



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

# AGENDA ITEM 9

## General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique):\* Sir, it is with great satisfaction that we see the post of President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly occupied by the representative of a friendly people with great historical traditions of struggle for freedom, peace and progress. The Hungarian people succeeded in preserving their dignity and personality for all time by heroically resisting Hitler's fascism and building a socialist fatherland free from foreign domination. Strong ties of friendship and solidarity forged during our armed struggle for national liberation from colonialism bind our two countries. After the proclamation of our independence, these ties took on a new dimension and scope, extending to multidisciplinary co-operation, the basis of which is the defence and pursuit of the fundamental interests of our peoples and Governments and building and defending socialism. In expressing our firm guarantee of close co-operation in the fulfilment of the weighty responsibilities that have been entrusted to you, my delegation joins previous speakers in warmly welcoming you and congratulating you on your unanimous election.

2. We wish also to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the skilful and intelligent manner in which he conducted the work of the last regular session of the General Assembly. This was no easy task considering the grave crisis existing at the time in international relations, in which dialogue and mutual trust among nations gave way to cold-war language, threats, aggression and intimidation.

3. We extend our greetings to the Secretary-General, whose action in defence of the Charter of the United Nations and in the endeavour to find peaceful solutions to world problems at the most critical times is deserving of the respect and confidence that the international community extended to him when it elected him one year ago.

4. The disdain in which the United Nations is held as a privileged forum for discussion and for the search for peaceful solutions to international conflicts is expressed in the constant violation of the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter. The overwhelming majority of the speakers at this session have denounced the aggravation of the already

critical situation prevailing in all parts of the world. There is an atmosphere of insecurity and latent warfare, which seems likely to lead to a holocaust.

5. As if the already existing hotbeds of tension were not enough, we are witnessing the outbreak of new hotbeds and the emboldening of localized conflicts. This situation forces peoples to divert their human and material resources from the solution of problems inherent in underdevelopment, such as hunger, homelessness, illiteracy and disease, in order to concentrate on the defence of their sovereignty and on the fight to achieve and preserve their full freedom. To the obstinate refusal to acknowledge the right of peoples to self-determination, the peoples respond with the resolution to die rather than live in slavery.

6. Harmonious relations and co-operation among nations require the creation of a climate of peace and security in the world and absolute respect for the fundamental right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

7. It was the ideals of peace, justice and liberty that inspired the people of Mozambique. When we took up arms against colonialism in Mozambique we fought to eliminate the causes of war in our country; we were moved by the noble aspiration to establish, with all the peoples of the world good and just relations founded on sovereign equality and mutual respect. This is a just aspiration for which all the peoples of the world, in which inequities and imbalances are increasingly felt, are prepared to fight.

8. With the achievement of our national independence we established the conditions for the expression and development of our culture and our personality, which had been trampled upon and inhibited during the centuries of exploitation and domination. But the scope of our ideals was not circumscribed by the liberation of our territory alone. We were forced, shortly after independence, to wage another war, imposed upon us by Smith's racist régime.

9. In expressing solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle, Mozambique was contributing to the elimination of one of the causes of war and instability in our area. The independence of Zimbabwe made it possible for a climate of relative peace to be restored, which enabled broad perspectives to be opened up for our economic development and stimulated co-operation among the countries of southern Africa. Since then it has become possible for us to concentrate our attention on the search for solutions to the numerous problems facing our people. Our objective is to promote the material and social well-being of all the people in Mozambique, who were denied this throughout the entire period of the domination of their country.

\* Mr. Chissano spoke in Portuguese. The English text of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

10. The relative peace that we achieved was of short duration.

11. In defining and using an illegal minority racist, *apartheid* régime as their principal ally in the area, the imperialist forces consciously, wilfully and impudently gave Pretoria the moral strength which, more than any technical or technological means, allows it to provoke war and seize and occupy parts of the territory of Angola, a sovereign State, spreading death and destruction to all the front-line States. This is a deliberate action which is typical of their redoubled aggressiveness, the basis of which is the refusal of the imperialists to recognize the right of peoples to independence, freedom and peaceful and harmonious development.

12. In the face of the qualitative advances achieved by our people in the reconstruction of our country, the imperialist forces have intensified their activities against the People's Republic of Mozambique. They are trying by all possible means to prevent the establishment of a civilization without discrimination, which the building in Mozambique of a socialist society, free from man's exploitation by man, represents in our part of the world.

13. No longer able to rely on a political and administrative structure in Mozambique, something they were able to do until recently, imperialist forces are today resorting to other more insidious and brutal means of attacking us. Using as a spearhead the racist minority régime in South Africa, imperialism is waging a true undeclared war against us, committing direct armed acts of aggression against our country through the use of regular South African troops and special detachments of armed bandits.

14. The Pretoria régime recruits and trains, finances and equips, arms and outfits, transports and supplies, evacuates and commands armed bands in Mozambique in order to commit crimes against our people, spread unrest and terror and destabilize our country.

15. The target of these bandits is the helpless civilian population, intimidating them and committing all kinds of atrocities. They savagely torture, mutilate and assassinate children, women and the elderly. They rob peasants and loot their property. These armed bandits also perpetrate kidnappings and assassinations against foreign nationals who contribute with their labour to the progress of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

16. These armed bandits are recruited by South Africa from among those former members of the political police force of the colonial régime who did not have the courage to join in the process of national reconstruction and thus to wipe from their hands the blood resulting from their crimes. They are recruited from among those elements of the colonial army such as commandos and special units which, like the former, rushed cheaply to sell themselves to new bosses instead of waiting for the clemency of the people. They are recruited from among traitors to the fatherland, marginal elements and foreign mercenaries. The common denominator of these bandits is their anti-social character, parasitism, characteristics of the decadence of the so-called free world. They do not pursue any political objectives. Their motivation is crime for its own

sake, and drugs. The nature of their acts and their criminal motivation characterize them as bandits.

17. The armed banditry taking place in our region today is a new phenomenon, a new form of mercenarism. In organizing and utilizing armed bandits, imperialism and the *apartheid* régime are aiming at implanting among the world public the false idea that opposition and a climate of insecurity exist in Mozambique. Concurrently with the acts of armed aggression, the enemy is infiltrating spies into our country and promoting economic sabotage.

18. In promoting a vigorous campaign of slander and misinformation on the international scene, the enemy endeavours to project to the world the impression that there exists in Mozambique a permanent state of terror and panic. It promotes an economic blockade, thus hampering sound and fruitful co-operation with other peoples of the world. It endeavours to hamper the consolidation of our independence and enforcement of our economy during this phase of our development process, and tries to discredit socialism, a system freely elected by the people of Mozambique.

19. In this struggle, in which the enemy is using the most subtle methods of aggression, our people has demonstrated the highest degree of political consciousness and has become a wall that cannot be penetrated by the designs of imperialism and its agents.

20. We wish to express our gratitude to all those members of the international community that have in various ways extended support to us and thus contributed to the progress of our country and the strengthening of fair and equitable co-operative relations.

21. We reiterate our appeal to the international community to maximize its assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique so as to enable us to reinforce our defensive capability and successfully to carry out the struggle against underdevelopment.

22. The existence of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* is the fundamental cause of the tension through which we are living in southern Africa and our permanent confrontation with the South African régime, which obstinately refuses to accept the course of history.

23. South Africa continues to intensify its criminal actions against the South African people, whose struggle for national liberation is growing in scope and depth and spreading to practically all sectors of the economic and social life of the Pretoria régime. To the wave of assassinations, detentions, the torture of those who oppose *apartheid*, and the repression of trade unions, in which many whites are now also militantly involved, the people of South Africa respond with positive actions of resistance, causing the erosion of the very establishment of the Pretoria régime. The people is fighting heroically against oppression, discrimination, repression and humiliation.

24. Large sections of the white population are rising against the restriction of liberty, repulsed by the brutal nature of *apartheid*, whose criminal action is beginning to be felt in their own homes.

25. Thus contradictions deepen in the very heart of Botha's racist minority régime in the face of its manifest inability to contain by force the liberation

struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress [ANC].

26. Confronted by a wave of popular uprisings, and unable to find a solution to its internal strife, Pretoria chooses to generalize the conflict in the area. South Africa attacks and occupies part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, at the same time supporting and promoting puppet groups such as the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [UNITA]. It continuously and systematically commits acts of armed aggression against Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, violating the territorial integrity of those sovereign countries and showing no respect whatever for the ethical conduct governing relations among States signatories of the Charter of the United Nations.

27. The objectives pursued to bring about permanent destabilization are in the last analysis intended to divert us from the struggle for economic independence under the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference. That Conference is the weapon of the nine countries of the region for independent development and the gradual elimination of dependence on South Africa and imperialism in general. South Africa is taking action again: it aimed at its disintegration in the face of the considerable progress achieved in the various sectors of co-operation, particularly in the area of transportation and communication.

28. We continue to be preoccupied with the question of Namibia. Arrogant and irresponsible, South Africa continues to use dilatory manoeuvres to delay the self-determination and independence of the people of Namibia, which, like every other people, has the right to freedom and independence.

29. In Namibia, it is the people that is fighting for independence. That is the reality which is being obliterated. That is the reality which is being conjured away. That is why any attempt at connecting the independence of Namibia, either directly or indirectly, with the withdrawal of internationalist Cuban forces from Angola is not only intolerable interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola but also a crime against the people of Namibia, because by this subterfuge an effort is being made to prolong war and massacres. The internationalist Cuban forces are in Angola because the racist régime in South Africa violated the sovereignty of that territory. Therefore we must demand, in the first place, the unconditional withdrawal of the invading South African troops from Angolan territory and an absolute guarantee that such aggression will not be repeated.

30. In fact, all the independent countries of the area which are being threatened and invaded by the forces of the *apartheid* régime are demanding guarantees of security. The foreign forces which are attacking, assaulting and occupying independent States in southern Africa in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those States are not Cuban. The only invading forces which, as the entire world knows, attack and occupy the territories of the independent States of southern Africa are the forces of South Africa. It is absurd to set the security of South Africa as a pre-condition for the independence of Namibia. Namibia is not the first country bordering

on South Africa to fight to achieve its independence. The forces that will overthrow the *apartheid* régime will not come from outside South Africa. It is the children of the people of South Africa who will overthrow that hideous régime from within.

31. If it were a matter of involving foreign forces in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa, they could have used the territory of Zimbabwe for more than two years now and the territory of Mozambique for more than seven years; and the territory of other independent countries bordering on South Africa could have been used even earlier.

32. The sovereignty of the people of Angola cannot be used as currency in exchange for the liberation of Namibia. The liberation of Namibia is an integral part of the universal emancipation movement of peoples. The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms once again its unconditional support for the struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its only legitimate representative. As far as we are concerned, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the political and juridical framework for the fair solution of this problem. No pretext designed to impede the implementation of that resolution can stand up to a correct analysis of the reality. The remaining problems could easily be solved if there were the essential political will on the part of South Africa and its allies. We are of the opinion that even during this session of the General Assembly it should be possible to define an electoral system for the election of a constituent assembly. It should be possible during the current session to establish the forces of UNTAG and a date and the conditions for a cease-fire in Namibia.

33. This is the International Year for the Mobilization of Sanctions against South Africa; nevertheless, the indices of economic growth of the *apartheid* régime show an ever-increasing connivance by Western countries in maintaining and reinforcing that abominable and hideous régime. While it is said that to apply sanctions against South Africa is a useless exercise, sanctions are being applied against other countries. Where, then, is equity, justice and integrity?

34. Today we are observing the international Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. On this day, dedicated to the struggle, we salute the determination and the courage of the peoples of South Africa. We demand that the freedom fighters be released from South African prisons.

35. The action of imperialist forces is not confined to southern Africa: its scope spreads throughout the African continent. At the present time those forces are endeavouring to implement their strategy aimed at the manipulation, paralysis or even disintegration of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], an important anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist instrument. We are certain that the African countries will know enough to turn down the blackmail, intimidation and bribery and reject the divisive tactics, and to work towards the consolidation of the OAU.

36. We repeat our support for the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to the OAU and reject the idea that that may be a cause for division within our continental organization, since it is based

on the principles embodied in the OAU's charter and in the Charter of the United Nations. We reaffirm our active solidarity with the just struggle of the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic. It is a struggle that could find its resolution through negotiation, which unfortunately is hampered by the intransigence of the Morocco régime. This intransigence is the reason for the protracted state of war, which threatens to spread and even involve other countries, because of the involvement of alien forces on the Moroccan side. That danger must be averted by countries which cherish freedom and the independence of peoples.

37. The image of the massacres in Beirut is a blown-up picture of a Dantesque world transferred to the latter part of the twentieth century. Beirut invaded, Beirut bombed, Beirut besieged, deprived of water, food and medicines, will remain forever engraved in the history of the resistance struggle of peoples. It was a gratuitous demonstration of Zionist murderous fury, the purpose of which was the total elimination of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. Despite the powerful weaponry unleashed by the Zionist régime, the PLO and the progressive Lebanese forces resisted the slaughter and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. We hail their heroism. The People's Republic of Mozambique supports the struggle of the Palestinian people, with the certainty that it will end with the creation of a Palestinian State, autonomous and sovereign, and the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, which is the only acceptable solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

38. The illegal occupation of East Timor continues. The expansionist Indonesian régime insists on the criminal occupation of that Territory, denying the Maubere people its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. How many times must the events in Beirut be repeated in Dili before we can say "enough" and finally acknowledge the right of the Maubere people to exist and build its independent and sovereign State?

39. Independence is not a privilege of those who are richer or more powerful. It is not an attribute of Moslems or Catholics. Independence is an inherent right of all peoples, regardless of geo-strategic, religious or other considerations. Every people has its history, its culture, its personality. By preserving them, the people can face any obstacle and accept any sacrifice from the best of its children. It is because they are making such sacrifices and because their struggle is a just one that the Maubere people deserve our support. The curtain of silence drawn around the massacres and the famine to which the Maubere people are being subjected can no longer muffle the cries of the hundreds of thousands of people of Timor who are resisting the brutal Indonesian occupation. Both Republican and Democratic United States Senators have recently called attention to the gravity of the situation. The situation in East Timor was compared by them to that of Biafra at the time of the secessionist war and that of Kampuchea during the Pol Pot era. They clearly admitted that the Maubere people had not exercised their right to self-determination.

40. We cannot watch these atrocities in silence. In East Timor there are people who, under the leader-

ship of Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [FRETILIN], their legitimate representative, reject the annexation, resist Indonesian occupation and fight for the affirmation of their national rights. They have our admiration and our solidarity. We are certain that in Dili the banner of liberty of the Maubere people will be raised.

