



Monday, 11 October 1982,  
at 10.55 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. NOGUÉS (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Paraguay I should like to congratulate Mr. Hollai on his election to conduct the proceedings of the General Assembly, an honour that has been conferred upon him because of his personal integrity and his well-recognized diplomatic experience.

2. We extend to the Secretary-General our best wishes for success in the important work before him. We do so not only because of the esteem in which we hold him but also because as South Americans we feel gratified at his election. We are pleased to see that every day he gives clear proof of his skills and his unquestionable dedication to his work, as evidenced by his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], a report that concisely sets forth many creative suggestions at a time when, though there has been hesitant progress, efforts are being made to achieve survival in peace and dignity.

3. My delegation fully shares the deep anxiety of the Secretary-General, who has urgently appealed to us for common sense and effective action. We note his hopes and offer him Paraguay's co-operation in his noble efforts to implement the Organization's mandate under the Charter to avoid the untold sorrow that results from war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and to establish conditions conducive to the general progress of all our peoples in a universal atmosphere of coexistence based on mutual respect, justice and freedom.

4. Perhaps more than any other year in the life of the Organization, the past year has been characterized by continued violence in different parts of the world. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, we are apt to forget with suicidal single-mindedness "the six years of global agony and destruction" that preceded the San Francisco Conference, and it is true that thus far we have not learned to operate sensibly the system of collective security that is the only instrument available to us to preserve our generation and succeeding generations from total disaster. We are haunted by fear—justified and healthy fear—that alerts us and prompts us to understand the dangers that stalk us.

5. With all the defects inherent in human endeavour, the Charter remains the only valid instrument for the finding of solutions which, though provisional, can defuse the critical situation that confronts us.

6. The different conferences on disarmament that have taken place since the days of the frustrated League of Nations have not thus far offered the hope of a promising course of action. The so-called major Powers and those that try to be major Powers bear the tremendous responsibility of giving the world an example of wisdom and of real and effective respect for life, the most important human right.

7. Statements on the principle of the sovereign equality of States are meaningless if the destiny of mankind is linked to the interests of those who wield atomic power, with all its horrors. Equally meaningless are the intentions of promoting the overall well-being of peoples if vast sums are earmarked to annihilate them, in a vicious circle of dissuasion which can last only so long. Moreover, the terrorism which is exercised in the internal sphere and exported equally criminally beyond their own borders by some Governments is an eloquent expression of a state of madness which can be compared only to the threat of an atomic holocaust.

8. In spite of the inexplicable difficulties involved in the consideration of this topic in the Sixth Committee, my delegation would ask that the study of draft international instruments aimed at removing the apocalyptic scourge of terrorism, such as, for example, the draft Code of Offences Against the Peace and Security of Mankind and a draft international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries be accelerated. Those and other legal instruments with binding force at the international level should, together with The Hague,<sup>1</sup> Montreal<sup>2</sup> and Tokyo Conventions,<sup>3</sup> which my country has already signed, provide a body of provisions which can counteract that type of crime.

9. Paraguay has heroic experience of wars. My country has itself suffered not only the incalculable loss of life of its sons and daughters in devastating numbers but also the hardships of foreign military occupation and the mutilation of its territorial heritage. Thus we repudiate and forcefully condemn the Soviet Union's subjugation of the sovereignty of Afghanistan, a country which is steadfastly struggling to defend its independence; we repudiate with equal force Viet Nam's intervention in Kampuchea; and we cannot fail to condemn the brutal genocide carried out against defenceless communities in Lebanon. All these and similar events of transitory notoriety seem to have the incredible purpose of lulling our consciences and anaesthetizing our sensitivities.

10. Faced with this negative picture, which causes pessimism, my country welcomes the certain positive signs of understanding which have emerged in the international political sphere. We express the fervent hope for success in the efforts made by the Republic of Korea to bring about the unification of the peninsula through direct negotiations with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and we trust that, under the competent guidance of the Secretary-General, the efforts which began in 1979 will continue.

11. Paraguay has for more than a quarter of a century now enjoyed a climate of political, social and economic stability based on a system of sound democracy, administered with constant dedication to the higher interests of the Republic. In spite of the serious general deterioration which has dangerously affected the economic and financial situation of the world, my country maintains the conditions which make it possible for us to benefit from one of the highest growth rates on the continent, a very sound external public indebtedness record, a balanced administrative budget and a very low level of unemployment which is not in any way a social problem. None the less we are fully aware of the need and the obligation of the developing countries to remedy, through common action, the unacceptable shortcomings of an economic structure which affects the prices of our commodities, stimulates disorder in the monetary system and stultifies international trade.

12. We have faith in the creative capacity of our nation. As far as we Paraguayans are concerned, President Stroessner stated, at the beginning of his outstanding work of leadership that "the people is the source of the spirit that has made Paraguay's Homeric record possible in the history of the nations of the world. The people is the substance that nourishes us, that gives us strength to reach the summit without fail and to raise our flag as a lofty, lasting symbol of our national grandeur".

13. My Government, together with those of other nations of the Americas, signed a request for the inclusion in the agenda for debate at the present session of the General Assembly of an item on the question of the Malvinas Islands. In doing so, Paraguay was merely endorsing the attitude it had already adopted at the two special sessions of the Assembly of the Organization of American States in May and June of this year in order to consider the armed conflict which broke out in the South Atlantic. Aware of the extreme seriousness of the military confrontation, which was then approaching our continent, my country joined in the united action of the nations of the Americas to try to avoid the crisis, even though the situation resulting from the events that had taken place and from the ongoing negotiations aimed at reaching agreement, did not offer much hope of a negotiated solution.

14. Now, in the same spirit of friendship towards the parties to the armed conflict over the Malvinas and with the same sense of responsibility regarding our duties towards the international community, the delegation of Paraguay is sponsoring, together with other nations of the Americas, a draft resolution to be submitted at this session of the General Assembly, with a view to achieving a just and honourable solution to the conflict between Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

15. It is our fervent hope that the disputes over territorial delimitations between Argentina and Chile, Ecuador and Peru and Guyana and Venezuela will be resolved in a dignified and intelligent way.

16. Throughout the difficult process of institutional consolidation, the nations of the Americas without exception found it difficult to delimit their respective territories. These difficulties stemmed mainly from the confusing administrative legacy received from the Spanish Crown in the political sphere in which the colonial Power exercised its authority. This is, *inter alia*, the reason for the armed conflicts that have taken place among nations in our continent to resolve their disputes. Paraguay, for example, has throughout its history as a colonial political entity seen the shrinking of a territory which originally included what is now the vast region of the Río de la Plata in addition to a strip of land 200 leagues in extent on the Pacific Ocean. Hence, in the sixteenth century my homeland was called the "Vast Province of the Indies" and the ocean adjacent to the present coast of Uruguay and Argentina was in the seventeenth century called the Paraguayan Sea.

17. I mention this merely to recall that the process of delimiting our American republics has in every case been the result of an accumulation of circumstances, fortunate or otherwise, which, in the final analysis, have been accepted as the rule of history. In the light of this, it is difficult for us to imagine that a breakdown in diplomatic negotiations aimed at resolving territorial conflicts between our countries should give way to the theory of Clausewitz and that there should be recourse to armed force.

