS WELL AS OF THE ENTIRE WORLD COMMUNITY. THE PERIL OF ACCIDENT WOULD BE DIMINISHED, RESOURCES WOULD BE SAVED AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BURDEN OF FEAR WHICH HAS BECOME WIDELY EVIDENT WOULD BE REDUCED. WE ARE NOW AT A CRITICAL AND, I AM CONVINCED, HOPEFUL CONJUNCTURE IN THIS REGARD. THE TWO MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS HAVE DECLARED THEIR INTENTION EARNESTLY TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON REDUCING NUCLEAR ARMS. PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL-SECRETARY ANDROPOV HAVE BOTH IMPRESSED UPON ME THEIR SINCERE DETERMINATION TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE. EACH SIDE HAS PUT FORWARD CONCRETE PROPOSALS WHICH, WHILE SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT, STILL OFFER A BASIS FOR COMPROMISE. FAILURE WILL HAVE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES NOT JUST FOR THE EAST AND WEST BUT FOR THE WORLD, A REALITY WHICH I BELIEVE IT IS INCUMBENT ON THE NEGOTIATING PARTNERS TO HAVE ALWAYS IN MIND.

AS CRITICAL AS THE NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS ARE, THEY WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM THE NEED TO PROMOTE CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT IN PARALLEL. FOR CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS POSE A THREAT IN THEIR OWN RIGHT. THE ACQUISITION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS OF INCREASING SOPHISTICATION PERPETUATES DISTRUST AND FEAR AND OFTEN IN EXTREMELY VOLATILE CIRCUMSTANCES. CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS ARE ACTUALLY BEING USED TODAY IN CONFLICTS THAT EVEN AS WE MEET BRING FEAR, DEATH AND SUFFERING TO COUNTLESS THOUSANDS OF HUMAN BEINGS. ALL COUNTRIES CLEARLY SHARE A COMMON INTEREST IN REDUCING OUTLAY FOR ARMAMENTS SINCE DEVELOPMENT IS THE FIRST CASUALTY OF INCREASED ARMS ACQUISITION. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

I BELIEVE THAT FAR GREATER EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT REGIONAL ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE FOR THIS REASON AS WELL AS TO REDUCE THE INSECURITY AND DISTRUST THAT SO OFTEN END IN CONFLICT. IT IS ONLY WISE TO ACKNOWLEDGE, AT THE SAME TIME, THAT THE PROSPECT OF SUCH AGREEMENTS WILL REMAIN POOR AS LONG AS CURRENT CONFLICTS AND LONG-STANDING DISPUTES PERSIST WHICH THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED ARE UNABLE OR UNWILLING THEMSELVES TO RESOLVE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

THIS CONSIDERATION BRINGS ME TO A THIRD INTEREST WHICH I PROFOUNDLY BELIEVE IS SHARED BY THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, REGARDLESS OF THEIR POLITICAL ORIENTATION OR ECONOMIC STRENGTH. THIS COMMON INTEREST IS TO HAVE A UNITED NATIONS WITH THE AUTHORITY AND CAPACITY TO BRING ABOUT THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE KIND OF DISPUTE TO WHICH I HAVE JUST REFERRED. IT IS OFTEN SUGGESTED THAT THE MAJOR POWERS DO NOT NEED THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS TRUE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS NOT WELL SUITED TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THEM SINCE THE ORGANIZATION WAS CREATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE MAJOR POWERS WOULD NOT BE IN CONFLICT - OR THAT IF THEY WERE, THE CONFLICT WOULD BE BEYOND THE CONTROL OF ANY INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTALITY. YET, THE MAJOR POWERS DO NEED, AND NEED BADLY, A UNITED NATIONS WHICH, IN CO-OPERATION WITH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, CAN DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THE DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF THE MAJOR POWERS IN SUCH CONFLICTS TENDS TO COMPLICATE THEIR OWN RELATIONS. THE RESULT, MOREOVER, CAN TOO OFTEN BE THAT THE CONFLICTS ARE PLACED IN THE CONTEXT OF GREAT POWER COMPETITION AND THEIR RESOLUTION BECOMES MORE DIFFICULT RATHER THAN LESS. AS FOR THE REGIONAL POWERS, IN THE ABSENCE OF A UNITED NATIONS CAPABLE OF KEEPING THE PEACE, THEY ARE LEFT WITHOUT RELIABLE DEFENCE OR SHELTER EXCEPT IN INCREASED ARMS WHICH FOR THE MOST PART THEY CAN ILL-AFFORD. THUS THERE IS A DIRECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STRENGTHENING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PROSPECT OF THE REGIONAL LIMITATION OF WEAPONS.