41. In Korea, the presence of United States troops in the southern part of the territory contributes to the creation of tension, hampering the reunification process of the Korean nation—a dismembered country, split in two by an imaginary line drawn in conformity with geo-political concepts, to the detriment of national reality. We support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its efforts to ensure the peaceful reunification of its nation. Its proposals for direct negotiations between North and South Korea with a view to the creation of a confederated republic constitute a positive contribution to the unification process.

42. In Latin America, Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada are the targets of constant threats of aggression. The imperialist aggressiveness ranges from economic blockade to imminent invasion and occupation. The peace and stability of the area must necessarily be contingent on the cessation of the use or threat of force or of any type of coercion against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, free countries which have the right to choose in full sovereignty their own way of achieving socio-economic development.

43. In Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala popular uprisings are developing and apologists of Western civilization are endeavouring to intensify their military and financial support of the dictatorships in the area. No bayonets can silence the people's cries for freedom. Fairness and moral considerations dictate that we support the peoples of those countries in their struggle to gain their freedom and turn their countries into lands free from terror and repression, where no one need any longer live with the fear of never again being reunited with his loved ones.

44. The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms the principles of solidarity with all peoples who fight for their political and economic emancipation and for peace.

45. We meet again in an international debate in an atmosphere tense and heavy with threats. The crisis expands and worsens and is being felt most acutely in developing countries. The dramatic effects of this crisis on our countries are well known: the imported inflation, the growing deficit in the balance of payments, the deterioration in the terms of trade, the food shortages, and so on. Developing countries are faced with all the symptoms of underdevelopment, where hunger is the overpowering scourge of the people.

46. Specific short-term and long-term measures must be taken with a view to the eradication of the hunger and malnutrition that ravage Africa. Our continent is becoming ever more dependent on imports of food because of the lowered production and the natural catastrophes that have periodically devastated our region.

47. The adoption of coercive economic measures aimed at the attainment of specific political objectives

is so common today that it is as though an attempt were being made to replace the norms in the juridical instruments governing the Organization by that practice. It is thus that the countries that freely chose paths to development which led them to real independence have fallen victim to blackmail and pressures.

48. Taking into account the present international economic situation, we are concerned by the insistence of some developed market economy countries on taking unilateral and arbitrary decisions and refusing to engage in meaningful negotiations. The initiation of global negotiations on international co-operation for development is of primary importance. The People's Republic of Mozambique calls for the exertion of all possible efforts during the current session of the General Assembly to ensure the initiation of global negotiations.

49. We wish to assure the Assembly that our country will sign the recently adopted United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,<sup>1</sup> which establishes a new juridical order for the utilization of the ocean space as an instrument of justice, peace, development and international co-operation among States.

50. True co-operation among States based on a common examination of international economic problems and on common action is absolutely necessary. Only then will it be possible for us to respond to the yearnings of all peoples for equitable and rational development in all parts of the world. It is important to ensure the appropriate conditions without delay, establish normal economic relations among all States, regardless of their socio-economic systems and to reinforce international co-operation as a means of stabilizing peace.

51. The exploitation of the weak can no longer be regarded as the right of the rich, nor can poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease continue to be the lot of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

52. The struggle for peace is the greatest preoccupation of our time and most of mankind is involved in it. The struggle for peace means the reduction, destruction and final elimination of the causes of the conflicts that rage around the world: imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid*, zionism.

53. It means, in addition, that we must apply all our efforts to achieving general and complete disarmament. That is why the failure of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is of great concern to the People's Republic of Mozambique.

54. The wanton armaments race and the use of the ocean space and the stratosphere for purposes of warfare are serious obstacles to development and to co-operation among States. Development for the peoples, and the promotion of worth-while social and material well-being cannot be achieved unless all available human and material resources are used for peaceful purposes. In the realm of the struggle for peace, the People's Republic of Mozambique considers that nuclear disarmament has the highest possible priority, since the devastating effects of this type of weapon represent a serious threat to our very

survival. It is essential for the sake of all mankind to prevent a nuclear conflict, and this must be a matter of fundamental concern in the policy of every Government.

55. A threat to peace continues in the Indian Ocean region, where we see the consolidation, expansion and nuclearization of imperialist naval and military bases. Some Western countries persist in their firm opposition to the convening of the world Conference to adopt measures to give effect to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] free from nuclear weapons. We hope that those countries will change their position in order to make possible the implementation of General Assembly resolution 36/90, which provides for the Conference to be held during the first half of 1983.

56. The struggle for the implementation of peace and co-operation is one of our greatest priorities. Peace is necessary in the struggle against underdevelopment. Co-operation among the people of the world emerges as a necessity in the history of humanity and as an instrument in the struggle against underdevelopment, in particular through the creation of a just international order.

57. The People's Republic of Mozambique reiterates its commitment to contribute, together with the other members of the international community, to the search for a just and equitable solution to the problems that beset all of humanity.

58. Despite the systematic and deliberate violation of international legal instruments by certain Member States, we reaffirm our adherence to the principles and purposes of the Charter. The People's Republic of Mozambique expresses its full confidence in the Organization and in its everlasting dedication to the struggle for the achievement and preservation of international peace and security. The struggle continues.

59. Mr. TULL (Barbados): Mr. President, I wish to add my congratulations to those which have already been expressed on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I also wish to express my appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Kittani. It fell to him to preside over the Assembly at a time when it had to grapple with critical issues that threatened and indeed seriously ruptured international peace and security. Those sessions were unquestionably taxing, but as an accomplished and experienced diplomat he always rose to the occasion. We must take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General. This is the first regular session of the General Assembly that commences with Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar at the head of the Organization. His first year of office has been a most distressing one in international relations and yet he has been able to rise above last year's crises and to focus in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] on the fundamental issues that must be addressed by this world body.

60. In his report he quite rightly identifies the central problem facing the Organization as its capacity to keep the peace and serve as a forum for negotiations. He pleaded for a conscious recommitment by Governments to the Charter. My country concurs with the Secretary-General's views. I wish to express the hope

that we can, in our deliberations over the next three months, find effective solutions to the difficulties that he has identified. We wish him well as he guides this Organization.

61. In my address to the Assembly at the thirty-sixth session [*11th meeting*] I stated that the decade of the 1980s was probably the most dangerous, certainly the most critical, since the Second World War. I noted then that the world economy was in crisis and that inflation in all countries, rich and poor alike, was out of control. I regret to say that the situation has not improved. Indeed the current international economic recession is deep and pervasive. All countries, industrialized and developing, oil-producing and non-oil-producing, are currently in a state of economic decline, with not a few on the brink of collapse.

62. The economic backdrop against which international relations are being conducted continues to be characterized by recession, restrictive trade policies and high interest rates in the industrialized countries. Weakening demand for their primary products and low commodity prices have depressed the export earnings of developing countries. Increasing debt burdens have contributed to their economic difficulties. The policies so far applied have not been able to avert high levels of unemployment, widespread starvation and persistent poverty in much of the developing world. I share the view of those who are persuaded that recovery of the international economy is unlikely to be accomplished or to be lasting unless the developing countries as a group can return to a period of positive growth and prosperity.

63. Increasingly, it is being emphasized that there is a parallel between the present world economic situation and the recession of the 1930s, but I believe that there is a fundamental difference: there is today a greater understanding of the workings of the international economic system and of the need for economic co-operation. In short, narrow national interests may be attractive, but there is an overwhelming need for all of us to co-operate in order to save the world economy from further deterioration. What is needed now is international agreement on ways to stem the tide of growing protectionism. While protectionist tendencies are predictable in today's harsh economic climate, we all know from the lessons of history and the reality of economic interdependence that, if unchecked, protectionism is at best self-defeating and at worst could precipitate the very international collapse we all seek to avoid.

64. There is also a need for international agreement on the rate of creation of new debt and on the role of private institutions, financial and otherwise, in the recovery effort. We now know that the world can never again revert to economic self-management, to protectionism and to stalemate in multilateral efforts at financial and development co-operation without giving rise to the danger of international economic collapse.

65. Though it is recognized that the problems with which we are grappling are common to many developing countries, I should like here to draw special attention to the particular problems which confront very small States such as those of my sub-region.

66. A month ago the Prime Minister of Barbados addressed the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank in Toronto. Speaking on behalf of the member Governments of the Caribbean Community, he pointed to the fact that the relative deficiency in resources and capability implicit in small size imposes greater difficulties on those States in achieving greater self-reliance. He stated that the need for concessional resources in so-called middle-income countries cannot be determined by per capita gross national product alone without giving consideration to the resource endowments and the institutional capabilities within those countries.

67. He also expressed concern about the threatened application of principles based on the new concept of maturation or graduation. That concept would imply the creation of a permanent class of middle-developed countries which would never realize their full potential by achieving developed status.

68. It is a matter of deep concern that the problems facing the economies of very small States are apparently still not well understood by those who provide bilateral and multilateral assistance.

69. In this connection, we should like to draw the Assembly's attention to eminent thinkers in this field. On 8 July this year, Mr. William Demas, President of the Caribbean Development Bank, addressed the Economic and Social Council in his capacity as Chairman of the Committee for Development Planning. He pointed out a number of steps necessary for the recovery of the world economy and recommended, *inter alia*, a more imaginative use of multilateral financial institutions.

70. Specifically, he called for the following: first, the immediate restoration of the resources of the International Development Association to previously agreed levels and their subsequent enlargement, accompanied by a substantial increase in the resources of multilateral development institutions, particularly the World Bank, as well as the creation of an energy facility with a voluntarily subscribed equity base; secondly, the immediate resumption of Special Drawing Rights creation and the enlargement of the resources available to IMF. In addition, IMF should make a greater proportion of its resources available to the developing countries on easier terms and should consult and listen to member States when setting the terms of loans; thirdly, a significant increase in concessional development assistance, including food aid.

71. Barbados supports those recommendations and is convinced that they must feature in any attempt to deal realistically with the economic problems facing the developing countries. We are also convinced that the United Nations has a vital role to play in the realization of the goals of development. That role may sometimes be limited merely to sensitizing public opinion, but it is important.

72. I come now to the proposed global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. Barbados is keenly concerned about progress towards a new international economic order. It is that concern which leads us to feel a deep sense of disappointment over the failure of efforts to open global

negotiations, for which the 1981 International Meeting on Co-operation and Development at Cancún held out so much promise. We in Barbados think it is deplorable that the search for a solution to the fundamental economic problems of this world should be hampered by lack of action on the part of the industrialized countries. It is even sadder when one realizes that in obstructing global negotiations, those countries are frustrating endeavours to combat hunger and poverty—two problems that are endemic to most of the third world and are the natural consequences of the old, unjust order.

73. I believe that the serious obstacles to the efficient utilization of human and material resources for development are a result of the current state of international economic relations. The present economic order must be replaced by one based on equity, sovereign equality, common interests and co-operation. Developing countries, and even some developed ones, have expressed a desire to see the present system replaced. My country would like to see the entire international community summon the necessary political will to cure the economic ills which plague all our countries.

74. I believe that I am on safe ground when I assert that Barbados is not alone among developing countries in regarding the activities of the Organization in the sphere of technical assistance as one of the more satisfactory aspects of its work. UNDP has, without a doubt, established itself over the years as one of the most effective means for delivering technical assistance throughout the developing world. And yet, at the meeting of the Governing Council in June of this year, the Administrator of the Programme produced statistical information showing that the Programme is in grave danger as a result of the declining level of its real resources.

75. The record will show that my country, upon which the hardships of the world-wide economic recession press no less onerously than upon any other country, has not faltered in its financial support for the Programme. The reason for this continued support is that Barbados views the state of underdevelopment as one from which all countries of the world must emerge. If countries mean what they say when they lament the colossal waste resulting from ever-increasing expenditure on weapons of destruction, let them without delay look to those remedies which lie nearest to hand. UNDP is one such remedy, and it deserves the support of countries seeking to achieve the kind of world which we all desire.

76. That leads me to express my country's disappointment at further evidence of the lack of concern by some countries for development initiatives. I refer to the failure of those countries to support the Convention on the Law of the Sea. Barbados participated in the long and tortuous negotiations directed towards solving the problem of the management of the resources of the sea. We expected that the principle of the common heritage of mankind would be accepted and applied.

77. Consequently, we are saddened by the grudging reluctance with which many of the developed States have recognized the Convention. We are also distressed by the apparently firm intention of stronger

maritime Powers to ensure that the most promising aspects of the Convention are stymied by the concerted action of the technologically advanced. It would be worse than folly to repeat the mistakes of the last century, when colonizing Powers carved up vast continental tracts of land. We live today with the legacy of those nineteenth century errors. To allow the vast expanse of the oceans and their resources to be disposed of only among the mighty—however bland the contemporary approach—would be to fail succeeding generations.

78. Barbados will therefore co-operate with like-minded nations in the establishment of an effective and efficient International Sea-bed Authority. Such an Authority has the potential of being a vital agency for the management of and equitable participation in the wealth of the oceans. It therefore deserves the active support of all those who recognize the right of technologically disadvantaged countries to have a fair share of the resources of our planet.

79. We also welcome the decision of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to have the Final Act and Convention signed in Jamaica later this year. This is most fitting, for although the political centre of gravity has shifted to other areas, the Caribbean is an area of historical importance, having been a trading centre in former centuries.

80. The signing of that multifaceted Convention will have particular significance. On that day we shall reaffirm and strengthen our commitment to a more equitable sharing of the riches of the oceans. We shall also be pledging ourselves to preserve and develop their living and non-living resources as part of the patrimony of all peoples.

81. Just as the international community has failed to deal successfully with the inequities of the world economy, it has also been unsuccessful with the question of disarmament. We are all aware that the failure of the Assembly at the recent special session to agree on a comprehensive programme for disarmament has caused grave disappointment. The discussions were important in so far as they provided an opportunity for all countries to focus collectively on the general disarmament process and its objectives. I do not wish to reiterate here the horrifying statistics of world expenditure on arms, for, in the words of the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, under the chairmanship of Olof Palme, now Sweden's head of Government, "they have assumed a sort of deadening familiarity".<sup>2</sup>

82. Effective resolution of the disarmament issue depends primarily on East-West negotiations and on the political action of the super-Powers. However, all countries, large and small, must lend their voices in support of early action. It is in the common interest of all of us to avoid war. Barbados is convinced that the level of armaments will not be reduced unless hard negotiations are concluded between the super-Powers and agreement reached on a mutual and balanced force reduction. We hope that universal awareness of the potentially devastating consequences of the arms race will encourage efforts to bring about effective and conclusive negotiations on this issue.

83. Barbados will continue to share the related concerns of the international community on matters of security and development.