18. My delegation expresses the very fervent hope that the aforementioned territorial disputes will be resolved in a strong Americanist spirit, which would do honour to the sincere and irreversible desire to build together an effective system guaranteeing the future and the well-being of our peoples.

19. Since I have just recalled the process of delimiting the borders of our American countries, it is relevant to point out that Paraguay has been reduced to a land-locked country and in this respect has every right to lay a claim to the legitimate means provided by the international community to countries that are deprived of a coastline. There are agreements between my country and neighbouring countries aimed at facilitating river and road transportation for access to the sea. At the present time, the Government of Paraguay is considering, on the basis of an already developed project, the construction of the facilities needed to join its national railway to that of Brazil, making available to us another important channel of access to the ocean.

20. Precisely because it is a land-locked country, Paraguay has expressed its great interest in overcoming the limitations that stem from that condition. Thus, my country participated actively in the various conferences on the law of the sea held since 1958 and in the drafting of the United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea,<sup>4</sup> which will be open to signature countries in Jamaica next December. I should like to affirm my country's interest in obtaining through that Convention all the facilities for land-locked countries provided for therein.



21. In addition, situated as it is by geography in the Plata basin, my country is conducting a policy of genuine regional integration in order to exploit fully the natural resources that we share with Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Uruguay. I am pleased to announce to the Assembly that, because of this, on 5 November 1982, at the border of our countries, the President of Paraguay, General Alfredo Stroessner and the President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, General João Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo, will meet for the formal development of the Itaipu hydroelectric plant, the largest hydroelectric complex in the world, which will have an installed capacity of 12,600 megawatts and will produce approximately 75 billion kilowatt-hours a year.

22. I wished to conclude my statement with an affirmation of what peoples can do when they are inspired by genuine co-operation and understanding. President Stroessner has said:

“Peace is the basis of all that makes it possible for us to progress with a calm vision of the future; this is reason enough to defend it from those who make of war an instrument of domination and of democracy a pretext for extinguishing freedom”.

For the sister nations of America and all the nations of our world we hope for days of constructive peace. We hope that the pain that has affected the fraternal countries of our continent will come to an end. We hope that the Americas will be a powerful and respected force in the international sphere, with a sense of life that does honour to the ideal of independence and freedom, a flame kindled by José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia and Francisco Solano López, Bolívar, Martí, Juárez, José Bonifacio, San Martín and so many other eminent individuals who gave our nations a lasting example of human dignity.

23. Mr. PICHU OWINY (Uganda): The people of Uganda have placed their hopes for world peace and security in this Organization which was founded 37 years ago after the most disastrous war this planet has ever known. The collective determination which the peoples of the United Nations expressed in 1945 to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war must remain the fundamental objective of the Organization.

24. I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Uganda, to extend to the President our warm congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His wide diplomatic experience and his extensive knowledge of the United Nations uniquely qualify him to discharge the onerous responsibilities we have entrusted to him. Our satisfaction at his election is all the greater because he hails from Hungary, a country with which Uganda enjoys very cordial relations. I take this opportunity to pay a most well-deserved tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Ismat Kittani, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq. Mr. Kittani presided over the various sessions held by the General Assembly during his term of office with exceptional skill, devotion and competence. We wish him well in all his future endeavours. I also wish, on this occasion, to pay a very warm tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, who has worked hard, since his election to that high office, with much courage and

rare commitment, to restore and enhance the effectiveness of the Organization.

25. We are meeting here at a time when the question of Namibia is uppermost in our minds. We are asking more urgently than ever: when is Namibia going to be free? For how long will the present manoeuvres continue to postpone the day of independence for the people of Namibia?

26. There is no need any more to recount the number of occasions on the long journey towards Namibian independence when our hopes have been elevated only to have been crushed at every critical turn on the road. In the course of the last three months we have been treated to well-publicized reports about substantial progress towards a negotiated settlement. Today, however hard we focus our gaze on the distant prospects, we cannot see any real or concrete manifestations of a settlement. Instead we are witnessing the injection of extraneous and irrelevant elements into the negotiations.

27. We see no justification for any linkage between Namibian independence and the presence of Cuban military personnel in Angola. The former is a clear-cut colonial issue and has been treated as such by the United Nations and by the entire international community. The latter, on the other hand, is a bilateral arrangement, which is by no means unique, between two independent, sovereign States. In any case, how can anyone forget that the presence of Cuban military personnel in Angola was occasioned in the first instance by South African aggression against Angola.

28. Moreover, these acts of aggression have continued unabated to this very day. Even as we deliberate here today, South African troops continue to occupy the southern region of Angola. We challenge anyone to cite even a single instance of Angolan incursion into South Africa, with or without Cuban military personnel.

29. Those who are touting the so-called linkage are attempting to rewrite history. In spite of the obvious facts to the contrary they are seeking to create a make-believe world, a world in which the aggressor appears as the victim and the real victim is projected as a threat to the aggressor. This so-called linkage is a very suspicious scheme indeed, one which we find inadmissible and unacceptable. We want to state once again that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) continues to be the only basis for a negotiated settlement for Namibian independence.

30. I wish to stress, moreover, the special political and moral responsibility which the five Western States bear in this matter. We urge them to admit that responsibility and to bring to an immediate end South Africa's intransigence and procrastination.

31. We salute the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], their sole and authentic representative, for the heroic struggle they continue to wage against the occupying Power, as well as for the exemplary statesmanship they have demonstrated throughout the process of negotiations.

32. In South Africa itself the situation has continued to deteriorate dramatically. The racist minority régime continues its oppression of the majority of the people

with impunity. Freedom fighters have been given death sentences by the *apartheid* courts. Trade union movements are being subjected to the most repressive laws. Opponents of *apartheid* have been assassinated in detention centres and in neighbouring countries. Helpless women and children have been forcibly evacuated from their urban settlements and dumped like waste into remote and unproductive reserves.

33. In a vain attempt to consolidate further the *apartheid* system and divide the ranks of the oppressed, the Pretoria régime has tried to co-opt some sectors of the oppressed communities into the segregated power structure, while that power structure continues to exclude the vast majority of the people from any exercise of political or economic power. This transparent ploy of divide and rule, like the other ploys before it, is bound to fail.

34. In addition to supporting the internal resistance which is gaining momentum every day, the international community must spare no effort to isolate the racist minority régime. We condemn those countries that continue to strengthen the system of *apartheid* through their collaboration in the economic, military and nuclear fields.

35. In this regard, we want to see the full and effective implementation of Security Council resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo against the minority racist régime. We urge the Security Council to act with speed to block the existing loopholes in the arms embargo régime.

36. We take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the front-line States for their relentless commitment to the cause of freedom and justice in southern Africa. We also reaffirm our solidarity with the liberation movements of South Africa in their just struggle to free their homeland from the grip of oppression. In particular, we salute the African National Congress [ANC] for its significant contribution in this regard.

37. We also take this opportunity to reaffirm our support for the just struggle of the Sahraoui people under the leadership of POLISARIO.

38. In the Middle East the peoples of the region are today living through a terrible nightmare, a nightmare which started with the massive and unprovoked Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June this year. Employing some of the most inhuman methods of mass destruction, such as cluster and phosphorous bombs, Israeli troops massacred thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians, the vast majority of whom were innocent and defenceless civilians. Most recently we were deeply shocked by the massacre of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps in west Beirut.