IN REPORTING TO THE LAST SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, I MADE SUGGESTIONS IN THE INTEREST OF STRENGTHENING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH HAS DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE. THESE INCLUDE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE BY THE COUNCIL IN PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, CONCERTED SUPPORT BY GOVERNMENTS FOR DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL, MAINTENANCE OF THE DEGREE OF CO-OPERATION BY THE PERMANENT MEMBERS WITHIN THE COUNCIL NECESSARY FOR ITS EFFECTIVENESS, AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY BASIS OF UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS. ALL OF THESE REQUIRE BASIC POLICY DECISIONS ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENTS, DECISIONS THAT TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR COLLECTIVE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THERE MUST, IN BRIEF, BE RELIANCE ON, SUPPORT FOR, AND COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS THE PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES. NATIONAL POWER CAN BEST BE APPLIED IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE IN SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION CREATED TO PRESERVE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

WHAT I HAVE SAID IMPLIES NO NEED FOR CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF SWEDEN. SWEDEN'S SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN STRONG AND CONSISTENT, ITS COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER HAS BEEN EVIDENCED BY ITS ACTIONS. SWEDEN DOES NOT PARTICIPATE IN ALLIANCES IN PEACE-TIME AND AIMS AT NEUTRALITY IN TIMES OF WAR. THIS HAS NOT MEANT A PASSIVE ROLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. SWEDEN IS DEEPLY ENGAGED IN INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELDS, IN THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IN DISARMAMENT EFFORTS. AS A COUNTRY BLESSED WITH PEACE, SWEDEN HAS SOUGHT PEACE FOR OTHERS. THE NOBEL PRIZE AWARDED LAST YEAR TO MRS. AVA MYRDAL RECOGNIZES THE UNCEASING EFFORTS WHICH SHE HAS MADE THROUGHOUT HER LIFE WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE. I BELIEVE THAT MRS. MYRDAL'S RICH ACCOMPLISHMENTS REFLECT THE DEEPLY-HELD DEDICATION OF HER PEOPLE - THE SWEDISH PEOPLE - TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUMAN CONDITION. IT IS A SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO THE UNITED NATIONS THAT SWEDEN, OVER MANY YEARS, HAS SEEN THE WORLD ORGANIZATION AS THE MAJOR INSTRUMENT CAPABLE OF PROMOTING THIS NOBLE GOAL.

TOAST BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO MR. INGEMUND BENGTTSSON,
THE SPEAKER OF THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT - 19 APRIL 1983

MR. SPEAKER, EXCELLENCIES, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS,

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU MOST SINCERELY FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY TODAY AND FOR THE SUPPORT WHICH HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO ME AS SECRETARY-GENERAL AND TO THE UNITED NATIONS. I SPECIALLY APPRECIATE YOUR REMARKS, MR. SPEAKER, BECAUSE YOU, YOURSELF, HAVE DEVOTED SO MUCH TIME AND ENERGY TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND ARE SO KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT THE PURPOSES AND THE NATURE OF THE ORGANIZATION. THE LEADERSHIP WHICH YOU GAVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT IN 1972 HELPED TO MAKE THAT MEETING INTO AN EVENT OF MAJOR AND LASTING SIGNIFICANCE.

2

THE DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF 112 NATIONS ONLY 11 YEARS AGO CONSTITUTED THE FIRST ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS OF THE NEW PRINCIPLES OF BEHAVIOUR AND RESPONSIBILITY WHICH MUST GOVERN ACTIONS THAT AFFECT THE ENVIRONMENT.