84. If the resources released from a cutback in the arms industry were used for social and economic development, then widespread unemployment, hunger and poverty could be abated. But this can be achieved only if nations are convinced that they are serving a greater good than their own narrow interests. Barbados therefore again calls on all nations to respect the institutions they have built and to honour the undertakings they have made. Barbados speaks out again, firm in the conviction that the United Nations and the Charter are the guardians of international morality and the rule of law.

85. Since the last regular session of the General Assembly, recourse has too often been made to the use of arms to resolve conflicts between States. This trend must be condemned. My delegation once more would like to call on all nations to utilize the peaceful means for the settlement of disputes which are spelled out in Article 33 of the Charter.

86. This leads me to the question of the Security Council. The Charter intended that that Council should have primary responsibility for international peace and security. However, far too often, as the Secretary-General warns in his report, nations have avoided bringing critical problems to the attention of the Council, or on occasion have submitted them too late for that body to exercise any serious influence on their development and outcome. All members of the Council, both permanent and non-permanent, have a duty to examine dispassionately and to search diligently for solutions to issues that are brought before the Council.

87. It is regrettable that the decisions of the Council are far too frequently ignored. I believe that the legal obligation of States to adhere to resolutions and decisions of the Council would be reinforced by the moral authority of a Council that is seen to be impartial. It is only when the States Members of the United Nations carry out the decisions of the Security Council that that body will fulfil the role for which it was conceived.

88. My Government is mindful of the efforts that the Security Council has made over the years to bring peace to the Middle East. Yet today more than ever before the continuing unstable situation there, vividly dramatized by the events in Lebanon during the past two months, threatens global peace and security. My Government believes that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon is a necessary condition for the restoration of peace in that country. The people of Lebanon must be given a chance to seek for themselves a genuine and lasting solution to their problems.

89. Barbados is horrified by the recent massacre of Palestinian refugees in Beirut. We condemn in the most unequivocal terms the perpetrators of that dastardly slaughter of innocent men, women and children in refugee camps. It is indeed an irony of history that the tragedy of Sabra and Shatila might have been prevented by those who were themselves victims of past atrocities. We note that that barbarous act has significantly alienated support from Israel, whose soldiers were in effective control and occupation of

the area where the camps were situated. This tragedy emphasizes the urgent need for more earnest efforts to be made towards a general and lasting peace in that region. In the meantime, the Government of Barbados wishes to endorse calls made by the international community for an investigation into the barbarities in Beirut.

90. Barbados recognizes the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination; and their latest sufferings underline the poignant need for them to have their own homeland.

91. We also recognize and support the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign and independent State within agreed and recognized boundaries. But Barbados has always been opposed to the use of force to settle international disputes. We believe that acts of aggression in the Middle East will not enhance the chances for a lasting peace in that region.

92. A number of elements now exist in the form of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, the plan of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference and the proposals of the United States Administration, along with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which could be used to build a permanent and lasting peace in the Middle East.

93. Included in the perennial litany of woe is the yet unresolved question of Namibia. The freedom that has come to Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe will, it is hoped, soon come to Namibia. The writing has long been on the wall for the racist régime in Pretoria, but its obduracy persists. In desperation it continues to procrastinate by attempting to make Cuban disengagement from Angola a condition of Namibian independence. South Africa has no right whatsoever in Namibia, and should leave forthwith.

94. A word about *apartheid* and sports—an issue which, because of the prowess of Caribbean nations in many sporting activities, principally the game of cricket, is of more than passing interest to my country.

95. The proponents of *apartheid* have no shame. They do, however, have an abundance of material resources. By assuming that each man has his price, they have been seeking by wealth and stealth to lure our black sportsmen to parade their skills in South Africa. The South African authorities hope thereby to strangle our sport internationally and to reduce our positions of principle on *apartheid* to empty shibboleths. For countries such as the one I have the honour to represent, countries which flinch at tampering with personal freedoms, persuasion in matters of personal conduct and conscience is preferable to coercion. None the less, our cricketers must know that playing in South Africa will disqualify them for selection for our national team.

96. Today I join with those solemnizing the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners in pressing for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa. We hope that representatives here will continue to use every method at their command to isolate South Africa politically, socially and economically.

97. That small States are vulnerable is a truism for which ample evidence can be found in recent events, both in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and

in the Caribbean Sea. It is to the credit of organizations such as this that many more small island States have not fallen prey to the desires of some arrogant, rapacious and stronger neighbouring State. We must none the less be constantly vigilant. Today, many small island States face the threat of attack, not by neighbouring nations but by mercenaries—soldiers of fortune, motivated by personal greed, spurred by racial intolerance, or prompted by some nation State which would fain do its own dirty work, but dare not. We contend that the activities of mercenaries violate international law and constitute interference in the internal affairs of other States. The activities of mercenaries result in breaches of territorial integrity, national sovereignty and independence and violate the self-determination of peoples. Such activities pose a serious danger to international peace and security. Barbados is, and will continue to be, in the vanguard of those States which press for the adoption of resolutions and conventions to stamp out the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries. I wish, therefore, to appeal to Member States for whom the elaboration of such a convention would appear to create problems to present their case in a constructive manner so that solutions may be attempted.

98. Finally, let me assure the Assembly that Barbados holds the view that the Organization presents the best means for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends. It already has many impressive achievements to its credit. However, it must now address other pressing needs that clamour for solution. We fully realize that the transformation of resolutions, decisions and treaties into practical action cannot be achieved except by commitment and dedicated effort by all our countries.

99. Intellectual and moral thinking in the twentieth century has taken a huge humanitarian leap. We have come to accept that peace in our time means more than the mere cessation of war. It connotes the creation and maintenance of conditions conducive to the full development of man's physical, intellectual and spiritual attributes. These conditions cannot exist if the leading military Powers continue in their race to outdo each other in the stockpiling and trading of arms of frighteningly destructive power. Nor can the conditions indispensable to true peace exist where the battlefield is the ready recourse for disputing nations. Nor will the conditions of true peace exist while the millions of the North are blessed with plenty, while dehumanizing poverty and crippling underdevelopment plague the millions of the South. Nor will the conditions of true peace ever exist until the miasma of *apartheid* is eradicated from southern Africa. These conditions will not exist and be secure until, in word as well as in deed, we begin to live out the true meaning of the resonant exordium of the Charter of this great Organization. There it reaffirms the faith of the founding nations and indeed of all mankind "in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

100. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): Mr. President, I should like to begin my speech by congratulating you on behalf of my delegation on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your vast

experience, knowledge and personal wisdom will guide our deliberations to a constructive conclusion. May I also express our deep appreciation and thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for his excellent performance in discharging the duties of his office. I should also like to extend my delegation's sincere greetings to the Secretary-General, with the renewed assurances of my Government's support for his dedicated efforts in upholding the objectives of the Organization.

101. We are meeting at a time of increasing tension and anxiety. We are in a situation which demands that serious and urgent steps be taken to prevent any further deterioration in the international climate and to align the norms of international behaviour with the proper human values prescribed in the Charter. The need to strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining world peace and security is felt at the present stage more strongly than ever before. We should not allow the opportunity of this meeting to pass without effectively renewing our commitments to the objectives of the Organization, and fulfilling the aspirations of our peoples.

102. In his remarkable report to the Assembly, the Secretary-General has very ably diagnosed the world situation, and my delegation fully agrees with him that our prime objective at this crucial moment should be to renew the concept of collective action for peace and security, and to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function.

103. The United Nations was created for the purpose of harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends and it should effectively remain so with the maximum capacity to safeguard peace and to be a forum for responsible discussions and negotiations between nations. We feel also that the responsibility as well as the authority of the Security Council in its function as the primary instrument for maintaining international peace and security should be reconfirmed and further strengthened by all possible means. In this context, my delegation wishes to stress the important commitment of the permanent members of the Council and their responsibilities to world peace.

104. It is frightening to imagine a world with no power at all to deal with situations that endanger international peace. The recent military adventures in Lebanon and the earlier foreign interventions in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and some other countries in Africa and Latin America have indeed alarmed the world community regarding the dangers of a new international anarchy. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that we seriously and sincerely embark on a process that will free mankind of these fears and anxieties.

105. My delegation feels that we should accelerate our efforts to achieve world disarmament. While we concentrate on removing the danger of a nuclear war, we should continue with renewed determination our efforts to limit the arms race and the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons as well as of other destructive "conventional" weapons. My delegation will continue to support the efforts of the world community in the direction of total disarmament, including the safeguarding of outer space, prohibition

of nuclear-weapon tests and establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

106. The situation in the Middle East remains the most pressing issue on the international scene. The tragic events in Lebanon have added new dimensions to the gravity of the problem to which the Organization has to address itself. And yet the question of Palestine—the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and freedom—remains at the heart of the issue. The key to any lasting solution and to peace in that crucial area is, as is evident from the sequence of recent events, the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to have their own independent homeland.

107. The world has witnessed with anger and dismay the Israeli invasion of Lebanon while it continued its illegal occupation of other territories, perpetuating its policy of expansion through the establishment of illegal settlements, ignoring and rejecting United Nations resolutions and violating all norms of international behaviour. My Government has joined the world community in its repeated condemnation of the Israeli aggression against Arab territories and atrocities in the occupied territories.

108. The invasion of Lebanon under the cruel pretext of liquidating the PLO, which symbolizes the legitimate will of the Palestinian people, has clearly revealed the nature of Israeli policies in the area. Israel is not only a radical entity that aims to expand at the expense of other peoples and of their rights, but is also a force that will not hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States through occupation, terrorism and even assassination in order to achieve unjustifiable objectives. The world community, including States which continue to sympathize with Israel, should now, in particular after seeing the horrible consequences of its invasion of Lebanon, act firmly to stop the arrogance and expansionism of Israel.

109. Among the central issues of international concern remain the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, two small countries which were subjected to foreign invasion. My delegation reiterates its policy of endorsing the United Nations resolutions which condemn foreign intervention and call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from those two countries, allowing the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea the opportunity to exercise their own rights without outside influence or pressure, including the right of refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. We welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General in initiating talks with the parties concerned aimed at finding a political solution to the problems involved. In the same context and within the framework of the same principles involved, we look at the events in Africa and Latin America in which intervention in the internal affairs of countries took place under different pretexts in the past few years. My country is deeply concerned over this trend of military intervention, which undermines the orderly and peaceful existence of nations.

110. Among issues of grave concern to the Organization and to the world as a whole is the question of South West Africa. The continuation by South

Africa of its occupation of Namibia, despite the vigorous efforts of the United Nations to grant independence to that deprived nation, constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and endangers world peace and the stability of the African region. It is our duty to continue political and economic pressure on South Africa in our efforts to force it to concede to the logic of human realities and to continue our support to the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. While condemning the occupation of Namibia by South Africa, my Government reiterates its support to the oppressed people in South Africa itself under its inhuman policy of *apartheid* in their struggle for equality, justice and dignity.

111. Another question of concern to us is the situation in Cyprus. We are disappointed by the slow progress in negotiations between the parties concerned with the aim of reaching an honourable solution to the prolonged internal dispute that will at the same time ensure the rights of the communities and preserve the national and territorial integrity of the country.

112. My country is concerned also about the stalemate in the dialogue between the peoples of North and South Korea for the purpose of their peaceful reunification. We believe that the international community should continue its support to the Korean people and encourage them to continue that process within the framework of their own aspirations, free from outside influence and pressure. In this respect we should welcome all initiatives calling for the resumption of talks between the two sides.

113. We are deeply concerned that the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran continues to rage despite the repeated appeals by the world community for a cease-fire and for the solution of the dispute between those two neighbouring countries by peaceful means.

114. Maldives continues to be guided by a policy of non-alignment and has always endeavoured humbly to contribute its modest share in order to strengthen the unity and the charter of the non-aligned movement, in a sincerity for peace, friendship and international co-operation.

115. Turning to our region and to a question of immediate concern to my country, I wish to confirm our full endorsement of and support for the proposal to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, not only because of our strong opposition to the presence of foreign military bases and facilities in the Indian Ocean but also because of the awareness of increasing tension in the region and of the strong possibility of their involvement in provoking and escalating conflicts in the area.

116. The rivalry among the big Powers and their military presence in our own neighbourhood divert our attention to potential dangers and compel us to exhaust our resources on otherwise unnecessary security measures, while our limited resources are most vitally needed for the promotion of the welfare of our peoples and the development of our economies. The efforts to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace must therefore be renewed and continued within the framework of the fundamental elements of the Declaration. We feel that the Coimbo Conference should be held on as early a

date as possible. It may be true that the convening of the Conference will not be enough to resolve all the problems pertaining to the security of our region. However, we are convinced that the meeting will contribute to the favourable development of the concept and improve the climate in the region.

117. My country is indeed glad to note the successful conclusion of the negotiations at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea with the adoption of a comprehensive Convention on the Law of the Sea which reflects the expectations of the world community. It is our hope that the acceptance of the Convention by all the States Members of the United Nations will become a reality as soon as possible. My delegation believes that the Convention will be an extremely important instrument for the promotion of a peaceful and orderly discipline in ocean affairs as well as for the exploitation of the immense resources of the sea and the sea-bed in a better and more dignified manner, which would be beneficial for mankind as a whole.

118. While we focus our attention on the critical developments on the international political scene, we find that further deterioration and serious erosion is taking place in multilateral economic relations mainly due to the failure of some of the developed countries to understand the inevitability of interdependence. My delegation feels that the concept of global negotiation should be further pursued and that new initiatives should be undertaken to accelerate our effort to establish a new international economic order. Meanwhile we should continue our multilateral negotiations at the sectoral levels within and outside the specialized world bodies. The process should not be allowed to slow down under the pressure of the still existing obsessions of protectionism and adverse national policies. We should sincerely and collectively address ourselves to all the stresses and strains of the entire economic system of the world, which extend beyond the relationship between North and South.

119. Meanwhile we are convinced that the promotion of measures for collective self-reliance among the developing countries is now more indispensable than ever. In this regard we endorse the outcome of the meeting of the Intergovernmental Follow-Up and Co-ordination Committee on economic co-operation among developing countries held in August in Manila.

120. As one of the least developed countries of the third world, Maldives was happy to note the positive responses from many of the developing countries to the recommendations of last year's Paris Conference.<sup>3</sup> For our part, we shall try to demonstrate to the donor countries and to our friends all over the world that we are sincere and serious in our efforts to develop our country and to emerge from the bracket of underdevelopment to an appropriate stage of steady national growth. We sincerely hope that the recommendations of the Paris Conference will be followed up effectively, and we look forward to the round-table meetings scheduled to take place in the near future in the earnest hope that they will produce positive results.

121. In conclusion I should like to reaffirm my country's faith and trust in the Organization as the

instrument with the most potential for maintaining peace and security in the world and fulfilling the aspirations of mankind to justice and prosperity.