39. Israel's aggressive conduct can be explained only in the context of its long-standing designs on Lebanon, namely the dismemberment of Lebanon and the control of the Litani River. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly.

40. Uganda continues to maintain that the core of the Middle East conflict is the question of Palestine. The Middle East cannot know any peace until the Palestinian people fully realize their right to self-determination and nationhood. The sooner Israel

accepts this reality, the better for it and for all the communities of the region.

41. An American writer, I. F. Stone, expressed very well a universal concern in an article which appeared in *The New York Times* of 19 July 1982 under the title "When Tel Aviv Was 'West Beirut'", when he stated:

"Can we Jews not recognize the image in our own mirrors? Can we not respond to a kindred people being made homeless once again, first in Palestine, now in Lebanon?"

"If a Jewish State in Palestine, why not a Palestinian State, too? Who better than we should understand Palestinian desperation and homelessness?"

42. It is in recognition of this fact that Uganda reiterates its unflinching support for the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], their sole and legitimate representative. It is for the same reason that we welcome and support the proposals adopted at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez last month [see A/37/696]. In our view, those proposals are in full conformity with the various resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on the situation in the Middle East.

43. On the question of Korea, Uganda has always supported the desire of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. We have always maintained that the division of Korea is an injustice committed against the Korean people through the mechanism of foreign intervention. That injustice must be remedied through an early and peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula, free from external interference. While we applaud the positive beginning ushered in by the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972,<sup>5</sup> we especially welcome the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea towards the peaceful reunification of Korea.

44. The tragic war between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq continues to be a matter of grave concern to us. In our view, the continuation of that conflict is clearly not in the interests of either the Iranian or the Iraqi people. We appeal once again to the parties in conflict to abandon the path of war and settle their differences by peaceful means.

45. Uganda remains concerned about the unhappy situations in Cyprus, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, all of which call for negotiated political solutions. The peoples of those countries must be allowed to determine their own destinies, free from any outside interference.

46. We live in an era in which advances in science and technology have placed in our hands arsenals capable of destroying the world 50 times over. Even more ominous is the fact that we live in an era in which the nations that possess those deadly weapons of destruction are showing an increasing willingness to use them to wage limited and winnable nuclear wars. Such talk, needless to say, is cause for grave concern to all peace-loving countries and peoples.

47. Our concern has been heightened by the failure of the Assembly at the second special session on disarmament to adopt concrete measures to eliminate the dangers of war, halt and reverse the arms race and adopt a comprehensive programme for disarmament.



mament. The peoples of the world had placed high hopes on the outcome of the session. The mammoth rally held here in New York at the time of the session, as well as peace demonstrations all over the world in favour of disarmament, were a clear message of international public indignation at the unbridled arms race and in favour of peace. The failure to adopt concrete measures for effective disarmament negotiations was therefore a deep disappointment to all peace-loving peoples the world over. Those who contributed to that dismal outcome to the session must take full responsibility for the consequences that may follow.

48. We believe that the deadlock in disarmament negotiations has and will continue to have negative effects on other areas of international co-operation. It is therefore of the utmost importance that this session of the General Assembly find ways and means of breaking the deadlock. In this regard, we urge the big Powers to exercise restraint and flexibility and to show the necessary political will so as to further the cause of peace.

49. We are meeting in the aftermath of the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, held at Vienna, 9 to 21 August, the report of which is before the Assembly.<sup>6</sup> The potential of outer space represents a valuable common heritage for mankind. Outer space offers yet another unique opportunity for mankind to explore new frontiers with a common purpose and for mutual benefit. In the view of my delegation, the exploration and exploitation of outer space should proceed on the basis of a co-operative effort determined by an international set of binding principles and rules.

50. The pursuit of co-operative objectives and common benefits precludes the promotion of contradictory interests. It is for this reason that my delegation is strongly opposed to the militarization of outer space. We urge strict adherence to the 1966 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies [*resolution 2222 (XXI), annex*].

51. On the economic front, the situation is equally grave. The global economic crisis, which is characterized *inter alia* by recession, rampant inflation, high interest rates and protectionism in the developed countries on the one hand and a serious deterioration in the terms of trade and increasing external indebtedness of the developing countries, on the other hand, has reached alarming dimensions. The situation has been compounded by the deadlock in international economic negotiations, the arms race and a drastic decline in the transfer of real resources to the developing countries. All those factors have combined to affect adversely the world economy in general and the development of the developing countries in particular.

52. There has, in addition, been a sharp decline in the spirit of interdependence and in international co-operation aimed at finding constructive solutions to present problems. The emphasis which is increasingly being given to bilateral arrangements by some developed countries at the expense of multilateral co-operation has gravely affected the operation of multilateral

agencies and programmes such as UNDP, and the economies of the developing countries.

53. Under these circumstances, the launching of global negotiations remains one of the most important items on the agenda of the General Assembly. The hopes the international community has placed in the General Assembly to ensure that the process of correcting the structural imbalances in the present world economy is embarked upon without any further delay must be realized. As we have previously stated, our frustration has been increased by the glaring lack of progress in implementing the decisions unanimously adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, at which a solemn commitment to work for the establishment of the new international economic order was made by all of us. It was therefore with a deep sense of disappointment that we witnessed the failure at the thirty-sixth session to break the impasse in the launching of global negotiations.

54. In this regard Uganda is of the view that General Assembly resolution 34/138 of 14 December 1979, which was accepted by the international community as a whole, is the appropriate basis for launching the global negotiations. We appeal to those countries that are stalling to join the consensus on the need for an early launching of those negotiations. The present economic problems must not prevent us from charting a more stable and reliable path to meaningful international economic co-operation for development.

55. If the global round of negotiations is not launched soon, we fear that there will continue to be increasing difficulties in other forthcoming negotiations such as those at the sixth session of UNCTAD and the fourth session of UNIDO. Indeed, the success or failure of the thirty-seventh session will be judged by whether or not we can generate adequate political will to bring about a breakthrough for the launching of global negotiations.

56. As one of the least developed countries, Uganda attaches great importance to the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries adopted in Paris last year<sup>7</sup> for the purpose of arresting the economic deterioration of the least developed countries. We believe that its speedy and successful implementation requires a deeper sense of commitment to substantial resource focus on the least developed countries, especially on the part of the developed countries, international financial institutions and United Nations agencies.

57. We are very concerned that no agreement has so far been reached on the twin critical issues of specific additional and adequate financial targets for new and renewable sources of energy and the establishment of an energy affiliate of the World Bank. We hope, however, that the consultative mechanism contained in the Rome compromise for the mobilization of finance and the transfer of technology to the developing countries will receive the necessary international support.

58. We have for a long time accepted that international measures of assistance are only supportive and cannot—indeed, should not—be a substitute for efforts by the developing countries themselves. In this regard we commend the efforts of the developing

countries to implement the Caracas Programme of Action.<sup>8</sup> The seriousness with which a number of Group of 77 sectoral meetings with regard to the implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action have been undertaken is evidence that the spirit of Caracas continues to grow.

59. Uganda remains committed to the strengthening of economic co-operation among developing countries as an essential component of the new international economic order and as an effective means of enhancing the collective self-reliance of the developing countries. In Africa we are trying to foster economic co-operation under the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa.<sup>9</sup> The international community should assist Africa in its efforts to implement the Lagos Plan of Action, which we hope will in time secure the economic integration of the continent.