THE ENVIRONMENT IS A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF AN INTEREST WHICH NATIONS SHARE AND WHICH MUST OF NECESSITY TRASCEND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES STEMMING FROM NATIONAL CONCERNS. IT SEEMS TO ME OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE THAT COUNTRIES TAKE FIRST ACCOUNT IN THEIR NATIONAL POLICIES OF SUCH INTERESTS THAT ARE SHARED BY ALL. I WOULD INCLUDE AMONG THESE A STABLE AND EQUITABLE GLOBAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, A REDUCTION IN THE BURDEN AND PERIL OF ARMS, THE EXISTENCE OF AN EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS, AND, ENCOMPASSING ALL THESE, THE REQUIREMENTS OF SURVIVAL.

HAVING JUST ENJOYED THE PRIVILEGE OF ADDRESSING THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT I SHALL NOT TEST SWEDISH HOSPITALITY TOO FAR WITH ANOTHER SPEECH IN SUCH QUICK SUCCESSION. I WOULD ONLY LIKE TO NOTE WITH ADMIRATION THAT SWEDEN HAS SOUGHT WITH EXTRAORDINARY COMMITMENT TO FOCUS WORLD ATTENTION ON THESE GREAT ISSUES AND TO BRING PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH THEM. SWEDEN HAS CONTRIBUTED GENEROUSLY TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND HAS GIVEN IMPORTANT SUPPORT TO THE NEGOTIATIONS NEEDED FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. SWEDISH REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN TIRELESS IN SEARCHING AND PRODDING FOR AGREEMENTS THAT CAN LIMIT AND REDUCE ARMS AND ARMS DEVELOPMENT. SWEDEN NOW IS ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO MAINTAIN PEACE. ITS COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER HAS NEVER BEEN IN DOUBT.

MR. SPEAKER,

MAY I AGAIN EXPRESS MY SINCERE GRATITUDE FOR THE HOSPITALITY OF THIS ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE WHICH YOU HAVE EXTENDED.

IT HAS BEEN A MOST VALUABLE EXPERIENCE TO MEET WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT AND A HIGHLY PLEASANT ONE AS WELL.

I WOULD LIKE NOW TO PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF SPEAKER BENGTTSSON AND TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GREAT PARLIAMENTARY BODY WHICH HE LEADS.

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE GOVERNMENT DINNER IN OSLO
HOSTED BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF NORWAY - 19 APRIL 1983 -

MR. PRIME MINISTER,
EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO YOU, MR. PRIME MINISTER, FOR YOUR REMARKS
AND FOR THE WARM WELCOME WHICH BOTH MY WIFE AND I HAVE RECEIVED HERE.
AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE DEEP AND CLOSE BONDS WHICH EXIST BETWEEN
THE UNITED NATIONS AND NORWAY, IT IS PARTICULARLY GRATIFYING TO ME.

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THESE BONDS ARE AS OLD AS THE WORLD ORGANIZATION ITSELF.
AS A FOUNDER-MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, NORWAY HAS GIVEN CONSISTENT
SUPPORT TO ALL EFFORTS AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE
AND ADVANCING HUMAN WELFARE THROUGHOUT THE GLOBE. HISTORICALLY,
IT WAS MOST APPROPRIATE THAT THE FIRST SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CAME FROM YOUR COUNTRY. TRYGVE LIE WAS AN
ILLUSTRIOUS SERVANT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND I RECALL
THAT IT WAS DURING HIS TENURE THAT A NORDIC PROPOSAL FOR A STAND-BY
UN FORCE TO KEEP THE PEACE WAS FIRST PUT FORWARD.

WHEN SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS LED TO WHAT HAS BEEN A MOST CONSTRUCTIVE INNOVATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- THE MOUNTING OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS -- NORWAY HELPED PROMINENTLY IN MAKING THE IDEA WORK. NORWEGIAN SOLDIERS DONNED BLUE HELMETS IN THE FIRST SUCH OPERATION WHICH WAS LAUNCHED IN THE SINAI. THEY ALSO SERVED IN THE CONGO, IN YEMEN AND ARE SERVING IN KASHMIR. CURRENTLY, NORWAY PROVIDES A LARGE CONTINGENT IN SOUTHERN LEBANON. I WISH ON THIS OCCASION TO PAY A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO THE NORWEGIAN SOLDIERS WHO LOST THEIR LIVES ON DUTY IN THAT SCENE OF TRAGIC CONFLICT. THEIR NAMES ARE IMPERISHABLY INSCRIBED ON THE HONOUR ROLL OF PEACE.