122. Undeniably, we are bound by serious constraints and difficulties. We are more often faced with frustrating situations such as that through which we are passing today. However, our faith and trust in the noble principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations demand of us that we renew our commitments and continue our efforts to strengthen the role of the Organization in fulfilling the lofty objectives of the Charter.

123. Mr. CASTILLO-ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Guatemalan delegation, over which I have the honour to preside, I wish to express to you, Mr. Hollai, congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. Such a high distinction is well-deserved recognition of your human and professional qualities and your profound knowledge of the problems being discussed in the Organization. I am convinced that under your able leadership our tasks will attain the very best results. Please rest assured that you may count on the whole-hearted co-operation of the Guatemalan delegation. I also wish to express my delegation's recognition of the work accomplished under the direction of Mr. Kitani as President of the previous session. My delegation greets with special satisfaction the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, that illustrious Latin American diplomat, who is indefatigable in his efforts in search of a more effective role for the United Nations in its endeavours to attain international peace, understanding and harmony.

Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Vice-President, took the Chair.

124. As regards the national policy of my country, I wish to declare that the present Government of the Republic of Guatemala, which assumed power on 23 March of this year to put an end to a practically untenable situation stemming from corruption and lack of respect for the will of the people as expressed at the polls, received the immediate assent and approval of the entire Guatemalan people and met with expressions of international acceptance and satisfaction.

125. The goals of the Government of Guatemala are basically to bring peace to the country, which is now in such a serious state of upheaval, especially in some areas, as a result of actions by subversive groups which have sown terror among the population and caused incalculable personal and material damage to inhabitants, forcing them to abandon their places of origin, disintegrating families, causing suffering, desolation and death. My Government is trying to bring into active productivity and the benefits of progress through policies, projects and development programmes, a great mass of the native population which has lived a forsaken and marginal existence and thus to eliminate as much as possible the enormous social differences that now prevail. It is trying also to reduce the causes of dissatisfaction and frustration in various sectors of the population, to bring about respect for universally recognized human rights, and obser-

vance and full exercise thereof, to accelerate the process of integrated and harmonious development for the entire country, to reactivate the country's economy and to create everywhere the conditions necessary for the country, to move towards a political event in which citizens may freely choose their new authorities and thereby return to constitutional normalcy.

126. On coming to power the new Government of Guatemala, which is presided over by General José Efraín Ríos Montt, outlined 14 points containing its aspirations and the guidelines to be followed in order to achieve full well-being for the people of Guatemala.

127. Those points are as follows: first, to make the people aware that the authorities are there to serve them and not the people to serve the authorities; second, to bring about the reconciliation of the entire Guatemalan family for the benefit of peace and national concord; third, to ensure the security and tranquillity of the individual, through absolute respect for human rights; fourth, to restore individual and national dignity; fifth, to develop a nationalistic spirit and to create the foundation for the participation and integration of the various ethnic groups that make up our nation; sixth, to bring about the economic recovery of the nation in keeping with the free enterprise system, through the controls required by the present state of the nation; seventh, to restructure the judicial power, with the participation of the Bar Association, in order to adapt it to present circumstances and ensure that it functions in accordance with ethical, moral and juridical norms; eighth, to eradicate administrative corruption and promote among civil servants a genuine spirit of public service, which constitutes the foundation of a national Government; ninth, to encourage among the various pressure groups which represent national activity a new development-oriented, reformist and nationalistic spirit; tenth, to strengthen national integration, efficiently utilizing the co-operation of other States and international organizations, at the same time pointing out certain problems of the State in its foreign relations; eleventh, to improve the standard of living of the people in order to reduce existing differences; twelfth, to restructure the electoral system so that as a true democratic institution it represents the political participation of the people and so that their wishes are not frustrated; thirteenth, to reorganize the public administration so that government programmes are carried out in a dynamic way and to ensure its efficiency and control its regular functioning, thereby avoiding administrative anarchy; fourteenth, to restore a constitutional form of government for the country within a fixed period of time, so that Guatemalans will know and demand their rights and know their duties and obligations within free democratic institutions.

128. To attain those objectives the Government of the Republic of Guatemala has since coming to power taken steps to cleanse the public administration, reduce public expenditure through a policy of austerity, promote investments, increase exports of traditional and non-traditional products and to provide immediate help to the villages affected by

subversive violence. At the political level, a Council of State has been created, with members representing all the sectors of the country and constituting an advisory body of the Government of the Republic and a balancing factor within it. It should be emphasized that this is a body which, for the first time in the history of the country, comprises the various ethnic elements which make up the nation, so that they now have a forum in which to put forward their problems, needs and desires and the aspirations of their respective communities. In the future they will participate with all the other sectors of the nation in the decision-making process, so that we are better able to define the destiny of the Republic.

129. The President of the Republic, in his address at the inauguration of the Council of State, said:

"The political concept which at present we define as Guatemalan reformism or reform will be valid only when the various objectives materialize and become legal fact. These objectives, reached over the short, intermediate or long term, will be the framework upon which the roof of our nationality will rest."

130. Among other general objectives, since the detailed objectives will be established by mutual agreement and depending upon the encouragement provided by the participation of those sectors concerned in the development of our nation, we point out the following.

131. First, the Council of State shall legislate on the privileges and exemptions of Guatemalans, enhancing and reinforcing in this legal body all that pertains to human rights. These rights must be examined, publicized, taught and practised and their principles should serve as the basis for all types of legislation. The present Government is committed to the inclusion in the fundamental laws of Guatemala of everything that pertains to human rights.

132. Secondly, the Council of State shall propose the legal procedures through which political development may be guaranteed with the utmost security and respect for social stability. To this end, basic agreements must be reached to ensure the democratization of the country, thus establishing its own system, efficient and reliable, just and flexible, capable of meeting the problems inherent in our national identity, and a strong State which will be representative, consolidated and dynamic.

133. Thirdly, the Council of State shall, furthermore, draft a provisory law for the purpose of electing a Constituent Assembly which will broaden political life by the authentic representation of all Guatemalans, promoting participation by the people and consolidation of the State by encouraging the expression of public opinion and organizing large numbers of people and social groups in order to establish a more united society which will emphasize our common interests and ensure the enjoyment of harmony with freedom among its pluralistic constituents.

134. In view of the frustrations suffered by the Guatemalans, the repeated and successive contradictions inherited from previous Governments, the

lack of an overall strategy on the part of the political authorities to deal with subversion; the lack of solutions to our basic problems; the total lack of any ethical or moral example set by those leading—or claiming to lead—the nation; and in view of the obvious irresponsibility in the management of the national economy and the widespread corruption, “the Guatemalan army commits itself to lead the country”, the President has asked me to state before the Guatemalan people, “with firmness and a vocation to serve, towards a democratization process which will create the conditions and legal machinery required for the establishment of a Government that will represent legitimacy and put an end to corruption. The Guatemalan army firmly rejected the disruptive activities of individuals or institutions, as well as the corrupting effects of any demagoguery on the part of those who take upon themselves rights which are only the result of their own frustration, irresponsibility or ignorance”.

135. Corruption in former régimes led Guatemala to a process of decay, not only politically but also socially, spiritually and morally, and to the loss of the ethical values that are essential to people's lives.

136. For this reason, the Government of the Republic has encouraged a dialogue between the people and the authorities; and it is hoped that by example, new attitudes and the implementation of a new philosophy of Government, these intrinsic values of our people will be gradually restored, so that together with material development can also be a change in the ethical and spiritual standards, which will unquestionably enable Guatemala to see its future more clearly, recover its identity as a nation, and shape its own destiny.

137. Our national problems are difficult, we shall need sacrifice, effort, work and good will on the part of all Guatemalans to see our country through. It is to these noble tasks that we are presently devoted, tasks that will undoubtedly also require international understanding and co-operation.

138. The stage which Guatemala is presently going through is critical because the structures, resources, values and principles that held good are now being judged and analysed so that we can apply them in future and gain a clear and revised image of our situation. We are in fact a country where there is a great deal to be done. And so it must be when a people decides to face the responsibility of building its own history. From experience we have learned that if we do not take the making of our own history into our own hands, others will do it for us in their own way, which implies an ominous fate for a people which respects itself: intervention.

139. The historic commitment of the present Government of Guatemala is to consolidate the peace and security of the nation; to solve the serious economic crisis which is affecting Guatemala, as indeed it is affecting the entire world, because of an economic recession which in Central America has become aggravated by internal causes; to restructure and incorporate large sectors that are representative of the country and which have been unjustly left out in the past and have not participated in the democratic decision-making of the nation, but which

under a new and safe electoral system will for the first time freely exercise their right of universal suffrage, thus ensuring the self-determination of the people of Guatemala and ruling out the electoral fraud which in the past has been the means of diverting our democracy from its true course; to return to a state of law and to install a democratic Government representative of all the people, a process whose gradual development will be completed by the beginning of 1985. We are convinced that all sectors of the country will patriotically co-operate in this enterprise to implement a true democracy involving the representation and participation of the people of Guatemala. That is our commitment, and those are the firm steps we shall take towards the future of Guatemala in the search for a better national and international destiny.

140. From this rapid glance at the transformation which has taken place in my country, it can be inferred that its international policy will also be different from now on. Without underestimating the sacred concepts of the sovereignty and independence of nations, the Government I represent is aware of the interdependence of nations in the economic, political and cultural fields and it recognizes the need that our problems and our differences be resolved in the concert of nations, in open discussion, in the best way, on the basis of respect and trust.

141. In addition to the circumstances just described, we have also had to deal with a national disaster in the southern part of the country, brought about by an atmospheric depression, causing loss of human life, crops and property. All this has brought a shadow of mourning over Guatemala. I wish to take this opportunity publicly to express, on behalf of the Government of Guatemala, our appreciation for the prompt and effective help we have received from friendly Governments and international organizations.

142. As regards the foreign policy of my country, the Government of Guatemala has since the day it assumed power on 23 March this year, seen the necessity of revitalizing our democratic institutions and restoring the fundamental values of the people and the dignity of the nation, and it has declared its intention of abiding by and complying with the international commitments acquired by Guatemala and maintaining full respect for the legal rules governing relations between States, as well as co-operating closely with the organizations that concern themselves at the international level with human rights and guard and protect their exercise.

143. The Government of Guatemala intends to strengthen its bonds of friendly relations and co-operation with all countries with which such relations already exist and to extend them to all countries which love peace and democracy and which desire such relations, in order to achieve the principles of progress within the international community.

144. Guatemala also wishes to confirm its trust in international organizations and its decision to comply with commitments undertaken in terms of the principles and the Charter of the United Nations and those of the charter of the Organization of American States [OAS] and to reaffirm my Government's sup-

port for the United Nations as the principal instrument for maintaining peace and strengthening international security.

145. As regards our Central American policy, Guatemala pursues a policy of fraternity with the countries of the region, as we have the same origin, we acceded to independent life at the same time, we make up a geographic unit, we share the same history, we speak the same language, we have the same traditions and customs and we face similar problems.

146. Maintaining utmost respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, Guatemala seeks a *rapprochement* with the sister nations of Central America. The terms of this *rapprochement* can best be summarized as respect for the highest values of humanity, namely peace, justice and freedom, and the building of economic, legal and political mechanisms for the development of the Isthmus, to promote co-operation among our nations, to strengthen the bonds among our peoples and to engage in a joint search for a more promising future for the area, which of late has seen so many upheavals.

147. At the Latin American level, Guatemalan policy is aimed at reaffirming its faith in the inter-American system, the objectives of which are outlined in the charter of the OAS; our international policy at the regional level is one of interrelation, solidarity and co-operation with the countries of the region. We believe that Latin America must play its proper role, within the world community, for it is a continent that has struggled for the principles of freedom, social justice and dignity and a region that has a geo-political influence of undeniable importance within the world community.

148. Guatemala has faith in the historic destiny of our America and believes that by strengthening relations in the hemisphere within the framework of the OAS, Latin America will be in a position to promote gradual, independent and sovereign development for its peoples and to secure for them the conditions necessary to derive maximum benefit from their natural resources and to utilize the advances of science and technology.

149. As far as world policy is concerned, Guatemala supports those democracies which respect the dignity of the human being.

150. In the economic field, Guatemala, as a developing nation, shares the just aspirations of the third-world countries and, as a member of the Group of 77, we share the concern of poor nations with regard to the obvious international injustice—evident at many levels but fundamentally in the areas of international trade and economics.

151. As regards human rights, the Fundamental Statute of Government, which constitutes the highest legal instrument regulating the actions of the Government of the Republic of Guatemala, provides that respect for human rights is one of the basic principles of its internal organization and of its international relations. The same Fundamental Statute of Government defines human rights and elaborates on them in its articles, covering basic human rights, civil and political human rights and social, eco-

nomic and cultural human rights. The Government of the Republic respects those rights within the country and internationally it is co-operating with the organizations created to ensure their observance.

152. In line with this policy, the Government of the Republic extended a cordial invitation to the whole Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to visit Guatemala to ascertain that those rights were being observed, within the context of the national situation. This invitation was accepted with pleasure and the visit took place during the week of 20 to 26 September this year. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights publicly recognized that its members enjoyed full co-operation and broad freedom during their stay in Guatemala while carrying out an in-depth investigation of human rights in my country. They met with officials from the Government, institutions, associations, representative groups and political parties, as well as with individuals and legal entities who wished to file complaints. They travelled to the interior of the country, visiting the villages of their choice, to interview the inhabitants and exchange impressions with them and to view on the spot their problems and their living conditions from a human rights standpoint. The report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, once the procedural requirements laid down in its rules and regulations have been met, will be made public by the Commission itself and may be read by the entire international community. At the end of their visit the members of the Commission made recommendations to the Government of Guatemala, which are at present under consideration for appropriate implementation.

153. Within the jurisdiction of the United Nations, the Commission on Human Rights decided to appoint a special rapporteur to investigate the human rights situation in Guatemala. The Government asked the Secretary-General to propose the name of a candidate for that post. The person proposed has already been appointed and has been accepted by my Government, and he will be given full co-operation and freedom for the fulfilment of his mission.

154. There have also been interviews and conversations with the Working Group to examine questions relevant to involuntary or enforced disappearances of persons, established by the Commission on Human Rights, and the information requested concerning cases under consideration by it has been submitted. It has been offered our full co-operation for the fulfilment of its mandate.

155. This attitude by the Government of Guatemala reflects its sincere intention to improve the human rights situation in the country and to request the assistance of the relevant international organizations in order to make human rights in Guatemala more effective every day.