60. The year 1982 has been characterized by an increase in armed conflicts, escalation of the arms race, the persistence of potentially explosive territorial disputes, lingering colonialism and foreign interference and intervention. Unbridled big-Power rivalry and the quest for spheres of dominance have continued to fuel the hotbeds of world tension. This increasing world tension has had a very negative impact on the work of the United Nations.

61. It is against this background that we salute and commend the Secretary-General for his bold and refreshing report on the work of the Organization. As a member of the Security Council, Uganda is familiar with the trend that has led to the steady erosion of the Security Council's authority and effectiveness. My delegation is of the view that the Secretary-General's report deserves formal consideration by both the Security Council and the General Assembly, in order to work out concrete measures to improve the effectiveness of the United Nations.

62. Uganda celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its independence last Saturday, 9 October 1982. In two weeks' time it will be 20 years since Uganda was admitted as the one hundred and tenth Member of the United Nations. On this memorable occasion I should like to recall what the President of the Republic of Uganda A. Milton Obote, said from this rostrum at the seventeenth session 20 years ago with regard to the international situation:

"I am very conscious that Uganda joins the Organization at a time when humanity is at the crossroads of destiny, when great nations are re-arming with the most devastating weapons ever known, when the world Organization and the world at large are ridden with ideological conflicts and the continuing effects of the cold war, and when vast resources that should be used for the alleviation of human misery are being channelled into nuclear armaments.

"Today the world seems dark, but these darkening scenes, we, as a new Member, pray, should not discourage us in the ability of the Member nations present here to realize the shortcomings of this Organization and to pledge their faith in its ability as the only positive hope for the restoration of sanity

and peace among the nations of the world."  
[1158th meeting, paras. 95 and 96.]

63. Those remarks remain very pertinent today, indeed more so than in 1962. As we enter the third decade of our independence, I wish to reaffirm, on behalf of the Government and people of Uganda, our full commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our faith in the ability of the Organization to develop the capacity to save present and future generations from the scourge of war.

64. Mr. NAARENDORP (Suriname): It gives me great pleasure to add the voice of the delegation of Suriname to the voices of many others that have congratulated Mr. Hollai on his unanimous election to preside over our deliberations at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His knowledge and experience will surely prove to be important assets for the success of this session, especially at a time when international institutions like the United Nations face a serious crisis. May I also take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my delegation to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the skilful leadership with which he guided the proceedings of the Assembly at the sessions held during his tenure of office. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, a great son of the courageous Peruvian people, on his election to that high post. My country sees in him a true representative and protagonist of Latin American and Caribbean unity. In view of the fact that Latin America and the Caribbean region have developed a tradition of peace for more than a hundred years, we trust that his election at this difficult juncture in history will contribute towards international peace and progress.

65. We agree that, as has been eloquently stated by a great number of speakers who have preceded me in the general debate, the Organization is going through a serious credibility crisis. At the same time, we note with satisfaction that this session is enjoying the maximum attendance of the family of States Members of the Organization.

66. We have to face facts. The Secretary-General has been very frank in describing the present international crisis, politically, economically and institutionally. We join the Secretary-General in calling upon all Member States to use all possible inventiveness and creativity to equip the United Nations institutionally in order to enhance its capacity to cope with the present international crisis. That appeal applies in particular to the members of the Security Council which bear a special responsibility to ensure the urgent restoration of peace in various regions of the world.

67. The cause of predictability of conduct of nations, as well as adherence to principles and rules of international law, must guide us in our effort to prevent the international community from slipping into a state characterized by the primitive use of force and coercive influence.

68. My Government holds the view that the existing inequalities in the distribution of economic and political advantages are at the core of the problems we are faced with on a national and international scale. More specifically, the present international division of



labour and the adoption of political systems conceived and propagated by States that continue to hold power over other States have created a situation where the basic needs and justified interests and aspirations of the masses are subordinated to the interests of traditionalist and elitist Powers. Suriname has committed itself to contribute within the limits of its capacity towards ending flagrant inequalities existing on the national and the international levels.

69. On the national level, Suriname has made substantial progress in conceiving and implementing an economic and political system based on the interests and participation of the majority of its people. In doing so Suriname adheres to the genuine principles of democracy. We believe that consultation, participation and control by broad sections of our people offer the best guarantees to achieve the goal of nation-building in a country where at least six ethnic groups from all parts of the world were brought together during the colonial era. Moreover, we are exerting serious efforts to make this unity an effective instrument for the proper and effective implementation of developmental programmes.

70. In our international policy we have developed a strategy geared towards maximum diversification of development co-operation and solidarity in the struggle for the just causes of developing countries. In doing so we adhere to the principles of non-alignment. In this respect, we reiterate our full commitment to the basic principles of this movement, such as national sovereignty, self-determination, non-interference, non-intervention, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and the acceptance of ideological pluralism in international affairs.

71. Moreover, my Government holds the view that we should continue to intensify financial, technological and marketing relations with other developing countries and join in the efforts of the developing world in restructuring the North-South relationship in order to create the kind of international balance that can advance the cause of peace and development.

72. Taking into consideration the fact that the ongoing decolonization of Suriname is closely linked to a clear understanding that it must share the fate of the Latin American and Caribbean States, Suriname will continue to participate in all endeavours to strengthen political and economic ties with the countries of its region.

73. In regard to the implications of Argentina's actions to recover its sovereignty over the Malvinas, we understand the position of some sister Caribbean States, but those actions constitute only a part of the Malvinas experience. The Malvinas issue made it very clear to us that the Western States, in spite of existing treaties, took a collective stand against a sister State in Latin America. That collective action was not limited to economic measures of a coercive nature, but extended to military, political and diplomatic support.

74. My Government feels that an important lesson must be drawn from this experience. The facts have proved that it is of vital importance for Latin America and the Caribbean States to bury their differences and to join hands in defining and implementing clear-cut programmes geared towards economic and political co-operation. My Government welcomes the inclusion

of this question in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. It is our hope that a more constructive and compromise-oriented attitude will be displayed in the deliberations to end the colonial occupation of the Malvinas, thus correcting the injustice done to the Argentine people over many years.

75. The Caribbean Basin is an area of special concern; indeed, it has become explosive in nature. We cannot but return to the historical causes of this situation, to identify a general state of utter poverty amongst the majority of the people, in flagrant contradistinction to the wealth of a minority. We find in that a situation which is in itself conducive to violence and civil war.

76. In that regard, the introduction of East-West rivalry in the region, falsely identified as the main source of conflict, has eclipsed the real causes of the problem. The present situation in El Salvador, placed in the context of the Caribbean Basin, is illustrative of this growing tension and constitutes a danger leading to the loss of human lives and a stagnation in development.

77. My Government therefore favours all peace proposals derived from a fundamental analysis of this problem. That implies that Suriname condemns all outside interference of whatever nature into the internal affairs of El Salvador. We call upon the rival parties in this domestic struggle to take the road of effective dialogue to stop the ongoing violence. The people of El Salvador are those most capable of forging a fundamental solution to their economic and political problems. All outside interference, whether bona fide or mala fide, can lead only to further complications in the present situation and will ultimately serve the interests of foreign Powers, to the detriment of the interests of the majority of the Salvadorian people. My Government pledges support to all regional efforts to bring about an atmosphere in which such a dialogue can take place.