THE LOSS OF THESE AND OTHER SOLDIERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN LEBANON IS A REMINDER TO US OF THE NECESSITY TO STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY BASIS OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD THEM AGAINST A CHALLENGE TO THEIR MANDATE. I HAVE URGED MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO GIVE SERIOUS ATTENTION TO THE MEANS OF DOING SO. I AM MAKING SPECIAL MENTION OF THIS SUGGESTION HERE BECAUSE OF NORWAY'S DIRECT INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION.

MAY I ALSO MAKE A GRATEFUL REFERENCE HERE TO THE VOLUNTARY FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH NORWAY HAS GENEROUSLY MADE TO A NUMBER OF THE PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS INCLUDING ESPECIALLY UNDP AND UNICEF. YOU HAVE GIVEN VALUED ASSISTANCE TO THE PROGRAMMES FOR NAMIBIA. A TOKEN OF THE WORLD'S APPRECIATION OF YOUR ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE EFFORT TO ALLEVIATE THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES WAS THE AWARD OF THE NANSSEN MEDAL FOR OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS SONJA.

MR. PRIME MINISTER,

WE ALL SHARE A PROFOUND CONCERN OVER THE PRESENT STATE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE INABILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO FULFIL THE PRIMARY PURPOSE FOR WHICH IT WAS ESTABLISHED -- THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE. I BELIEVE THAT THE WORLD STANDS IN UNPRECEDENTED PERIL AT THE VERY TIME WHEN IT DISPOSES OF BETTER MEANS THAN IT EVER DID BEFORE OF SOLVING HUMANITY'S MAJOR PROBLEMS. I HAVE MADE SOME SUGGESTIONS TO MEMBER STATES AS TO HOW THE MACHINERY OF THE ORGANIZATION, BOTH FOR PREVENTING AND FOR RESOLVING CONFLICTS, COULD BE STRENGTHENED.

I WAS GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY NORWAY'S RESPONSE, EXPRESSED AT THE LAST SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN INVESTIGATING WAYS AND MEANS OF RECONSTRUCTING THE CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR PEACE AND SECURITY. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE PROPOSALS WHICH NORWAY, ALONG WITH ITS NORDIC PARTNERS, MAY WISH TO MAKE IN THIS CONTEXT. THE POLITICAL GENIUS OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES AND ITS ABILITY TO GIVE PRIMACY TO HUMANITY'S COMMON INTEREST OVER NARROWER AND SHORT-TERM AIMS CAN BE A GREAT SOURCE OF STRENGTH IN THE ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE THE AUTHORITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

NORWAY HAS GIVEN AMPLE EVIDENCE OF ITS RECOGNITION THAT LASTING PEACE REQUIRES INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE INTEREST OF ECONOMIC EQUITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE AROUND THE WORLD. YOUR SUPPORT FOR GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS TO REFORM INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, THE IMPORTANCE WHICH NORWAY TRADITIONALLY ATTACHES TO THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE STRENGTH OF POPULAR SENTIMENT IN YOUR COUNTRY FOR ENDING APARTHEID, THE HUMANITARIAN AND POLITICAL AID THAT YOU HAVE EXTENDED TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE CONCERN YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED OVER THE REFUGEE SITUATIONS IN MANY AREAS OF THE WORLD -- ALL THESE ARE INDICATIVE OF A MOST ENLIGHTENED PERCEPTION OF WORLD AFFAIRS.

MAY I HERE ALSO MENTION NORWAY'S HIGHLY IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS THE PROFOUND APPRECIATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR ALL THAT NORWAY HAS DONE TO FURTHER ITS AIMS.