156. I turn now to the problem of the Malvinas Islands. Following the decision of the Republic of Argentina to reincorporate the Malvinas Islands within its sovereignty, Guatemala confirmed its position in support of that sister nation's legitimate rights over those islands and endorsed its determination to claim sovereignty over them. My country, in public declarations and in statements both in the

Security Council and at the twentieth consultative meeting of Foreign Ministers convened by the OAS in accordance with the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty, expressed its views in connection with the Malvinas Islands, reaffirming its solidarity with the Republic of Argentina and recognizing the latter's full rights to territorial integrity.

157. In the Security Council itself, Guatemala stated, *inter alia*:

"It is inconceivable that the colonialist system, which is fortunately in its death throes throughout the world, including our continent, should have sprung to life, allowing a colonialist empire to impose its interests upon our America to the detriment of a Latin American country, whose right to sovereignty over the full extent of its territory has been internationally recognized.

"We believe that this matter should be dealt with through negotiations so that the vast majority of the States that make up this international community may maintain their faith and belief that international justice lives and prevails, even when what is at stake are the interests of great Powers which seek to impose their will by means of their military might.

"If this does not come about, Latin America will consider this action against Argentina as a serious threat to all of Latin America too and very disturbing for the rest of the world, which might suffer similar treatment if an attempt were made to subject them to similar circumstances."<sup>4</sup>

158. We have witnessed the anguish of a Latin American republic being attacked by an extracontinental Power in violation of international law, and we have also been grieved at the fact that Argentina did not receive the response of solidarity which it should have in this case and provided for in treaties which up to now have been in full force and fully complied with.

159. As the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Guatemala, I had the honour to sign together with the Foreign Ministers of other Latin American countries, a request for the inclusion of an item on the Malvinas Islands in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly, to be discussed in plenary meeting.

160. None the less, I now urge the countries involved in the controversy to resume as soon as possible the required negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations for the purpose of resolving that dispute. The peaceful settlement of disputes is and must continue to be, within the United Nations, perhaps the most powerful instrument for achieving peace and security.

161. The General Assembly has not discussed the question of Korea in the past six years. Guatemala feels that it should be for the Koreans themselves to find a peaceful solution to the problem of Korea and that the Organization can help to create a favourable climate in which to resume inter-Korean talks rather than engage in an unproductive debate on the question.

162. Nevertheless, in view of the tense and unstable situation prevailing at present in the Korean

peninsula, my country is of the opinion that resumption of the dialogue between North and South Korea is urgent, so that, through direct negotiations and without outside pressure or interference, they may find a solution to their differences. To that end, it is essential that North Korea make the political decision to return to the conference table as soon as possible.

163. Guatemala believes that, irrespective of the main objective that total reunification of the Korean peninsula be achieved, both South Korea and North Korea, as a means of relieving the existing tension and creating conditions favourable to the stability of the area, could be admitted as Members of the United Nations, pursuant to the principle of universality provided for in the Charter.

164. In regard to disarmament, with which the United Nations has concerned itself since its creation my delegation would like to quote the statement by the President of Guatemala sent as a contribution by my country to the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second special session devoted to disarmament:

"Guatemala, whose people and Government are deeply committed to peace, deems it appropriate to express its ideas to this forum convened to discuss all aspects of disarmament.

"Guatemala considers that the arms-reduction campaign is vital for the peace of the world; the development of States and the prosperity of peoples.

"It is necessary to express openly the dangers inherent in the continuation of the arms race and to dispel the hope that peace and security can coexist with the accumulation of vast quantities of means of destruction.

"General and complete prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons is of paramount importance, since it helps to reduce the risk of nuclear war which would mean a holocaust for mankind.

"My country believes that both atomic and nuclear energy should be used only for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of the human race.

"Guatemala considers that a lasting peace can be secured only through general and complete disarmament under effective and strict international control and not through a balance of armaments between the great Powers.

"Disarmament is one of the objectives proclaimed by the United Nations for over three decades, but despite the numerous initiatives adopted by the Organization, the world is witnessing a frenzied arms race.

"Although the great Powers should be primarily responsible for disarmament, Guatemala believes that it would also be desirable to ban sophisticated weapons in Latin America as a way of contributing to universal disarmament and of increasing the resources allocated to economic and social development.

"The Treaty of Tlatelolco, to which Guatemala is a party, is a very useful instrument for preventing Latin America from being converted

into a depository of nuclear arms or a test site for atomic weapons.

"I feel it is appropriate to underscore the great importance of the highly industrialized countries understanding that if, instead of devoting large sums of money to the production of weapons of mass destruction, they were to channel those resources to poor countries to help them in their efforts to achieve integral and harmonious development, the major scourges of hunger, unemployment, malnutrition, illiteracy and precarious living conditions which prevail in the third world would be considerably reduced.

"Peace and social justice, which are the greatest aspirations of mankind, can be achieved with the active participation of all nations with a view to establishing a new international order and creating for present and future generations a more human and balanced world based on solid foundations of equality and dignity."<sup>5</sup>

165. Guatemala believes that all the problems of disarmament should not continue to be viewed in the traditional way, but that it is necessary to extend the field of knowledge as to the attitude of certain Powers and countries which unconditionally serve their hegemonistic interests by providing subversive movements with arms, munitions, military training, logistical support, money and international patronage.

166. If a global analysis of matters related to disarmament is not carried out, various initiatives to reduce military expenditures and calls to Powers to halt their arms race deal with only one aspect of the problem but overlook the other aspect, which is the supplying of arms to subversive factions so that they may continue to use terrorism and armed struggle as means to win power, at the resulting cost of human lives and suffering and hardship for the civilian population, as well as the unavoidable use of resources to fight subversion, which could otherwise be used for works of public benefit and major social interest.

167. Guatemala notes with satisfaction that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, after holding several sessions, has succeeded in producing the text of a Convention on the Law of the Sea. My country, like others, sincerely regrets that a text which has the subject of protracted negotiation has not been adopted by consensus because some States have reservations concerning some of the provisions of the instrument, basically those concerning the exploitation of sea resources beyond national jurisdiction.

168. Guatemala urges those nations to show their goodwill by making concessions in their political attitudes, so that the Convention on the Law of the Sea may be strengthened through its implementation by all the States Members of the Organization. Guatemala voted in favour of the Convention and will sign it when it is open for signature by States.

169. As regards Belize, Guatemala reiterates and maintains in this Assembly its reservations regarding the unilateral granting of independence to Belize by the United Kingdom, ignoring Guatemala's legiti-

mate rights to that Territory, which was the subject of dispute under an international legal controversy, in accordance with the peaceful procedures of the Charter of the United Nations. That dispute remains unresolved because of that unilateral and illegal act by the United Kingdom which has created a permanent situation of insecurity in the area. We feel it indispensable to resolve this controversy through negotiations and by means of a peaceful solution that is equitable to all parties, including basically the rights of Guatemala, which are founded on solid historical, geographical, legal, political and moral arguments.

170. Guatemala, confronted by this unacceptable action, considers that the way in which independence was granted to Belize was in violation of international norms; therefore, it does not recognize that independence, it does not recognize Belize as a State, nor does it recognize its sovereignty or its borders, or its membership in the community of nations. That will continue as long as a fair, equitable solution preserving Guatemala's legitimate rights over the Territory and the interests of the population of Belize is not found.

171. Guatemala has asked the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland not to disregard its historical responsibility in this matter and to continue direct negotiations so that a peaceful and at the same time equitable and honourable solution may be found for this age-old controversy.

172. The noble purposes of the United Nations will not truly be achieved unless the large majority of mankind ceases to suffer from poverty, hunger, ignorance, illiteracy, unemployment, malnutrition, precarious living conditions, lack of housing and many other hardships. If all human beings have a right to happiness, material progress and intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement, the main tasks of the United Nations must be to strengthen international co-operation and to create the conditions necessary to exercise those fundamental rights.

173. My delegation believes it essential to initiate global negotiations on co-operation for development in the economic field, since everybody is aware that it has not been possible to reduce the gap between developed countries and developing nations. On the contrary, the economic and monetary crisis has of late merely worsened those adverse effects on the sensitive economies of developing nations. No effective solution has been found for the problems of commodities, international debts, balance of payments, protection of the purchasing power of developing countries, trade and transactions, transfer of technology, increase of actual available resources, and access to capital markets.

174. Although Guatemala believes that the United Nations is the most appropriate forum for resolving questions affecting the future of all the countries of the world, we admit that the Organization has not always acted with the promptness and effectiveness needed to solve the crises threatening world peace. This situation occurs because it is difficult to strike an accurate and practical balance between human rights, the interests of States and

the principles and purposes of the Charter. We have thus noted that the Security Council and the General Assembly have not always made the same assessment of situations that threatened international peace and security. The Security Council itself has to some extent distorted its role by using procedures of informal consultations among its members, instead of concerning itself, as it ought to, with handling matters falling directly within its jurisdiction and finding adequate solutions for them.

175. My country saw a good example of that when we submitted to that body our petition opposing the admission of Belize to the United Nations. The Security Council, in open violation of the principles of the Charter, refused to be seized of the matter. It did so without any reason, forgetting that there had been an open controversy to be resolved within the principles of the Charter.

176. It is necessary to establish a solid basis of equity and justice for the development of international relations. My delegation believes that we must return to the sources that gave birth to this Organization. The light which then shone at San Francisco, when the Organization was created, should become a beacon for present and future generations; one which will light our way and enable us to build a better and more balanced world, one founded on the pillars of fraternity and solidarity, where peace, social justice, freedom and dignity to which all human beings without exception are entitled will prevail.

177. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): My first and pleasant duty is to extend warm felicitations and congratulations to the President, a distinguished son of Hungary, upon his unanimous election. I and the other members of my delegation pledge our full co-operation with him in his efforts to make this session of the Assembly a successful one. May I at the same time pay a tribute to Mr. Kittani of Iraq who, with patience, tact and wisdom, guided the Assembly through the various and bewildering demands of the last year. We owe him a debt of gratitude. May I also reiterate my congratulations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar of Peru, on his election to this most important office at this most critical period. I have personally had the pleasure and good fortune of working with him in earlier years when he gave dedicated and unstinting service to his country and to the Organization. The seriousness and forthrightness which characterize the approach of the Secretary-General to the challenges facing the Organization and its Member States have won praise and well-deserved recognition within the Organization as well as outside it. We wish him every success.

178. The Secretary-General aptly observed in his frank and perceptive report on the work of the Organization "we are perilously near to a new international anarchy" [A/37/1, p. 1]. Guyana shares that assessment. The world economic crisis deepens even as political relations are beset by tension and turbulence. Within recent years there has been an intensification of global crises, political and economic, and a manifest trend towards the exacerbation of existing situations and the creation of new ones, of so-called local and regional conflicts, some

of them with devastating effect. Turbulence is pervasive. No region, indeed no country, has escaped unscathed. More than ever before States need in their bilateral relations to be conscious of the impact of their national policies on others and to take the appropriate and necessary steps to avoid conflict, preserve pluralism and promote security and the economic and social development of peoples throughout the world.

179. Underlying current global tensions is the heightening of the contestation between social systems. Nowhere is that more clearly reflected than in the increase in expenditure on, and the sophistication of, armaments and weapons systems, fueling the movement towards conflict and global conflagration. The language of co-operation has been superseded by that of confrontation and the relations among the great Powers are now dangerously adversarial. Thus military and political rivalries have reached a new level, creating in their wake deep fissures in international relations and the frustration of the process of democratization of those relations.

180. Our global political preoccupations are matched by economic preoccupations; equitable international economic relations are necessary prerequisites to political stability. The present international economic system is undoubtedly in disarray and its debilitating effect on all States, especially on the small and the weak, is manifest.

181. The solution to that state of affairs demands collective, reasoned efforts. But the global community has not responded in that manner often enough. Instead of a greater surge towards multilateralism in international economic relations, there is today a retreat from it, resulting in frustration and impasse. Meanwhile, efforts to fashion solutions upon partisan, bilateral criteria are being renewed. Indeed, the retreat from multilateralism that threatens economic relations among States has been finding expression in a reassertion of the dominance of single-minded ideological approaches to economic development, in essence a return to economic determinism. In the retreat from multilateralism, in this return to economic determinism, we are faced today with a dual strategy. There is a steadfast refusal to remodel existing international institutions in a way that would render them more responsive to the serious problems which imperil us all and, more particularly, the developing countries. Simultaneously, we witness a tendency to deny those multilateral institutions the resources required for their normal operations. In that regard, the position of UNDP demands our special attention and we must urge a genuine commitment to meaningful resource allocation to allow that agency to continue its useful work in an effective manner.

182. The disturbing trend towards a bilateral resolution of global economic woes is demonstrated in other ways. We cannot ignore the evidence of three years of continued stalemate in the effort to launch the global round of negotiations. There have been periodic signs during the process which indicated movement but, just as rapidly, there has been another impasse. The failure to agree on that launching has seriously weakened the much-needed resolve

to undertake collective solutions. The consequence is a growing indication that the global manifestation of the economic woes can be set aside until the national endeavours at a solution have been pursued. Thus the absence of global negotiations to help to resolve global problems of a structural nature has resulted in almost a total dearth of measures to address the immediate issues which beset the global community. The individual, partisan adjustment measures are being forged with an increasing incidence of the attendant burdens, costs and pains of that adjustment being borne by the developing countries.

183. The problems of depressed prices for commodities, the prevalence of inflation and high interest rates, the barriers to trade expansion and the chaos that characterizes the international financial system have been repeatedly assessed, examined and analysed from this rostrum over the last few days. Those analyses notwithstanding, we in the developing countries are acutely aware of the limits to growth we now face as a result of those problems. Nowhere are those limits more manifest than in our efforts at debt management. The problems posed by our spiralling debt burdens present us with tremendous difficulty. Efforts at adjustment to inflation in the developed world have had a very grave effect on its economies. All of these problems—high rates of interest, mounting debt burdens and the very nature of the international financial system—demand that we seek collective redress. It is our most compelling concern and one that necessitates urgent and immediate consideration.

184. For our part, we in the developing world have been willing to seek ways and means to contribute collectively to the solution of the global problems, as evidenced in the Caracas Programme of Action<sup>6</sup> on economic co-operation among developing countries. Our attempts to pool our individual strengths and resource bases and thus promote our collective self-reliance are noteworthy and offer promise for the future. But, as has been noted on repeated occasions, economic co-operation among developing countries, South-South co-operation, is but one part of the whole. It is not a substitute for genuine progress in North-South relations. The quest for solutions based on multilateral and collective methods should be pursued unceasingly.

185. Guyana notes with satisfaction the successful conclusion of the negotiating sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the emergence of a final text which truly reflects the concerns of many who have laboured long and hard to establish an international legal régime for the ocean space. It is Guyana's hope that when we meet in Jamaica to sign the Final Act and Convention, the number of signatories to the Convention will be a source of great satisfaction to those whose primary motivation over the past several years has been the promulgation of just and equitable arrangements for the most effective use of the sea and the utilization of its resources for the benefit of all mankind, without discrimination.