78. The principle of peaceful dialogue does not apply only to the domestic situation of the individual States, but should be applied also to solve the problems that have arisen between sister States in Latin America.

79. My Government calls upon all members of the Latin American and Caribbean community to refrain from the use or threat of use of force or economic measures of a coercive nature in the pursuit of solutions to problems that are not inherent in the actual relationship between our respective peoples but find their cause in the colonialist and imperialist history of our continent.

80. The Latin American and Caribbean States should, in our opinion, follow the wise course of seeking a peaceful settlement of disputes so as to protect and preserve our excellent record as a region of peace.

81. We must face the fact that global developments present a gloomy picture. The ongoing economic crises, combined with the arms race, have resulted in grave and explosive situations in various regions.

82. The tragedy that we have witnessed over a quarter of a century in the Middle East has recently evolved into a sequence of events which have horrified the human conscience. Even when guided by the utmost prudence in approaching this complex problem,

one cannot but lay the blame for this disturbing state of affairs on the State of Israel. While Israel occasionally professes the wish to live in peace with its neighbours, it has over the months systematically applied an aggressive policy and has acted against vested principles and rules of international law and, more specifically, against the territorial integrity of its neighbours.

83. In this connection I wish to recall, *inter alia*, the annexation of the Syrian territory of the Golan Heights, the provocative and oppressive acts of the Israeli army against Palestinian civilians living in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and, lately, the transgression of Lebanese borders, leading to the massacre of thousands of defenceless Palestinian men, women and children. That crime against humanity has deservedly received universal condemnation, not only of those who committed that savage act but equally of those who facilitated that repulsive crime.

84. Reaching the goal of durable peace in the Middle East will obviously require more than the adoption of resolutions by the Assembly and other international forums. The fate of the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations pertinent to this question is proof that this approach is insufficient. It will require maximum efforts by the world community in general to bring an end to the continuing tragic events. Those members of the international community that are in a position to bring pressure to bear on the parties to the conflict have a special responsibility in this respect.

85. My Government notes with satisfaction that there is an emerging consensus. Any solution of the Middle East conflict proposed will be futile if it ignores the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian State. It is with pleasure that I note the growing numbers of countries adhering to this basic principle for solving the Middle East problem. Furthermore, my delegation expresses its satisfaction with the consensus reached during the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference on the proposed peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem.

86. Most of the preceding speakers have forthrightly rejected and condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggression towards neighbouring States. We cannot but agree with that position. In our view, the application of racist policies by South Africa is not just a case of violence by a minority against the majority, but amounts to a qualitative contempt for and lack of respect for the people living under that system, and a clear expression of the economic exploitation of the racial majority in that country. My delegation therefore holds the position that South Africa's domestic policies and its stand towards neighbouring States can be dealt with effectively by the world community, in general, and by the developed countries, in particular, only by applying international measures designed to bring about a fundamental restructuring within the South African social and economic system.

87. With regard to the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan, my delegation reiterates its support for the resolutions of the Assembly calling for their withdrawal. Our support for a political settlement

of this issue on the basis of General Assembly resolution 36/34 remains unchanged.

88. Concerning the situation in the Korean peninsula, my delegation again calls upon both parties to make all possible efforts to promote reconciliation between the North and the South through dialogue in order to achieve the peaceful unification of their divided homeland.

89. It is a matter of serious concern to our Government that very little progress has been made in solving the problem of Kampuchea. It is our hope that the opposing parties will approach this problem along the lines of the basic principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

90. Moreover, we express the sincere wish that the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] together with the Indo-Chinese countries involved, can co-operate to find an acceptable solution to the problem in order to make South-East Asia a region of peace, stability and co-operation.

91. Within the chain of events that have cast a shadow on the life and standing of the United Nations during the past year, the failure of the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament stands out, and has given rise to serious concern for the future of world peace and stability.

92. The arms race continues at an unprecedented pace. It is the opinion of my delegation that the lack of tangible progress in our attempts to halt this costly and dangerous activity will have increasingly adverse effects on the inclination of States to settle their disputes through peaceful means, thus making peace-keeping ever more difficult for the United Nations.

93. It is our belief that the availability of vast quantities of arms is responsible for the frequent use or threat of use of force in international relations. It is unfortunate that many States are still inclined to believe that they can better secure what they perceive to be their interests through military strength rather than by relying on peaceful means.

94. Notwithstanding the right of individual States to take the necessary measures to defend their territorial integrity, we cannot but condemn the acceleration of the arms race which represents a vicious circle. Under the pretext of protecting alleged domestic interests, States devote to it the very resources that are needed to create the conditions for domestic and international peace and progress, drawing upon financial, natural and human resources that are so direly needed for development. Recent history has proved that the use of violence between developing countries has been detrimental to the countries involved and has seriously weakened their capacity for independent development.

95. We therefore hold the view that developing countries should refrain from any participation in the arms race, and should collectively exert pressure on the super-Powers and other powerful nations to discontinue the absurdity of creating tension in order falsely to justify their continuation of the arms race. We reiterate Suriname's commitment to all regional and global disarmament endeavours.



96. Not since the great economic depression has the world economy experienced such great instability and such severe disruption of sustained growth. Independent of the levels of development or the economic structures of various States, economic expansion has decelerated markedly on a global scale.

97. The situation confronting the developing countries is manifested in, *inter alia*, increased unemployment, high rates of inflation, serious deterioration in terms of trade and increasing current-account deficits and debt-service payments.

98. The declining prices of primary commodities compared to the rising costs of manufactured imports have not only seriously affected the developmental process in many developing countries but, also as a result, substantially affected the basic needs of their peoples.

99. Within the context of the present international economic situation we believe that it is of urgent and crucial importance to launch the round of global negotiations in the field of raw materials, energy, trade and finance. Suriname maintains the view that resolution 34/138, by which the General Assembly decided to launch global negotiations, incorporates the appropriate set of elements needed to tackle the present international economic structure and achieve a steady, equal and just economic order.

100. It is clear that science and technology are major instruments in the developmental process. It is therefore regrettable that in the world of today the developing countries are still confronted with the monopolization of scientific and technological achievements. A few States and transnational corporations still control the available scientific and technological know-how.

101. In this respect my delegation considers it imperative that any bilateral or multilateral arrangement in the field of finance and investment, whether private or public, include clauses dealing with the transfer of science and technology suitable to the level of development of developing countries. On the other hand, third world countries must continue to devise and implement programmes which may facilitate the transfer of technology among themselves.

102. The international problems related to the financial crisis of the world require close evaluation and concerted effort in order to create the effects that are so urgently needed.

103. We note that there are two important tendencies in the field of investment for development. In the first place we find a tendency to move away from multilateral aid to bilateral aid. Secondly, we find that within bilateral treaties the Government-to-Government approach is being gradually replaced by investments through private financing institutions. Suriname is of the opinion that these trends are detrimental to the development of the recipient States, for the following reasons. First, they weaken the regional integration that is vital to their international bargaining power *vis-à-vis* the industrialized States. Secondly, they create an atmosphere favouring measures of a coercive nature, which seriously affects a country's capacity for its own development either politically or economically. Thirdly, with respect to

the emphasis on private investments, in the experience of the developing countries it is becoming virtually impossible to attract foreign investors in the field of infrastructural and social programmes essential for sustained and steady economic growth. As a result, investments for industrial or commercial development are not in accord with comprehensive planning for development.