MR. PRIME MINISTER,

NORWEGIANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AN ADVENTURESOME, SEAFARING PEOPLE. THE NORWEGIAN VIKINGS WERE BRAVE IN VOYAGE AND BRAVE IN BATTLE, VENTURING BEYOND THE KNOWN BORDER OF CIVILIZATION. HISTORY, OF COURSE, HAS CHANGED THE CHARACTER OF HUMAN EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY. BUT THE POSSIBILITIES AND PROSPECTS THAT NEED TO BE EXPLORED NOW ARE EVEN MORE EXCITING.

SUPREME AMONG THEM IS THAT OF STABLE PEACE WITH JUSTICE AND ORDERLY PROGRESS. CONSIDERING THE LONG NORSE TRADITION OF SEEKING NEW HORIZONS OF PROMISE FOR HUMANITY, NORWAY, I AM SURE, WILL REMAIN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THIS SEARCH.

EXCELLENCIES,

I WOULD NOW ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF HIS EXCELLENCY KARE WILLOCH, THE PRIME MINISTER OF NORWAY, AND MADAME WILLOCH AND TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY.

REMARKS AT THE FESTIVE MEETING AT FESTIVE HALL ARRANGED BY THE
UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF NORWAY - 20 APRIL 1983

MR. CHAIRMAN,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I AM GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR INVITING ME AND MY WIFE TO THIS MEETING. THE ATMOSPHERE IN THIS HALL IS HEART-WARMING. I CAN SEE IT IMBUED WITH FAITH IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND A SPIRIT OF SUPPORT FOR ITS CAUSE.

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LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET THAT I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT YOUR COUNTRY, WHOSE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS I HAVE ALWAYS GREATLY ADMIRERD. IT IS PERHAPS INSIDIOUS TO SINGLE OUT ONE NAME AMONG SO MANY, BUT ONE NORWEGIAN TO WHOSE WORKS I HAVE LONG BEEN DEVOTED IS IBSEN. THIS IS HARDLY "THE HALL OF THE MOUNTAIN KING", BUT MY THOUGHTS TURN TONIGHT TO PEER GYNT, WHERE THE GENIUS OF IBSEN AND GRIEG WAS SO SUCCESSFULLY COMBINED.

ANOTHER REASON FOR MY PLEASURE AT BEING HERE IS THAT NORWAY IS A COUNTRY WITH A DEEP AND DEMONSTRATED COMMITMENT TO THE MISSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS IS THE MISSION OF PREVENTING AND RESOLVING CONFLICTS, OF ENSURING JUSTICE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES, OF PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF PROMOTING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS ALL AROUND THE GLOBE. IN OTHER WORDS, IT IS THE MISSION OF PROMOTING STABLE PEACE IN ITS TOTALITY.

MY FRIENDS, AS SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, I AM NOT KNOWN AS ONE WHO ENCOURAGES WISHFUL THINKING OR COMPLACENCY. I DO NOT SEEK TO PURVEY FALSE COMFORTS ABOUT THE CURRENT STATE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. I DO NOT ASK THE SUPPORTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- LIKE ALL OF YOU HERE -- TO DWELL ONLY ON ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND MAKE LIGHT OF ITS FAILURES AND SHORTCOMINGS. WE HAVE GREAT REASON TO BE DISTURBED THAT PROBLEMS SHOULD REMAIN UNSOLVED EVEN THOUGH, GIVEN RATIONALITY AND GOODWILL, THEY ARE AMENABLE TO SOLUTIONS. UNLESS MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLVE TO MAKE USE OF THE MACHINERY OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE SPIRIT AND PURPOSE OF ITS CHARTER, THE WORLD WILL BE FACED WITH MOUNTING AND INCALCULABLE DANGER. I HAVE SAID THIS TIME AND AGAIN.