186. It is, not unnaturally, a source of profound concern that some States should have seen fit to stand aside from this historic effort. It is also a mat-

ter for regret that a few developed States have more-over chosen instead to conclude between them a mini-multilateral treaty in defiance of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the world's States.

187. If I now turn to international political relations, it is to say that these have deteriorated markedly over the past few years. The diagnoses of the malaise afflicting international relations are many and varied. They range from the crisis in the multilateral approach in international affairs to the proliferation of armaments with the concomitant incentive and urge to utilize them; the collapse of co-operative endeavours evolved in the aftermath of the Second World War—so called; an increasing disregard for the fundamental norms and principles of international law; and a widespread tendency—too widespread—to resort to lawless conduct based on confrontation, threats and violence and, unhappily, intervention.

188. These negative manifestations have both encouraged and facilitated behaviour antagonistic to full respect for the sovereignty and independence of States—small States in particular.

189. Interventionist behaviour is undoubtedly on the increase. It is at once cause and effect of the crisis in international relations, a distinguishing feature of many conflicts. The extant cases are numerous—in the Middle East, in Europe, in Africa and in Latin America.

190. Non-intervention in the affairs of other States has served as one of the main pillars and guiding principles of a system of stable international relations. The proscribing of intervention is at the core of several international instruments adopted by this world body over the years. The most recent of these is the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, adopted at the thirty-sixth session [*resolution 36/103, annex*]. This Declaration represents a comprehensive instrument codifying the rights and duties of States that inhere in the principle of non-intervention.

191. Yet, despite its existence as a well-established and fundamental principle of international relations, non-intervention has increasingly been respected more in the breach. The whole gamut of interventionist techniques, ranging from overt military action to the more insidious and subtle forms of indirect pressures and destabilization tactics, has been brought into play in recent years.

192. The motivation for intervention varies from case to case. Yet certain broad patterns are clearly discernible. Some manipulate local situations of controversy and exploit international conflicts to serve perceived broader geo-strategic interests. Further, intervention is oftentimes designed to frustrate national liberation and the struggle against colonialism. No less problematic is interventionist behaviour undertaken in pursuit of expansionist ambitions—territorial, ideological and economic.

193. Some of our countries possess enough human and material resources to ensure for their people an adequate and satisfying standard of living. Yet some of these very countries, in what can only be seen as

a fit of greed, seek to covet the territory and resources of their neighbours. In pursuit of their expansionist claims, such countries disregard hallowed principles and norms of an international legal edifice painstakingly constructed over the years.

194. But even as we resolve to banish intervention as an instrument of policy in relations among States, it becomes imperative to strengthen and advance the process of collective security and disarmament. The second special session devoted to disarmament, held here last June, did not realize the high hopes of our peoples for a world free from the spectre of the catastrophic uses of the destructive weapons at man's disposal. This happens at a time in which we witness the proliferation and perfection of a plethora of weapons systems possessing mass destructive capability.

195. It is indeed a sad commentary on the position of some major Powers that in the face of a clear demonstration of the public throughout the world in favour of disarmament, these Powers have not exercised the necessary political judgement to facilitate agreement on the various disarmament issues and the preparation of a comprehensive programme on disarmament.

196. The recent horrors which accompanied the ruthless Israeli invasion of Lebanon and senseless slaughter of innocent men, women and children in west Beirut heighten the necessity for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East situation and the Palestinian question. There has undeniably been a quickening of the conscience of peoples to the urgent need to terminate the Palestinian diaspora and to bring about the creation of a homeland for the Palestinians in Palestine, as envisaged by early resolutions of the Assembly.

197. Let me repeat the position of Guyana: the acquisition of territory by force cannot be condoned; the Palestinian people, led by their authentic representative, the PLO, must have their national rights restored; and all States in the region should be enabled to live in peace and security.

198. We must be equally firm in dealing with the racist entity in Pretoria. The independence of Namibia must be achieved in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and there must be no question of further conditionalities. South Africa must be made to vacate Namibia and to do so quickly. At the same time, South Africa must show full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring independent African States. Within South Africa itself, the systems of *apartheid* and bantustanization must be condemned. The members of the international community individually and collectively must desist from giving the racists in South Africa succour to maintain their oppressive policies.

199. Unhappily, the tragedy of a divided Cyprus remains, despite the fact that the Assembly in its resolution 3212 (XXIX) set an adequate framework for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the reconciliation of the communities in the territory. Guyana gives every encouragement to the Secretary-General to continue unceasingly in his search for an urgent solution. We also support the proposals

made by the President of Cyprus before the Assembly [21st meeting].

200. Likewise the people of Korea deserve our support for the peaceful reunification of their territory without outside interference. Guyana continues to urge the implementation of the provisions of the 4 July 1972 joint communiqué<sup>7</sup> and the more recent constructive proposals advanced by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

201. We are particularly concerned about the continuing war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran. We call for strict implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council relating to this matter, in particular resolutions 514 (1982) and 522 (1982).

202. Central America and the Caribbean—indeed, Latin America—is in a state of ferment. Already this state has culminated in a full-fledged war that took a heavy toll of young lives and continues to do so. Threats of destabilization and armed intervention are made in relation to Central America and the Caribbean. Indigenous impulses for change are being violently confronted by a tandem force of local interests and their external supporters. Deliberate policies of pressure and intimidation are implemented, policies aiming at ideological conformity. Guyana firmly believes that a system of peaceful and stable relations in the Latin American and Caribbean region must of necessity be premised on an end to all types of economic pressures and political interference and on respect for ideological pluralism. The Caribbean must be made a zone of peace.

203. In his statement to the Assembly at the 5th meeting, the Foreign Minister of Venezuela adverted at length to the relations between our two countries. Unfortunately that presentation contained egregious distortions; it was contumacious, and it bordered on calumny. It was tendentious and selective in its account of history.

204. Last year, in addressing the Assembly my Prime Minister, Mr. Ptolemy A. Reid, laid bare the history of our relations with Venezuela. The nature of those relations has been profoundly affected by a Venezuelan desire to redraw the boundary between our two countries, a boundary which was settled by Treaty in 1899 and demarcated on the ground between 1901 and 1905.

205. The Foreign Minister of Venezuela stated that Venezuela's claim is based neither on territorial ambition nor on covetousness of the wealth of others but on the need to correct an historical wrong perpetrated against it. And this Venezuela asserts as the successor to Spanish colonial imperialism. He also asserted that Guyana refuses to understand the need for this correction because it wishes to enjoy the fruits of British colonial imperialism.

206. Guyana hardly needs to reject these pejorative Venezuelan asseverations. Moreover, our reputation as an anti-imperialist nation is well known. The anti-imperialist policies my country pursues are in accordance with the tenets of the non-aligned movement, of which it is a full member.

207. The Foreign Minister of Venezuela, in disavowing any motive of covetousness and expansionism, and in persisting in his country's territorial claim, asserts that no exploitable mineral resources have been discovered in the Essequibo region, which Venezuela claims. On the contrary, to give but a few examples, oil has recently been discovered there; our long-established gold and diamond mines are developing as centres of economic activity; and there has been an intensification in the evaluation of our uranium potential. And Venezuela knows this.

208. With these activities and the potential which exists, can we accept Venezuela's portrayal of the Essequibo as a land without exploitable mineral resources? And are we to understand that its claim to this land, whose people are moreover of a different culture, is motivated simply by a desire to redress an historical wrong? We are convinced that the Venezuelan territorial claim is an unjustified attempt to satiate a thirst for the land and resources of others.

209. The Venezuelan Foreign Minister also asserted that there has been no aggression by Venezuela against Guyana. I cannot permit that statement to go unchallenged. Indeed it must be categorically rejected. Let the record speak.

210. Can Venezuela deny that its troops are still in occupation of Guyanese territory that it violently seized in 1966? Can Venezuela honestly—and I stress the word "honestly"—deny that there have been numerous violations of our air and land space by Venezuelan aircraft and armed forces? And what of Venezuela's actions against us in the economic field? Can Venezuela deny that it has been endeavouring to dissuade Governments and organizations both in the developed and in the developing world from participating in Guyana's economic development, especially in that part of our territory that it claims? Does Venezuela deny that in June last year, as we were preparing for a global conference on new and renewable sources of energy, its Foreign Minister wrote to the President of the World Bank opposing the construction of a hydroelectric facility in the Upper Mazuruni region of Guyana on the political ground that the proposed dam was to be located in the area claimed by Venezuela and that it was not economically important to Guyana? And can it deny that such action was taken after the World Bank had itself assessed the project as being economically and technically feasible? Is that not economic aggression?

211. There are several international treaties and legal instruments that relate to the border between Guyana and Venezuela. The most important one is the Arbitral Award of 1899, which all parties, including Venezuela, had by an earlier treaty agreed to accept as a "full, final and perfect settlement". Pursuant to that Award, as I stated earlier, the boundary was demarcated on the ground and registered in a separate Agreement in 1905. There is also the Geneva Agreement of 1966,<sup>8</sup> which has as its purpose the solution of the controversy which "has arisen as a result of the Venezuelan contention that the Arbitral Award of 1899 is null and void".

212. Under the Agreement Guyana and Venezuela were required to choose one of the means provided in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations for the settlement of the controversy. Venezuela proposed negotiation; we proposed judicial settlement, and recommended the International Court of Justice. Unfortunately, Venezuela not only challenged our competence to suggest the International Court of Justice but persistently refused to consider our proposal for a judicial settlement. As a consequence our two countries are now, in strict accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreement, required to consider the selection of an appropriate international organ to choose the means of settlement.

213. From the inception of the Geneva Agreement in 1966 there have been repeated violations of it by Venezuela. I have already alluded to some of them. Notwithstanding those provocations, Guyana remains willing, in keeping with its policy of respect for legally binding treaties and peace and good-neighbourliness, to continue to honour the Geneva Agreement and to fulfil its obligations under it. On Friday last Guyana proposed to Venezuela that our two countries, in fulfilment of that Agreement, seek to agree on an appropriate international organ to choose a means of pacific settlement.

214. There are a number of organs of a regional nature, some of which may not be acceptable to Venezuela and others which may not be acceptable to us. However, there are three organs of such a wide international character that in our opinion any of them should be acceptable to both parties. These organs are: the International Court of Justice, the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

215. We are therefore now suggesting for the consideration of the Government of Venezuela recourse to one of those organs. It is Guyana's belief that their international character recommends them as suitable. We put our confidence in them. We trust that Venezuela would be prepared to do likewise.

216. Let me repeat what my Prime Minister said at the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly:

"We have no other wish than that of establishing a régime of peace, harmony and friendship with the people of Venezuela, with whom we share aspirations for a just and satisfying life and with whom we can together make a contribution to our development and that of our region and our continent". [*12th meeting, para. 64.*]

To that goal Guyana remains committed.

217. In the complexities which beset the international community the non-aligned movement continues to play an influential and beneficial role. As we speak out against intervention and interference, the non-aligned are aware that external efforts to divide and subvert us will continue. But we must stick resolutely and uncompromisingly to our principles and our policies.

218. Despite its imperfections, the United Nations system still offers mankind the best hope for a régime of international relations based on the rule of law.

219. In his courageous report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General not only has analysed the weaknesses of that system but has also made constructive proposals for the improvement of its vitality and the enhancement of its effectiveness. The decline in its authority and the credibility dilemma facing the United Nations are as much functions and consequences of certain deficiencies of the system as of the growing propensity of an increasing number of nations to marginalize the Organization or to ignore its decisions.

220. We owe it to ourselves and to the Secretary-General to ponder seriously his assessment of the international situation, his views on the crisis of confidence facing the United Nations and the various ideas he has submitted for reinvigorating the process of multilateral diplomacy. We believe that the opportunity to do so which this session provides should be fully utilized. Guyana supports his proposals. We are particularly interested in his argument for a role for the Security Council which emphasizes a preventive, rather than a reactive, orientation.

221. As my President said in a statement on 5 October 1982 in Brasilia:

"I believe the time is ripe for us to examine once again the possibility of establishing a United Nations security force with sufficient authority and strength to forestall aggression and prevent disputes from degenerating into armed conflicts."

222. Man's impulse is to survive and to live in peace with his fellow man. Our task as representatives of Governments is to give effect to this impulse. The pursuit of this task requires us to undertake serious dialogue, to act in concert, to adhere to the norms of international law and to make a reality of peaceful coexistence. History, I suggest, would indeed be unkind to us if we did not seek to build a world that is safer and in which justice prevails.

223. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): It is my privilege to deliver the statement of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the Assembly on behalf of my Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has had to go home on urgent business. The following is his statement.

224. The Government and people of the Republic of Zimbabwe warmly greet the Secretary-General and all delegations and wish the session success. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Hollai on his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. He has my best wishes and those of my delegation in the very important responsibility which the Assembly has placed on his shoulders. He can certainly count on my delegation's co-operation with him in his work. May I also join other speakers who have paid a thoroughly deserved tribute to Mr. Kittani of Iraq, for the way in which he presided over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, as well as the special sessions.

225. As this is the first opportunity for me to offer my personal congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, on his election to the highest office in the Organization, I wish to do so now. This is, of course, in addition to the messages of felicitation and good wishes which the Government of Zimbabwe com-

municated to the Secretary-General through the normal channels soon after his election and also during the recent special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe is particularly satisfied at his election for several reasons, the most important of which are his outstanding qualities both as a person and as a diplomat, which are well known to all in this Assembly, and, equally important, the great honour which his election represents to his country, Peru, to the non-aligned movement and to the third world.

226. There can be no denying the fact that the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is taking place against the background of a critically deteriorating international situation. I wish to refer to some of the things which contribute to this atmosphere of fear, tension and insecurity in our world. In so doing it is my sincere hope that when we conclude this session we shall all, as individuals and nations, rededicate and recommit ourselves to the high principles of the Charter and to world peace.

227. The current vicious arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, if it is not quickly and effectively checked, could lead only to a nuclear conflict, resulting in the complete destruction of this planet; and, as the Secretary-General has already warned in his report on the work of the Organization, nothing worth-while will survive a nuclear holocaust if one comes. Let us remind ourselves, therefore, that what is at stake here is the survival of the human race. If so far, however, we have been spared this 'no-victor, no-vanquished' war, it is perhaps because the world has not yet been so unfortunate as to produce persons sufficiently crazy and foolish to wish to inscribe their own names on the pages of history which no one will ever survive to recount.