104. We are in favour of a blend of bilateral and multilateral aid, within which emphasis must be placed on multilateral aid. However, we cannot but insist that for multilateral aid to be effective substantial changes in the rules and procedures guiding these multilateral institutions are necessary. A major step forward in this regard would be a fundamental change in the existing voting structure in order to allow developing countries greater participation in the decision-making process of these international institutions.

105. A majority of developing countries are faced with the problem of immense foreign debts. In this respect we underline the need to implement part B of resolution 165 (S-IX) adopted by the Trade and Development Board on 11 March 1978, at its ninth special session, and which deals with the renegotiation of the debts of developing countries.

106. As a small developing and trading nation, Suriname is sensitive to fluctuations in trade with our major trading partners. Our prosperity, like that of many other developing countries, depends greatly on the export of relatively few primary products. The quantitative and qualitative improvement of our exports is the target of ambitious industrialization programmes, which absorb large amounts of capital.

107. Whether we consider our present trade position or the intended improvement, the developing countries are faced with a growing crisis in the world market. This crisis is mainly characterized by increasing protectionist measures by the industrialized States. To eliminate these trade barriers the role of GATT must be directed towards new normative tasks, such as the establishment of rules which do not hamper access by the developing countries to international markets and which do not hinder their capacity to regulate their own internal markets. Hence, my delegation strongly appeals for a review of the international economic institutions.

108. Without relaxing our efforts to work for more just and equitable terms of trade in the North-South relationship, it is important to consider the intensification of trade among developing countries as an integral part of collective action for the establishment of a new international economic order.

109. My Government holds the view that in regional, subregional and bilateral relations efforts should be made to concentrate on exploring and exploiting trade possibilities between developing countries. In this respect it is of vital importance that we take a pragmatic approach and try to find specific areas of trade. My Government is of the opinion that the private sector in developing countries may provide an excellent start for broadening and deepening trade relations.

110. The negotiations with regard to the law of the sea, which lasted almost 10 years, ended on 30 April

of this year with the adoption of the most ambitious Convention in history, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.<sup>4</sup> This Convention, which seeks to regulate almost every aspect of human activity in the oceans and tries to uphold the United Nations resolution calling for the deep sea-bed to be regarded as the common heritage of mankind, is now ready to be signed officially. From the Convention we may expect legal security, confidence and reliability, which preclude anarchy in, *inter alia*, the area of the international sea-bed.

111. It is regrettable that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea failed to meet its goal of unanimous adoption of the Convention. In this situation, with a good many of the industrialized States failing to support the Convention, its viability and consequently its standing in international law are being undermined. We reject any separate arrangement in which the major industrialized States would simply proceed to share the sea-bed amongst themselves. We therefore fully support the statement made by the President of the Conference on the Law of the Sea to the press on 3 May of this year, indicating that the General Assembly should be requested to seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the legality of mining outside the Convention if the mining companies proceeded to mine under unilateral legislation or a limited multilateral agreement.

112. We welcome the recent statement made by the Soviet Union that it will sign the Convention, and we urgently appeal to the States that have rejected or failed to commit themselves to the Convention on account of rigid ideological considerations based on a free-market philosophy, or for other reasons, to be more pragmatic and become signatories when the Convention is presented to government representatives in Jamaica in early December of this year.

113. Despite all the problems involved, the Convention can be considered as the greatest step in international relations since the founding of the United Nations. We, representatives of the developing countries, had hoped that the Convention would be a major step forward towards the new international economic order which we have so long been demanding. We therefore call for the good will and co-operation of the industrialized States, without which the effort to establish a régime for, among other things, the common heritage of mankind will have been largely wasted. Failure of the major industrialized countries to co-operate will only justify the conclusion that the political will to shape economic developments along equitable lines in the context of the North-South dialogue is still a long way off.

114. I shall now turn to a number of humanitarian and social issues. In our view, at this session the General Assembly will need to pay more attention to the plight of people who are forced to flee their homelands. The effects of the 1982 war in Lebanon on the civil population will undoubtedly add to the major concentrations of refugees and displaced persons caused by regional conflicts during the last few years. Major refugee concentrations in Somalia, the Sudan, Pakistan and South-East Asia continue to cause concern, because in most cases little progress has been

made in arranging for the refugees to return to their homelands.

115. It is our expectation that discussions at this thirty-seventh session on the status of women will focus on the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, to be held in 1985. We cannot but praise the good work done among the rural and the poor women by the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women.

116. It is a well-known fact that an overwhelming majority of the disabled population of the world live in developing countries, where the problems of resources and the lack of adequate, trained personnel are considered to be the great obstacles to progress. The delegation of Suriname hopes, therefore, that international programmes established to assist the disabled will result in an adequate transfer of technology and resources to developing countries.

117. My delegation is anxiously looking forward to a progress report on the implementation of the Specific Programme of Measures and Activities<sup>10</sup> prepared by the Secretary-General in consultation with Member States, specialized agencies and international youth organizations, especially in view of International Youth Year, which is scheduled for 1985. The increasing unemployment among the young members of our society is causing us great concern. My Government is trying to give high priority to resolving the problems of the young.

118. While we speak of the young, we should not neglect the elderly. Although Suriname has not escaped the adverse effects of a world-wide economic recession, the Suriname Government is taking progressive measures to improve the situation of the aging in the fields of health, housing and social welfare. Much has been done to provide geriatric and other training, with the assistance of international organizations.

119. We are pleased at the adoption of the International Plan of Action on Aging<sup>11</sup> at the World Assembly on Aging held in Vienna and express the hope that this Plan will be a guide for Member States in dealing with problems brought about by the rapidly increasing numbers of elderly persons all over the world. May I affirm my Government's commitment to the cause of the aged and state that a society cannot call itself advanced or progressive if it does not respect, protect, help and honour the elderly and the aged.

120. The international system has entered a new phase. The intensification of international relations is unparalleled in history. At the same time we find that the political, economic and institutional crisis which we are faced with tends to discourage us in our quest for the creation of a world in which interdependence and a more collective approach to matters of common interest are globally accepted. My Government is of the opinion that defeatism could be replaced by optimism if we return to the basic principles and motives that led to the establishment of the United Nations in 1945.

121. The goals of peace and development are still high on the banner of the Organization. We call upon all Member States to support the Secretary-General



in his efforts to adapt and equip the United Nations in order to enable the Organization to cope with the present crises. As we did in 1975, my Government renews its pledge to uphold the principles and objectives of the United Nations.

122. Mr. LAMINE MANÉ (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*):\* It is a great honour for me to address my warmest congratulations to Mr. Hollai, on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation, and to express my great satisfaction that he is presiding over the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. In choosing him, the Assembly was inspired by his great qualities and his particularly outstanding diplomatic career. The General Assembly is also paying a tribute thereby to the dynamic work done by his country, the People's Republic of Hungary, within the United Nations. My country has close relations of friendship and co-operation with his country. It will thus be understood that the delegation of Guinea-Bissau fully associates itself with this confirmation by the General Assembly of his great abilities and his excellent knowledge of international affairs and is happy at the prospect of co-operating with him in seeking solutions to the many problems in international relations. I should like to express appreciation to Mr. Hollai's predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the dedication, wisdom and great ability he has demonstrated in the past year. His tireless efforts and constant work in the United Nations enabled us to achieve satisfactory results in our struggle for peace during a particularly turbulent period in international life.