BUT I SEE NO REASON FOR US TO BE PESSIMISTIC AND DOWNHEARTED. WHILE WE HAVE MUCH TO WORRY ABOUT, WE HAVE ALSO A GREAT DEAL TO BE THANKFUL FOR. LET US RECALL THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ESTABLISHED: THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE RAVAGED BY WAR, VAST PARTS OF ASIA AND AFRICA STILL IN COLONIAL BONDAGE, THE SENSE OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY VIRTUALLY ABSENT, THE IDEAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND RACIAL EQUALITY EXISTING ONLY IN AN EMBRYONIC FORM. IF WE THEN COMPARE THEM WITH THE SITUATION TODAY, WE WILL REALIZE THAT WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY, THROUGH MANY DIFFICULTIES AND DARK HOURS. WE HAVE WITNESSED A TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORLD ORDER UNLIKE ANY THAT OCCURRED IN HISTORY BEFORE. THE TRANSITION COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITHOUT PRESENTING NEW PROBLEMS. EACH OF THESE PROBLEMS IS A CHALLENGE. NONE OF THEM SHOULD BE A CAUSE FOR DISPAIR.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, WE NOW HAVE A WORLD COMMUNITY. IT IS BESET WITH DIFFERENCES AND DIVISIONS NO DOUBT BUT IT IS A COMMUNITY NONETHELESS. THIS IS APPARENT FROM THE SIZE OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS WELL AS THE RANGE OF ITS CONCERNS. THE OBJECTIVES WE HAVE IDENTIFIED FOR THE HUMAN SOCIETY TO PURSUE NOW EMBRACE ALL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE. THEY ARE FAR WIDER THAN THEY EVER WERE IN THE PAST. TO CONSIDER WHAT ALL THIS MEANS IS TO RECOGNIZE THAT WE ARE PARTICIPATING IN WHAT MAY PROVE A GIANT LEAP FORWARD IN THE GROWTH OF A GLOBAL CIVILIZATION. LET US JOIN IN THANKSGIVING ON THIS ACCOUNT.

MAY I NOW HAND BACK THIS MEETING TO ITS ORGANISERS
AND THE FESTIVE PROGRAMME THEY HAVE ARRANGED FOR IT.
I THANK YOU.

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE OPENING MEETING
OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE
OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE FOR INDEPENDENCE - PARIS, 25 APRIL 1983

EXCELLENCIES,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I SHOULD LIKE TO EXTEND A WARM WELCOME TO ALL PARTICIPANTS ASSEMBLED HERE TODAY FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. THIS CONFERENCE HAS BEEN CONVENED IN ACCORDANCE WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 37/233 OF 20 DECEMBER 1982, WHICH REQUESTED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO ORGANIZE IT IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND IN CONSULTATION WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA IS ONE OF THE FOREMOST CONCERNS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INDEED OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. IT IS A PROBLEM OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND IT CONSTITUTES A VERY SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. OVER A SPAN OF ALMOST FOUR DECADES THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAVE STEADFASTLY SUPPORTED THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN A FREE AND UNITED NAMIBIA. THESE EFFORTS, AS YOU ARE AWARE, CULMINATED IN THE ADOPTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435(1978) TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, SUPPORTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS, TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE, WITHOUT ANY CONSTRAINT OR CUMPUSSION FROM ANY QUARTER.

FOUR YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS, HOWEVER, HAVE UNFORTUNATELY NOT YET BROUGHT US TO THE STAGE OF ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTING THE UNITED NATIONS PLAN. IN THE INTERVENING PERIOD WE HAVE WITNESSED AN ALARMING INCREASE IN VIOLENCE, RESULTING IN MUCH SUFFERING AND LOSS OF LIFE.

IN THE PAST YEAR IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE FOR THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS TO RESOLVE SEVERAL OUTSTANDING ISSUES RELATING TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 435. SEVERAL MATTERS CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OPERATIONAL ASPECTS OF UNTAG HAVE BEEN SETTLED. AGREEMENT HAS ALSO BEEN REACHED ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE NAMIBIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER, SETBACKS HAVE ALSO OCCURRED WITH THE EMERGENCE OF MATTERS WHICH WERE CERTAINLY NOT ENVISAGED AT THE TIME THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED. THIS MAKES IT ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE FOR US TO PERSEVERE WITH OUR ENDEAVOURS UNTIL A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION IS REACHED. I AM CONFIDENT THAT, GIVEN GOOD FAITH AND THE NECESSARY POLITICAL WILL ON THE PART OF ALL CONCERNED, IT SHOULD NOW BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE TERMS OF RESOLUTION 435. THAT SETTLEMENT MUST BE ACHIEVED SOON, IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE AREA, AS WELL AS ALL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA.