228. It has already been observed by speakers before me that another serious threat to world peace and security is the production and stockpiling of more sophisticated conventional weapons. Although they know full well the destructive capacities of such inhuman weapons, some of the nations possessing them seem most eager to employ them in the pursuit of so-called national interests and objectives, the achievement of which does not seem beyond means that are more acceptable under civilized international law. In fact, those who possess these dangerous weapons of death and destruction often assume postures and positions which render ineffectual the mediatory and peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations and other international bodies concerned with seeking peaceful solutions to conflicts. Such has been the common frustration of the Security Council, the OAU, the non-aligned movement and other international and regional organizations. In most conflicts threatening regional or international stability, peace and security, such as, for instance, those in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, the South Atlantic recently, Afghanistan, South-East Asia or southern Africa—to mention some of the current areas of tension and conflict—resolutions and decisions of those organizations are met more with defiance and violation than with compliance.

229. We in Zimbabwe had—as, indeed, has all peace-loving peoples of the world—high hopes and expectations of the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. We are just as deeply disappointed that the session did not produce any tangible result. However, in spite of the failure of the special session, we remain even more firmly convinced that there can be no other course for the international community than to continue its efforts to achieve arms control leading ultimately to total disarmament. This will not only ensure peace for us as individuals and nations, but will certainly lead to a fresh and more balanced review of our already critically deranged sense of priorities in the allocation and distribution of the scarce resources of our planet. For example, we are convinced that the \$US 500 billion now annually squandered on arms of death and destruction will be diverted towards national, regional and interregional developmental projects designed to benefit people rather than to destroy them.

230. It is not being suggested or implied here that success in arms control or disarmament will create a world free of tension and even conflict. These will always be there. What is being suggested, however, is that the temptation to resort lightly to the use or threat of force in resolving political disputes between nations is likely to be reduced markedly.

231. A cursory review on a regional basis of our world, and especially of the political scene, will very quickly reveal how far we have wandered from the path, the ideals and the goals which inspired the authors of the Charter of this great Organization, of which we are all proud to be members. I wish to start this review with the southern African region. There the *apartheid* and racist Pretoria régime continues its oppressive and repressive policies against the black majority in South Africa. The same racist régime continues its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the resolutions, decisions and declarations of this Organization, the OAU and the non-aligned movement and the wishes and demands of the people of Namibia.

232. When in 1978 the five Western countries now known as the Western contact group successfully persuaded the Security Council to adopt the now well-known resolution 435 (1978), they argued that this proposal offered prospects of an immediate peaceful ending of racist South Africa's illegal colonization of Namibia. Indeed, resolution 435 (1978) has since been universally accepted as the only fair, practical and realistic basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian independence question. Efforts have since been made to implement the plan, which the illegal régime also accepted. Yet Namibia still remains occupied.

233. I wish to refer briefly to the most recent efforts involving the front-line States, Nigeria and SWAPO on the one hand and the Western contact group and South Africa on the other. The front-line States, Nigeria and SWAPO co-operated in these efforts, genuinely hoping that they would facilitate the implementation of the United Nations plan outlined in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). During and after the abortive Geneva Conference in 1981, the Western contact group informed all concerned

that South Africa had certain concerns which must be dispelled before the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence. We were further persuaded that once these so-called concerns had been dispelled South Africa would co-operate in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

234. We can say without hesitation that all the participants in the recent consultations, including South Africa itself, were agreed at the end of the exercise that South Africa's concerns regarding resolution 435 (1978) had all been completely allayed; that is, all matters and questions relating to resolution 435 (1978) and to the implementation of the United Nations plan had been discussed and fully clarified to the satisfaction of all concerned, including South Africa. I should mention in passing, however, that South Africa still has to specify which of the two electoral methods will be employed in Namibia, that of single-member constituencies or that of proportional representation.

235. It must be emphasized here that SWAPO has time and again reiterated its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement and to take part in free and fair elections under United Nations supervision, as provided for in the United Nations plan. As representatives here will recall, this has been SWAPO's position since the abortive Geneva Conference of 1981.

236. What, then, the General Assembly must be asking itself, is blocking progress towards the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)? The front-line States, Nigeria and SWAPO are and have long been ready to proceed to the next point at any time, as soon as the electoral method is known. SWAPO needs to know this in order to make the necessary preparations for the elections.

237. What I have said so far indicates tremendous progress towards a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. Let me also say that this progress is greatly attributable to SWAPO's co-operation and to the air of optimism and momentum generated in the capitals of the Western contact group before and during the six weeks of consultations. Yet all this momentum and good will may soon be lost if South Africa and some members of the Western contact group continue to manufacture pretexts for delaying the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

238. In this regard, let me make Zimbabwe's position very clear. I am referring here to the politics of linkage and parallelism which have been formulated to make the departure of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola a pre-condition of the independence of Namibia. This strategy, which is not related in any way to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and which is the creation of certain members of the contact group and *apartheid* South Africa in order to promote and serve their own bilateral interests, is totally unacceptable to Zimbabwe. Dragging the issue of the Cuban presence in Angola into the Namibian question is an unwarranted and unacceptable interference in bilateral affairs and relations between the sovereign States of Angola and Cuba, which are Members of the Organization and of the non-aligned movement.

Moreover, those who subscribe to this ridiculous and absurd view should be reminded that, while racist and colonialist South Africa continually commits acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, Cuban troops have never set foot on South African soil.

239. With regard to the obnoxious *apartheid* system in South Africa itself, Zimbabwe's position is well known. We have always said that we should like to see the total dismantling of *apartheid* and racist minority rule in that part of our region. We demand instead a democratic system of government which sees all the people of that country, regardless of race, religion, language and sex, as equal citizens of their land. We call upon the leaders of the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria to negotiate with the legitimate leadership of the oppressed and exploited black majority with a view to working out ways and means of establishing a system of government guaranteeing every South African freedom and social justice. The recently proposed so-called Presidential Council giving limited representation to South Africans of mixed race and Asians in that country is totally unacceptable to the people of South Africa, who are now solidly behind the armed struggle prosecuted by their liberation forces.

240. The Government and the people of Zimbabwe support the struggle for liberation, equality and social justice being waged by the liberation movements in South Africa. We strongly condemn the continued incarceration of Comrade Nelson Mandela and other legitimate leaders of the people of South Africa by the racist Pretoria régime. This and the numerous political murders committed by the racist rulers against the opponents of the iniquitous system are also violations of human rights. We appeal to the international community to continue and even to intensify its material, moral, diplomatic and political support to the struggling people of South Africa in their commendable efforts to free themselves from the *apartheid* yoke.

241. In its desperate efforts to frustrate the liberation process in Namibia and the dismantling of the *apartheid* system within its borders, the oppressive régime is busy waging destabilizing campaigns against the neighbouring independent and sovereign States of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Economic blackmail, bullying and sabotage, political propaganda and subversion, and open military aggression and mercenarism are the common tactics employed by *apartheid* in its campaign of regional destabilization. As the Assembly is well aware, the régime's forces have been occupying part of Angola's territory for a year now and there is sufficient evidence that more incursions are being planned.

242. The abortive *coup d'état* against the legitimate Government of the Republic of Seychelles earlier this year by Pretoria's mercenaries and criminals is also part of this campaign of destabilization. So also is the recruiting, training, equipping and supporting of dissident groups in some of the neighbouring independent States for the purpose of resisting legitimate Governments there.

243. Zimbabwe's position on the question of the destabilization of neighbouring States by *apartheid* South Africa is that this will not deter us from our declared policy of offering moral support and whatever material support we can to the liberation struggle in that land. Zimbabwe demands that the Pretoria régime should stop forthwith its destabilizing campaigns against our countries. It should withdraw its forces from Angola forthwith and unconditionally. The white minority Government of *apartheid* South Africa must be warned that no country has any right whatsoever to violate international law with impunity.

244. I should now like, before leaving the African region, to turn to the question of Western Sahara. As the Assembly knows, this question has for a long time been on the agenda of the OAU and of the United Nations. The people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic deserve more support in their just struggle for self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Because the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe is totally convinced of the justness of the Sahraoui people's cause, Zimbabwe has recognized the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic as an independent and sovereign State. We believe that the resolution adopted by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its eighteenth session, held at Nairobi in 1981, providing for the signing of a cease-fire between Morocco and the POLISARIO and for the holding of a referendum to be administered by a neutral force offers the best prospects for settling the question of Western Sahara.

245. Zimbabwe views with deep concern efforts by certain members of the OAU, apparently with outside encouragement, to polarize and therefore paralyse the OAU.

246. The past few months have witnessed a tragic deterioration in the situation in the Middle East region, as has been horribly exemplified by Zionist Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon and the massacring of thousands of innocent Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps on 16 and 17 September. The civilized international community was deeply outraged, shocked and revolted by this genocidal act and crime against humanity, whose sadism can only be compared to the crimes committed by the Nazis, ironically enough against Jewish people, during the Second World War. Surely the world cannot behave as if the thousands of defenceless men, women and children in the two camps were killed by a natural disaster. The barbaric slaughter was planned and carried out by the Zionist Government. That Government and its supporters who, if they had wanted to do so, could have prevented the massacres, should be held responsible for this crime against humanity and appropriately punished by the international community.

247. We have time and again emphasized that no solution of the Middle East question will be acceptable unless it recognizes the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination and to the establishment of a Palestinian State under the leadership of the PLO.

248. It is our view that the Palestinians and their Lebanese brothers and sisters richly deserve to be

commended for their courage, resilience and determination in the face of naked aggression and intimidation by Zionist Israel. Zimbabwe salutes them, especially the gallant PLO forces who for several weeks courageously defended their people against Zionist butchers.

249. While still in the Middle East, we should like to express our deep concern about the continuing conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq. It is our sincere hope that peace may come to this area where regional stability and security are seriously threatened.

250. Afghanistan is another area of concern to the Organization and we feel obliged to reiterate our position with regard to it. We feel that a political settlement is urgent and that this is only possible on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign forces and the cessation of all outside influences and pressures. Accordingly we call upon all concerned to respect that country's independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status.

251. With regard to Cyprus, Zimbabwe would again want to see the end to all forms of foreign intervention and interference, so that the people of that republic may be able to determine their own future freely. The Government of Zimbabwe strongly supports the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus, as one united country. We share the concern expressed by many speakers before us that the intercommunal dialogue initiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General's Special Representative has not yet produced any tangible results.

252. Poland is another area of international concern. Our own view is that it is only the people of that country—free of external pressure, intervention and interference—who can resolve their internal problems. We believe very strongly that any solution imposed from outside and against the will of the Polish people is totally unacceptable.

253. Zimbabwe's position with regard to the situation in South-East Asia remains unchanged. We believe very strongly in a peaceful political solution to the Kampuchean problem in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and the non-aligned movement. Thus, we would like to see the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean soil so that the various factions contending for the mastery of that country might meet to discuss and resolve their differences for the benefit of the suffering masses of that country.

254. Zimbabwe believes in the principle of self-determination and the termination of all forms and manifestations of colonialism. For that reason we find unacceptable Indonesia's military intervention in East Timor. It is our belief, therefore, that the struggle waged by the East Timorese under the leadership of FRETILIN is a just one, deserving international support. We call upon Indonesia to withdraw its forces from East Timor.

255. I should like to turn to the question of the Korean peninsula, another area of major international concern. We note with great regret that the massive foreign military build-up in the South continues

unabated and poses a grave threat to international peace and security. The enemies of Korean unity and the supporters of the two-Koreas myth have also been trying to confuse the international community by their deceitful talk of the possibility of free and fair elections in the South. This cheap propaganda cannot deceive anybody, as we all know that there can be no free and fair elections in a territory under military occupation.

256. While my Government will support negotiations between North and South Korea, we believe that no meaningful negotiations are possible under the prevailing conditions. We would therefore like to see the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from the South, so as to create an atmosphere conducive to mutual trust between the artificially divided people of the peninsula. It is our strong view that President Kim Il Sung's proposal for a confederate system offers realistic prospects for a settlement in the troubled area. If adopted, it has every chance of putting the Korean people on the road leading to the ultimate goal of complete Korean reunification.

257. The recent crisis over the Falkland or Malvinas Islands in the South Atlantic merits comment. In that regard, we believe that the tragic events in that region could have been avoided if the parties to the conflict had observed the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As Zimbabwe is opposed to the use of force in the settlement of disputes between States, we wish to urge the two parties to seek a peaceful, just and lasting settlement through negotiations.

258. I wish to comment briefly on the international economic situation. It will be recalled that it was at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in 1973, that the idea of a new international economic order was introduced. That concept, which has since been debated at many meetings and conferences, is attractive to the developing countries, as it seeks to halt the perpetuation of a maldistribution of our world's wealth. Last year, in this very Hall my delegation and many others referred to and warned against the dangerous deterioration in the world economic situation. That same warning is still very relevant today, especially since that deterioration in the world economic situation may adversely affect world stability, peace and security.

259. Zimbabwe and all developing countries have been hoping, almost in vain, that a conciliatory spirit would intervene to facilitate the concluding of global negotiations for a new international economic order. Unfortunately, however, up to now no progress has been achieved, as several opportunities have been lost.

260. While the industrialized countries continue to be unco-operative on this vital matter, their own economies have not been able to escape the ravages of one of the worst world economic situations. It must be observed, however, that developing economies are the hardest hit. The industrialized countries are experiencing inflationary spirals, massive unemployment, currency weaknesses and high interest rates. Slow growth rates are becoming a common feature of their economies, too. Regret-

tably, these recessionary conditions are now being used as excuses for inward-looking policies and for protectionism against export commodities from developing countries. We call for the immediate liberalization of trade relations in favour of developing countries.

261. The balance-of-payment problems of the developing countries continue to grow. The deficits of the latter countries, especially the non-oil-producing countries, have reached astronomical figures, reflecting the multiple crises afflicting the international economy. Clearly, the international monetary system needs restructuring to reflect contemporary economic realities. The core of such a system should be the participation of the developing countries in the decision-making process and the enhancement of their ability to have a significant impact on the democratization of the international monetary system.

262. The problem of energy is closely linked to that of our economic development. Our countries have serious difficulties in meeting their oil requirements, and the oil bills of non-oil-exporting developing countries have reached unprecedented proportions. This is, however, an area where the developed countries and the oil-exporting, newly industrializing countries can play a crucial role in alleviating the general paralysis now crippling oil-importing developing countries. We do appreciate the efforts made by some members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to try to resolve this acute problem. What we would appreciate even more is greater co-operation in the exploration of energy resources, especially in the area of new and renewable sources of energy.

263. Another area of concern to us is that of global food supplies. The eradication of hunger and malnutrition is, and should be, a collective international effort. The establishment of a world food security system and an internationally co-ordinated system of nationally held food reserves would go a long way towards ameliorating current world food shortages and would also guarantee surpluses for our expanding populations.