123. I take this opportunity also, on behalf of my country, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, to congratulate Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on his election to the high office of Secretary-General. I am the more happy to do so because this is the first time that I have spoken from this rostrum, and I should also like to express to him my great appreciation of the tremendous contribution he has made to solving the many conflicts and problems which threaten international peace and security.

124. I should also like to say to him that the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau greatly appreciates the excellent report he has submitted to us. In our view, this report constitutes a real innovation in that it courageously and lucidly reflects the main concerns of the international community as a whole.

125. The Secretary-General proposes in his report a concrete and objective approach to improving the structures and operation of the Organization and he also suggests measures to strengthen the United Nations and to make it a truly universal organization in which all peoples and countries of the world without distinction will be able to play their role in the struggle of mankind to preserve peace and development. The Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau will make every effort to help in the attainment of these objectives.

126. This session of the Assembly is taking place at a particularly tense time. Violence, war, disdain for the principles set forth in the Charter, systematic violation of the most basic rules governing inter-

national relations, the genocide of thousands of human beings and considerable material damage, as well as innumerable other problems, provide a threatening background to our debate.

127. In this Hall we have heard the echoes of the world's outrage at the atrocities committed in Lebanon by the Israeli army. The international community has expressed its feelings of absolute revulsion at the massacre of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps. The General Assembly, in devoting an emergency special session to those tragic events, which are a grim reminder of the darkest days of modern history, wished thus to express its outrage and to condemn this barbarous action and the authors of it.

128. Israel, in allowing the massacre of thousands of Palestinian refugees and creating the conditions whereby that shameful act of genocide could take place, made itself answerable to international public opinion for one of the most odious crimes against humanity. The invasion of Lebanon and the mass bombings of west Beirut clearly showed the world that Israel, in its craze for power, was capable of the worst aggression to establish a climate of terror in the region and remove the Arabs once and for all from their land.

129. But Israel should have learned the lessons of history, quite recent history. The suffering imposed on the heroic Palestinian people, far from weakening them, has shown their true strength, courage, determination and political maturity. It is political maturity which, without any doubt, confirms the representativeness of the PLO as a national liberation movement which embodies the profound aspirations of the fraternal Palestinian people as a whole and guides their fight for freedom.

130. I should like to pay a glowing tribute to the leadership of the PLO, and particularly to its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, for the courage, vitality and irrepressible determination which they have demonstrated in their struggle in the face of the institutionalized terrorism of the State of Israel and despite the disproportion in the methods used by the two sides. The people and Government of Guinea-Bissau reaffirm their unwavering solidarity with and total support for the fraternal Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle for the exercise of their national rights, including their inalienable right to exist and to create their own State.

131. Recognition of Namibia's right to independence, which we have been demanding for many years and for which the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative, have made innumerable sacrifices, has once again been jeopardized by the delaying tactics of the racist régime of South Africa.

132. It is high time that the authors of the United Nations plan for the settlement of the Namibian problem reacted more forcefully to the Machiavellian policies of Pretoria, which wishes to keep Namibia indefinitely dependent on South Africa. The Namibian people, Africa, will never accept a constitutional system which would perpetuate the existence of a puppet administration acting in the economic and geopolitical interests of the racist *apartheid* régime. This must be understood and remembered.

\* Mr. Lamine Mané spoke in Portuguese. The French text of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

133. Pretoria's intransigence and its manifest determination to wreck the plan for the settlement of the Namibian question, thus jeopardizing the principles of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), should lead its allies to be realistic and recognize that a moribund colonialist régime can never guarantee their long-term interests.

134. The insecurity in which the racist régime of South Africa maintains the southern part of the African continent and its repeated acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the other front-line States must lead the international community to shoulder its responsibilities more effectively and pay greater attention to the war which persists in the People's Republic of Angola because of the occupation of part of its territory by the racist *apartheid* régime.

135. It is wrong and even dangerous to think that this is an innocuous problem, because it is in fact the People's Republic of Angola that is bearing the brunt of the commitment—although it was made by all the States Members of the United Nations—to give the necessary aid to the SWAPO fighters in their just struggle for the independence and dignity of the Namibian people. It is also intolerable to see certain countries trying to link the question of Namibian independence to the presence of internationalist Cuban troops in the People's Republic of Angola. Such an attitude constitutes in reality interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and is contrary to the right of every State freely to choose its socio-political system and to determine in full sovereignty its domestic and foreign policy.

136. The heads of State of African countries where Portuguese is spoken rejected this approach to the problem at their last summit meeting, in Praia, in September, and declared their unwavering solidarity with the Namibian people and the Angolan and Mozambican peoples in their just struggle to preserve their national independence and defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their States.

137. That meeting also provided the Republic of Guinea-Bissau with an opportunity to reiterate, along with the other fraternal participants, its total support for the fighters of the ANC in their heroic struggle to ensure respect for the most elementary human rights and for the establishment of a democratic régime in the Republic of South Africa.

138. The complete liberation of Africa is a prerequisite for its development. This is why independent African States as a whole have undertaken to make their contribution to the complete decolonization of Africa. The Organization of African Unity [OAU] has since its creation always provided a political framework for this historic commitment. Most African States, today Members of the United Nations, derived the political strength necessary for ensuring victory in their national liberation struggles from the cardinal principles of the OAU charter, which its members are determined to respect scrupulously. This explains the political, material and diplomatic support which they have enjoyed from the States members of that continental African organization.

139. The present difficulties facing the OAU derive from the imperative need for all independent African

States to show by their actions the commitment that they have entered into to struggle against all forms of domination and to support the struggle of all peoples for self-determination and independence.

140. Guinea-Bissau is in favour of the emancipation of peoples and supports their national liberation struggle because we intend to remain faithful to the commitments we have freely entered into, the very basis of the Organization that we all belong to. The right of peoples to self-determination, recognized by the international community as a whole, remains the guiding principle of our foreign policy.

141. In recognizing the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and in supporting its legitimate struggle for the recognition of its sovereignty, we are guided by United Nations principles and decisions and acting with the strictest respect for the ideals of the founders of the OAU.

142. The African peoples, in their struggle to regain their rightful place in the concert of nations and recognition of the role they can play in international affairs, have acquired the political maturity to settle their own problems for themselves. In our view, the current problems of the OAU are serious but not insurmountable. The African States are aware of the need to preserve their continental organization, which, despite many obstacles, has managed to keep its unitary character and to mobilize its energies to achieve the noble objectives of national liberation and of development. We believe that with the good will of all its members the OAU will be able to find a solution to its current difficulties, a solution that is based on the principles set forth in its charter and takes into account the higher interests of African peoples. I am convinced that those principles will guide the efforts by the OAU Mediation Committee to find a peaceful solution to the disputes between some OAU members.

143. I should like to speak also about the situation prevailing in the Horn of Africa, where the OAU and the international community must take urgent action to create a climate propitious to negotiations between the parties to the conflict.