I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE DELAYS IN REACHING A FINAL AGREEMENT. ONE OF THE MOST DEPLORABLE FEATURES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION RELATING TO SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE IS THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE POLICY OF DESTABILIZATION OF AFRICAN STATES, RESULTING IN ACTS AIMED AT DISLOCATING THEIR ECONOMIES, DAMAGING THEIR PUBLIC INSTALLATIONS AND DISRUPTING THEIR NATIONAL PURSUITS. THIS IS A MOST SERIOUS DEVELOPMENT AS IT CAN CAUSE INCALCULABLE HARM TO THE ECONOMIES AND PEACE OF THE REGION. INTERNATIONAL OPINION DEMANDS THAT SUCH HOSTILE ACTS MUST CEASE IMMEDIATELY.

EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THE BROAD PARTICIPATION IN THIS CONFERENCE, EMBRACING REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENTS AND INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING TRADE UNIONS AND LEADERS OF PUBLIC OPINION, IS INDICATIVE OF A MOUNTING CONCERN AND WIDESPREAD INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION. THIS CONFERENCE WILL NO DOUBT EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA IN VIEW OF ITS MANIFOLD REPERCUSSIONS ON THE CRISIS SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE PURPOSE IS TO MOBILIZE THE SUPPORT OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION FOR CONCERTED ACTION TO IMPLEMENT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435, WHICH PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION.

IN FEBRUARY I VISITED ALL THE FRONT-LINE STATES IN AFRICA TO HOLD IN-DEPTH DISCUSSIONS ON THIS QUESTION WITH THE AFRICAN LEADERS CONCERNED AND TO LEARN AT FIRST HAND THE PROBLEMS OF THE REGION. THE DISCUSSIONS ALSO COVERED THE OMINOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICY OF DESTABILIZATION WHICH I MENTIONED A MOMENT AGO. MY VISIT AND CONVERSATIONS HAVE MADE ME EVEN MORE CONVINCED THAT THE CURRENT DELAY IN RESOLVING THIS PROBLEM HAS A DESTRUCTIVE IMPACT, NOT ONLY ON THE SITUATION OF NAMIBIA ITSELF, BUT ALSO ON THE PROSPECT OF A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR THE REGION AS A WHOLE. IT IS ALSO AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON A WIDER SCALE.

IN ADDITION TO OUR ENDEAVOURS IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, THE UNITED NATIONS, AS PART OF ITS COMMITMENT TO NAMIBIA, MUST CONTINUE AND INDEED STRENGTHEN PROGRAMMES OF ASSISTANCE WHICH CAN ENHANCE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT TERRITORY. ENCOURAGING PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN ESTABLISHING VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR NAMIBIAN REFUGEES AND OTHERS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND BEYOND. THE UNITED NATIONS NATIONHOOD PROGRAMME WILL ENSURE THAT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS WILL BE AVAILABLE WHEN THE TERRITORY ACHIEVES ITS INDEPENDENCE.

I WOULD LIKE TO APPEAL TO ALL MEMBER STATES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO CONTRIBUTE GENEROUSLY TO THESE PROGRAMMES. IN THIS CONNEXION, I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO CONGRATULATE AMBASSADOR PAUL LUSAKA, THE PRESIDENT, AS WELL AS THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA, FOR THEIR UNTIRING EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT NAMIBIA WILL ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE. BUT THERE IS NO CAUSE FOR RELAXING OUR EFFORTS. TOGETHER WE MUST CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR AN END TO THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE BITTERNESS AND CONFLICT WHICH IT INEVITABLY ENGENDERS. I AM HOPEFUL THAT THIS CONFERENCE WILL MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE UNITED NATIONS EFFORT TO FACILITATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435. FOR MY PART, AS SECRETARY-GENERAL, I SHOULD LIKE TO ASSURE ALL PARTICIPANTS THAT I SHALL CONTINUE MY ENDEAVOURS WITH ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED WITH A VIEW TO EXPEDITING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS PLAN.

TO THIS END, I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO RECEIVING THE CONCLUSIONS OF THIS CONFERENCE. I WISH YOU ALL SUCCESS IN YOUR DELIBERATIONS.

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