264. It is quite obvious that most countries cannot escape the malignant consequences of the world economic crisis. Indeed, some countries are faced with stagnation and outright zero growth rates. There is therefore the need to intensify economic co-operation and collective self-reliance among States, particularly among the developing countries. The new international economic order will, however, remain illusory unless the developing countries prove that they are willing to be assertive and determined to play an effective role in international economic relations.

265. Finally, may I congratulate and thank the Secretary-General for his frank, objective and honest report on the work of the United Nations, to which I have already had occasion to refer in my statement. The delegation of Zimbabwe agrees entirely with every aspect of the report and strongly endorses the references to the need to examine more critically the peace-keeping and peace-making roles of the United Nations, especially the Security Council. The Secretary-General's report is both a welcome inspiration

to my delegation and a challenge at a time when Zimbabwe is looking forward with humility to serving on the Security Council. The report has certainly refocused our attention on the noble purposes and principles of the Charter, to which Zimbabwe is recommitting and rededicating itself.

266. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Before calling on them, I would remind them that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

267. Mr. LÓPEZ DEL AMO (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The reply of the United States representative last Friday [24th meeting], which did not respond to what was said here by the Cuban Minister for Foreign Affairs, calls for some clarification that will serve to improve his knowledge of my country.

268. Cuba is one of the 25 founding members of the non-aligned movement and has taken part actively in its work in the 21 years of its existence. Cuba has held the chairmanship of the movement for the last three years by unanimous decision of the members. As to what Cuba has done in that capacity, the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held four months ago in Havana, said the following:

"The Bureau expressed its appreciation for the dedication, efficacy and strict adherence to the principles of non-alignment with which Cuba, in its capacity as Chairman of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government, held in Havana in September 1979, has been co-ordinating the work of the Bureau and the Movement." [See A/37/333, annex, para. 9.]

269. Further, we stress that the imperialist Government of the United States has no right to decide which State is or is not non-aligned. The representative of the United States, a country which achieved independence with the decisive assistance of French troops led by Lafayette, described as mercenaries the internationalist Cuban combatants in Angola. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government, in Colombo, Sri Lanka, said the following about Cuban military assistance to the people of Angola:

"The Conference congratulated the Government and people of Angola on their heroic and victorious struggle against the South African racist invaders and their allies, and commended the Republic of Cuba and the other States which assisted the people of Angola in frustrating the expansionist and colonialist strategy of the racist régime of South Africa and its allies."<sup>9</sup>

270. What really bothers the imperialist Government of the United States is that the front-line States, in rejecting the Washington-Pretoria blackmail linking the independence of Namibia to the presence of Cuban fighters in Angola, a matter which can be the sovereign decision of the Governments of Angola and Cuba alone.

271. The Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of Non-Aligned Countries,

which was held in New York from 4 to 9 October, stated the following:

“The attempts to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola are incompatible with [Security Council] resolution 435 (1978) and, are therefore unacceptable.” [See A/37/540, annex I, para. 25.]

272. Certainly we are afloat on a sea of difficulties, as the United States representative said. All the developing countries, and even some developed ones, are on that same “sea”. There is a deep crisis in the world economy, brought about by the obsolete imperialist economic order, which persists in trying to steer mankind through an arms race to a nuclear holocaust and rejects responsible dialogue that would lead to a new, just and equitable international economic order, to co-operation among peoples, in a world of peace and development.

273. In addition, for the last 23 years the United States, in violation of the principles of the Charter, has been applying a total economic embargo against my country and seeking by every means possible to hamper our foreign trade. Despite that brutal aggression and military and other attacks by the United States on our people, Cuba has overcome the difficulties and has successfully undertaken its development. In Cuba there are no unemployed; no one goes hungry; education and health services are free to all; everyone has an insured old age; everyone is cared for. We do not have luxuries, nor do we need them; but we do have dignity for every Cuban.

274. The economy of the United States, despite the fact that it is based on the plundering of the wealth of other peoples, is in a state of recession and inflation. Under the Administration of the new occupant of the White House, who is almost always on holiday and, according to him, near heaven, the people of the United States are getting nearer to hell. Unemployment is over 10 per cent; welfare benefits are being cut; taxes are on the increase; and the people are bearing the overwhelming burden of the heaviest military budget in the history of the United States. In this country there are 25 million illiterates, and in New York City alone there are at least 35,000 people homeless, sleeping in the streets, abandoned to their fate amidst the wealth of the few. Here the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, and the Government offers no other way out of their difficulties than war.

275. It is incredible to hear human rights discussed by those who most frequently violate them. We must remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were burned to death in a war whose outcome had already been decided, with atomic bombs used solely in a show of power in a world monopolized by these same human-rights violators. Against the people of Viet Nam, they used the same amount of explosives as were used during the entire Second World War.

276. The United States supports the racist *apartheid* régime, is the strategic ally of the Zionist régime, denies the people of Palestine their inalienable rights, has brought to and kept in power the worst tyrannies on the American continent, and is the main stanchion of international mercenarism and aggression.

277. Creators of McCarthyism and the Ku Klux Klan, they discriminate against their black and Latin population, against the remaining few of the indigenous population that survived the plunder of their lands and indiscriminate killing. The United States, whose trade union freedom is so exemplary that all the members of the air controllers union who went on strike for an increase in salary were fired; the United States, with such an exemplary democracy that in the last presidential elections barely half the electorate went to the polls to vote for candidates imposed by big business, where the real power lies in this country; the United States, with its high crime and drug-abuse rates, eloquent proof of the corruption and decline in current United States society, has no moral authority to judge anyone. By its example, the United States degrades this hemisphere and the contemporary world.

278. It is no secret to anyone that Cuba is a socialist country based on and guided by the noble ideas of Marxism-Leninism or that we aspire one day to achieving a communist society. We are proud of it. It is for that that we work, struggle and live, in order to put an end to a class society, divided into haves and have-nots, rich and poor, and in order to end the pre-history of humanity.

279. We also believe in the international working class movement. Hence more than 30,000 doctors, teachers, engineers and technicians from Cuba lend their assistance to more than 30 non-aligned countries, and 16,000 young people from those countries study in Cuba. For that reason, we also help other developing countries with their defence. We exploit no one; we do not grow rich from the fruit of the labour of other peoples. But we are indeed capable of sharing our modest resources with those who need them. We are not, Mr. Representative of the United States, the self-seeking, rapacious empire that you depict, but a small country that has known how to stand erect in defence of its freedom, independence and dignity, paying whatever the price may be.

280. Mr. BABBA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to speak in exercise of my delegation's right of reply to the statement made by the representative of the United States on the evening of 7 October 1982 [22nd meeting]. He objected to the facts set out in my country's statement in the General Assembly on 6 October [19th meeting], during the general debate. He described it as propaganda against the United States—but he did not adduce any proof. We would have preferred not to speak, but we consider it essential to reveal the following facts in order to refute the United States allegations and to confirm the truth of the facts in our statement. The whole world is well aware of the policy of the United States, particularly under the present Administration, which is a confrontational policy. The aim is to place armed bases everywhere and to send United States fleets to seas and countries thousands of miles away in order to impose United States domination over the peoples of the world and to engage in economic pressure and blockades against those peoples—including the Libyan people—that refuse to follow its lead. In this context we should like to set out the following facts, only as examples.

281. First, American aircraft have violated Libyan airspace on several occasions. We have provided a detailed list to the Security Council, including the dates and places of these violations, and this information has been published as a document of the Council.

282. Secondly, on 19 August 1981 American aircraft of the Sixth Fleet attacked Libyan aircraft in Libyan airspace.

283. Thirdly, on 21 January American aircraft of the Sixth Fleet intercepted a Libyan commercial civilian aircraft on its way from Tripoli to Athens with the aim of endangering the movement of Libyan civilian aircraft and producing commercial losses. As usual, the United States at first denied this interception, and then it admitted it, attempting to justify it with the allegation that the Libyan aircraft had entered the field of operations of the United States air carrier *John Kennedy* and American aircraft therefore had to make sure of its identity. The Government of Greece also expressed objections to the United States in this regard. In fact, the United States Sixth Fleet is constantly present on Libyan shores, carrying out manoeuvres, engaging in regular provocation against my country and sending spy planes over Libyan shores. The latest example is an American pilotless spy plane that was in Libyan airspace, over the Benghazi region, and was brought down by Libya's defence forces on 2 September last. A few days ago, Libyan television showed pictures of the destroyed plane and these were shown on television stations in Europe also.

284. Fourthly, in the economic field, we need only refer to the American decision, announced by the State Department on 10 March 1982, to impose an embargo on the importation of Libyan oil to the United States, to forbid the sale of technical material to Libya, to ask American technicians and experts to leave Libya, to prevent travel to Libya and to forbid the sale to it of civilian aircraft and agricultural equipment. The objective of all that is to destroy the Libyan economy and impede development progress in Libya, to prevent Libya from following a non-aligned policy and to silence its voice in opposition to unjust United States policy in Africa, the Middle East and other areas of the world.

285. The statement of the head of the Libyan delegation contained several facts regarding the inimical United States attitude towards the Arabs and United States support for Zionist aggression, which encourages the Zionist entity to pursue its expansionist policy by attacking the Palestinian people in Palestine, annexing Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, implanting settlements in the occupied areas, attacking the Iraqi nuclear reactor, invading Lebanon and perpetrating genocide against thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians there. United States assistance to the Zionist entity in the period from June 1967 to June 1980 amounted to \$19 billion, as stated in the January 1982 issue of the *Reader's Digest*. An article in the 28 March 1982 issue of *The New York Times* stated that the allocation for Israel in the 1983 budget amounted to \$2.5 billion. In its issue of 2 July 1982 *The Christian Science Monitor* said that United States assistance to Israel over a period of years had cost \$1,000 annually to every man, woman and child. James Reston, the well-known writer, wrote the fol-

lowing in his column in *The New York Times* on 22 September: "Almost one-quarter of all U.S. foreign aid goes to Israel every year. It amounts to \$2.7 billion, or between \$3,500 and \$4,000 for every family of five in Israel—more than the unemployed get in Detroit".

286. The entire world knows that the Zionist entity could not have defied the international community and violated United Nations resolutions and international law by killing thousands of children and women and dispersing an entire people—while continuing its expansionist policy, expelling people and usurping their property—had it not been for the enormous military assistance poured into it by the United States, unconditionally, in the form of cluster and phosphorous bombs, aircraft, tanks and other sophisticated and destructive weapons which even the member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization do not have.

287. If the United States representative does not wish to believe what was contained in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya statement regarding his country's responsibility for the brutal massacres carried out by Israel in Lebanon, and in particular in Beirut, he should at least not give the lie to former President Carter, who a few days ago said that it was the current United States Administration that had encouraged the ruling circles in Tel Aviv to invade Lebanon.

288. United States assistance to the new Nazis and the Zionist shedders of blood is not limited to the economic and military fields; it has overlapped into the political field as well. The United States position in the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the General Assembly, regarding support for Israel is well known and needs no elaboration. I would only point out that the heads of delegation who have spoken in the general debate, have stated that this position has prevented the Security Council from being effective in solving dangerous international problems and has paralysed the United Nations. Some responsible American authorities have also admitted this. I have before me an article by Mr. David Newsom, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs in the State Department, published by *The Christian Science Monitor* on 29 September 1982 under the title "The UN: another Beirut casualty". Referring to the United States attitude, the article states:

"The resistance by Israel to any United Nations role... and the apparent acquiescence of the United States in that position have added further to the global erosion of confidence in the international Organization."\*

The author goes on to say that the attitude of the United States towards United Nations resolutions on Lebanon and the Middle East:

"... will further weaken the international Organization and its usefulness in the peace process. Such weakening would have implications not only for the region but for the world as well."

289. Mr. ROGERS (Belize): The delegation of Belize wholly rejects and deplores the statement of the representative of Guatemala who refused to recognize

\* Quoted in English by the speaker.

the reality of an independent Belize within long-established borders. Such a refusal to recognize reality in the region is an affront to the United Nations, of which we are a Member and which fully recognizes Belize. We reject the statement also as an attempt to perpetuate colonialism by calling for direct negotiation between Guatemala and the United Kingdom over Belize. The only legitimate voice for the people of Belize is the duly elected democratic Government of an independent Belize. We reserve our right to speak at a later stage in the exercise of our right of reply.

290. Mrs. JACOME (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the preposterous statements made by the Foreign Minister of Guyana, we shall exercise our right of reply at a later date.

291. Mr. CASTRO-ARAUZO (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Mozambique referred in confused and inappropriate terms to situations which his radical ideology prevents him from recognizing and understanding. My country is engaged in working out a process that will enable us to establish a true democracy in the economic, social and political fields—in other words, a complete democracy where social justice, the safeguarding of human rights and the fulfilment of the individual are the rule, enabling us to overcome our present difficulties.

292. The dictatorship in Mozambique which, with foreign military assistance, exercises brutal oppression over its own people on the pretext of responding to a foreign threat is totally devoid of any credibility.

293. My delegation does not wish to give detailed explanations to countries which, without any moral authority, seek maliciously to criticize others. Confronted by these attacks we must point out that the highest degree of self-determination of a people has been shown overwhelmingly by the people of El Salvador, in its march towards democracy, through its elections held on 28 March this year, and this is an absolutely incontrovertible fact.

294. My delegation expresses the wish that all peoples under a dictatorship, such as that in Mozambique, may one day hold free elections which would allow them to determine their own future and to accede to true democracy. Consequently my delegation

categorically rejects the opinions expressed by the delegation of Mozambique which, in its desire to make propaganda, sees the mote in the eye of its brother and does not see the beam in its own.

295. Mr. PADILLA (United States of America) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Our delegation does not wish to continue wasting the time of the General Assembly on this sterile exchange. Nevertheless we must reject, and voice our protest against, the lengthy demagogic and unnecessary statements by Cuba and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

296. Continually year after year they repeat accusations that are false and substitute expressions of purely ideological propaganda for facts. This persistent propaganda campaign affects the very fibre of this venerable institution. The repeated onslaught does not make for truth nor is it borne out by the facts. This annual repetition of accusations that are without foundation or substantive proof cannot deflect us from our responsibility to look at the facts and to see what the truth and reality are. We do not need demagoguery for this, but Cuban rhetoric has been based solely on the constant distraction of attention from Cuba's own internal difficulties and lack of freedoms by projecting them on to the United States.

*The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

<sup>2</sup> "Common Security: a programme for disarmament". See A/CN.10/38, p. 71. See also A/CN.10/51.

<sup>3</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).

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year*, 2362nd meeting.

<sup>5</sup> See A/S-12/AC.1/61.

<sup>6</sup> Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.

<sup>7</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

<sup>8</sup> *United Nations, Treaty Series*, vol. 561, No. 8192, p. 323.

<sup>9</sup> A/31/197, annex I, para 44.