144. My country has always believed in negotiations as a means to the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. That is why we urge the Governments of the Comoros and France to continue their efforts to find a swift solution to the problem of Mayotte and thus enable it to rejoin the Comoros.

145. Similarly, we support the efforts by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to ensure the peaceful reunification of the Korean homeland and we call on the international community to create a climate propitious to the negotiations that are indispensable in that regard.

146. We have repeatedly expressed our deep concern over the tragic situation in East Timor, which was thoroughly analysed at the latest summit meeting of Portuguese-speaking heads of State. We must note today that, despite the commitments entered into by the United Nations to restore the usurped rights of the Maubere people, no progress has been made since the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The Maubere people continues to suffer from the



horrors of oppression and the annexation of their national territory by the Indonesian occupying forces. The Security Council, immediately following the Indonesian aggression, unequivocally condemned that action, which was contrary to the principles set forth in the Charter and to the rules of international law, and it remains seized of this question, which can be solved only with strict respect for the right of the Maubere people to self-determination and independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Thus the Republic of Guinea-Bissau welcomes the statement by the Government of Portugal—the administering Power of East Timor—that it will do all it can to ensure that this objective is achieved; indeed, the whole international community should join in this. We reiterate our unwavering solidarity with the Maubere people in their just struggle, led by their vanguard movement, FRETILIN, the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

147. Despite renewed efforts by the Secretary-General and the international community to find a negotiated settlement to the problem of Cyprus, no real result has yet been obtained. We therefore once again express our concern over the persistence of this problem and our hope that urgent action will be taken to bring the positions closer together and to enable the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus to live together in peace, understanding and harmony and to safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity and the non-aligned character of Cyprus.

148. Non-alignment, as the Assembly knows, is the corner-stone of the foreign policy of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. My Government therefore supports the efforts of the non-aligned movement to preserve its unity and cohesion, the only way to ensure its ability to take action to promote the maintenance of international peace and security. We thus feel it necessary, taking into account the particularly serious international political situation today, to reaffirm the fundamental principles of the policy of non-alignment, especially the principles of non-intervention and peaceful settlement of disputes. In this context we therefore repeat our appeal to our brothers in Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran to find a negotiated settlement to the dispute between them, in the interest of their respective peoples, of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of the non-aligned movement and of the international community as a whole.

149. The many conflicts and tensions that have been mentioned here could certainly be avoided or settled if the various members of the international community implemented the fundamental principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-intervention and peaceful settlement of disputes.

150. The situation in South-East and South-West Asia is of great concern to Guinea-Bissau. In our opinion it is essential, in order to preserve peace and stability in those regions, to begin a process of negotiations where the spirit of understanding and the interest of the peoples concerned prevail and thus to create the atmosphere indispensable to the exercise by each people of those regions of the right freely to decide its future and to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity, free from outside interference.

151. In our opinion, there should be the same approach to international relations in regard to the situation in Central America and the Caribbean.

152. The current crisis in international relations is to a large extent the result of the continuing atmosphere of distrust among States and the frenzied arms race and its consequences and logical implications, such as the increase in militarized areas, in military bases, and in the production and the acquisition of increasingly sophisticated and destructive weapons. It is clear that the final, comprehensive solution to the problems of disarmament, enabling us to do away with the serious threats hanging over the world, cannot depend on only a few members of the international community, however powerful they may be economically and militarily on the world scene. We believe, along with the overwhelming majority of the international community, that the desired solution can come only through concerted action by all the countries of the world.

153. The worsening of the world economic crisis is the logical result of structural disparities and of the continuing inequality and inequity in international economic relations. The spirit of multilateral economic co-operation, which in the first decades after the Second World War was one of the great hopes of the international community, and of the developing countries in particular, is today seriously weakened. It is clear that this tendency is contrary to the objectives set forth in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*].

154. This phenomenon has serious consequences such as chronic deficits in the balance of payments of the developing countries and the continuing deterioration in terms of trade. The limits and the difficulties with regard to access by third world countries to international financial markets and to the required technology, the increasing constraints placed on financial and technical aid are additional problems facing the developing countries.

155. The use of concepts such as "gradualism", selectivity and differentiation by the developed countries in trade relations with the developing ones constitutes an obstacle to the promotion of the economic development of the latter and further complicates the payment of external debt servicing and the meeting of import needs in food, energy and manufactured products. In this context therefore there is an imperative need, both for the developing countries and for the industrialized countries, that the process of global negotiations be made more dynamic.

156. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which belongs to the group of least developed countries, is not spared the harmful effects of the present international economic situation. The new policy of development advocated by our Government is intended primarily to reduce such effects by using all international and external means available to promote the development of all the economic sectors, particularly agriculture, and to promote diversification and an increase in production so as to ensure food self-sufficiency.

157. The imbalance in Guinea-Bissau's balance of payments, the increase in its foreign debt, heavy inflation, the consequences of the constant increase in the price of manufactured goods and fuel, the fall in the prices of its exports as a result of the deterioration of the terms of trade and its increased dependence on foreign aid are major problems facing Guinea-Bissau and they justify the measures taken by the Government within its national development strategy.

158. In that framework, a programme for economic and financial stabilization has been drawn up, arrangements also having been made for the holding of a conference of prime lenders during the first half of 1983 aimed at encouraging implementation of a four-year socio-economic development plan.

159. The international community through its agencies and instruments must shoulder its responsibilities with regard to the deterioration in the world economic situation and the constant increase in the inequalities between the developed and the developing countries, in order to ensure the enjoyment by all peoples of the right to development. Interdependence among the nations of the world makes this an important step, one calling for the struggle of humanity as a whole to preserve its common values.

160. It is in that context that we include the concept of mankind's common heritage, developed during the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and appreciate the adoption by a large majority of the international community of the Convention on the Law of the Sea which formally establishes an international legal order and defines, among others, the régime of the high seas, oceans and sea-beds. We hope that all countries will join in the signing of the Convention when it is opened for signature this year in Jamaica, thus conferring upon that important legal instrument its universal scope.

161. These are the few points that I wanted to make at this time. The agenda shows once again, by the number and relevance of its items, the gravity of the international situation. I cannot mention every

item. However, the scope of the debate held since the beginning of our deliberations clearly shows the determination of States Members of the United Nations to help solve them all. The measures advocated are many, as are the means available to us to preserve international peace and security. We must just work together to achieve results.

162. In addressing the Assembly every year, we bring with us the determination of the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to work tirelessly to seek solutions to the problems affecting international relations. Thus, we should once again like to express our firm conviction that the survival and progress of humanity depend on the efforts that the States Members of the United Nations will make to implement the decisions taken by the Organization and on their commitment to respect the principles set forth in the Charter to which they voluntarily subscribed.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 860, No. 12325, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements*, vol. 24, part one (1973), p. 568.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 704, No. 10106, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

<sup>6</sup> A/CONF.101/10 and Corr.1 and 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

<sup>8</sup> Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.

<sup>9</sup> See A/S-11/14, annex I.

<sup>10</sup> A/36/215, annex, sect. IV, decision 1 (I).

<sup>11</sup> See *Report of the World Assembly on Aging, Vienna, 26 July-6 August 1982* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.16), chap. VI, sect. A.